

# THE MILITANT

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

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## THE MILITANT

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**MAGEE WINS SHOW CAUSE ORDER:** The state of California was ordered by federal judge Leonard N. Ginsburg Oct. 15 to show cause at a Nov. 10 hearing why Ruchell Magee should not be released from prison. The ruling came on a writ filed by Magee June 29 maintaining that his 1963 and 1965 kidnap-robbery convictions are invalid because wrong pleas were entered over his objections by court-appointed attorneys. If the Nov. 10 hearing finds that Magee was illegally imprisoned at the time of the August 1970 Marin County Courthouse shoot-out, a guilty verdict in his upcoming trial for conspiracy, assault, and murder in connection with the August 1970 incident would not carry the automatic death penalty that applies to prisoners convicted of assault on non-prisoners.

**JAPANESE PUBLISH TROTSKY'S WRITINGS:** A Japanese translation of Writings of Leon Trotsky 1939-1940 has been brought out by Tsuge Publishers in Japan.

**10,000 ASK FOR KENT INVESTIGATION:** A petition signed by 10,000 students and others is to be presented to Nixon by Kent State University President Glenn A. Olds this month, asking him to overrule Attorney General John Mitchell, who earlier this year closed the books on the Kent State massacre, claiming there was "no credible evidence" of conspiracy in the deaths of four students and the wounding of many others on May 4, 1970.

### RAZA UNIDA CANDIDATE IN RUNOFF

**LOS ANGELES—Raul Ruiz, Raza Unida Party candidate for the California 48th Assembly District seat, qualified for the Nov. 16 runoff by winning 1,378 votes (3.89 percent) in the Oct. 19 primary. Ten candidates ran in the primary. Ruiz will run against Bill Brophy (R) and Richard Alatorre (D) in the runoff.**

**EMETIC OF THE WEEK:** A photo caption in No. 175 for 1971 of Democratic People's Republic of Korea Illustrated Monthly with a color-retouched photograph of Kim Il Sung's birthplace reads: "Every blade of grass and every piece of tree is permeated with the lofty will of revolution."

**PARK CHUNG HEE CALLS OUT THE ARMY AGAINST STUDENTS:** When his cops failed, after three weeks of attacks on student anti-government demonstrations, to subdue the demonstrators, South Korea's president called out troops Oct. 15. As 2,000 troops stormed Seoul's campuses with armored vehicles, closing down the schools and occupying them, they rounded up close to 2,000 students. The Oct. 16 New York Times reported that all but about 300 of those arrested were later released. According to the Oct. 17 Times, the South Korean opposition New Democratic Party, is making an issue of the president's use of force.

**GUSANOS ATTACK CUBAN VILLAGE:** The Oct. 15 Washington Post reported that Jose Elias de la Torriente, New York-based Cuban counterrevolutionary exile, claimed responsibility for the previous day's shelling of a fishing village on Cuba's north coast. Two villagers were killed and four others injured when two boats from the U.S. strafed the village from offshore waters Oct. 14. Radio Havana charged that the gusano attack was made with the complicity of the U.S. government.

**PENTAGON USES HUMAN GUINEA PIGS:** Charity cancer patients in Cincinnati are used in a Pentagon-funded study to test the influence of radiation on the effectiveness of combat troops, but they are told the whole-body radiation exposures they receive are part of a "therapeutic" experiment. The study has been going on for 11 years under the direction of Dr. Eugene Saenger at the University of Cincinnati. Whole-body radiation exposure kills large numbers of white blood cells, generally leading to infection. Patients given the treatment suffer nausea and pain that they might not otherwise undergo. A number of recent articles and a book—*The Great American Bomb Machine* by Roger Rapoport—have begun shedding light on Saenger's cynical manipulation of helpless cancer patients to further imperialism's megadeath capacity. The doctor has published very little about his work in professional journals, confining his discussion of the project mainly to annual reports to the Pentagon. Now, as Senators Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) have begun spotlighting what Gravel called in

an Oct. 15 Senate speech "the grisly story of Dr. Saenger's work," Saenger has begun vehemently protesting that "this is a helpful way of treating patients." However, Washington Post writers Stuart Auerbach and Thomas O'Toole pointed out in an Oct. 8 article that "other experts in the use of radiation to treat cancer patients disagree."

**AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT CONVENTION:** More than 100 delegates from 11 cities and three reservations met at Camp Owendigo, Minn., Oct. 12-14 for the first national AIM convention. The group approved a charter for a nonprofit corporation to serve its present 18 chapters, placing it on a collision course with the 27-year-old National Congress of American Indians, which represents 135 tribes. AIM leader Dennis Banks said the older organization is "very ineffective" and compared it to the League of Women Voters in contrast to the action-oriented AIM. Banks and others founded AIM in Minneapolis in 1968. Since then, it has gained national publicity especially through occupations of abandoned federal property.

**COURT JUSTIFIES ANTI-GAY RULING WITH GOD'S WORD:** The Minnesota Supreme Court, following the example of the California State Assembly which voted down a gay law reform last month with speeches about Sodom and Gomorrah, rejected on Oct. 15 the appeal of Jack Baker, University of Minnesota Student Association president, and Mike McConnell, who are seeking the right to marry. Marriage is a unique male-female arrangement, the court declared, "as old as the book of Genesis."

**LESBIANS HARASSED AT NEW HEADQUARTERS:** The Daughters of Bilitis in New York moved from its old headquarters on Prince Street a few weeks ago to a new location on East First Street. On Oct. 9, the second week the group had been in its new headquarters, cops barged into a dance and seized Rose Jordan and Alma Routsong, allegedly because the serving of beer at the dance was a possible violation of Alcoholic Beverages Control regulations. The real reason, as Jordan said, was simply harassment of the lesbian group. About 60 DOB members demonstrated outside the Ninth Precinct for three hours until Jordan and Routsong were released.

**ELLSBERG'S MOTHER-IN-LAW HELD IN CONTEMPT:** A Boston federal judge found Idella Marx, Daniel Ellsberg's mother-in-law, in contempt Oct. 13 after she refused to testify before a Boston federal grand jury investigating the publication of the Pentagon papers disclosed by Ellsberg. She refused to testify under the so-called "immunity statute" granting grand jury witnesses immunity from prosecution in the case under investigation but leaving open prosecution on other charges that may be touched by their testimony. Action from the Boston grand jury may result in new indictments superceding the indictment handed down against Ellsberg in August by a Los Angeles federal grand jury for "illegal possession" of the Pentagon study. Despite the fact that it has already brought an indictment against Ellsberg, the L.A. grand jury has continued its investigation. Among the witnesses called to testify in L.A. while Idella Marx was being cited for contempt in Boston were Ellsberg's 15-year-old son Robert, called Oct. 12, and his brother-in-law, Spencer Marx, called Oct. 13.

### CORRECTION

The dates for the Congress on Racial Equality convention given in the article "CORE convention: No change from reformist course" (Oct. 22 Militant) were incorrect. The article stated the convention was held Oct. 14-17. The correct dates were Oct. 7-9.

**ALASKA NATIVES FILE SUIT:** On Oct. 5, the Arctic Slope Native Association filed suit in Washington, D.C., federal district court, asking that the Alaska state government's land grab of 76,000 square miles of their territory, sanctioned by the Interior Department, be invalidated. Beginning in 1964, the state arbitrarily began selecting for itself tracts of land on the North Slope, about which the suit says, "For as far back as anyone knows, the plaintiff Eskimo people have occupied, used and exercised dominion over the entire Arctic Slope Region of Alaska. . . at the very least, the plaintiffs have what is known as aboriginal title. . ."

— LEE SMITH

# Sub drive 867 ahead in 4th week

By MIKE LUX

The largest subscription drive in the history of *The Militant* continues to demonstrate the breadth and depth of the current radicalization. After a slight lull last week, the momentum of the sub drive has picked up again. This week 3,076 new subscriptions to *The Militant* were obtained. There are now 14,502 new readers of *The Militant*, which means the sub drive is 867 ahead of schedule.

As the drive approaches the half-way point, 17 areas are on schedule with 14 areas already over the 50 percent mark. The most impressive efforts this week were scored by Boston, Mass., and Jacksonville, Fla., both of which surged forward after a somewhat slow start. The Mid-Atlantic national sales team has gone over the 1,500 mark, which was their initial quota, in only five weeks. Other

new developments include the Geneseo, N.Y., quota being raised from 5 to 20 and two new areas taking quotas—Aliquippa, Pa., has taken 20 and Sonoma, Calif., took 15.

Dave Salner of the Southern national sales team reports that interest in the upcoming presidential elections is high in the South. At the University of Florida in Gainesville, where the team sold 85 subscriptions to *The Militant*, he says that they ran into a number of McGovern supporters who were open to learning about McGovern's real record as a capitalist politician. They were glad to hear about Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the 1972 presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. Many of these Florida students had heard of Linda Jenness because of the campaigns she waged for mayor of Atlanta and governor of Georgia.

Salner also reports that key selling points for the Southern team included the continuing coverage of the Angela Davis case, information on the case of Shirley Wheeler, who was recently convicted of manslaughter for having an illegal abortion, and the fact that *The Militant* was one of the most widely read radical newspapers in the prisons. There is also a growing interest in the upcoming convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Houston this December.

selling *ISR* subs is directly related to the persistence with which sellers ask new *Militant* readers if they would also be interested in the *ISR*. College professors are also often interested in the *ISR*.

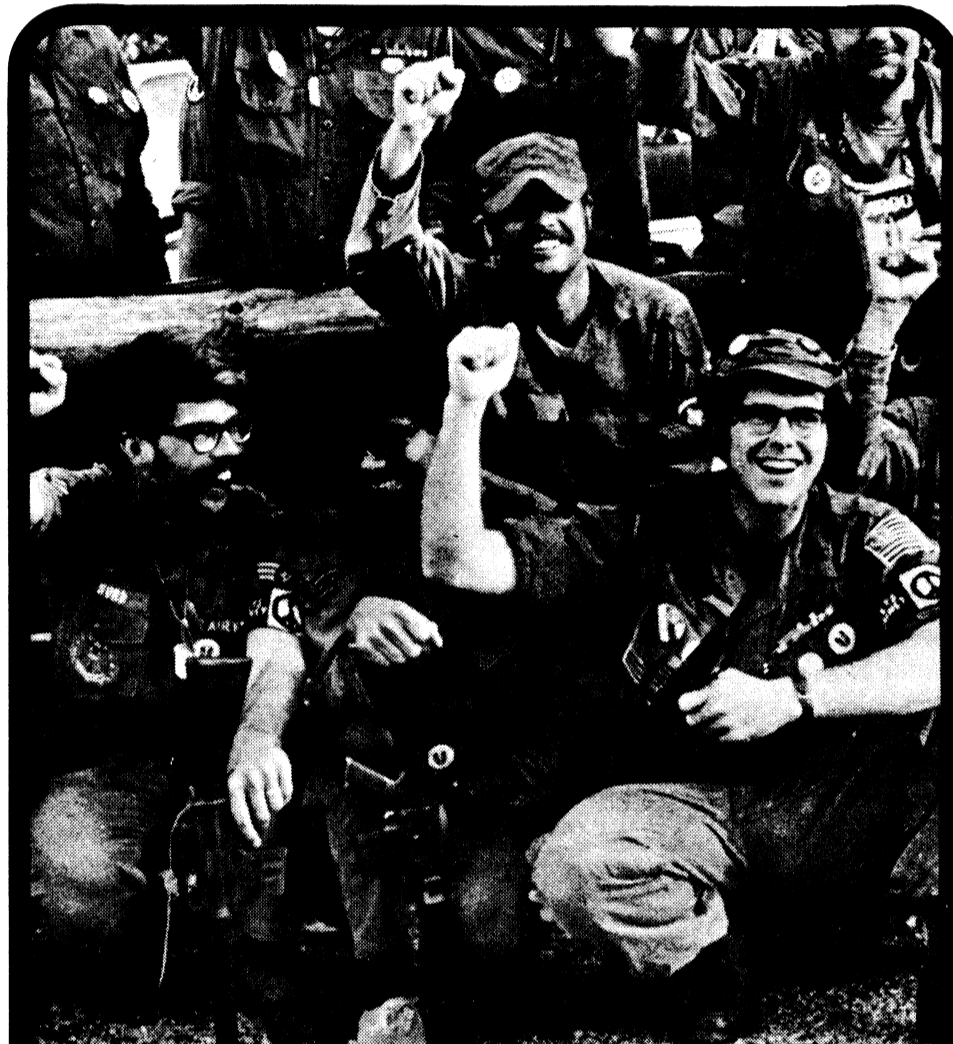
Mike Arnall of the Western sales team says that his team wasn't pushing the *ISR* at first because they thought it might require too much of a high pressure sales technique. But they found that showing new people copies of two publications actually increased that person's receptivity. Their *ISR* sales are now about one to every six *Militant* subs. Arnall also suggested that showing persons several back issues of the *ISR* gave people a demonstration of the diversity and quality of the magazine and increased sales. "It's really quite easy. You've just got to do it," says Arnall.

## International Socialist Review

The drive for 5,000 new readers of the *International Socialist Review* still stands at only half of where it should be. There are now 1,075 subscriptions in. There should be 2,275. The response from different areas of the country shows that the success of

# Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Travis A. F.B., Calif.	15	25	166.7
Geneseo, N.Y.	20	22	110.0
Paterson, N.J.	25	24	96.0
San Antonio, Texas	40	34	85.0
Claremont, Calif.	40	32	80.0
Pullman, Wash.	10	7	70.0
Worcester, Mass.	200	129	64.5
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	737	61.4
Erie, Pa.	5	3	60.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	595	59.5
San Diego, Calif.	200	118	59.0
Austin, Texas	375	196	52.3
Washington, D.C.	600	309	51.5
Jacksonville, Fla	20	10	50.0
Madison, Wis.	300	148	49.3
Bloomington, Ind.	150	71	47.3
Boston, Mass.	2,000	917	45.9
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	1,600	724	45.3
Phoenix, Ariz.	40	18	45.0
Denver, Colo.	700	303	43.3
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	537	42.9
Durham, N.H.	40	17	42.5
Seattle, Wash.	600	255	42.5
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	40	40.0
Chapel Hill, N.C.	30	12	40.0
Davenport, Iowa	10	4	40.0
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	511	39.3
Providence, R.I.	200	78	39.0
Nashville, Tenn.	45	17	37.8
Connecticut	200	75	37.5
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	37	37.0
Tallahassee, Fla	200	72	36.0
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	442	35.3
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	410	34.2
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	418	33.4
Sonoma County, Calif.	15	5	33.3
Long Island, N.Y.	200	65	32.5
El Paso, Texas	50	14	28.0
Logan, Utah	100	28	28.0
Boulder, Colo.	100	27	27.0
Houston, Texas	600	156	26.0
Chicago, Ill.	2,000	513	25.7
State College, Pa.	20	5	25.0
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,550	370	23.9
Portland, Ore.	400	87	21.8
Atlanta, Ga.	750	159	21.2
Amherst, Mass.	100	21	21.0
Cleveland, Ohio	1,000	201	20.1
El Paso, Texas	5	1	20.0
Marietta, Ohio	10	2	20.0
West Brattleboro, Vt.	20	4	20.0
Wichita, Kansas	20	4	20.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	100	19	19.0
Eugene, Ore.	40	7	17.5
Milwaukee, Wis.	150	26	17.3
Edinboro, Pa.	25	3	12.0
Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	3	12.0
San Jose, Calif.	60	7	11.7
Modesto, Calif.	30	3	10.0
Kansas City, Mo.	200	19	9.5
East Lansing, Mich.	80	5	6.3
DeKalb, Ill.	100	6	6.0
Tampa, Fla.	150	3	2.0
New Paltz, N.Y.	200	1	0.5
Aliquippa, Pa.	20	0	0
North Andover, Mass.	20	0	0
Oxford, Ohio	75	0	0
Wichita Falls, Texas	10	0	0
National Teams	6,000	5,104	85.1
Mid-Atlantic		(1,541)	
Southwest		(1,312)	
Southern		(1,203)	
Western		(1,048)	
General	325	287	88.3
<b>TOTAL TO DATE</b>		<b>14,502</b>	<b>48.3</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>		<b>13,635</b>	<b>45.5</b>
<b>GOAL</b>		<b>30,000</b>	<b>100.0</b>



# The Militant wants YOU!

We want you to join the growing "army" of new *Militant* subscribers who are finding *The Militant* their best source of accurate information on the fight for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, the struggle for GI rights in the Army, and for the truth about what's behind Nixon's phony troop withdrawal.

A GI reader recently wrote: "Please send more copies of *The Militant* for me to distribute. The military provides extremely fertile ground for radicalization!" For example, one GI he met "was really glad to see a copy, because he hadn't seen one since he'd returned from Vietnam."

If you're a GI, take advantage of our special offer for six months of *The Militant* for only \$1.50 and indicate if you would also like a bundle to distribute to your friends.

## Subscribe now 10 issues/\$1

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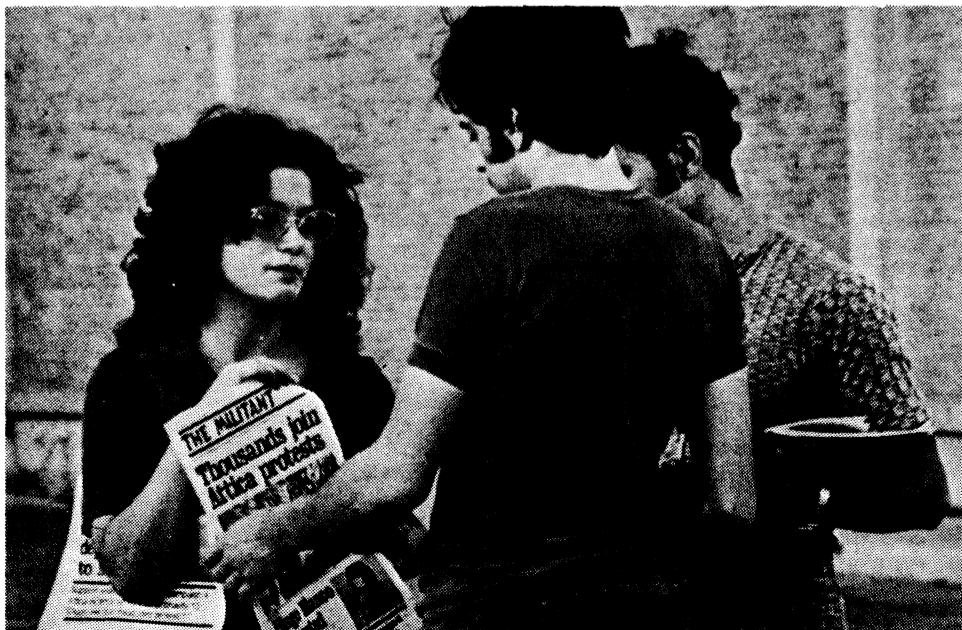


Photo by Stephen Rose

# 400 at N.Y. meeting on Nov. 6 protest

By PETER SEIDMAN

A second meeting of the united New York antiwar movement was held Oct. 16 at the headquarters of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Distributive Workers Union, AFL-CIO. Over 400 people representing more than 30 colleges, 16 high schools, 54 political and community antiwar organizations, and a number of trade unions met at the call of the National Peace Action Coalition, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and the Student Mobilization Committee. Reports were presented on the progress in building the Nov. 6 mass antiwar action in New York and a broadly representative coordinating committee for the action was elected.

The meeting began with reports on the activities that occurred on Moratorium Day, Oct. 13. SMC members and representatives of community peace organizations told of actions at numerous high schools and campuses. Community rallies in the Bronx, the Upper West Side, Washington Square Park in lower Manhattan, and Queens, in addition to the labor rally held in New York's Garment District, were also reported.

The spirit of these reports was summed up by Al Evanoff of District 65 and the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee when he pointed to the good start made with the Moratorium and the need to turn out "the masses of people on November 6."

These remarks were echoed by Nor-

ma Becker, a coordinator of the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and Jerry Gordon, a national coordinator of NPAC. Becker underscored the need for an all out push on leaflets and literature for Nov. 6. Gordon stressed the value of the unity achieved in New York for making the Nov. 6 demonstration successful.

NPAC staff member Nat London reported that NPAC has so far distributed over one million pieces of literature in New York City for the demonstration and that two million more pieces are on order. NPAC has set up a volunteer literature distribution center in its offices at 150 Fifth Avenue.

Reports were also heard from the United Women's Contingent, the Black Task Force, the Dominican Task Force, and the Gay Contingent. In addition, plans for a number of feeder marches and community contingents from the Upper West Side, Queens, and Staten Island were announced.

The meeting voted to constitute itself as the New York November 6 Joint Peace Committee and elected a 41-member coordinating committee representing all sections of the antiwar movement. The coordinating committee will finalize plans for the New York action and present them for approval to a third meeting of the New York Joint Peace Committee set for Oct. 27 at Loeb Student Center, New York University. For more information on the New York antiwar action, call NPAC at 741-2018 or SMC at 741-1960.

# Hundreds of schools plan to strike Nov. 3

By LEE SMITH

OCT. 19— Student Mobilization Committee chapters at colleges and high schools across the country are at work preparing for the Nov. 3 antiwar student strike that, according to the latest issue of the SMC's *Student Mobilizer*, so far has been endorsed by more than 100 officers and leaders of student governments and other student organizations, including four high school student councils in Minneapolis.

A news conference in New York City Oct. 14 announcing plans for the strike in the city was addressed by Jennie Bremer, Barnard College student government president; Jerry Goldman, New York University All University Student Congress president; Paco Padin, student government president at Lehman College; Tony Scanlon, Hunter College student government president; Neil Simon, Brooklyn Law School Student Bar Association vice-president; and John Swenson, president of the Manhattan College student government.

An Oct. 12 meeting at San Francisco State College, chaired by SFSC student body president Ken Maley, set plans for Nov. 3 in the Bay Area, where there is broad endorsement among student leaders for the actions.

The Berkeley Board of Education has "requested" administrators to set up antiwar programs "in all schools and classrooms" Nov. 3, as well as endorsing the Nov. 6 mass antiwar action in San Francisco.

City-wide meetings of the Philadelphia high school SMC and college SMC were both held there Oct. 17.

Both meetings agreed to a Nov. 3 program of antiwar meetings in all the schools, a 2 p.m. rally at the Selective Service office, and a 3 p.m. rally at the Board of Education that will be joined by teachers.

The national tours of SMC Coordinator Debby Bustin and SMC staff member Ernie Mailhot are helping to publicize and win support for the student strike.

Bustin has appeared on 14 radio and TV programs, been interviewed by 14 newspapers, and spoken to 25 meetings at high schools and colleges, including an all-school assembly at Cleveland Heights High School, during her visits to Philadelphia, Detroit, Minneapolis, Cleveland and Tampa, Fla., this month. She is presently in Washington, D. C., where her tour is continuing to be a success.

Mailhot has also appeared on radio, been interviewed by newspapers and spoken to campus meetings in Austin and Houston, Texas; Denver, Colo.; and San Diego, Calif. His tour is continuing in California.

The groups organizing Nov. 3 see the student strike as a day of student organizing for the Nov. 6 regional mass antiwar demonstrations. The SMC national leaflet for Nov. 3 states, "The demand of 'On strike, open it up!' on Nov. 3 will enable us to use the campuses of this country to help organize the largest contingents of labor, Blacks, Latinos, women, gays, GIs, veterans, students, and other sections of the population in the most impressive actions against the war ever" Nov. 6.

# November 6 Countdown

An appeal from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, printed in the Oct. 9 issue of the French revolutionary-socialist newspaper *Rouge*, calls on "workers, students and all anti-imperialist forces to demonstrate Nov. 6 in all capitals together with the hundreds of thousands of people who will take to the streets in response to the call by the American antiwar movement."

The Oct. 16 *Rouge* reports that the French Front Solidarite Indochine (Indochina Solidarity Front) appealed to trade unions and other political groups for a united front action in Paris Nov. 6. Among the organizations belonging to the FSI are the Ligue Communiste (Communist League), French section of the Fourth International; Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle); Temoignage Chretien (Christian Witness); and the Conference Chretienne pour la Paix (Christian Peace Conference).

La Ligue des Droits de l'Homme (The League for the Rights of Man) has endorsed the Nov. 6 action, but is not a member of the FSI. The Communist Party and the trade-union federation it dominates, the CGT, declined to participate in the action, and the Socialist Party and its union, the CFDT, said they would not participate either, since the Communist Party was not participating. The Parti Socialiste Unifie (United Socialist Party) belongs to the FSI and endorses the Nov. 6 action.

An Oct. 15 mailing from the National Peace Action Coalition includes NPAC's call for international actions Nov. 6, "March with us on every continent," and reports that GIs stationed in Heidelberg, West Germany, plan to demonstrate Nov. 6 for immediate withdrawal.

The button pictured below can be ordered for 50 cents from the NPAC Trade Union Task Force, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10011.



Support for Nov. 6 from the organized labor movement in Minneapolis-St. Paul continues to grow. The St. Paul Typographical Union Local 30 on Oct. 17 joined its sister local, Minneapolis Typographical Union 42, in endorsing the action. Norm Hammink, president of Local 30, said he and his local would be joining the labor contingent Nov. 6 to say "no wage freeze to pay for Nixon's war and to demand that all the troops be brought home now!" In the week prior to the St. Paul typographical union's endorsement, the action received the endorsement of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 1139; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Council 6; and Service Employees International Union, Local 26.

The Mayor, City Council and Board of Education in Berkeley, Calif., have all endorsed Nov. 6. In a message to the Oct. 13 rally in Provo Park in Berkeley, Mayor Warren Widener said, "On Nov. 6, the voices of literally millions gathered in San Francisco and other cities must amplify our voices today in demanding Out Now!"

Berkeley City Council member D'Army Bailey, who spoke at the Oct. 13 Provo Park rally, has agreed to represent the antiwar movement in its attempt to secure permits to allow Berkeley demonstrators to march to the San Francisco action across the seven-mile-long Oakland Bay Bridge. The request is unprecedented and asks for two lanes on the upper, westbound level of the twin-level, five-lane suspension bridge.

A front-page story in *The Daily Oklahoman* reports that more than 75 students at the University of Oklahoma in Norman demonstrated against ROTC outside the chalked boundaries of an Army ROTC drill field Oct. 12. Informed in advance that they would be arrested if they crossed the chalk lines, the students deliberately kept the protest on adjoining territory where Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) staged a guerrilla theater mock search-and-destroy mission.

The following day, according to an article in *The Oklahoma Journal*, twice as many students, including high school and junior high school students as well as U of Okla. students, marched to the armory, the administration building and the student union demanding an end to the war and an end to ROTC on the university campus. At the armory, the students rallied next to an anti-aircraft gun on which they hung an eviction notice before proceeding to the other buildings. The Oct. 13 action was organized by the VVAW.

John Wright, president of the Atlanta Labor Council, AFL-CIO, keynoted the Oct. 3 regional antiwar conference in Atlanta. Attended by 125 persons, the conference was one of the most broadly representative meetings of its kind ever held in the Southeast. Wright and other trade-union officials participated in the conference labor workshop, discussing how to maximize working people's participation in the Atlanta Nov. 6 march. Thousands of labor leaflets printed by the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition have been paid for by the city's Alliance for Labor Action.

Other workshops included Blacks, women, GIs and vets, SMC, and high school. Mary Nell Bockman of Grady High School told a high school workshop with wide geographic representation about plans to distribute the High School Bill of Rights as a way of promoting high school involvement in the fall antiwar offensive.

The conference received extensive coverage in the news media in Atlanta and the rest of Georgia.

By LEW JONES

A few weeks ago, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) began distributing literature calling for antiwar actions in Washington, D. C., Oct. 22-27 around the theme "Evict Nixon." PCPJ had been planning for some time to hold actions during that period but has only recently revealed their character. These plans, along with their proposals for the future of the antiwar movement, raise serious questions about the character of the antiwar movement and the intentions of PCPJ.

The "Evict Nixon" actions will begin with the convening of a "People's Grand Jury," which will launch a "national investigation to expose the crimes of this government." While the People's Grand Jury is not expected to bring down indictments, a public opening of a People's Grand Jury exhibit is scheduled. Other events include a candlelight march with the exhibit, a "People's Armistice Day," and evening workshops to discuss "an election year strategy."

The main event, however, appears to be one entitled "Evict Nixon—Phase I." The purpose of this action is to "serve an eviction notice on Richard Nixon . . ." This will be accomplished by holding "an early morning national service of mourning for Attica and all other victims" of oppression. PCPJ publicly asserts that "The offices of the presidency will be stopped for a national memorial service that will surround and close the White House."

Considerable literature has been published by PCPJ attempting to create the impression that this action is the most important this fall, if not this year or this epoch. Nowhere are the massive Nov. 6 regional antiwar demonstrations even mentioned. Such a public stance raises questions about PCPJ's real attitude toward the united fall antiwar actions jointly called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and PCPJ.

### Unity agreement

After the success of last spring's April 24 mass actions, NPAC and PCPJ and several trade-union officials sat down to see if a common calendar of activity was possible for the fall of 1971. The result of these discussions was a unity agreement to jointly conduct massive, nonconfrontational activities Aug. 6-9 commemorating the Nagasaki-Hiroshima bombing; local moratorium-type actions on Oct. 13; and mass actions in a number of regional centers Nov. 6.

This agreement, ratified by PCPJ and NPAC conventions in late June and early July, was an important development, as the joint statement itself indicated. "All parties agreed," the statement said, "that there is a pressing and immediate need for unity of the peace forces so that the massive power of the people's opposition to the war can be effectively exercised." Moreover, all the parties agreed that this was a step toward unity beyond Nov. 6. "The parties look upon this common program of action as the beginning of a unification of the peace forces to bring about an end to the war . . . both are committed to the principle that unity of all the peace forces is needed now."

Understood in this agreement was that each coalition would conduct its own additional activities. NPAC planned a veterans action Oct. 25 and PCPJ planned a demonstration against the Family Assistance Program in early September. PCPJ also planned civil-disobedience activities after both the Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 actions. However, all parties recognized that the common dates would be the focal points for action.

NPAC viewed this agreement as an important achievement that would greatly aid the possibilities of mobilizing the American people against the war. NPAC affiliates in many areas proposed the establishment of joint fall planning committees with a common staff and office, in the hope that

the breach in the antiwar movement had been healed.

NPAC's desire for unity around mass actions against the war was not new, but in fact was intrinsic to the organization since its inception. Its view is based on a simple concept: the broadest possible unity of all opposed to the war in Indochina is necessary to stop it.

This view of the fall offensive unity agreement was apparently shared by PCPJ leaders, since they adopted it. It was certainly the view of the trade-union officials who participated. And it certainly fulfilled a desire of the overwhelming majority of antiwar activists.

porting Nov. 6 in words only. Their intent was to try to substitute relatively small, elite confrontation actions like the Mayday actions last spring for actions of the April 24 type. If the PCPJ action was to be Nov. 8, Dellinger and the others wanted to simply use a central Washington Nov. 6 action to build their own. Barring that, they sought to undercut the impact of the Nov. 6 actions by scheduling their actions first.

In an article entitled "A New Stage of Struggle: Mayday and the Fall Offensive," published in the September issue of the monthly pacifist maga-

# Do we need another Mayday?



"Blocking traffic" at Justice Department last May

### A reversal

Yet, even before the fall offensive is over, PCPJ has apparently reversed its previous view. The PCPJ "Evict Nixon" project is not viewed as just another date that is part of the fall offensive. PCPJ's own literature describes it as "perhaps the most serious, political project ever undertaken by the antiwar movement."

While giving verbal support to the Nov. 6 regional mass actions, and while PCPJ or affiliates of it in some areas are actively supporting and building Nov. 6, the national organization itself has planned an action and long-term orientation that contravenes the intent of the unity agreement.

In the negotiations between the coalitions mapping out the fall activities, the Washington civil disobedience actions were planned for Nov. 8 following the regional mass actions, so that they would not cut across those actions. Some PCPJ representatives, however, insisted that the only action on the East Coast on Nov. 6 be in Washington, D. C. When NPAC insisted that the regional actions take place as scheduled, PCPJ then blithely announced that the Nov. 8 actions had been switched to Oct. 25.

What was clear in the course of these discussions was that at least the Dave Dellinger-radical pacifist, Rennie Davis-Mayday wing of PCPJ was sup-

porting Nov. 6 in words only. Their intent was to try to substitute relatively small, elite confrontation actions like the Mayday actions last spring for actions of the April 24 type. If the PCPJ action was to be Nov. 8, Dellinger and the others wanted to simply use a central Washington Nov. 6 action to build their own. Barring that, they sought to undercut the impact of the Nov. 6 actions by scheduling their actions first.

In reality, Dellinger and the Mayday forces were simply trying to substitute their own ultraleft actions for the jointly called fall offensive. In his article in *Liberation*, Dellinger spells out why this is so important. He feels a new stage of struggle was achieved in the Mayday actions, a stage which ought to be continued. For him, Mayday "ended the illusion that large national mobilizations are doomed to be utterly predictable, ritualistic, one-day events." The problem for him then becomes how to minimize the impact of these "rituals."

Dellinger omits the fact that April 24, the most recent national mobilization, was the largest ever, involving tens of thousands of new forces in action against the war. In fact, his idea of a demonstration is designed to avoid involving new forces.

Dellinger explains what his view of

the Oct. 25 action is. "Nonviolent disruptions," he writes, "should be seen as attempts to crystallize an imminent crisis, or furnish a spark that will lead other sections of society to go on strike or otherwise join us in forcing an end to the present policies."

### Anti-mass-action

Rather than projecting actions that masses of people can directly participate in, the proposal is to keep up with exemplary actions until one of these "sparks" sets off the whole society. Instead of the level of the struggle and the tactics that flow from it being defined by the level of consciousness of the millions who are opposed to the war, Dellinger's schema defines forms of struggle that are not acceptable to them.

This is most clear when Dellinger discusses the possibilities of the labor movement entering the antiwar movement. He states that "it is not enough for labor to supply speakers and bodies for mass rallies. Until labor unions hold emergency meetings of their memberships to organize work stoppages, slowdowns, sick-outs or strikes, they are withholding their strongest weapons."

Labor participation in marches and rallies is characterized as "tokenism, which is on a par with that of dove senators and congressmen, who call for an end to the war but continue to vote the funds and draft the manpower that allow it to continue."

The three social groupings named in Dellinger's article as being potential participants in the actions he envisages are: early new leftists, trade unionists and "professional groups, moderate peace groups, traditional pacifists, and religiously oriented organizations. . . ."

Although Dellinger fails to explain why he expects the trade-union movement to begin organizing "sustained, nonviolent, massive civil disobedience" when sections of it have only just begun to participate in the organization of legal mass demonstrations, the other forces he names are precisely those which, together with the student movement, have taken part in the antiwar movement since its inception.

The problem facing the antiwar movement is not, as Dellinger intimates, that it must take its present adherents and organize them in new ways if it is to be effective. What it must in fact do is to continue the steady work of building a mass movement, of bringing people into political activity based on their own power, independent of the ruling class.

Dellinger's hostility to the type of massive, nonconfrontational demonstrations represented by those on April 24 and Nov. 6 is in reality hostility to the forms of activity that have already been successful in involving millions of people in political activity against the war and that promise to involve millions more.

Reports indicate that the Nov. 6 regional actions can be substantial actions involving new elements previously uninvolved. Most impressive is the trade-union support for Nov. 6, which exceeds the endorsement for any previous action.

Confrontational actions such as those desired by Dellinger do not involve these newly activated forces because the actions involve risks these forces are not ready to take. In fact, the small, elite actions can cut across the involvement of these new forces.

There is, however, another aspect to the PCPJ "Evict Nixon" plans. The PCPJ material describes the Washington actions as the beginning of an "Election Year Offensive" and as an "Election Year Strategy" involving among other things participation in election primaries and a proposed march on the Republican Party National Convention in San Diego. These plans raise serious questions about the future activities of the antiwar movement and the political approach it takes during a presidential election. We will discuss these issues in a subsequent article.

# In Our Opinion

## Bill of Rights—for all

The special meeting held in the Colorado State Penitentiary at Canon City Sept. 29, where a dozen candidates and supporters of the Colorado Socialist Workers Party discussed their election platform with several hundred potential supporters, sets an example for prisons throughout the country.

Compared to the kinds of meetings permitted in most jails and prisons, the rally was highly unusual. The real issues facing prisoners in the United States today were discussed, and alternatives were presented. Concrete ideas for how to struggle effectively and win were debated. War, racism, unemployment, inflation, sexism, the civil liberties and rights of human beings victimized by society and thrown into its prisons—all these were topics of discussion.

The Colorado meetings stands in contrast to several other recent experiences, in Atlanta, Houston and Philadelphia, where prison authorities refused SWP candidates the right to investigate conditions and discuss election issues within the prison walls.

However, even at the Colorado State Penitentiary, prison authorities refused to allow the candidates to bring copies of their campaign newspaper, *The Militant*, to distribute. And in Chicago, SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness was denied the right to distribute campaign literature when she made a tour of Cook County Jail.

Such arbitrary actions by prison officials constitute a denial of basic civil rights.

The men and women held in this country's prisons and jails are not the criminals. They are the victims of an exploitative, unjust social system: capitalism. As citizens, they are entitled to the full protection of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Freedom of speech, press, religion, the right to petition, to vote and run for office, the right to uncensored mail and reading material, including books, magazines and papers, freedom from cruel and unusual punishment, the right to true political freedom—all these and many more are among the rights for which prisoners are today courageously fighting.

Part of this fight is for the right of *The Militant* to be distributed within prison walls. It is a right we intend to win.

## Monitoring prices

The majority of Americans believe that Nixon's wage freeze is not in their interest. They believe that prices continue to rise despite government claims to the contrary. Almost 40 percent believe big businessmen, bankers, industrialists and rich people in general are the chief beneficiaries of the government's economic policies.

All this was confirmed in a national survey made by the Census Bureau in late September.

While more than 60 percent believe that "working people, union members, wage earners" do not benefit from Nixon's economic measures, and that wages have been effectively prevented from rising since Aug. 15, only 33 percent believe that the "freeze" has stopped price increases as well.

Such statistics are hardly surprising. There is no reason why anyone should believe prices have been frozen, because they haven't. Compliance with the price freeze regulations is the exception, not the rule. A spokesman for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) reported Oct. 19 that 90 percent of the nation's retailers have not drawn up the required lists of base prices for the pre-Aug. 15 period, making it impossible for shoppers to confirm price increases.

While every employer diligently enforces the wage freeze, the individual whose income has been curtailed has little power to stop the price gougers. In order to combat inflationary price increases, the working class must break through the wage freeze and win guarantees that wages will automatically increase with every rise in the cost of living. And to effectively monitor prices the working class must also rely solely on itself and its allies.

During Phase One this was done to a limited extent by AFSCME. In many cities, union shop stewards participated in Operation Price Watch. Now the AFL-CIO on a national scale has announced its intention to create "watchdog units" in every state and major city to monitor prices and initiate prosecution of merchants who violate Price Board rulings. Citing the need for "effective machinery" to enforce price restrictions, the plan calls for collaboration between the unions, women's organizations, consumer groups, senior citizens' organizations, and civil rights groups.

The creation of such "watchdog units" is a step in the right direction. If combined with effective direct action against offending merchants, public pressure may even force the rollback of some price increases.

The watchdog units will help expose the government's unwillingness to enforce price restrictions, making it increasingly clear to all that Nixon's economic policies are designed to drive down the standard of living of the American working class.

# Letters

## Prisoners want Militant

You'll find enclosed the names of prisoners who desire subscriptions to *The Militant*. A prisoner with whom we correspond and who has a subscription to *The Militant* gathered these names for us. He informed us that there are several hundred prisoners who want to receive *The Militant*. Given the large number, he felt it best to get one name per cell block and encourage wide circulation of *The Militant* in each block.

Many of these prisoners signed a petition for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia that was circulated in the prison last spring, endorsing the April 24 demonstration. M. K.

Seattle Socialist Workers Party

## High school strike

I would like more information concerning the Nov. 3 high school strike rumor. Could you send information on forming the strike, if there is one?

S. D.

Utica, N. Y.

*Editor's reply:* A high school and college student antiwar strike is being organized by the Student Mobilization Committee. Their address is: SMC, 150 5th Ave., Suite 911, N. Y., N. Y. 10011.

## Imprisoned Citizens Union

The Pennsylvania prison system is barbaric, illegal and intolerable. Prisoners are clubbed, starved, thrown in subterranean dungeons, and in general flagrantly denied their basic and fundamental legal and human rights.

The legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government have been not only indifferent but actually hostile to prisoners' rights. Many other prisoners and myself have reached the conclusion that the only way we are going to win our rights is by organizing a powerful statewide union of prisoners which, allied with our people on the "street," will exert such heavy pressure against the government that it will become responsive to our will.

For this reason, we formed the Imprisoned Citizen's Union. Right now we have over 500 members dispersed throughout the state prison system, with local chapters in all state penitentiaries.

The state has been futilely trying to destroy our union by locking key members in solitary confinement, transferring members to far distant prisons, threatening to withhold parole, assaulting members with goon squads of guards, having criminal charges placed against members, and in general harassing us. Nevertheless, we are getting stronger every day!

Right now we have a class-action civil rights suit in the United States district court at Philadelphia against the governor, attorney general, commissioner of corrections and the entire state prison system. We charge them with, among other things, subjecting all prisoners to cruel and unusual punishment and violating their civil rights.

We are also publishing an underground newsletter called the *Prisoners Free Press*. It is published on the "street" and thus is completely uncensored and uncontrolled by the state.

Our goals are freedom for all prisoners, legal and human rights for all people, both inside and outside the prisons, and the creation of

a new social order founded on revolutionary socialism in its most pure form with justice, freedom and equality for all people.

We need the assistance of volunteer workers to help us in our efforts to organize the prisoners and expand our union.

If you or any of your associates would be interested in helping us in what we are doing, or if you would like to receive the *Prisoner's Free Press*, write to: Imprisoned Citizen's Union, P. O. Box 4731, Philadelphia, Pa. 19134.

R. M.

State Correctional Institution  
Dallas, Pa.

## Answer to Midshipman

[The following is in response to a letter which appeared in the Oct. 1 issue of *The Militant*.]

To "Midshipman 4C, USN ROTC, Villanova, Pa.":

Whose publication were you referring to? I have yet to read where *The Militant* supports the Communist Party and the policies of the U. S. S. R. You spoke of the faults of communism. Have you never seen the oppression in the United States? Has a wealthy capitalist ever died in Indochina? Can you tell me where a capitalist government is efficient enough to destroy poverty?

*The Militant* actively supports the fight of all oppression whether it is sex, race, or political. Yes, *The Militant* is a "pouting infant" and it is growing, as well as its followers.

Who is close-minded? An open-minded person wants facts from a newspaper and does his own reasoning. It is difficult for me to find many facts in a profit-minded newspaper which publishes the lies and tidbits of information the government is willing to part with. *The Militant* goes beyond public officials. Its coverage of Attica is proof.

A. F.

Member GIs United Against the War  
Ft. Sam Houston, Texas

## Shah's celebration

In the last few weeks numerous distorted articles have been published concerning Iran and the forthcoming 2,500th anniversary of the Persian Kingdom. A range of views can be seen, from the article in *Time* magazine full of praise for "His Imperial Majesty" and its talk of "prosperous Iran," to the French magazine *L'Express* which openly admitted that for the first time in decades at least some country (Iran) is wasting more money than France has ever done!

In a country like Iran where there are 11.7 beds for every 10,000 patients; there still exists 26 percent diarrhea, 21.7 percent flu; 4.25 percent measles, 4.2 percent trachoma, 2.5 percent malaria, 2.2 percent whooping cough, 1.1 percent tuberculosis, and 2.1 percent mumps; there is only one physician for every 3,223 people; 40 percent of Iranian families live in one room; the people of Tehran, capital of Iran, consume on the average less than 2.7 pounds of meat per person per month—the 2,500th year celebration is merely a farce and a show to further cover the hypocrisies of the government of Iran. The oppression and misery to which the Iranian masses have been subjected by the Pahlevi Dynasty are only too well known to require any mention here. Suffice it to recall that in the past year alone many Iranian

# The Great Society

democrats and revolutionaries died at the hands of the regime's henchmen either under torture or before the firing squads.

An important aspect of the celebrations, which throws light on the nature of the present monarchy in Iran, is the heavy emphasis put by the propaganda machinery of the Iranian regime on the "Aryan roots and traditions" of Iran—an ideology borrowed and propagated by the Pahlavi Dynasty from Hitler's Germany of the 1930s.

This particular aspect of the celebrations and all the political crimes and oppression committed by the present regime in Iran should prevent all democratic and antifascist elements from identifying themselves with the celebrations and from taking part in the 2,500th anniversary of monarchy in Iran.

We appeal to all those who cherish democracy and human dignity to boycott the Shah's celebration of "2,500th anniversary of Iranian monarchy."

*Confederation of Iranian Students  
Frankfurt, W. Germany*

## La Passionaria

In keeping with the high standards of accuracy *The Militant* has always maintained and its more recent excellence in covering the events of the women's liberation movement, I thought the following information might be of interest.

As reported in Mr. Baldivia's article [in the Oct. 8 *Militant*], "a 25 foot banner . . . read: 'It is better to die on your feet than to keep living on your knees.'" This quote was attributed to Zapata. This is incorrect. The author of the quote is Dolores Ibarruri, "La Passionaria" of Spanish Civil War fame.

This quotation was actually delivered in a speech she gave on July 18, 1936, the first of her many speeches of the Civil War demanding resistance. In this particular speech, she exhorted the women of Spain "to fight with knives and burning oil" and ended with the slogan which was to become the rallying cry of the Republic: "It is better to die on your feet than live on your knees . . . No pasaran!" The "No pasaran" (they shall not pass) actually came from the bloody battle of Verdun (1916), the former entirely hers.

The fact that the slogan certainly symbolizes the will to resist of all oppressed people, that it was said by a woman, and specifically to women, caused a group of us in Chicago three years ago to found a women's center called "La Dolores."

It is infrequent women are quoted and if at all, absurdly; and many times, perhaps their quotes are attributed to a man. But when we can correct such historical inaccuracy to the advantage of women, we should do so, don't you agree?

As I know *The Militant* gives wide support to the Chicana struggle as well as our own, I would only hope that in the future when the slogan is mentioned, as it surely will be, that credit is given where credit is due.

*P. C.  
Chicago, Ill.*

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.

**Saps the bodily juices**—Rear Admiral Trang Van Chon, head of the Saigon Navy, warned his crew to cut down on sexual activity to ensure having "sufficient energy to fight against the Communists."

**Tender, loving care**—In a touching display of concern for those who suffer, the administration endorsed legislation to compensate food processors for losses incurred when cyclamates were banned because of their link to cancer. We don't know if such compensation will cover shipping costs for the consignments shipped for sale abroad after the ban here. We do assume, however, that Bon Vivant, the botulin company, is readying its claim.

**Likely recruit**—Defense of Capt. Ernest Medina in the Mylai massacre court-martial was financed by Glenn Turner, a patriot who parlayed a fast sales line into a multimillion-dollar empire. The cornerstone is a cosmetic business that sells distributorships for \$5,000 with purchasers entitled to recruit other distributors and pocket part of the fee. Twenty states are investigating the complaint that distrib-

utors seem more interested in selling distributorships than cosmetics. On acquittal, Medina was offered a job by Turner, who, perhaps, figured he'd be good with balky prospects.

**Pure science**—Dr. Barbara Brown, a Los Angeles physiologist, reports that her research suggests that "cigarette smokers are more aware, more energetic and more intelligent than people who don't smoke." However, she added, she has not yet established whether they think more efficiently. "I'm trying to look at things honestly," she said. Dr. Brown's research is supported by grants from the Tobacco Institute.

**Tranquil Texans**—A University of Texas researcher says residents of the El Paso area are uncommonly well adjusted because the water there is laced with lithium, a tranquilizing chemical used in the treatment of manic depression and other psychological disorders. *Time* magazine asks, if lithium really is keeping El Paso so peaceful, what could it do for New York and Chicago? We don't know about Chicago, but in New York it could pacify the worms in the water.

**Solons drive hard bargain**—In an impressive reaffirmation of its constitutional prerogatives, the U. S. Senate voted to impose a \$350-million limit on U. S. support for ground war in Laos. "The administration agreed to the restriction," reported UPI, "because the \$350-million was all it wanted for Laotian ground operations this year anyway."

**Creative approach**—The head of the Illinois state pen at Joliet announced a series of concerts for inmates to help "avoid another prison tragedy" like Attica.

**It was a peace signal**—Some people are carping critics. The *San Antonio Express* reported Sept. 22, "An armada of 250 U. S. planes swarmed over North Vietnam Tuesday and delivered one of the heaviest raids in the North in recent years." An editorial in the same issue said: "The war is over. It takes some time to stop it and get out." So reader David H. Plylar wrote: "Your credibility gap is so wide you could fly a 250-plane armada through it."

—HARRY RING

# Women: The Insurgent Majority

**FOR THE SECOND TIME IN TWO YEARS, THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT** was approved Oct. 12 by the House of Representatives in a vote of 354-23. The Senate, however, has postponed consideration of the ERA until next year. During consideration of the amendment the galleries were packed with women of all ages, the Oct. 13 *New York Times* reported. The Wiggins amendment to the ERA—which would have exempted women from the draft and permitted laws that discriminate against women if they could be justified as promoting "the health and safety of the people"—was defeated.

Wiggins, in speaking for his amendment, said that the general counsel for the Defense Department had told him it would be "impossible for the military to operate" if the ERA passed without the Wiggins rider. Perhaps the Defense Department has noted the polls showing women are even more against the war in Southeast Asia than men, and sees that women would only help to accelerate the growing revolt of GIs against having to participate in this rotten war.

How many more years will women have to wait for Congress to pass this amendment to the Constitution, which would for the first time assure women full rights as citizens of this country?

**THE SEPT. 23 NEW YORK POST QUOTED GEN. ANDREW O'MEARA**, chairman of the government Population Crisis Committee, as saying that over half the women who begin using the pill stop using it within 18 months because of the bad side effects.

A poll of 51 top scientists, taken by the Population Crisis Committee, revealed that scientists see many possibilities for new, safe methods of contraception, such as inoculations, brain hormones, and a form of diaphragm for men. However, to develop these methods would require \$400-million over the next five years. The U. S. currently spends only \$38-million a year on research in human reproduction, and this includes research on the so-called "population crisis."

**THE PRESENT NEW YORK ABORTION LAW**, which allows a woman to choose to have an abortion done by a doctor before the 24th week of pregnancy, continues to demonstrate the great importance to women of legalizing abortion. Due to the liberalized law, the maternal death rate has been cut in half in New York City. Dr. David Harris, former city deputy commissioner of health, told the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association that this low maternal death rate was due to the replacement of criminal abortions with safe, legal ones.

Clayton Fritchey, columnist in the *New York Post*, noted Oct. 11 that an estimated 400,000 legal abortions will be performed in New York this year, with 58 percent performed on out-of-state women.

Similarly, the Oct. 14 *New York Times* reported that the demand for abortions is climbing rapidly in England,

where the law was liberalized in 1968 but where more restrictions exist than in New York. Last year, 83,849 abortions were performed in England, many on women from other European countries.



Photo by AFL-CIO News Service

**Candy Martin is the first woman member of Operating Engineers Local 4E in Boston.**

**THE POLICY COUNCIL OF THE VIRGINIA WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS**, which is affiliated to the National Women's Political Caucus, voted Oct. 9 to support the striking women at the Alliance Manufacturing Company in Shenandoah, Va., saying, "The treatment of women factory workers in Shenandoah is a flagrant example of the discrimination and second class treatment Virginia women have been receiving for years. The Virginia Women's Political Caucus enthusiastically supports the strikers' efforts to win equal, humane treatment by a faceless factory management." For a report on this militant strike of women workers, see the Oct. 8 *Militant*.

The Policy Council also heard from candidates and representatives of candidates for lieutenant governor but refused to endorse any of them. Flora Crater, coordinator of the group, said the candidates "do not seem to be aware of the critical issues that affect Virginia women today."

Although there are no candidates of the Socialist Workers Party running in the Virginia elections this year, there are SWP candidates in many other state and city elections this fall. The Women's Political Caucus should give serious consideration to lending their support to the SWP candidates, who stand on a complete feminist program and a program for general social justice.

—CAROLINE LUND

"What once was a kind, compassionate Negro is now a Rebellious Black Warrior. My transformation was not willed, but forced and now that it has taken place, a lot will be sorry they attempted to make a sacrificial lamb out of this Black man. I thank them for one thing, and that is the awakening from my individual hate and prejudiced outlook. Other than that they have nothing coming except to taste my burning rage."— From a letter by a San Quentin prisoner in the August-September issue of *The Anvil*, publication of the United Prisoners Union.

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The recently organized United Prisoners Union and its publication *The Anvil* are reflections of the rising social consciousness and militancy among long-oppressed prison inmates and the recent rebellions, the most dramatic expression of that rising new consciousness.

The United Prisoners—"serving the Convicted Class"—was officially launched last June at a convention of several hundred ex-convicts meeting at the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles. The three locals of the union established since then are all in California and the organization's name, originally the California Prisoner Union, has been changed to United in accord with plans to build a national movement.

Three issues of *The Anvil* have been published in less than six months. The August-September issue is a well-prepared 20-page tabloid with excellent contents.

There is some powerful writing, like that of Kisu (Jesse Phillips), from which the above quotation is taken. There are articles by and about prisoners: an inmate's report of a strike by kitchen workers in a women's prison; letters from two death row prisoners; an article by George Jackson apparently written shortly before he was killed; a "jailhouse lawyers manual"; two pages of prison poetry, some of it excellent, and more.

After reading *The Anvil*, I arranged to interview a staff member of the United Prisoners Union Local 100 here in Los Angeles. (The other two offices are in Sacramento and San Francisco.)

At Local 100's well-maintained, storefront headquarters, I talked with Earl Hunter. His youthful appearance belies his age, even though 16 of his 41 years have been spent in Texas and California prisons.

Hunter explained that his experience as an impoverished Black youth in Texas made it apparent to him that working people, particularly those of minority groups, were at the mercy of greedy exploiters and that unions had demonstrated a capacity for coping with sweatshop conditions and had great potential power for dealing with social ills. "If the United Auto Workers can force a corporation like Chrysler to terms," he observed, "that gives you an idea of what unions can do."

Inside the various institutions in which he served, he continued, he had tried to help create bodies that could deal with the authorities about inmates' problems, but requests to the authorities to enter into such negotiations "always fell on deaf ears."

So when he was released recently and heard about the UPU, he attended a Sacramento meeting of the group. After listening to the proceedings, and reading the organization's constitution and bylaws, he decided this was "the union" he was so deeply persuaded was the only solution "for the ills of the prisons throughout the nation."

He attended a second meeting along with Bob Smith, a friend with whom he had done time. Both were elected to the union's executive board and came down to Los Angeles, where in August they began the work of establishing Local 100.

The union's membership includes mainly convicts and ex-convicts. The by-laws provide that at least 10 of what will eventually be a 15-member executive board must be ex-convicts to ensure continuing convict and ex-convict control of the organization.

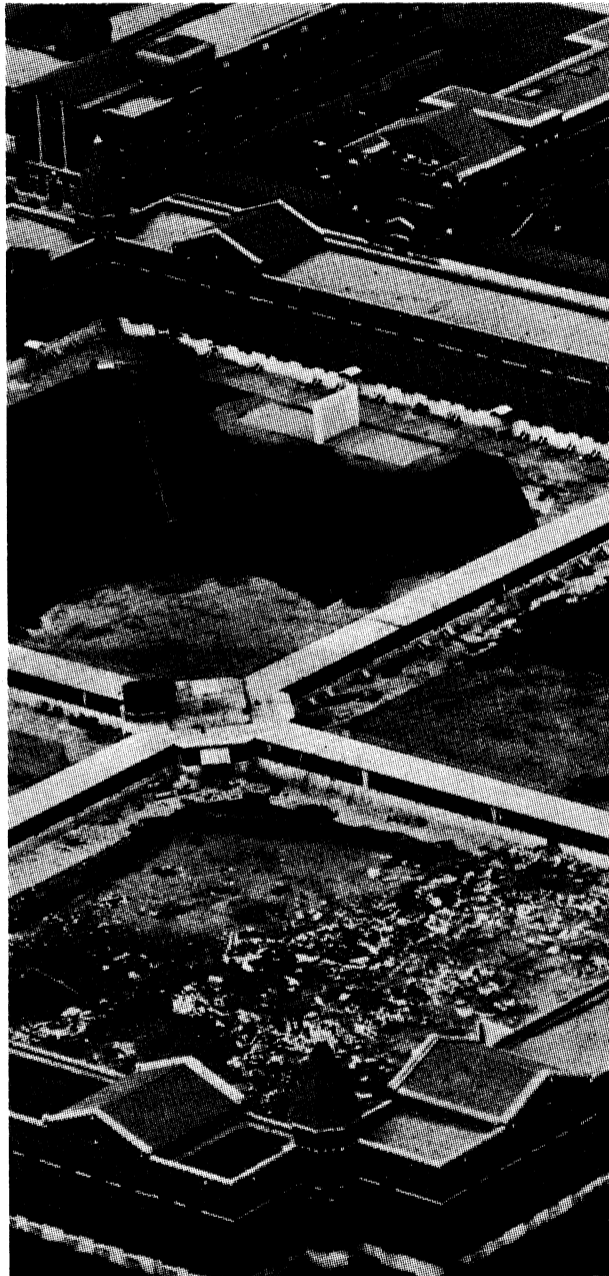
The union has requested meetings with the state corrections commissioner to discuss prison problems but he has refused to meet with them. "He'll meet with the representatives of the guards union," Hunter commented, "but he refuses to recognize us."

While the union will continue to seek the right to actually represent inmates within the prisons, its principal activity will focus on winning change through legislative efforts and court actions—class-action suits and suits on behalf of individuals where significant issues are involved.

The union has incorporated in California and has registered to conduct lobbying efforts at the state capitol in Sacramento.

Through *The Anvil*, and by appearances of representatives on radio and TV as well as speaking engagements, the union seeks also to educate the public about prison issues.

# Interview with an activist in a prisoners union



Formation of prisoners union reflects "rising social consciousness and militancy among long-oppressed prison inmates." Revolt at Attica, above, was dramatic expression of that consciousness.

## Bill of Rights

The program of the UPU is embodied in a "Bill of Rights of the Convicted Class." Prepared by the union's executive board in consultation with its attorneys, the Bill of Rights is based essentially on the Folsom Manifesto, a series of demands drawn up by prisoners during a 1969 protest action at Folsom Prison. This manifesto has since been widely circulated in prisons across the country and reportedly was part of the body of material used by the Attica rebels in drawing up their own demands.

One of the authors of the Folsom Manifesto, Martin Souza, was an initiating member of the United Prisoners Union.

The UPU Bill of Rights is available in a four-page tabloid at 15 cents a copy. Designed to establish the human and civil rights of convicts and ex-convicts, the Bill of Rights deals with a variety of issues, including the following:

- Due process of law. The right of prisoners to legal representation in all matters pertaining to their destiny. The right to attorneys of their own choosing and/or the right of self-representation.

- Freedom of speech, religion, press and association, including free access to all information, including letters and printed material.

- An end to all forms of human degradation—leg irons, handcuffs, gags, etc.—and an end to cruel and unusual punishment, including involuntary segregation and isolation, "adjustment" centers, etc.

- "The right of all members of the Convicted Class to exercise all forms of peaceful dissent and protest, without threat and coercion, shall not be limited."

- No restriction on the right of convicts and ex-convicts to vote.

- The right to hold membership in professional groups, unions and related organizations.

- Conditions of prison labor shall include all the rights of union members in the outside world, e.g., minimum wage standards, disability compensation, vacation periods, pension plans, retirement benefits, life insurance, etc.

- Housing facilities to meet state requirements for multiple-housing health, safety, sanitation and fire standards.

- The right of conjugal visits.

- An end to system-promoted and perpetuated racism and sexism.

- "... the right to be treated as an integral part of the selection process, disciplinary proceedings and the upgrading of the qualifications of all personnel within the prisons and on prison-related bodies."

- "... an immediate end to the abuses of both the indeterminate-sentence law and the fixed-sentence law."

- "The Convicted Class demands that capital punishment be abolished."

An additional article declares that all persons unwillingly conscripted into military service "are members of the Convicted Class" and that the Bill of Rights shall apply to them as well. It demands an end to the draft and an immediate end to the Vietnam war, which it characterizes as "a subtle and discriminatory form of capital punishment."

A major concern of the union is the acute problems faced by prisoners on parole.

"If we're going on the concept that you can pay your debt to society," Hunter said, "then the union goes on the concept that once you're released all your civil rights should be restored to you. In California, for instance, when you get out on parole, you cannot get married, you cannot sign contracts, you can't move, even in the same city, without approval of your parole officer.

"All of this is up to the discretion of an individual, a parole agent. You can never bring him to task. You're at his mercy. And if you get a parole officer who happens to think that going to prison makes a person the lowest thing on earth, then there's no way the inmate's going to get a fair shake.

"You do get good parole officers, concerned ones," he added. "But the system is geared so that they will run them off. They don't last long."

Hunter is confident the union will make progress in its efforts despite the huge difficulties it faces. *The Anvil*, he said, is well received by prisoners and ex-prisoners. It is making its way into the prisons even though each of the three issues published so far has been banned as "inflammatory" by the California corrections commissioner.

In addition to bringing together prisoners and ex-convicts, the union is seeking the support of others concerned with the fate of the victims of the U. S. penal system.

Circulation of *The Anvil*, through subscriptions and bundle orders, invitations for union representatives to speak on campuses and elsewhere; volunteer workers at the three union headquarters—all of these things will be warmly welcomed.

The UPU can be contacted at: P. O. Box 2558, Sacramento, Calif. 95812; Local 9, 1345 7th Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94122. Telephone: (415) 664-4315; Local 100, 4718 Melrose Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90004. Telephone: (213) 664-8728.

*Anvil* subscriptions are \$4 for 12 issues in California and \$7 out of the state; \$12 for 12 issues for libraries and institutions; \$25 for law enforcement officers.

Inmates' membership is \$4; outside, \$8.

The UPU Bill of Rights is introduced by the famed statement of Eugene V. Debs: "While there is a lower class I am of it, while there is a criminal element I am of it, while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

The United Prisoners Union is among those giving a new dimension to those words.



# N.Y. prisoner writes of cruel treatment

The following letter was sent to New York State Assemblyman Arthur O. Eve by Charles Spain, an inmate at the Clinton Correctional Facility in Dannemora, New York. Eve received the letter unsealed Oct. 12.

Spain instructed Eve to send the letter and a petition signed by 24 inmates to the news media, with a specific listing of: Black News, Muhammad Speaks, The Militant, The Nation, the Village Voice, Amsterdam News, the New York Times, and Ramparts Press.

The petition, addressed to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, is an eloquently worded request for an audience before the commission to present testimony of qualified witnesses that the petitioners are "subjected to systematic oppression, maltreatment and abuse." This treatment, the petitioners state, is on instructions from President Nixon.

October 7, 1971

Peace Brother,

I am writing this letter to inform you of some of the unjust and brutal treatment that inmates have been receiving at Clinton Correctional Facility and the callous contempt that the administration has shown for inmates' constitutional rights.

While the public attention was drawn to the tragedy at Attica Prison and their feeling numbed by the savage murders there during and after the reoccupation of the prison, Warden LaVallee [J. Edwin] and his agents seized the opportunity to wage a campaign of terror against the inmates he considers politically minded and their close associates.

On Sept. 15, 1971, inmates in H block were gassed in their cells, then taken out one at a time and brutally beaten and taken to E block, segregation. In E block their clothes were torn from their bodies and LaVallee's officers delighted themselves with the "gestapo" pleasures of beating inmates to the floor and ordering some to bark like a dog.

Sept. 23, a second group was brought to segregation from their cells where they were held since Sept. 15.

We are now held in segregation, so-called "special program," with limited privileges. We are locked in 23 and a half hours to 24 hours, and when we are taken to the yard, it is a lesson of intimidation with overt attempts to provoke the inmates by heavily armed officers.

No inmate has done anything to justify such abuse or deprivation of his constitutional rights except to maybe hold ideas that LaVallee disagrees with. Nor was there any pretense of charges made when LaVallee initiated his gestapo tactics. The administration is now trying to form some legal base and justification for their actions by calling us to face trumped-up charges in front of an adjustment committee that prostitutes the word justice.

On Oct. 4, 1971, 10 inmates were summoned to answer to the feigned charges of "teaching revolutionary tactics," "organizing a revolutionary movement," and "reading a newspaper to other inmates" all in segregation, locked in our (separate) cells and after Sept. 25, 1971.

Five of these inmates did not return and their personal things are still in their cells. We know one of them was beaten but where any of them are

we do not know and fear that the worst is the most probable of their fates. Brother, our position here is grave!

I am enclosing a petition to the United Nations Commission On Human Rights. Please be so kind as to forward it to the U. N. I would also like for you to have copies made and forward them to concerned persons, organizations and media.

In conclusion, I would like to say that LaVallee's terror tactics are really an intensification of his regular program. The tension and the sham

of trouble in this prison is a theatrical drama produced solely by LaVallee and his agents to fool the public into thinking that all inmates are brutes and that his type [of] gestapo wardens are necessary. This [way] he does assure that any and all atrocities against prisoners can and will be whitewashed with the magical word "security."

P. S. Kindly return a copy of writ to me, Thank you.

(signed) Charles Spain

Box B, 45054

Dannemora, N. Y. 12929



## By Any Means Necessary

**MORE THAN 850,000 PEOPLE** attended the second annual Black business exposition in Chicago. Known as Black Expo '71 and organized by Operation Breadbasket of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, it featured a number of prominent Black businessmen, politicians and entertainers. It ran from Sept. 29 through Oct. 3, which was proclaimed by Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley as "Black Expo Week."

The purpose of the exposition, as articulated by Operation Breadbasket's director, Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, was to garner support for Black business among Black people and the heads of major corporations. So with this in mind, more than 400 Black-owned and managed businesses set up booths displaying their wares.

At a breakfast to kick off Black Expo, Jackson explained to 600 representatives of Chicago big business and prominent Blacks that capitalist corporations should "display the same commitment for building a solid economic base for the Black community as was shown when the United States sought to upgrade underdeveloped (sic) countries like Japan and West Germany."

**ON THE WEEKEND PRIOR TO BLACK EXPO**, a group of 50 Black political leaders met in nearby North Lake, Ill., to map out strategy for '72.



Mayor Richard Daley and Rev. Jesse Jackson shake hands at Black EXPO.

Among those present were Julian Bond, Georgia state legislator; Carl Stokes, mayor of Cleveland; Percy Sutton, Manhattan Borough president in New York City; and Willie Brown, California state legislator.

Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N. Y.) was not there, although she later addressed Black Expo as an unannounced presidential candidate.

Bond is reported to have proposed that Black favorite sons or daughters enter the state Democratic Party presidential primaries. This would permit the election at local levels of Black delegates who are not committed to any white presidential aspirant. These delegates would then pool their votes at the national convention to exert maximum pressure and influence on the outcome of the Democratic Party presidential nomination.

However, despite much publicity and fanfare, both Black Expo and the North Lake meeting fell far short of what it is going to take to achieve Black economic and political power.

Jackson and Johnson see Black economic development coming through appeals and petitions to the white capitalist masters of America. This will not work because the same people they are appealing to are the ones responsible for and profiting from the economic disaster that is the Black community. To unleash the necessary resources for development, Black people will have to build a mass movement demanding that either big business be heavily taxed or expropriated outright in order to get at the wealth that everybody helps accumulate but which a few own, control, and manipulate.

Concerning the acquisition of Black political power, the limitations of the North Lake discussion were expressed very candidly in an editorial in the Oct. 9 *Amsterdam News*. The *News*, with the exception of *Muhammad Speaks*, is the most widely circulated Black weekly. It is owned jointly by Clarence B. Jones, a Black lawyer and former stockbroker, and Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton. The editorial stated: "Several meetings of Black political leaders have been held recently and the possibility of a national Black political convention has been discussed. There have also been discussions over entering favorite sons in primaries in various states and there has been

growing support for Rep. Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn who says she dares to enter the presidential primaries because 'we are tired of tokenism and look-how-far-we-have-come.' . . .

"During talks about all these proposals of new strategy, happily there have been no proposals of a separate Black political party. We do not believe such a move would be worthwhile. But there is a need for a stronger Black voting bloc and coalitions with other minorities, as suggested by Cleveland Mayor Carl B. Stokes." (emphasis added.)

**STROM THURMOND**, the rabid racist U. S. senator from South Carolina, is being transformed before our very eyes from an arch-foe of Black folk into an arch-friend—which is to say from a wolf into a fox. The Republican senator is up for reelection in 1972 and Black people—unlike six years ago—constitute 25 percent of the electorate. So Thurmond, like all other foxes, is wooing the Black vote.

When the cracker was a wolf and a Democratic Party state governor back in 1948, he made a reference at one conference to "all true white Jeffersonian Democrats." And when he ran for president that same year as a "Dixiecrat," he remarked, "All the laws of Washington, and all the bayonets of the Army, cannot force the Negroes into their (Southerners') homes, their schools, their churches and their places of recreation and amusement."

But now, the cracker is trying to strike a different note. "In most instances I am confident that we (referring to himself and his newly enfranchised Black constituents) have more in common as Southerners than we have reason to oppose each other because of race. Equality of opportunity for all is a goal upon which Blacks and Southern whites can agree."

And a further quote from the article in the Oct. 17 *New York Times* describing Thurmond's turnabout has him unabashedly stating, "I've always favored equal employment and equal educational opportunities . . . I don't know any change I've made except to employ two Blacks among the staff. I've been constant through the years."

-DERRICK MORRISON

# Why Black women support the abortion struggle

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

Each year thousands of Black and Latina women seeking abortions die at the hands of butchers. The same government which is responsible for shipping thousands of Blacks to die in Southeast Asia is also responsible for the deaths of these sisters.

Recognizing this, Black, Puerto Rican, Asian and Chicana women met in a Third World Women's Workshop at the National Abortion Action conference in New York last July to discuss the relevance to us of the struggle for abortion law repeal.

Out of this conference came the commitment of Black, Latina and Asian women to map out plans and strategy for involving our Black and Brown sisters in the Nov. 20 marches on Washington, D. C., and San Francisco to demand repeal of the abortion laws. It was firmly recognized at this workshop that part of the struggle for control over all institutions in our communities was the struggle for the right of women to control over our bodies.

Women are correctly demanding that the ultimate decision as to whether to have a child or not, how often and how many, be ours. We are seeing how the abortion laws have had the effect of driving thousands of our sisters each year into the hands of butcher abortionists. We have also seen that the majority of women who die from back-alley abortions are Black and Spanish-speaking.

The abortion laws have been just another means of subjugating Black and Brown women. In the early part of the 1960s, many of the municipal hospitals had almost completely eliminated abortions. Most of the abortions that were performed were for white women who were private patients. The hospital abortion committees set up to do the screening imposed rigid quota systems (justified as preventing the hospital from becoming an "abortion mill"), making it especially difficult for Black, Latina and Asian women to seek abortions.

Thus, having very little or no money and denied the medical care that wealthy women were getting, Black and Brown women often turned to the medical quack and other incompetents who feed on the plight of the poor. As a result, 80 percent of the women in New York who died from illegal botched abortions were Black or Puerto Rican.

## Genocide

Against the struggle for abortion law repeal has come the charge that abortions are a form of genocide. According to this view, the struggle for the right to abortions, as well as methods of family planning, are devices to limit the Black population.

First of all, we must realize that those who advocate that the Black woman should not seek legal abortions because it is a form of genocide will be driving her into the hands of quacks—thereby almost guaran-

teeing that the plight of many of these sisters seeking aid will end in death. Third World women unable to obtain abortions are subject to the exploitation of pharmacists who charge her for useless pills, castor oil, and other "abortifacients." If these methods are not deemed strong enough, there are always the more crude methods of knitting needles, coat hangers and soap solutions. Needless to say, these methods often prove to be fatal.

Because abortion has generally been looked upon as "sinful" as well as illegal, some of the hospitals in various states force Black and Brown women to submit to sterilization as a condition for obtaining an abortion. The purpose is to inflict punishment for her so-called sin. And if she refuses to submit to sterilization, then she is forced to bear an unwanted child.

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, which is sponsoring the demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco Nov. 20, is raising as its main slogans: Repeal all abortion laws; No forced sterilization; A woman's right to choose. It is against both forced motherhood and forced sterilization. When abortion in this country is seen as a legal right of all women, it will be much more difficult for doctors to get away with forced sterilization of Black women.

By asserting the right of women to choose, we are also fighting against laws such as the one proposed in Tennessee last April, whereby welfare mothers would be sterilized after having two children. This is a mechanism used by racist capitalist society to tighten its screws on the Black community. It represents the type of bestial control which the rulers of this country would like to have over our lives. This bill was finally defeated when welfare mothers mobilized mass protests against it.

## 'Babies for the revolution'

There is the other argument that since Black people constitute a minority force in the United States, we should reproduce as fast as possible in order to be able to make a fundamental change in this society. This can be called the "babies for the revolution" theory.

This is a defeatist view. It negates the significance and fundamental change that 20 or 30 percent of the population can help bring about. This concept keeps women in the position of breeders, unable to plan and have control over their lives. It also tells us that any fundamental change in our condition will not come about from us who are living but solely from the offspring which we reproduce.

As Florynce Kennedy puts it, "This concept of breeding revolutionaries, rather than revolutions, is appropriate in a society where the old people do the voting and the youngsters do the fighting and dying. . . . Breeding revolutionaries is not too far removed



Photo by Ron Payne

from a cultural past where Black women were encouraged to be breeding machines for their slave masters."

It is not just numbers which are needed to bring about a fundamental change in this country. What is much more important in any struggle for total liberation is the revolutionary consciousness of our oppressed forces. Our problem as Blacks struggling for liberation, and especially Black women, is not to produce the babies for the revolution. Substantial forces of rebelling Black people already exist, and the job of revolutionaries—both men and women—is to organize our forces and lead a struggle against our oppression.

It is true that the ruling class uses the racist fear of population growth of oppressed people to uphold its imperialist ideology. But what they really fear is the present mass, independent struggles of oppressed Black people. They fear the united struggle of Black men and women, a struggle which can only be aided by freeing women from the burdens and horrors of forced pregnancies and butcher abortionists, and by allowing greater control over our lives.

While rejecting forced motherhood, we should also reject the theory which states that overpopulation is the cause of our problems. In a country where farmers are paid thousands of dollars not to produce, or to keep their food production at a minimum, the argument that we go hungry because there are too many people is far from convincing.

The population controllers generally like to push this idea off on the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is said that the growing population of the Third World threatens the resource base of the planet. They try to argue this in spite of the fact that the United States, with 6 percent of the world's population, consumes from 50 to 60 percent of the world's resources.

Those who agree with this theory also state that the poor live in the midst of poverty simply because they have too many children. However, as is pointed out in the pamphlet *Population Control in the Third World* (by William Barclay, Joseph Enright and Reid Reynolds), Third World people "will not find that an IUD will lead to a comfortable nest egg at the neighborhood branch of Chase Manhattan." We are poor because we are living under a system which is based on the exploitation of the many by the few.

A few weeks ago the *New York Post* columnist Pete Hamill blamed everything from crowded subways to air pollution on "overpopulation." He even had the gall to state that the procreative rate of welfare mothers should be limited.

It is a reactionary illusion that with a lower population, money will supposedly be spent to build more hos-

pitals, schools and housing. The housing shortage, air pollution, and inadequate hospitals are not due to "too many babies," but to an economic system which produces for profit rather than social needs.

Hamill's reactionary theory would dictate to women when and how often they may have children. The women's liberation movement correctly rejects this view. It is rejected because it does not allow women to decide for ourselves. We recognize that a woman is not poor simply because she happens to have 10 children. Part of the struggle to control our own bodies is the fight against forced sterilization and other population control schemes.

## Hypocrisy unlimited

As our struggle for abortion law repeal intensifies, our opponents have also stepped up their rhetoric with the charge of murder. In April of 1971, Tricky Dick stated that, "abortion on demand, I cannot square with my personal belief in the sanctity of human life. . . ." This statement is almost unbelievable! This man, who is responsible for the slaughter of thousands of Vietnamese people and is unable to wash the dried blood of Attica from his hands, cares as much about the sanctity of human life as any two-bit mercenary.

Our struggle for total liberation can only come about if we organize and begin to fight against such hypocrisy. As Lawrence Lader states in his book *Abortion*, "the laws forcing a woman to conception, whether aimed at birth control or abortion, are man-made laws."

In San Francisco and Washington, D. C., on Nov. 20, thousands of women—Black, Chicana, white, students, unionists, church women and others—will be demanding the repeal of all abortion laws and no forced sterilization. We will be there to tell Nixon and Co., the church hierarchy, and the state that they will no longer force us into motherhood, that we will no longer be used as breeding instruments, and that no longer will they have control over our bodies. It is expected that one day, we as women will be able to ask for and receive a safe, effective and free form of contraception. But since this does not yet exist, abortion is an essential right.

The demonstrations on Nov. 20 demanding repeal of abortion laws and no forced sterilization will bring Black and Brown women into struggle for our rights as human beings; it will let us see the power we have as a mass force; and it will serve as a vehicle in mobilizing for our total liberation. Any sisters who would like to help build the Nov. 20 demonstrations should write to the Black Women's Task Force, c/o Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WON-AAC), 917 15th St. N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005. We also welcome the support of Black men.

# Shirley Wheeler: first U.S. woman convicted for having an abortion

The following article was released by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, which is coordinating a national campaign for repeal of abortion laws, including mass marches on Washington, D. C., and San Francisco set for Nov. 20. WONAAC has been publicizing and organizing support for the case of Shirley Wheeler since word of her situation reached them last July. Sherry Smith, a member of the WONAAC staff, went to Florida Oct. 14 to be present for the sentencing.

By SHERRY SMITH

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla.—In what could be the most serious setback to date in the struggle for abortion rights, the state of Florida denied a motion for retrial in the case of Shirley Wheeler, the 23-year-old Daytona Beach woman who was convicted July 13, 1971, of having an abortion under the homicide subsection of an 1868 abortion law. According to Professor Cyril C. Means of New York Law School, Wheeler "is the first woman ever brought to trial for an abortion in the United States, and as far as I know, in the English-speaking world."

Upholding the conviction, felony court Judge Uriel Blount handed down a sentence of two years' probation, saying that he was sufficiently convinced "that you are not likely again to engage in a criminal course of conduct."

Blount's ruling enraged the carloads of women from Gainesville, Fla., and Atlanta who had been notified by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition of the hearing and were present in court.

The Daytona Beach *Morning Journal* reported that photographers from the *Miami Herald*, *Palm Beach Post*, UPI, AP and area newspapers and TV "filled the room and spilled over into the vacant jury box."

## Archaic conditions

The conditions of her probation, which are a further outrageous attack on women's rights, are that she either legally marry Robert Wheeler, the man she has lived with for the past three and one-half years, or that she move to North Carolina and live with her family. Other vague and archaic conditions are that she "avoid injurious or vicious habits," and "avoid association with persons of harmful character or bad reputation."

Shirley Wheeler told me that when she asked the probation officer if she could continue to live in Florida if she lived alone or with a female friend, he responded that if she refused to cooperate he would call the judge back in and he would rescind her probation and throw her in jail.

She told me he also insinuated she was immoral and told her that the next time she went to bed with a man she had better make sure she had a marriage license hanging over it.

According to Rogers, Shirley Wheeler's court-appointed lawyer, the authority of the probation officer is "virtually absolute," so that he actually can force her to either "get married"

or move to North Carolina. One of the stipulations in her probation is that she not violate any law. In Florida, as elsewhere, it is illegal to cohabit with someone you are not legally married to.

Shirley Wheeler said she would not marry. "I don't believe in marriage." She also said she was outraged that at 23 she was being treated like a child. "I'm not the criminal; the state is," she said.

The motion for retrial was argued by Cyril Means at the request of the court-appointed attorney. Means argued for retrial on three different grounds. He said the court could not have proven the fetus was "quick" (that is, one which has begun to move) because only the mother can testify to that effect. According to Florida law, if the fetus has quickened, a woman can be tried for the more serious "crime" of abortion-manslaughter, rather than simply abortion.

Means also argued that the application of the homicide subsection of the abortion law was unprecedented in that no woman has ever been prosecuted for being an accessory to her own abortion. The Florida law, he said, should not be interpreted as holding the woman responsible for aborting.

Means explained that the intent of the law was to protect the life of the pregnant woman in a time when childbirth was many times safer than abortion as a means of terminating pregnancy.

"The intent of the Florida law, in order to continue to protect the health of the mother, must now allow abortion as a way to terminate pregnancy because abortion is seven times safer than childbirth."

The constitutional right of a woman to choose whether she will bear children was the third issue Means raised in his argument. Of the eight state abortion laws challenged on constitutional grounds in federal district courts, he noted, four have been ruled unconstitutional on the grounds that women have the right to control their own bodies.

The prosecuting attorney, Howard Smith, whose argument was punctuated by references to "the child" (meaning the fetus), "the unmarried woman," and "the constitutional right of the child to stay alive," protested that the defense "had no right to raise the issue of constitutionality in the motion for a new trial."

The wife of the district attorney, Smith's superior, came into the courtroom with her infant, who cried periodically during Smith's presentation. When I spoke with Shirley during the recess, she told me she felt this was intentional. She also told me that Smith had requested to be allowed to prosecute her.

Concluding his argument, Smith said that the state "had an interest in these things; that is why the state passed these laws." He indicated that the state had proved "that Shirley Wheeler, a woman, an unmarried woman, was pregnant with a 'quick' child, that it was her intent to destroy that child; that she had tried before

to obtain an abortion and had in fact had a previous abortion; that the instrument used was a catheter inserted into the uterus; that the child was normal; that the pictures in the court record show that the child was a well-formed, for want of a better word, *child*; that the catheter she had inserted cut off the food supply and literally starved it to death."

"The death," he said, "was caused by the hand of the mother and she is guilty of manslaughter."

## Caught in contradiction

In his rebuttal, the court-appointed defense attorney said that he refrained from objecting to the "aside remarks" about Shirley Wheeler's "unmarried" status or her previous abortion, even though the court had ruled such evidence inadmissible.

He caught Rogers in the contradiction between his statements about a "well-formed child" and the fact that what Smith was referring to was an "emaciated, starved fetus." Rogers sarcastically argued that if the fetus was in fact, as the prosecution claimed, viable at the time Shirley Wheeler entered the emergency ward, hemorrhaging from the incompleting abortion, then "why didn't someone perform a caesarian?"

After a brief recess the court was reconvened. Upholding its nineteenth-century concept of justice, Judge Blount gave Shirley Wheeler a two-year probation sentence. According to the Oct. 11 *Miami Herald*, the Florida Supreme Court, on the same day the felony court convicted Shirley Wheeler for having an abortion, warned the Florida legislature to modernize its abortion law or face its being thrown out as unconstitutionally vague.

Shirley Wheeler feels her case is crucial to every woman who has ever had or who may want to have an abortion. She hopes that her fight will help to eliminate abortion laws altogether, so that "no woman will have to go through the hell that I have been through."

While I was there, scores of telegrams poured in from abortion coalitions in Philadelphia, Georgia, Detroit, Rhode Island, Austin, Minnesota, Boston, New York and Illinois, expressing determination to build the Nov. 20 demonstrations for abortion law repeal even bigger to help win her freedom.

The Public Affairs Committee of the YWCA in Pennsylvania wrote, "We support you in your fight for women's rights." And Naomi Marus of Philadelphia Women's International League for Peace and Freedom wrote, "Your case is a dramatic example of the necessity for the repeal of all abortion laws . . . I stand with you in this struggle."

When I left Florida the evening after her sentencing, Shirley told me she knew now that she was no longer facing this thing alone—that women all over the country were with her. She said she would be with all her sisters in Washington, D. C., on Nov. 20 to fight for her own and for every woman's right to control her own body.

# Western abortion campaign planned

By BARBARA DEUR

BERKELEY, Calif.—Over 400 women gathered at the University of California campus in Berkeley Oct. 15-16 to concretize plans for the West Coast campaign to repeal all abortion laws.

At the teach-in that opened the conference, New York attorney Nancy Stearns told the participants the shocking news of Shirley Wheeler's conviction. The conference voted to send a telegram of support to Shirley Wheeler and to participate in demonstrations Oct. 21 to publicize her case.

The conference also discussed plans for building a massive march on San Francisco Nov. 20 to demand repeal of all abortion and contraception laws, and no forced sterilization.

The conference was sponsored by the Women's Abortion Coalition, the Bay Area affiliate of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

The opening teach-in included presentations by a large number of speakers, including Dr. Joan Ulliyot of the University of California medical center; Elma Barrera, organizer of the Chicana conference held in Texas last May; and Lana Clarke Phelan, a member of the National Organization for Women and a vice-president of the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws.

Workshops discussed ways to build the abortion campaign, including legislative and court actions as well as building support for the abortion movement among various groups of women—trade union women, feminists, Black and Chicano women, lesbians, students and others.

At the final plenary, a caucus proposed that "free abortion on demand" be added as a central demand of the Nov. 20 demonstration and the campaign as a whole. The proposal was defeated after discussion, not because of opposition to the concept of free abortions but because the overwhelming majority of women believed that the most powerful coalition could be built at this time around the three demands agreed on at the national abortion conference in July.

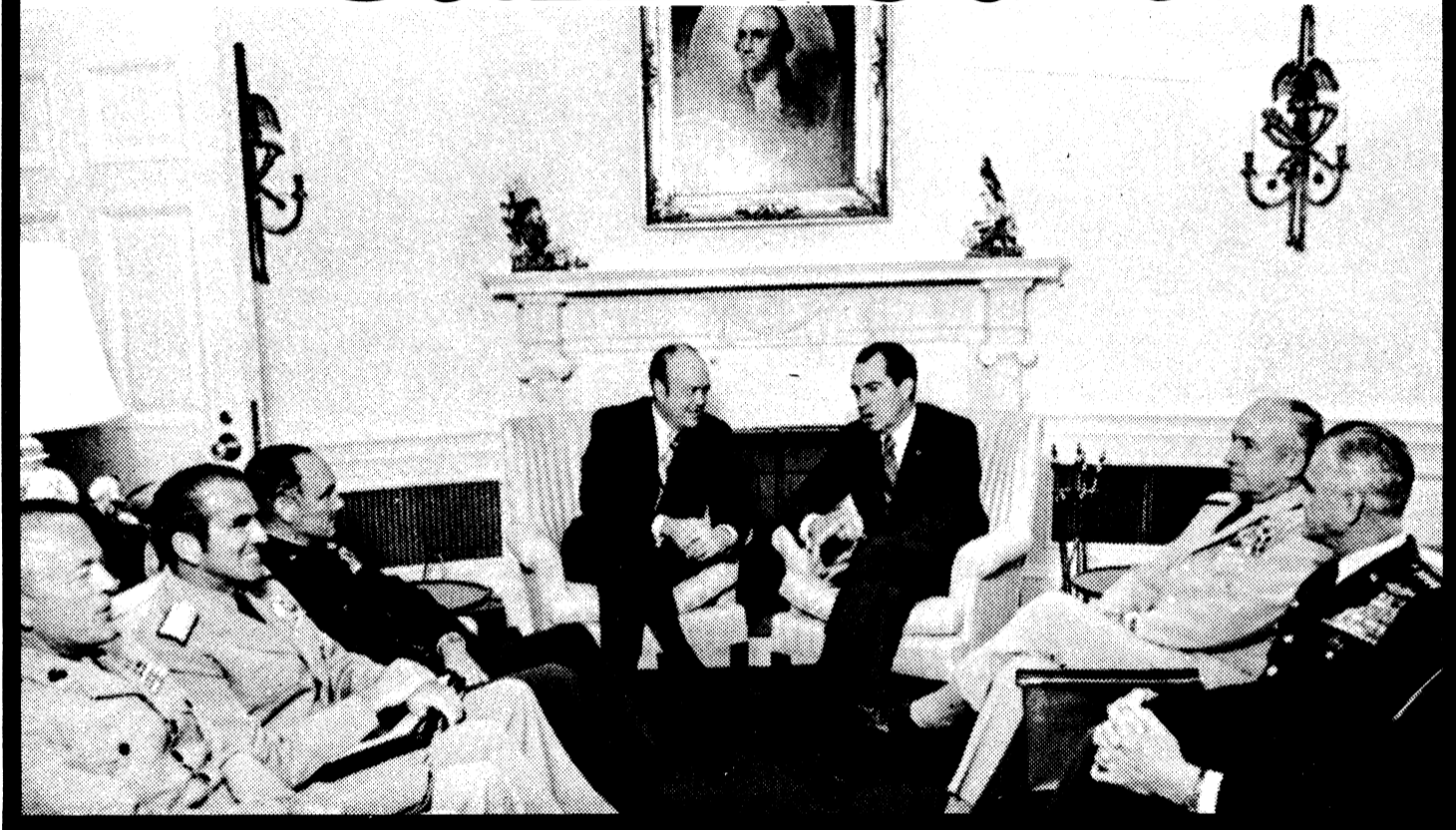
The conference ended with an educational lecture by Dr. Josette Mondanaro on "Our Bodies," and a presentation by Tyler and Harrison, a female comic team. The women returned to their local areas prepared to wage a serious, energetic campaign until abortion is truly a matter of each woman's choice.



Dr. Joan Ulliyot

Photo by Pennie Warren

# Joint chiefs map escalation of war in Cambodia



By DICK ROBERTS

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have submitted to the Nixon administration a five-year request for U.S. funding of the war in Cambodia, the *New York Times* revealed in an unsigned front-page story Oct. 13.

The military officials requested backing of a "costly program of 'pacification' and other unconventional warfare . . . which would double spending [in Cambodia] to about \$500-million a year by 1977," the *Times* stated.

This request underlines the importance of the escalated U.S. war in Cambodia and reveals the true meaning of Nixon's "Vietnamization" policies. For several months now, there has been increased combat along the Cambodia-South Vietnam border, with extensive U.S. bombing of Cambodia.

Nixon's "Vietnamization" policies are aimed at perpetuating the pro-Washington military regime. Cambodia (and neighboring Laos) have become crucial arenas of this war.

The military chiefs fear that reduced U.S. troop strength in Vietnam will require reinforcement of the Pnompenh government forces in Cambodia. They want to increase the Cambodian army from its present level of 180,000 to 256,000 by mid-1973 and more than 300,000 by 1977, according to the *Times*.

"The Joint Chiefs would provide for a mechanized brigade, an artillery brigade, and coastal patrol units, as well as ground troops and extensive logistic support. They would look to the Agency for International Development to help finance the paramilitary defense forces, including the police. The CIA would be asked to mount additional programs and to provide airlift support," the *Times* revealed.

The Pentagon's request adds substance to an earlier report from Pnompenh by *New York Times* reporter

Craig R. Whitney on the increased role of the U.S. military command center in Pnompenh.

Whitney stated that increasing power in the U.S. Embassy in Pnompenh was being given to the 50-man "Military Equipment Delivery Team" headed by Brig. Gen. Theodore C. Mataxis. Whitney's dispatch appeared in the Sept. 20 *New York Times*.

"American military advisers are prohibited in Cambodia by Congress," said Whitney. "According to a U.S. official in Pnompenh, the members of the equipment delivery team are not advisers, and are not engaged in training Cambodian troops. 'They perform a certain logistic advisory function, seeing that the right equipment gets to the right units and is used properly,' the official said . . . .

"The Cambodians have been given six helicopters and six T-28 propeller-driven bombers," according to Whitney. "They also get air support from American jets based in Vietnam and Thailand. The money for those air strikes is not accountable to the military assistance program here."

## Napalm

In previous articles, Whitney described the devastation of Cambodia already caused by a year and a half of escalated war since the U.S. invasion in May 1970.

"Kompong Thmar used to be a town of 10,000 people," Whitney wrote Sept. 15. "The Cambodian Army 'liberated' it on Aug. 31 after more than a year of Communist control. Today there were only blackened holes where the many wooden houses stood. The nearby trees are scorched from the heat of the fire that obliterated the empty town after air strikes by U.S. and Cambodian bombers . . . .

"An old woman . . . in the untouched outskirts of town agreed with other villagers that Kompong Thmar

had been destroyed by napalm bombing."

On Sept. 17 Whitney reported from Pnompenh that "Because of economic disruptions caused by 18 months of war, Cambodia will have to import 100,000 to 200,000 tons of rice next year or see many of her people starve.

"In 1969, before the fighting in Vietnam spread to Cambodia, the country produced enough rice for her own needs and exported 180,000 tons, one of her few sources of foreign exchange . . . .

"The economy has been completely disrupted by the war. The Communists' biggest base areas are in the rubber plantations, which have stopped production for export, and the government has paid for the expansion of the army from 30,000 to 180,000 men in 18 months by doubling the amount of money in circulation, causing a sharp inflation."

T.D. Allman, the Southeast Asia war expert, assessed the situation in a series of articles in the British weekly *Guardian*. "During the last year," Allman wrote Sept. 4, "North Vietnamese strategy in Cambodia has evolved through several distinct phases. The early effort to topple the Lon Nol regime by small-scale surprise attacks on Pnompenh's periphery ended with the U.S.-South Vietnamese invasion.

"The invasion destroyed neither the Communist supply base in Cambodia, nor its divisions stationed here . . . . Since then the Vietnamese Communist activities have entered a second, less ambitious phase—that of disrupting the Cambodian economy and isolating Pnompenh. The effort has succeeded largely, and at minimal cost."

In the *New York Times* article on the Joint Chiefs' request for reinforcements, the figure of 60,000 North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia is given. Allman, citing U.S. officials, gives a lower figure: "American in-

telligence sources," he writes, "thus believe that at present only about 8,000 Vietnamese Communist troops are committed to depriving two-thirds of Cambodia from the 200,000-man Cambodian army, and the 20,000 or so South Vietnamese troops operating here at any one time.

## Cambodian revolutionaries

"Behind this thin but effective North Vietnamese screen, the anti-government Cambodians have been given no great support in the building of an independent 'liberation army.' Both Communist and American sources agree that about 12,000 Cambodians wear Sihanoukist uniforms [after the deposed neutralist Cambodian premier]. In addition, about 3,000 Khmer Rouge troops also carry guns. As many as 18,000 Cambodians, unarmed, may be involved in supply efforts for the North Vietnamese."

Allman asks why there are fewer Cambodians in the revolutionary armies than in the army of the Pnompenh regime, according to these figures. "The Pnompenh government, which does not like to concede that there is a Cambodian 'liberation army' at all, emphasizes that the North Vietnamese are unpopular in the countryside," writes Allman.

"But they are far less unpopular than the South Vietnamese, whose looting, raping, and indiscriminate fire-power has caused most of the destruction in Cambodia. The 'liberated area' is much less populous than the government-held area, less urbanized, and has less expendable manpower. Moreover, only American money is capable of sustaining a very large Southeast Asian army."

There are many similarities with the early history of the Vietnamese revolution and U.S. counterrevolution, even down to the U.S. T-28 bombers which were used to drop napalm on the Vietnamese peasants who were victims of the U.S. "strategic hamlet pacification" program of the Kennedy administration.

But there are also important differences. The stakes of the war and the forces committed are much greater in Southeast Asia today than they were in 1962-63. The Cambodian rebels are backed by the powerful forces of the North Vietnamese, which have withstood years of murderous aggression by the imperialists.

The allies of the military clique in Pnompenh are the corrupt forces of the detested military clique in Saigon. Only extensive U.S. military might—of the type requested by the Joint Chiefs—can have the slightest chance of defending the Pnompenh government for a long period. And such a defense will mean years of bloody slaughter, as the South Vietnam war already proves and as the Joint Chiefs apparently assume in their five-year multi-million-dollar request.

T.D. Allman summarized the outlook for Cambodia in *The Guardian* Sept. 11. "The North Vietnamese still have their sanctuaries and supply routes, and are immeasurably more deeply implanted than they were before the war began; the Americans now have the right to bomb Cambodia, which they did not have before; and the South Vietnamese have the right, which they frequently use, to overrun the eastern provinces at will . . . .

"Essentially, the Cambodian war has vastly accelerated the process of Vietnamese expansion into Cambodia which Prince Sihanouk and his successors, through very different tactics, hoped to stop. Little else has changed.

"Indeed, after all the dramatics of the Cambodian explosion, and the abortive invasion of Laos, the Indochinese situation, militarily, has hardly changed over two years. Hanoi's capacity to make war on South Vietnam has not been impaired. The Americans have hung on, and even expanded a war which they nearly lost in 1968."

# GIs, vets plan antiwar actions

By HUGH MORGAN

As part of the buildup for GI and veteran participation in the Nov. 6 regional mass antiwar actions in 17 cities, antiwar GI and veterans groups are scheduling special GI and vets antiwar activity in several cities around the weekend of Oct. 23-25. Oct. 25 is officially Veterans Day.

In Chicago, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and Veterans for Peace in Vietnam are jointly sponsoring a Veterans Day parade on State Street, beginning at State and Wacker at noon on Oct. 25 and ending with a rally in Grant Park.

An ad placed in two Chicago papers by the antiwar veterans groups lists the demands of the action. Under the theme, "Don't forget GIs and veterans on Veterans Day," the march and rally is demanding 1) Bring all the GIs home now; 2) A job at decent pay for every veteran; 3) Full tuition, study needs and living expenses for every ex-GI seeking an education; 4) Increased medical programs to cure and care for disabled veterans; and 5) First Amendment rights for GIs.

In San Francisco, the Bay Area Concerned Military (BACOM) is sponsoring the first International Military Rights Convention Oct. 23. The conference has been publicized on billboards, in mailings, at news conferences and through leaflets.

GIs from bases all over the world are expected to attend to see films, hear speakers, take part in workshops and an open forum on GI rights and GI antiwar activity, and enjoy entertainment by antiwar professional bands and singers.

The purpose of the conference is to strengthen the GI struggles for civil liberties and an end to the war, and to promote united action in such endeavors as the GI contingents in the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations.

Actions are scheduled to take place Oct. 24 and 25 in Seattle, sponsored by Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Seattle Peace Action Coalition. A candlelight march on the evening of Oct. 24 will be followed by another demonstration the next day.

Both Ft. Hood and Ft. Sam Houston in Texas will be sites for GI-civilian antiwar actions Oct. 25. Similar actions are also scheduled in other cities and at other bases.

The Oct. 13 *New York Post* reported that five Navy enlisted men in Saigon, members of VVAW, have gathered 500 signatures so far on a petition asking that troops be withdrawn from Vietnam.

More than 1,000 sailors on the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Coral Sea* have sent a petition asking Congress that their ship not be sent to Vietnam Nov. 12. The nine antiwar sailors from the U.S.S. *Constellation* who had sought sanctuary in a San Diego church when their ship sailed for Vietnam have been flown to the ship, tried at "captain's mast" and put in the brig. An item in the Oct. 18 *New York Times* reported that five sailors from the destroyer escort U.S.S. *Oulette* jumped ship and sought sanctuary in a Honolulu church as an antiwar protest. The five have been placed in the Pearl Harbor brig.

## The illusion of withdrawal

From Intercontinental Press

In "The Illusion of Withdrawal," an article published in both the October 2 issue of the liberal U. S. weekly *New Republic* and the October issue of the French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Gabriel Kolko, professor of history at Toronto's York University, exposes the fraud of Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy.

"In my judgment," Kolko writes, "the cultivated illusion that the President has a 'plan' for which he requires public and congressional patience is belied by what the record shows to be a quite deliberate policy of protracted US military activity in Indochina and a will to sustain the war and the US presence there indefinitely."

Kolko presents convincing evidence to support his judgment.

The "Vietnamization" policy was first enunciated by Nixon in 1969, less than two weeks before the massive November 15 marches on Washington and San Francisco demanded immediate and unconditional U. S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor acknowledged that the aim of the policy was to "make it clear to the enemy that we can reduce the level of the war to something that the American people will support for a significant period." The hope was that the liberation forces would thereupon surrender to the U. S. occupying force.

In November 1969 Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird explained that the new policy would have two phases. "Phase One" would consist of transferring the bulk of combat ground operations to the Saigon army, while the U. S. would continue to provide massive air and artillery support. During "Phase Two" the U. S. would function in advisory and training capacities, with the Saigon puppets assuming responsibility for their own air and artillery support.

The timetable for the two phases depended, according to Laird, on three factors: progress at the Paris talks, the level of activity of the Vietnamese revolutionists, and the improvement of Saigon's military capacity.

Since the U. S. never had any intention of really negotiating in Paris, since the Vietnamese were not about to scale down their struggle, and since the Saigon army has always been noted for its concern to avoid fighting, Laird carefully avoided predicting rapid U. S. withdrawals, and even

mentioned the possibility of further escalation of the war.

Budget statistics quoted by Kolko demonstrate that the Nixon government in fact had no intention of allowing the Saigon regime to assume the major burden of prosecuting the aggression. If the theoretical projections of "Vietnamization" called for a snail's pace de-escalation of U. S. military activity, its reality did not even go that far.

The projected expense for the war during fiscal 1970 (July 1, 1969, to June 30, 1970) was between \$23,200,000,000 and \$25,400,000,000, of which only \$2,200,000,000 was budgeted for aid to ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam, the Saigon puppet outfit). This was \$300,000,000 less than the maximum figure allowable.

Thus, approximately 90 percent of the war's cost that year was devoted to U. S. actions, not to developing the ARVN, a fact that indicates the U. S. government recognized, despite its rhetorical proclamations, that preparing ARVN to assume the burden of the fighting was a hopeless endeavor.

This reality was likewise reflected in the number of U. S. ground forces remaining in Vietnam. A "semi-official and restricted Asian Development Bank analysis" estimated that troop withdrawals would slow down toward the end of 1971, and there would still be 110,000 to 200,000 U. S. ground troops in Vietnam by the end of 1972.

At the end of 1970, the Pentagon admitted that ARVN could absorb less than one-sixth of the U. S. helicopters then in use against the Vietnamese, and that air and naval operations would remain in the hands of the U. S. "for the foreseeable future," as one admiral put it.

This would indicate that achievement of Phase Two remains a remote possibility at best. Phase One, Laird said March 4, would be completed by the summer of 1971. He added, however, that "American ground combat forces will remain in a security role to protect US forces as Phase II progresses," and that Phase Two "will take longer to complete" than Phase One. (According to government claims, Phase One was a nearly two-year operation. Laird's assertion, if taken at face value, would mean that Phase Two would last at least until the autumn of 1973.)

In addition, for the first time, a

"Phase Three" was projected, during which the U. S. would maintain "a military advisory mission, together with whatever small security forces are needed to protect this mission."

While Laird attempted to conceal the real plans of the Nixon administration with double-talk, the military budget requests for fiscal 1972 (which began in July 1971) revealed a hint of the destructive power the U. S. rulers intend to use against the Vietnamese in the coming months. The air force will enlarge its fleet of AC-130 gunships. "US Army ammunition procurement costs fell from \$1.73 billion in fiscal 1970 to almost \$600 million less the following year, but they are to leap back to \$1.57 billion in 1972," Kolko wrote.

Most budget data for the war is classified, since its revelation would expose the dishonesty of Nixon's claim that the war is winding down. But after carefully culling through House of Representatives testimony on Pentagon financial requests, Kolko found proof that the U. S. support for the Thieu clique continues to be massive.

The best estimate of the total cost of the war during fiscal 1971 was \$15,300,000,000. "But close reading of the shifts in military spending discussed in the Pentagon hearings, and additional estimates in usually informed US publications, suggests that the full costs of the war for the fiscal year 1972, ending next June 30, are projected for at least \$10 billion, and more probably at \$12 billion. Various offhand comments that [Secretary of State William] Rogers and other officials have made in recent months hint it may run as high as \$14 billion." Less than one-fifth of this amount will be spent by Saigon military forces, indicating that the major role in the war will continue to be played by the Pentagon.

Despite 226,000 troops in Vietnam itself, 206,000 others in Southeast Asia and the western Pacific, a multibillion-dollar military budget for the coming year, and plans for a "residual force" to remain in Vietnam indefinitely, Nixon apparently thinks he can convince the U. S. population that "Vietnamization" will end the Indochina aggression.

As Kolko demonstrates, "Vietnamization" is a policy in which the administration itself does not believe. On November 6 the American people will manifest their attitude toward it.

# Socialist Campaign '72

## Georgia

By JOEL ABER

MACON, Ga.—When the U.S. senatorial candidates from Georgia confronted each other for the first time in the 1972 campaign, the views of Socialist Workers Party candidate Alice Conner became the focus of debate. Her remarks created such a storm that incumbent Democratic Senator David Gambrell was forced to cast aside his prepared notes and spend his entire five-minute presentation attempting to rebut what she said.

The unlikely setting for the confrontation was the annual convention of the Peace Officers Association of Georgia (POAG), held here Oct. 12 and attended by 800 of Georgia's crew-cut, gun-toting, badge-studded finest. On display in the lobby of the Dempsey Hotel, the convention site, was a frightening array of tear-gas canisters, holsters, strings of bullets, assorted pistols and shotguns, gas masks, etc.

In addition to Conner and Gambrell, the announced and unannounced candidates who spoke were Congressman William Stuckey, former governor Ernest Vandiver, State Labor Commissioner Sam Caldwell, and a spokesman for Congressman Fletcher Thompson.

Conner was applauded as she took the microphone. That was the last applause she got. As the WSB-TV commentator reported, "She proceeded to blast them."

Conner began by discussing the deep social crisis in America today, and then stated: "As an attempt to repress the social crisis, all politicians talk about law and order, but somehow I feel their interpretation is much different from mine. The murder of

42 persons at Attica is, in my opinion, a perfect example of capitalist law and order."

A chorus of booing and obscenities began to sweep the POAG convention.

Conner continued: "The atrocities in Vietnam and throughout Southeast Asia are a daily reminder that in this society so-called 'law and order' is used to cover up the reality that people are being murdered.

"Law and order signs eviction notices which give the sheriff the right to evict poor and Black people from their inadequate housing.

"In Florida, law and order tried and convicted a woman for receiving an illegal abortion because some men who sat in the legislature denied her the right to control her own body. . . ."

By this time, the crescendo of boos and catcalls was so loud that the chairman intervened to ask the cops to permit Conner to finish.

Senator Gambrell was next. "I had intended to make some light remarks," he began, "but after what just preceded me I think I must be serious. I respect Mrs. Conner's right to say what she said, and I'll probably be hearing a lot more of her in the months ahead. But with all due respect to Mrs. Conner I disagree with her 100 percent."

Democratic Congressman William Stuckey followed Gambrell. "With all its ills," he began, "this is still the greatest country in the world." Then he added, "It's been said that the hand that rocks the cradle may rock the boat. . . ." Turning to stare at Conner, he continued, "Well, I've been beginning to wonder about some of those hands that have been rocking cradles recently."

In the year ahead, the candidates

will have to face many audiences of students and young people. And it is already clear that only Alice Conner is saying the things that dissatisfied youth want to hear.

## Colorado

By BILL PERDUE

CANON CITY, Colo.—A dozen supporters and candidates of the Colorado Socialist Workers Party campaign visited and spoke at the State Penitentiary here Sept. 29. They were invited by members of the Dale Carnegie Alumni, an inmate group that arranges forums and entertainment for the prisoners.

Fern Gapin, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Denver and a leading figure in the United Women's Contingent, told the 300 assembled prisoners about the growth of the antiwar and women's liberation movements in the Rocky Mountain region. She also explained the plans of the Colorado SWP campaign to aid and publicize the struggles of prisoners. "Most prisoners now occupying the jails are the victims of class and racial injustice," she stated.

Gapin offered the prisoners a free six-month subscription to *The Militant*, but she explained that she could not show them the paper because the guards had confiscated all the copies she and her supporters had brought with them. More than 250 of the 300 prisoners signed up to receive subscriptions.

Joan Fulks, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, described the conditions that force women, Blacks, Chicanos, youth and working people into the prisons by the thousands. She was given sustained applause when she said, "The real criminals in America are the businessmen and the bankers who rob

us blind, and the Democratic and Republican politicians who maintain sexism and racial oppression, and who keep the war in Asia going against the wishes of the majority of Americans."

Joe Johnson, himself a former political prisoner and a leading antiwar activist, told the prisoners about the unanimous endorsement of the fall antiwar actions by the recent congress of the Colorado Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

Al Baldavia, former president of the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) at Adams State College, and director of the Chicano Task Force for the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration scheduled for Denver, discussed Chicano liberation and the Mexican Independence Day march in Denver of more than 15,000 on Sept. 16.

The most exciting part of the visit was the informal discussion with the prisoners. The discussions touched on the conditions at the prison, why they had been forced into prison, and the state of the protest movements on the outside. "We're here," one prisoner said, "because we broke the system—they say 'the law.' But they break the law all the time; that's how they got where they are."

The prisoners reported that an underground paper was recently launched at Canon City, called the *Zenger Press* after John Peter Zenger, a revolutionary propagandist of the American War of Independence. The first issue exposed the murder of an inmate by the guards in a maximum-security cell, which was then reported as a "suicide."

Many prisoners stayed and talked until the last minute before they had to return to their cells. As the campaigners got ready to leave, they were invited back and given clenched fist salutes.

## Why won't McGovern debate?

By LEE SMITH

Democratic Party presidential contender George McGovern announced in Washington, D.C., Oct. 15 that he was proposing to Democratic National Committee Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien a series of monthly debates beginning in December between the contenders for the party's nomination.

The same day the senator made his announcement, the Chicago *Sun-Times* carried an article by James Campbell about Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president in 1972. In the article, Campbell reported that Jenness criticized McGovern for refusing to debate her when she and the senator were both at the University of Wisconsin in Madison Oct. 2.

"Asked to respond to the charge by telephone," Campbell wrote, "McGovern campaign officials in Washington didn't seem to know what to say." Campbell reported that one "campaign boss" had said Jenness was a "kook and a Trotskyite."

When *The Militant* contacted him by phone in McGovern's senate office Oct. 18, McGovern campaign press secretary Jeff Gralnick said he didn't believe anyone on the staff would say that. Gralnick reiterated McGovern's stated reason for not debating in Wisconsin: "She is the nominee of her party. The senator is not the nominee of his." Gralnick added that "after he gets the nomination, Sen-

ator McGovern will debate anyone."

Edward T. O'Donnell Jr., reached at the McGovern for President office in Washington, D.C., said he thought a debate between McGovern and Jenness would be an "antidemocratic act." O'Donnell, executive director of the national Students for McGovern, said that right now McGovern "is in a particular kind of effort which is among Democrats," so that debating Jenness "is not relevant."

McGovern "is not running against a socialist candidate and he's not running against Richard Nixon now," O'Donnell said. "Whereas I'm sure he'd challenge Nixon to debate after he got the nomination, for him to debate Nixon now or for him to debate the socialist candidate now would be out of place," the Students for McGovern director said, "because it would be an antidemocratic act saying 'I'm going to win these primaries,' and I think he wants to let the people decide that." O'Donnell added, "And then, I'm sure the senator would be glad to debate anybody."

In her *Sun-Times* interview, Campbell reported, Jenness reacted "like the fighter she is. She called the McGovern people liars."

"McGovern got out of debating me this time, but the capitalist politicians will be forced to debate me," Campbell quoted Jenness as saying, "It's the youth of this country that lead all the movements seeking change and there are 25 million of us now who are sick and tired of the policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

"I represent the youth and if people like McGovern think they're going to appeal to youth, they'll have to debate us on our ideas," Campbell quoted the socialist presidential candidate as saying.

## Ballot law fight announced

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK, Oct. 19—The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) today announced its formation at a news conference in the Hotel McAlpin. CoDEL National Secretary Judy Baumann said that the committee "will unite political parties, groups and individuals in order to challenge in the courts restrictive and unconstitutional election laws." Such laws, she said, exist in many states, and they are used to make it difficult or impossible for parties other than the Democratic and Republican parties to obtain ballot status.

Also present at the news conference were George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee; Benjamin Spock, co-chairman of the New Party; and Edith Tiger, executive director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. General counsel for the committee is well-known civil liberties lawyer Leonard Boudin.

The committee announced plans to challenge laws in New York and Missouri requiring a distribution of signatures on an independent candidate's nominating petition; loyalty oaths in Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma; and filing fees and fees levied on candidates in Florida, North Carolina and Maryland. In some suits the committee plans to champion the voting rights of prisoners and the right of Spanish speaking minorities to a

Spanish-language ballot.

Novack cited several examples of discrimination the SWP had been subjected to by the current laws. The discriminatory regulations are made even more intolerable, he stated, by the fact that "there is not the slightest bit of uniformity" in the election laws. The SWP, he said, has to compile information on the laws in every state. The maze of laws is so complex, however, that "in some cases, even after inquiring with the secretary of state we could not find out the requirements."

"We *did* win in the courts in 1970," Edith Tiger added, in reference to the decision by a three-judge federal court to strike down as unconstitutional the New York law requiring that signatures be collected in each of the state's counties. The legislature has subsequently rewritten the law, adding discriminatory provisions. CoDEL plans to challenge this new law, she said, "to reaffirm the victory we had."

Spock said the existence of these laws was "contrary to the spirit of the Constitution." He said he would "wholeheartedly support the efforts of CoDEL."

A statement was also presented to the press from José Angel Gutierrez, leader of La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Texas, and Tito Lucero, of the Oakland, Calif., Raza Unida Party.

A partial list of CoDEL sponsors includes, in addition to Spock, Linda Jenness of the SWP; Dwight MacDonald; Rep. Paul McCloskey; Morris Kight, founder, Gay Liberation Front, Los Angeles; New Party of Florida; and Michael Parisi, Illinois state coordinator, Peace and Freedom Party.

# Jenness inspects Cook County jail



Photo by Dave Saperstan

Linda Jenness meeting with newsmen after touring Cook County Jail in Chicago.

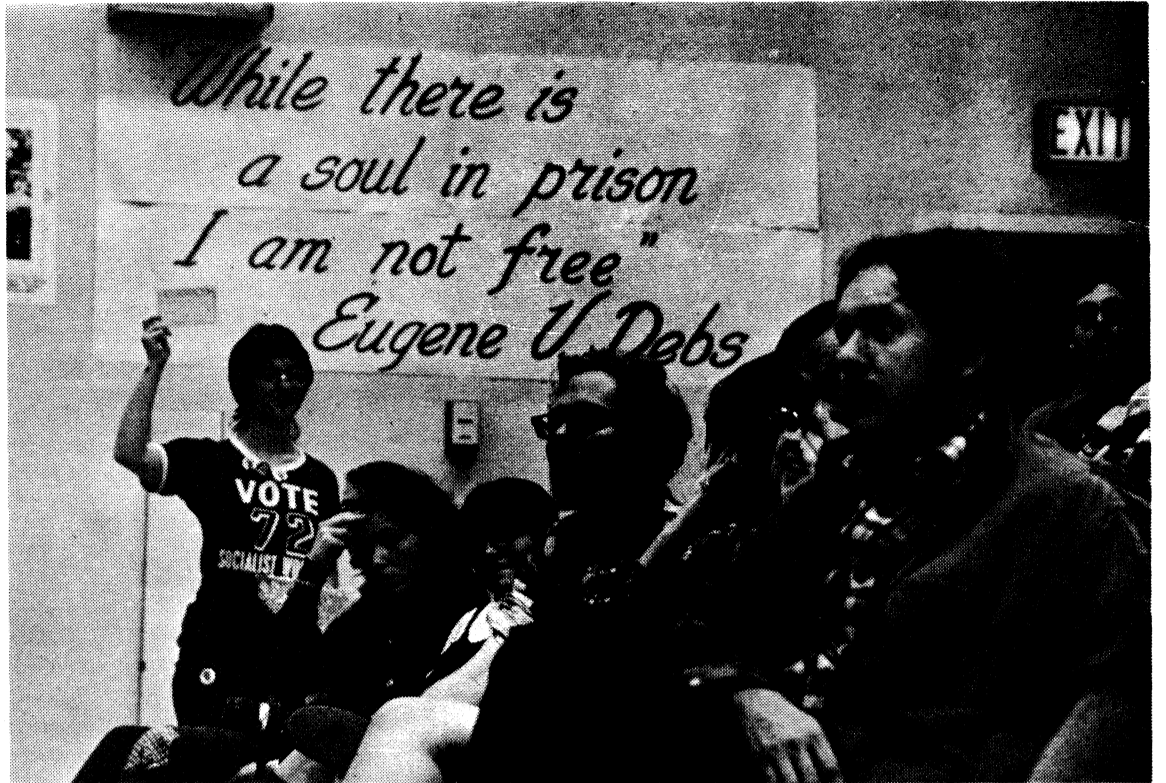


Photo by Scott Apton

Chicago campaign rally

By DAVE SAPERSTAN

CHICAGO, Oct. 17—One of the high points of Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness' four-day tour of the Chicago area was a fact-finding visit to the Cook County Jail that turned into a dramatic confrontation.

On the morning of Oct. 15, Jenness and five of her campaign supporters went to the jail, which is reputed to be a model among penal institutions. A reporter from radio station WGOB and a film crew from CBS-TV news were there to accompany Jenness on the tour.

Warden Winston Moore was waiting for Jenness at the entrance to the jail. He stepped forward and admonished her to re-think what she was doing. He said, "I will not allow anybody to make a political issue out of my prison and my prisoners, and you cannot bring any of your literature in here."

Jenness then stated that prisoners have the same rights as all other citizens to get first-hand information on all the issues facing them. With the CBS crew filming, and Jenness standing up for her right as a presidential candidate and as a citizen, Moore became angered and flustered. Contrary to normal procedure, he then also refused to permit the press and photographers to enter. Jenness and her supporters put down their literature and went on a 90-minute tour of the facilities. When Jenness came out, re-

porters were waiting to interview her.

Glenda Sampson reported in the Oct. 17 *Chicago Today* that Jenness "flatly told inmates, 'The wrong people in this country are in jail. Our laws and penal system reflect very clearly our social priorities in this country. George Jackson was sentenced to 10 years in jail for a \$70 theft while an Illinois stockholder convicted of embezzling \$4-million got one year.'"

Other activities included an enthusiastic wind-up rally at the Loop YWCA Oct. 15. Richard E. Rubenstein, a Roosevelt University professor and a leader of the Harrisburg Defense Committee, spoke at the meeting and stated: "Let me make one thing perfectly clear, as that idiot in the White House is so fond of saying. I don't support Linda Jenness merely because she provides a socialist alternative to the capitalist political parties. I support her because she is better qualified to be president of the United States than Richard Nixon, Edmund Muskie, Edward Kennedy, George McGovern, John Lindsay, or any other nominee or potential nominee interested in becoming president."

Rubenstein's position clearly echoed the sentiments of the 50 people who signed up to support Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley at the five campus meetings held for Jenness during the past week.

Appearing at the rally with Rubenstein were Dianne Rupp, an activist in the struggle to repeal the restrictive

Illinois abortion laws, and William Pelz, secretary-treasurer of the Roosevelt University Student Senate. Both strongly endorsed the 1972 Jenness-Pulley ticket and urged their friends

subscriptions to *The Militant* were received in the mail.

Jenness' other media coverage included feature articles in three of the four major Chicago daily newspapers,

## Jenness vs. Mayor Daley

CHICAGO, Oct. 19—Two American Civil Liberties Union lawyers, Sybille Fritzsche and Barbara O'Toole, filed a suit in the U.S. District Court today against Mayor Richard Daley on behalf of Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. The suit asks for a ruling on the right of the SWP to assemble and deliver political speeches in Chicago's Civic Center Plaza. A Sept. 20 request by the SWP to use the plaza for a campaign meeting for Jenness Oct. 12 was denied. Another request to use the plaza Oct. 25 has not been answered. The suit, in addition to asking for a judgment on the constitutionality of the ban, is requesting a court order permitting use of the plaza on this date. A hearing is scheduled for Oct. 21.

to support it as well. The rally raised \$550 for the 1972 campaign from the 125 people present.

Another indication of the widespread support for the 1972 campaign was the excellent response to Jenness' appearance the morning of the Oct. 13 Moratorium on the Stan Dale radio show, "Confrontation." Almost every telephone call taken on the two-hour talk show was friendly to the ideas of the campaign. After hearing the show from his car radio, a Vietnam veteran stopped by the Midwest SWP campaign headquarters on his way to work, and during the days following the show many people who had heard it called the headquarters. Four

along with articles in three college newspapers.

A fitting climax to Jenness' successful Chicago visit was an appearance on "Kup's Show" televised Oct. 16. Irving "Kup" Kupcnet, a *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist, hosts the most widely viewed TV talk show in the Midwest area. Because of the widespread response to Jenness' visit in Chicago, Kup himself called up the campaign headquarters to ask for Jenness to appear. With Jenness on the show were astronaut Wally Schirra; William Benton, former U.S. senator from Connecticut; and John Gardner of Common Cause.

# Pulley in three-day tour of Houston

By TANK BARRERA

HOUSTON, Oct. 18—The Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign has made a resounding impact here in Houston with the arrival of Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate. After a two-day stay in Louisiana, where he spoke at Louisiana State University and Southern University in Baton Rouge, and Louisiana State University in New Orleans, Pulley arrived in Houston for three days of intensive campaigning.

On Oct. 13, after a city-wide news conference, Pulley addressed 1,000 students at the University of Houston noon Moratorium rally. His talk was aired live by Pacifica radio. Pulley then spoke to a rally of 75 Black students at Worthing High School in Houston and to a meeting at Rice University. He then addressed the city-wide Moratorium rally of 500 and

wound up the day at Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas, where he spoke to a meeting of over 80 people, sponsored by the Black student group on campus.

On Oct. 14, Pulley appeared on the "Morning Show" of KHOU-TV for a half hour interview. Afterwards he spoke at an outdoor rally at St. Thomas University and then to a meeting of 40 Black students at Yates High School. Later that afternoon, Pulley was on the widely viewed "Steve Edwards Show," also on KHOU-TV. Pulley finished the day with a public meeting at the University of Houston. He also met with the U of H Black Student Union and gained several BSU members as SWP campaign supporters.

Oct. 15 was devoted to press interviews. Articles appeared in the *Hous-*

*ton Post*, the *Daily Cougar* (the U of H campus newspaper) and a 15-minute interview with Pulley was broadcast on KULF radio. Pulley finished his tour at the Houston headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party at a meeting attended by 50 campaign supporters.

Earlier that day, Pulley had been scheduled to speak at Spring Branch High School at an after school rally. However, the reactionary administration at the high school decided to enforce a ruling barring "loitering" on school grounds, and after Pulley and several campaign supporters were threatened with arrest, Pulley was barred from speaking. The crowd then went off the school grounds into the city of Spring Branch and attempted to hold the rally there. They were greeted by the sheriff and 15 policemen and were again threatened with

arrest, this time for "loitering" in the city of Spring Branch. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, along with other community and high school groups, plan to take further action against this attack on civil liberties.

During Pulley's tour in this area about 75 people signed up to be active in the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, over half of these from Louisiana, and many subscriptions to *The Militant* were sold.

Pulley continued his Texas tour with a meeting at North Texas State University in Denton and a news conference at the Alamo. Pulley is scheduled to speak at the YMCA in San Antonio, where he will address GIs from Ft. Sam Houston and Lackland Air Force Base. Pulley's tour continues in Austin and then in Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona.

# Radioactive waste creating a hazard to health in Colorado

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

What could well turn out to be the environmental scandal of the year has come to national attention in the past few weeks.

Some 150,000 to 200,000 tons of radioactive "tailings" (a fine sand by-product of uranium-ore mining) were given away free by at least one Colorado ore-processing mill to local contractors, who proceeded to use the material in the construction of schools, homes, and other buildings. The Oct. 4 *New York Times* now reports that a "careful study by the state has shown tailings at 4,984 building sites in Junction City, all at levels that the surgeon general of the Public Health Service has said suggest the need for remedial action."

Fifteen schools, plus the administration building in Mesa County, Colo., have tailings underneath them, the *Times* reported. On Sept. 27, *Times* correspondent Anthony Ripley reported that state health officials "found an additional 1,507 abnormally high radioactive readings . . . in 10 other small Colorado cities and towns."

When the question of safety was raised back in 1966 with the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), its reply was that "at the present time, we find it difficult to conceive of any mechanism whereby the radioactive material which is now so widely dispersed could become so concentrated as to exceed current applicable standards for protection against radiation."

According to the *Times*, radium, the main radioactive element in the sand, decays into a gas called radon, which is capable of going "through concrete and spreads radioactivity inside buildings." The radon further decays into numerous radioactive elements, among which are polonium, radioactive lead and bismuth. These latter elements are known causes of lung cancer. While cancer may not show up for 20 to 30 years in adults, it can have more immediate effects on children, whose cells are rapidly growing.

"At Pomona Elementary School," the Oct. 4 *Times* reports, "radioactivity levels in Classroom A-1 build overnight to a level 38 times the 'action suggested' level. Once the room is ventilated, however, the radioactivity quickly drops below the surgeon general's safety level."

Dr. Robert M. Ross Jr., a pediatrician, inquired months ago about a study into possible chromosomal damage to infants. The AEC was asked to finance it but refused on grounds that the radiation levels in

tailings were "too low" for significant statistical information.

Continued concern by doctors and citizens led to financing of the study by Colorado Governor John A. Love. Although the complete findings will not be available until next year, the Oct. 3 *New York Times* states that already, "chromosomal abnormalities not frequently found in children have been observed."

When the problem of the tailings was brought to the attention of Dr. Jesse L. Steinfeld, the U. S. surgeon general, in July 1970, he indicated that it would take some time to get precise readings, but that "the additional health risks from continued exposure over this time period are of lesser consequence than the economic and social discomfitures of precipitous action." The "discomfiture" troubling the surgeon general is the \$20-million it would cost to dig out the tailings in Colorado alone. Nine other states may be affected.

The Atomic Energy Commission could have originally removed 90 percent of the radium in the tailings by a chemical process, but didn't because of the cost. Instead, an estimated 83 million tons of radioactive tailings have been allowed to pile up in Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, South Dakota, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Washington and Oregon.

The Colorado State Health Department, the Federal Environmental Protection Agency and a six-man medical committee have unanimously recommended removing tailings at least ten feet from habitable structures. In spite of the danger to human life, both the AEC and the U. S. Public Health Service voted against this recommendation.

Dr. H. Peter Metzger, head of the Colorado Committee for Environmental Information, produced a letter which warned about the danger of the tailings as early as 1961. The letter, which had been sent to state agencies by the health division of the AEC, has mysteriously disappeared from both federal as well as state health department files.

The lack of concern with this dangerous situation on the part of both the AEC and the U. S. Public Health Department was made abundantly clear in an observation by *New York Times* writer Anthony Ripley. "Even today," he wrote, "anyone with a truck or car can drive past the single 'keep out' sign on the road to the city sewage treatment plant and drive into the pile of tailings. There are no fences. There are no radiation danger signs."

# L.A. students protest marines on campus

By MARTIN ROTHMAN and JIM LYTTLE

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 20—Three Los Angeles City College students arrested as the result of a campus protest against the presence of marine recruiters were arraigned Oct. 19, and a trial date of Nov. 15 was set.

The three—Larry Mitchell, Richard Spear, and Marshall Givens—have been hit with trumped-up charges of "malicious mischief" and "resisting a peace officer."

Seven hundred Los Angeles City College students demonstrated Oct. 13 in defense of the three students.

The three were released on \$650 bail each. Bond was arranged by the Student Mobilization Committee, organizer of the anti-recruiter demonstration at which they were arrested.

The protest against the recruiters had been given added intensity because the marines had been invited on campus by college president Dr. Louis Kaufman despite a poll conducted by the student government last semester in which a big majority had voted against the presence of military recruiters.

The administration, in justifying the invitation, argued: a) not enough students had voted, b) there were a lot of new students whose views were unknown, and c) "the students don't have the right to make such a decision in the first place."

The initial demonstration Oct. 4 was spearheaded by Black and Chicano students. The Black students were particularly incensed by the presence of Blacks among the recruiters. They

clustered around them, angrily demanding to know why they permitted themselves to be used for such a purpose. One Black student requested a recruitment interview. Asked to give his name, he spelled it out: "U-N-C-L-E T-O-M."

Students surrounded the recruiters' table and helped themselves generously to the free Marine literature. They indicated their opinion of it by depositing it in nearby trash baskets.

One student, Larry Mitchell, was dragged off by campus police and taken to their office. After about an hour of angry student protest, they released him, explaining his apprehension had been "a mistake."

But two days later, city warrants were issued for him, Givens and Spear. The latter two were taken into custody by campus police and turned over to waiting city cops. When Mitchell learned that a warrant was out for him, he went to the police station with SMC members and, like the others, was bailed out.

The SMC had originally proposed that the student council sponsor the anti-recruiter demonstration. A motion to do so was defeated by one vote. The council did, however, adopt a resolution urging the school president to respect the student referendum and keep the recruiters off the campus.

An ad hoc defense committee for the three was established at a rally of several hundred students Oct. 7. The committee, initiated by the SMC, has won the support of other campus groups and of faculty members.

# S.F. cops murder Black in cold blood

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO—With dozens of people from the Hunters Point Black community as witnesses, Clarence Johnson, 37-year-old Hunters Point resident, was brutally murdered Oct. 5 by Richard Lewis, a white San Francisco policeman.

After seven hours of silence, Chief Police Inspector Charles Barca released a statement on the murder. Thomas Johnson's car, Barca claimed, was stopped because it matched an anonymous informant's description of a car involved in a Hunters Point burglary. Officers Edward Epting and Lewis ordered Johnson out and instructed him to place his hands over the top of the car. Lewis, according to the police account, was in the process of holstering his gun when Johnson "swung around with an elbow . . . [and] in a reflex defensive action Lewis came up with the gun in his hand to ward off the blow, and the gun went off." Barca added, "In my opinion, it was an accident. He didn't mean to shoot him."

Hunters Point residents, however, have another version of Johnson's death. At an angry community gathering following the killing, witnesses repeatedly stated that Johnson was spread-eagled over the top of the car when Lewis fired a .41 magnum bullet into the back of his head. Alex Pitcher, chairman of the Model Cities Program for the Bayview-Hunters Point community, angrily told reporters, "We intend to see that the police officers responsible for this killing and

unlawful murder are indicted, prosecuted, and convicted. And we will stop at nothing to see that is done."

Pitcher angrily added, "Johnson laid in the street for 45 minutes or more with his brain and skull all over the place." Another man shouted, "The people in Hunters Point are tired of having police officers practice on them—they have a rifle range."

The following day, Oct. 6, Deputy Police Chief William Keays attempted to exonerate the police force when he told a press conference that the department was "actively pursuing the investigation." However, the hypocrisy of the statement was revealed when he added, "There had been no action taken against the officer who did the shooting, and he will remain on duty until the investigation is concluded." This followed the disclosure that no stolen items were found in Johnson's car.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, Nat Weinstein, immediately released a statement blasting the police department's handling of the shooting, the second of an unarmed Hunters Point resident within one week. "The officer involved must be indicted for murder," Weinstein said. "This killing must be investigated by a neighborhood review board composed of Hunters Point residents. The Hunters Point community has a right to determine the composition of the police force that serves it, including the formation of a new police force for the community if it is desired by the people of Hunters Point."



New York demonstrators, April 1970

Photo by Howard Petrick



By DAVID THORSTAD

OCT. 18—Last week, the Shah of Iran threw what is thought to have been the biggest party in world history. The estimated cost was between \$50- and \$300-million, but most observers settle for the round figure of \$100-million. The excuse for the bash, held at the site of the ancient city of Persepolis, was the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian empire and the longevity of its monarchy.

Not one of Iran's millions of impoverished peasants, whose poverty is their unbroken link to those 2,500 years, was invited. So little has their lot improved that they may be wondering what the celebrating was all about. "When you take off into the hills," one economist said, "you are virtually back in Biblical times."

It is not easy to put on parties like this one. Preparations began more than 10 years ago. For

whether royal or not, were accustomed to good eating. So special attention was given to the menu for the royal banquet Oct. 14.

Maxim's of Paris handled all the food, except the caviar—which was the only thing besides the location that was Iranian about the celebration. It transported in 10 tons of champagne and wine, 14 tons of other beverages, and 18 tons of food. The wine arrived a month early so the fine vintages would have a chance to rest. And it created a special dish for the occasion—poached quail eggs stuffed with caviar. (At a trial run of the dish at his birthday party a year ago, the shah discovered that he did not like caviar, so he was served an artichoke while everybody else downed quail eggs.) The *pièce de résistance* was partridge stuffed with foie gras and truffles, according to most reports (NBC said it was pheasant). The meal was cooked in a \$200,000 kitchen by 30 chefs and pastry cooks flown in by Maxim's, and was served on a 198-foot-long solid

hotels, roads, and \$480,000 worth of Christmas tree and other lights.

Despite the indecent wastefulness of it all, the week-long affair had much about it that was comic and ridiculous. The shah himself set the tone at the inaugurating ceremony Oct. 12 at the tomb of Cyrus the Great when, in the presence of apparently straight-faced dignitaries from around the world, His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran, King of Kings, Sun of the Aryans, Center of the Universe, Occupant of the Peacock Throne, called out to the spirit of the founder of the Persian empire: "O Cyrus, great King, King of Kings, Achaemenian King, King of the land of Iran, I, the Shahanshah of Iran, offer thee salutations from myself and from my nation." Not a snicker was heard.

Most newspaper reports of this party organized by one of the world's most brutal autocrats did not even try to hide their feeling that it was perhaps extravagant in a country of 28 million where most are poor and 90 percent are still illiterate. An exception was *U.S. News & World Report*, which ran an article in its Oct. 18 issue entitled "Shah of Iran: King and Revolutionary." According to this report, the purpose of the party was to celebrate the success of the shah's "revolution from the throne." Among the successes it attributes to this "revolution" are the fact that "child-labor abuses have been reduced" (not eliminated), "women can vote now" (in a country where elections are manipulated, the press censored, and all opposition ruthlessly suppressed), and "literacy has more than doubled in the last decade" (at this rate, assuming it's true, it would only take 180 more years to wipe out illiteracy).

### Protests

Despite the great dangers and difficulties for political oppositionists in Iran, efforts were made to call to the attention of the world the barbarism of the shah's regime. Most newspapers did their best to ignore these efforts. Prior to the festivities, there were a number of guerrilla actions inside Iran, including, on Sept. 28, an apparent bomb explosion in the central police station in Tehran.

The Sept. 30 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reports that during the third week of September, five urban guerrillas tried to kidnap the nephew of the shah. Two were said to have been arrested, but three managed to escape.

According to the Sept. 27 *Irاندفاع*, the news bulletin of the Organisation for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran, guerrillas also "completely destroyed" a radio station the government had installed in Shiraz "in order to directly broadcast the farcical proceedings of the Persepolis celebration. . . ." The same bulletin reports that "the number of people arrested in Tehran alone in the past month in preparation for the monarchical celebrations has reached several thousands."

*Newsweek* reported Oct. 11 that "recently, an imaginative band of rebels rented a small plane to fly over Tehran and drop hundreds of anti-government leaflets denouncing the ostentatious anniversary pageant."

Prior to the Persepolis pageant, the World Confederation of Iranian Students circulated an international appeal calling for a boycott of the shah's celebrations. The appeal was signed by a number of prominent labor leaders and left intellectuals in the U.S., Britain and Europe, among them Noam Chomsky; Jean-Paul Sartre; Simone de Beauvoir; 14 British Labour Party MPs; and leading figures on the Italian left.

"The oppression and misery to which the Iranian masses have been subjected by the Pahlevi Dynasty are only too well known to require any mention here," it stated, recalling that "in the past year alone many Iranian democrats and revolutionaries died at the hands of the regime's henchmen either under torture or before the firing squads."

# Shah of Iran throws a party at Persepolis



Persepolis ruins with tent city in background

months, two chartered jet airliners and truck caravans left Paris for Persepolis bearing the crystal chandeliers, fine china, gold cutlery and tons of French furniture destined for the 50 opulent tents that were to house the guests. Flower gardens, water fountains, and a small forest of trees (imported, like almost everything else, from France) had to be installed on the barren desert to shield the guests from the sands. Complex protocol problems had to be ironed out since both royalty and commoners were invited (some commoners, after all, have replaced kings and queens as heads of state during the past 2,500 years); and this was an imperial occasion, where even the weakest king should take precedence over any commoner—no matter how influential his country.

The guests included one emperor, nine kings, 17 princes and princesses, 10 sheiks, one grand duke, one cardinal, two sultans, 15 presidents, and two vice-presidents (one of whom was Spiro Agnew). More than 60 were heads of state. All,

mahogany table covered with a one-piece hand-embroidered tablecloth by a team of 295 captains and waiters from Maxim's and other jet-set hangouts in Europe. They wore special uniforms, each containing about three pounds of gold thread and designed by Jansen of Paris.

For five months, platoons of women worked on gifts for the guests. These included 40 hand-woven silk carpets, each with a portrait of a head of state against a background of Persian and Medean soldiers patterned after bas reliefs at Persepolis. All were in living color, except for that of Hungarian President Pal Losonczi, for whom a color photograph could not be found. His was done in living black and white.

A small, but conspicuous, chunk of the expenditures went for a \$5-million arch-and-pyramid monument to the shah, 250 Mercedes-Benz limousines for the guests, and uniforms for the Royal Guards at \$1,200 apiece. Others went for tourist

## 500 in S.F. protest shah's party

By RUSSELL BLOCK

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly 500 demonstrated in front of the federal building in San Francisco Oct. 15, in opposition to the Shah of Iran's celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian monarchy and to U.S. support to the Shah's regime. The demonstration was called by the Iranian Student Association of Northern California in conjunction with a similar demonstration in Washington, D. C.

The demonstrators, many of whom wore head coverings to protect themselves from identification and reprisals by the Shah's secret police, picketed the federal building, chanting, "A hungry nation does not need a celebration," and "The people's history—not the king's."

After an hour of picketing, there was a short rally featuring speakers from the Iranian Student Association, the Arab Student Association, as well as Robert Scheer, a former editor of *Ramparts* magazine. The speakers pointed out that the Shah's extravagant claim to a 2,500-year monarchical heritage was false; that in fact the Shah owed his position to a CIA-engineered coup in 1953 that overthrew the government of Dr. Mossadegh, who had attempted nationalization of Iran's rich oil resources. They drew the connection between the lavish celebration and increased U.S. arms shipment to the Shah's government. They branded the celebration as an attempt to give the Shah's repressive regime an image of stability to show that the Shah was capable

of protecting Western oil concessions in Iran and intervening against the Arab revolution in neighboring countries.

The rally was followed by a march to the site of the Iranian consulate in San Francisco, which had been rocked by a bomb blast the night before. Local papers gave banner headlines to the bombing, and printed accusations by consulate officials that "leftist extremists" were responsible for the incident. Local authorities "deplored" the bombing, and called in the FBI to investigate. It seems likely that whoever is responsible for the bombing, the U.S. and Iranian governments will try to use the incident to discredit the protest against the Shah's regime and to witch-hunt Iranian activists in the United States.

By FRANK LOVELL

Hit by the government wage freeze, working men and women everywhere are looking to the union movement to enforce wage agreements entered into with the employers before the freeze was imposed. It is widely recognized now that this wage freeze is a frontal assault on the living standard of the working class. But what can be done about it? That is the question most often asked.

No anti-working-class action of such a sweeping kind has been so openly undertaken by this capitalist government since enactment of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947. Then as now, the government moved against the workers as a class in order to protect and advance the class interests of the employers. Many understood at the time that the Taft-Hartley law was designed to bring the union movement under government control in order to render the workers defenseless against direct attacks upon their paychecks. The same question was raised 20 years ago: What can be done about it?

Instinctively, the union movement seeks to join forces when it comes under attack. One of the first and most natural reactions to Nixon's Aug. 15 wage-freeze edict came from Painters Union Local 4 in San Francisco. At a regular meeting on Aug. 23, the membership voted unanimously "in opposition to the so-called wage-price freeze," and called on the Bay Area labor movement "to convene a mass congress of labor organizations in the area to plan united strategy and action in defense of our living standards."

More recently, in Cleveland at a regular business meeting of Typographical Union No. 53 on Sept. 19, the membership voted unanimously to take a stand "opposed to the wage freeze and the rest of President Nixon's so-called economic stabilization program . . ." and called "for a national emergency congress of labor . . ."

In the case of the Cleveland printers, the call for an emergency congress of labor arises from the earlier history of that union in its fight against the Taft-Hartley law. In 1948, one year after enactment of Taft-Hartley, the International Typographical Union at its ninetieth convention called for the convening of a national emergency congress of labor in Washington to fight government-by-injunction.

### Idea not new

As these examples show, the idea of a congress of labor is not new. It is a good idea that has yet to be realized. It is an idea that will persist, that will be introduced with greater insistence in more local unions as the wage freeze cuts into the living standards of millions of workers.

They will seek ways to maintain their present standard of living and to raise it by striking for cost-of-living payments provided for in the escalator clauses already in their union contracts, for basic wage increases already in their union contracts, for basic wage increases already negotiated and agreed upon, and for further wage raises as prices continue to climb.

Very few workers have bought the fatuous notion that higher wages cause inflation. They know that their unions fight for wage increases in order to keep up with rising prices, that cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts become effective only after prices have risen.

There is a growing realization that the primary cause of the present intensified inflation is the war in Vietnam. As though this cruel and unjust war were not bad enough, the \$80-billion annual military budget also maintains a huge armaments industry for the same type of military adventures in other parts of the world when the occasion arises. Hundreds of thousands are demonstrating against this terrible war in Vietnam, and union

men and women are joining these demonstrations in growing numbers because they realize that they are among the war's victims.

Another social evil is unemployment. Industry is laying off, not hiring. It is encouraged to do so by the policy and example of government. The railroad industry is preparing to lay off thousands more workers. The reorganized U. S. Postal Service likewise is reducing its work force. The federal government itself is cutting the number of employees by 100,000.

Unions have an answer to this problem of unemployment. They will demand a shorter work day with no reduction in take-home pay as the

economic plan. Some are critical of the high-handed way Nixon and Connally have imposed these measures, hoping that such hypocritical criticism will disguise the fact that they too support the fundamental character of the actions.

This is a new fact of life for many in the union movement who for years have been told by their officials to give money and votes to the Democrats because "this is the party of labor." It now becomes clearer to millions of workers that the Democratic Party is the party of capital, not labor.

Most workers are convinced that labor must participate in politics. And as disillusionment with the Democratic

independent political action by labor can do this.

### A healthy response

One of the first reactions in many unions was to propose defying the wage freeze, to call for a general protest strike. This was a very healthy response. A general strike even of 24 hours' duration would have demonstrated the power of organized labor. It would have compelled the Nixon-Connally gang to hesitate and to take a second look at the forces they were dealing with. It would also have inspired great self-confidence in the millions of workers.

But such an action could not have been called by local unions. It would have required the agreement of a sizeable section of organized labor, if not all unions. The AFL-CIO Executive Council has the authority to call a 24-hour general strike but lacks the will or political inclination to do so.

Despite abundant evidence that the employers and their agents are incapable of managing this society, these "statesmen of labor" continue to nod and bow before those masters in high places who have brought on the present crisis. The top union bureaucrats, by experience, training and conviction—and most of all by their present way of high living and their association in the big-time business and political circles—are quickly convinced that international currency stability comes before escalator clauses in union contracts. They feel that a favorable balance of U. S. trade must be established—with protectionist measures if necessary—before unemployment can be eliminated, that an armaments industry to defend U. S. investments abroad is more important than new homes for the millions of poor in this country.

Working men and women in their local unions do not share this pro-capitalist outlook of the top union bureaucrats. The workers want a whole new set of public policies, protection of wages and jobs, more social welfare and public health care, and an end to racial discrimination. They are not concerned with defense of profits.

This is why the idea of a congress of labor can take hold. It is an attempt by union members in their local unions to call together larger representative bodies. It is a way to get together to solve their economic, social and political problems right here at home before anything else.

Some local unions, and even some AFL-CIO central labor bodies in major cities, will urge that a congress of labor be called immediately. But primarily, they will be busy finding ways to answer the provocations of local plant managers or trying to circumvent the decrees of the government Pay Board. These local actions, often involving desperate, drawn-out strikes, may lead to the convening of regional labor congresses such as that proposed by the San Francisco Painters union for the Bay Area.

Such a congress would bring together representatives from all unions in the area. It would also consult with and prepare joint actions with the natural allies of the unions: the powerful forces of the oppressed national minorities struggling for self-determination; the women's liberation movement; the antiwar movement, including antiwar GIs; the students; and all others oppressed and exploited by capitalism.

Such a congress either on a regional or national level, would reflect the growing conviction that the labor movement must come together for mutual protection and to draft a plan of action. It will be talking about strikes to stop the layoffs, about an escalator clause in every contract, about a shorter workday to combat unemployment, about an end to the war. It will begin to work out a program to solve the basic problems of society that the bankers, industrialists and politicians have failed to solve.

# Why should unions call a congress of labor?



Section of picket line in Detroit AFL-CIO anti-Nixon demonstration Sept. 23.

unemployment crisis becomes more acute. Some will strike to stop the layoffs and win a guaranteed annual wage for everyone in a particular industry. The East Coast longshoremen are defending such an agreement now. The union movement is demanding of the federal government that a public works program be inaugurated immediately, as a stopgap measure to reduce unemployment and to meet urgent social needs.

These three big issues—the wage freeze, unemployment, and the war—are closely linked. All are related to the economic crisis. All are political issues requiring a political solution.

### Democrats exposed

The modern union movement, tied as it is to the Democratic Party, finds that it does not have its own representatives in government. The Democratic Party is owned and controlled by big business, just as the Republican Party is, and the Democrats in all branches of government are just as ardent advocates and defenders of the wage freeze as the Republicans are. The man responsible for implementing the wage freeze is Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, a life long regular Democratic Party politician. The Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, the legislation for the wage freeze, was originated and adopted by the Democratic Party majority in the U. S. Congress. No leading Democrat, in or out of government, has yet voiced the slightest opposition to the wage freeze or to Phase Two of Nixon's

Party develops, as it surely will, the sentiment for a labor party is bound to grow.

Until now, the union movement has attempted to solve the economic problems of organized workers on an industry-by-industry basis, leaving such broad social issues as housing, education, racial discrimination, health care, child welfare, social security, even unemployment, and of course war—all of which were considered in the general category of "political matters"—to be looked after by the "friends of labor" in government.

The wage freeze helps expose the weakness of such a position. It is considerably harder now for one union alone, even such powerful unions as the United Auto Workers or United Steelworkers, to win even the most elementary economic demands. The members of these unions naturally look to the rest of the union movement. They have no where else to look.

This is convincing evidence to many that whatever is done to maintain a decent standard of living, or in any other way to improve the conditions of this society, will have to be fought for and won by working men and women themselves with the help of all the allies they can muster to support them. It no longer appears so reasonable to look to the "friendly" politicians in the service of the capitalist class to bring about any basic change in government policy. Only

# The National Picket Line

LACKING ANY PLAN OF OPPOSITION to the government wage freeze and disoriented by the capitulation of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Oct. 12 to "help try to make" the wage freeze work, the union movement has been floundering in a sea of indignation and frustration. Some unions have received "suggestions" from their top international leadership. Local unions have tried independently to resolve their disputes over wages with local management, ending in stalemate. In many instances strikers and their closest allies have continued the fight for a living wage. The rules of collective bargaining have changed and the problem for the unions is how to stay in the game.

A CONTRACT between the Pacific Coast Metal Trades District Council and the Pacific Coast Shipbuilders' Association was signed last Aug. 8 and ratified by the union membership, who had rejected the previous proposal. Basic terms include: a 32-cent across-the-board raise, up from an average of about \$4 per hour; an additional 17 cents in fringe benefits on Sept. 1; a 20-cent raise and a five-cent-minimum cost-of-living adjustment on July 1, 1972; and third-year adjustments the same as the second year's.

This inadequate wage settlement is typical, contrary to the common misconception that skilled workers are overpaid. Moreover, it leaves out of account the severe unemployment in the shipbuilding industry. But for those still on the job, some of them only part-time, the agreement was abrogated Aug. 15 by the government wage freeze edict.

OUR CORRESPONDENT IN LOS ANGELES forwarded a copy of the September issue of *Printing Magazine*, presenting the attitude of publishers. It

says, "We suggest that if this country's labor chiefs are so unstable as to openly defy the executive branch of government, suitable provision be made for them in the nearest federal brig."

These employers have been encouraged by the government drive against wages to reveal their deep class hatred, but they are not satisfied that Nixon has gone far enough. "Our only regret," they say, "is that President Nixon did not act to take a more liberal stand on investment credits. The 10-percent, first-year credit, with 5 percent for subsequent years, is a partial help, but certainly should not be considered the answer to the investment problems of printers and other businessmen."

IN PORTLAND, ORE., a group of women from the Willamette Valley grain belt came to the docks more than a month before Nixon invoked the Taft-Hartley law against the striking West Coast longshoremen. The women demanded that longshoremen go back to work immediately and "permit the free flow of goods through our seaports." They had been organized and brought to Portland in two buses by a seed broker and an economic consultant claiming to represent farmers.

These women from the farm area were met at the docks by wives of the strikers. A report in *The Oregonian* by Ann Sullivan said the meeting of the two groups of women was "amiable and unusual."

The strikers' wives invited the women from the farm area to the union hall for lunch, and there the issues in the strike were explained to them.

According to the union paper, *The Dispatcher*, one of the women who had come to Portland said as she was returning to the valley, "I'd never have got on that bus this morning if I'd known then what I know now."

The longshoremen's wives had wanted all the women to picket the offices of the shipowners, but those who had chartered the buses said there wasn't time for that.

The anti-strike publicity stunt was turned into an expression of support for the strike.

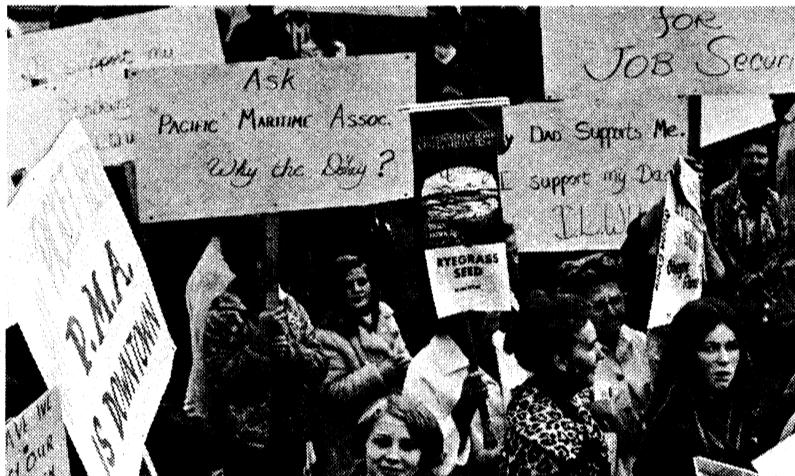
THE NEW YORK TELEPHONE CO., which is using strikebreakers to starve out 38,500 skilled linemen and phone installers who walked off the job July 20 for higher wages, now claims, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, "more than 700 incidents of cable cutting, overturned trucks, vandalized pay phones, and at least one bomb threat."

"Overhead telephone lines have been brought down by shotgun blasts," the report says, while "underground lines have been dug up, cut and, in some instances, tied to the backs of cars and ripped from the earth."

Daniel Keenan, president of Communications Workers of America Local 1103, denies the implied charge that strikers are responsible for these attacks on company property. "I've told our people we're not going to settle the strike with violence," the CWA local president said.

THE WAGE FREEZE in this country has economic consequences in other countries, as intended, but some were not anticipated. On Oct. 13, about 5,000 members of the United Auto Workers in Canada went on strike against U.S.-based Douglas Aircraft. They walked out when a company negotiator refused to make a wage offer to them because of the wage-freeze edict issued by the president of the United States. The present base pay is \$2.98 an hour for office workers, and \$3.33 for production workers.

— FRANK LOVELL



Wives and children of striking longshoremen mobilized in Portland

Photos from *The Dispatcher*

## Taft-Hartley fails to cool dock workers

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 19—Work stoppages and slowdowns have marred a smooth reopening of the 24 Pacific Coast ports closed for 100 days by striking longshoremen of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union.

One week after the preliminary Taft-Hartley injunction was issued Oct. 8, the Los Angeles-Long Beach and San Diego ports were still closed. In Seattle and Portland about one-half of all longshoremen were being fired daily for "low productivity." In Oakland, longshoremen were locked out of the huge Sealand Corporation container docks, which handle most of the West Coast military cargo. In San Francisco, 400 men walked off American President Line docks over a "safety issue."

On the job, the mood is angry and defiant, and the men are fighting back with the means that they have.

The federal government, representing the shipowners, has taken the ILWU to court, charging violation of the Taft-Hartley law. Meanwhile, the preliminary 10-day injunction was extended to a full 80 days by court edict in San Francisco Oct. 16. This means that the striking longshoremen and ship clerks will be legally free to strike again on Christmas day.

The trouble on the waterfront is mostly a result of aggressive provoca-

tion by the employers, represented by the Pacific Coast Maritime Association (PMA). The PMA is on the offensive, feeling that now is the time to establish on the job the kind of working conditions it wants in any new contract.

First of all, it wants "steady men," key men who will work directly for the company, bypassing the union-controlled, job-rotating and work-equalizing hiring hall, which is the very heart of the extensive job control still held by the ILWU.

The language of the last ILWU-PMA contract negotiated by the Bridges leadership granted steady men. ILWU locals have claimed that Section 9.43—the steady-man clause—is in conflict with an older section, which guarantees the union's right to rotate work in order to equalize earnings. This right was won in the 1934 strike.

Thus far the PMA has been unable to enforce Section 9.43 in any port except San Francisco, simply because the men refuse to take the jobs on a steady basis. In San Francisco, ILWU International President Bridges took the PMA's side and was able to force the union to comply.

The result of compliance in San Francisco during the last two years has alerted the whole coast to the dangers. The hundreds of steady men in San Francisco became effectively

company men, and were rewarded accordingly. They no longer use the union hiring hall. The employers call them to work from their homes. They got up to seven days a week work plus overtime, while the other union members were getting two to three days.

Local 10 (San Francisco) called for removal of Section 9.43 from the coast contract. Bridges refused. The local countered by sending delegates to all major locals up and down the coast and succeeded in gaining full support for its position. Bridges still refused.

Local 10 has said it will not ratify any contract that grants steady men. So at present it is a standoff between Bridges and the ranks of the union.

During the strike, when some ships were worked, all locals refused steady men on any job, including military jobs. Since no contract was enforced during the strike, employers had to go along. But now that the Taft-Hartley injunction has reestablished the old contract, they are pushing for full compliance. The PMA has shown no hesitation in locking out the union and thus stopping military shipment at Sealand in Oakland.

In Los Angeles-Long Beach the PMA is attempting steady men where they have not had them before.

In both San Francisco and Los Angeles the union was ordered by fed-

eral judges to comply with Section 9.43. In both areas the union has complied, formally. The men are called by name by the shippers—but dispatched from the union hall. And at the end of the week they "quit," and return to the union hall.

Harry Bridges, international president of the ILWU, has objectively been playing the role of PMA fireman, flying up and down the coast trying to put out the fires of rebellion. His last stop was Seattle, where employers claim production is down 50 percent. Bridges spoke against such tactics as slowdowns, urging full compliance with the reinstated contract.

At present ILWU-PMA negotiations are stalled. The PMA has offered about one-half of the ILWU demands.

The government tactic of applying the Taft-Hartley at first only to the West Coast, thus impairing joint strike efforts between the ILWU and the East Coast ILA, has made the PMA even more bold and arrogant. It evidently feels that it can force the unions into a settlement on its terms before Christmas.

The ranks of the ILWU have not lost the will to fight. Their actions show that. They are especially solid on the issue of the hiring hall, which they say they will not allow to be

Continued on page 22

# In Review

## The of case Vladimir Bukovsky



Pyotr Grigorenko: "Obviously, if the only 'normal' Soviet citizen is one who bows his head to every bureaucrat who exceeds his power, then I am certainly 'abnormal.'" Grigorenko, a former Red Army general, is among those Soviet citizens who have been incarcerated in mental hospitals because of their political views.

Last week *The Militant* devoted the major portion of *In Review* to excerpts from an Open Letter to the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party by Pyotr Yakir, one of the leading left-wing oppositionists in the Soviet Union today. In that letter he referred to the widespread use of psychiatric hospitals as prisons for the "treatment" of dissident intellectuals.

The article below, reprinted from Intercontinental Press, takes up the specific case of Vladimir Bukovsky, a young Soviet writer who is today being held in the notorious Serbsky Institute in Moscow where he is being forcibly "treated" for his political ideas.

While not our usual kind of review feature, we are publishing this material as part of the international campaign to defend the lives—and, quite literally, even the minds—of the new generation of Soviet oppositionists. Among these leaders of the fight for a return to the Leninist norms of socialist democracy are some of the Soviet Union's most gifted artists, poets and authors.

"I absolutely do not repent for organizing this demonstration. I find that it accomplished what it had to accomplish, and when I am free again, I shall again organize demonstrations, of course with complete observation of the law, as before."

These were the words of Vladimir Bukovsky, young writer and political dissident, in his final statement at a trial in September 1967 at which he was sentenced to three years imprisonment. Convicted for "disturbing the peace," his real offense to the bureaucracy was that he had organized a demonstration, in Moscow in January 1967, protesting the arrests of two other young dissenters, Yuri Galanskov and Aleksandr Ginzburg.

Released in early 1970 (his pretrial detention had been credited to his sentence), Bukovsky was true to his word. He immediately resumed organized efforts to struggle for democratic rights and to publicize violations of these rights by the bureaucrats who have controlled the Soviet government from Stalin on.

For more than a year Bukovsky carried on his energetic and often quite dramatic efforts. He gave an interview to the *Washington Post* describing conditions in Soviet camps, prisons, and "special" psychiatric hospitals. He gave a television interview to newsmen William Cole, then working for CBS, along the same lines. He appealed to Mikos Theodorakis, the Greek composer and dissident Communist, to intervene in behalf of Soviet political prisoners as a former political prisoner himself (of the Greek colonels). Finally, in an open letter of January 28, 1971, to psychiatrists in the West, he appealed for protest against the use of psychiatric hospitals for the forced detention of mentally sound dissenters. With this appeal he included exact copies of diagnoses made by KGB-minded psychiatric "experts" in the cases of five oppositionists, including that of Ivan Yakhimovich (who has since been freed from such detention but has not been heard from politically). Bukovsky asked Western psychiatrists to express their opinions on whether the diagnoses contained enough evidence to require the confinement of the individuals involved. He also urged psychiatrists attending international professional conferences to raise the question of such abuse of psychiatric facilities for repressive purposes.

Increasing attention has been called to the internment of Soviet dissidents in prison-hospitals. Bukovsky's role in calling the attention of progressive world opinion to this violation of human rights has been an important one. (He himself suffered from this form of official reprisal earlier in his career—in 1963, after organizing a showing of "underground" abstract art; and in 1965, after organizing a demonstration against the arrest of Soviet writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel.)

The Brezhnev regime has apparently decided not to leave this twenty-eight-year-old gadfly on the loose any longer. He was rearrested on the eve of the Twenty-fourth Congress, on March 29, and despite protests in his behalf, including one by nuclear physicist Andrei D. Sakharov, an investigation was begun that pointed toward a trial under Article 70 of the Russian Republic Criminal Code prohibiting "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," carrying penalties of up to seven years imprisonment.

Now it has come out that the KGB has transferred Bukovsky to the notorious Serbsky Institute in Moscow for "psychiatric examination."

In the first days of October an appeal by Nina Bukovskaya, Bukovsky's mother, began to circulate in *samizdat* in Moscow. This open letter calls on "all people of good will" to help save her son from being turned into a "complete cripple" by Soviet prison psychiatrists.

Nina Bukovskaya asserts that the normal six-month period of pretrial detention has expired and that the KGB (the secret police) can no longer legally justify her son's detention.

"His only crime is the fact that he recounted for the whole world the practice of confining people who dissent in psychiatric hospitals under the pretext of mental illness." Pointing out that "the investigation is now in its seventh month," she stresses that investigators found "no kind of actual violation of the law by my son."

"Seeking a way out of his embarrassment," she writes, "the KGB investigator, Captain Korkach, has sent my son to a special institute of forensic psychiatry for an examination of his psychiatric condition."

Nina Bukovskaya had been summoned to the Serbsky

Psychiatric Institute where Vladimir had been kept much of the summer. She reports that a doctor told her, in the presence of a secret-police agent, that her son was not cooperating with the psychiatric examination and that he was "seriously ill" physically. His rheumatic fever had apparently worsened.

The police and authorities apparently do not feel they can rid themselves of the troublesome Bukovsky with just another trial. The reference of his mother to the danger of his being turned into a "complete cripple" is a real one. Rather than holding trials where defendants can proclaim their views and thus win more support, the heirs of Stalin have been resorting more and more to locking dissenters up in prison-hospitals until they "regain normality" by abandoning their dissident views. This process is accompanied also by forced injections of debilitating drugs. The effect of these drugs, especially Aminazin, according to testimony from Soviet political prisoners, is to render the individual completely limp and apathetic, the aim being to suppress dissidence by destroying the dissenters' mental capacity.

Besides the appeal by Nina Bukovskaya there have been a number of protests in behalf of Vladimir Bukovsky. Forty-seven Soviet citizens, including such prominent oppositionists as Pyotr Yakir, Zinaida Grigorenko, Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, and Anatoly Yakobson, signed a statement affirming their personal acquaintance with Bukovsky.

"None of us ever had the slightest doubt that he was absolutely sane," they declared. "On the contrary, we all know Bukovsky as a well-integrated and mentally balanced person."

"Alarmed by the prolonged examination of Bukovsky and lacking any guarantee of its objectivity and honesty," they continued, "we declare that if he is adjudged mentally incompetent, we will be unable to regard that as anything but a crime, exceeding the authority of the officials involved."

Similar, separate appeals were reportedly made in Bukovsky's behalf by Academician Sakharov, one of the founders of the nongovernmental Committee for Human Rights, and by Mikhail A. Leontovich, also a nuclear physicist.

Support for Bukovsky has also come from some Western psychiatrists, along the lines of his appeal of last January. Forty-four members of the department of psychiatry at Sheffield University in Britain called on psychiatrists throughout the world to oppose the Soviet government misuse of mental hospitals. Their September 17 letter to the *London Times* urged psychiatrists to raise the issue with Soviet colleagues and at international conferences. They cited Bukovsky's case in particular.

Also, there is some confirmation in fact for Nina Bukovskaya's assessment of the secret police intentions. In late September, before the six-month period expired, the interrogator Korkach took the unprecedented step of calling in two Western newsmen, James R. Peipert of the Associated Press and Andrew Waller, bureau chief of Reuters news agency. Korkach told Peipert that the questioning had to do with a case involving Article 70. (Peipert and Bukovsky were attacked and beaten by agents while meeting in downtown Moscow last January.) At the same time, a number of Bukovsky's Soviet friends were called in for questioning in his case.

The KGB officer warned the American and British newsmen not to reveal the subject of the interrogation under pain of prosecution by Soviet law. This way of dealing with the Western press, unprecedented in the recent period, indicates how fearful the bureaucracy is lest information on the Bukovsky case get out. Its case must have been shaky indeed. And psychiatric "treatment" is chosen as a desperate way out.

It is urgent that people on the left, unionists, activists in the antiwar, women's, and other radical social movements speak out, as well as psychiatrists and bourgeois politicians, in defense of the Soviet oppositionists. An indication of the urgency of international support for these courageous fighters for true socialist democracy can be seen in the fate of former Red Army General Pyotr Grigorenko, an oppositionist-minded Communist who defended Soviet power, arms in hand, in World War II.

Following the example set by Bukovsky last year in making a filmed interview for television, Soviet dissidents have smuggled out a film in which they appeal for support in the struggles for "Human Rights in the Soviet Union," the film's title.

Zinaida Grigorenko, in the film, describes her husband's condition now that he has been detained for over two years in a special psychiatric hospital. On her last visit to him, at the time of filming (several months ago), he told her: "I go around with compresses of urine on. My body is covered with sores. The gastritis is worse. So is the cystitis. I am very, very ill."

In her filmed plea to public opinion, Zinaida Grigorenko also says:

"It is a fact that my husband is condemned to solitary confinement where he is not even allowed to have a pencil or piece of paper to write on, where they order him to stand, like a stone statue. That means either physical death or madness. People—help me to save my husband, to save those like my husband who are suffering for their opinions."

—GEORGE SAUNDERS

# Federal employees cancel U.S. bonds

By HARRY RING

LONG BEACH, Calif. — Civilian employees at the Long Beach Naval Shipyard responded to "Phase One" of Nixon's wage freeze by canceling their government savings bonds. They acted at the urging of their union, the Federal Employees Metal Trades Council, AFL-CIO.

In mid-September, a union leaflet was issued to the shipyard workers, headed: Nixon's Scapegoats Unite."

The leaflet reported that at a Sept. 13 Metal Trades Council meeting, "the Council delegates unanimously adopted a strongly worded resolution urging all employees to immediately cancel their U. S. Savings Bond deduction. Thus, all employees . . . are urged to support this program as a means to demonstrate to the president that we, the Federal Employees, will not stand still for this unfair and inequitable method of adjusting the economy of this country.

"The Federal Employees," the leaflet continued, "must rise up to take this 'wage' burden off our backs. Those few extra dollars we are now investing in U.S. Savings Bonds will supplement our income until the freeze is lifted. . . . CANCEL YOUR BONDS TODAY."

A subsequent leaflet indicated the union leadership is not ready to oppose the wage freeze in principle but intends to focus their fire on the particular inequities imposed on federal employees. The leaflet said federal workers "are not opposed to the theory of a wage and price control as long as it is equitable. . . ."

The assistant to the shipyard commander asserted that only some 160 of 7,000 employees had actually can-

celed their bond deductions. Queried on this, a union staff member said this was clearly not the case, since he had personally turned in more cancellation forms for workers than that and others had turned theirs in individually.

# Nixon nominee exploits La Raza

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

Nixon's nominee for U.S. Treasurer, Romana Acosta Bañuelos, is a person after his own heart. Starting out in 1949 with one automatic tortilla machine and her aunt, Bañuelos built up the Ramona Mexican Food Products Company into a \$6-million business with over 300 employees. After the first two years, she bought out the aunt, added another machine and a truck driver, and was on her way.

In 1964, she helped found the Pan American Bank in a predominantly Chicano section of Los Angeles. Her main contribution was to put the bank on a firm financial footing by tightening up on "high risk" loan applicants.

For those of us who marvel at her unquestionable success, she has these words of advice. "I would say to anyone who wanted to start a business — if they had no money — that they must be willing to work very, very hard. . . ."

In addition to hard work, Bañuelos had something else going for her. A raid by the Federal Immigration and Naturalization Service on one of her plants in Los Angeles revealed that she had a number of illegal Mexican nationals employed there. Professor Rudy Acuña of the Chicano Studies Department at San Fernando Valley State College commented, according

to the Oct. 7 *New York Times*, that "Mrs. Bañuelos is well known as an employer of aliens." According to Immigration officials, this was the sixth raid in three years on Bañuelos' food packing plant.

It is estimated that there are at least one million illegal Mexican nationals, so-called *mojados* or "wetbacks," working in the United States. Because they are subject to immediate deportation if caught, they are targets for the worst kinds of abuses by employers. Many factory owners hire illegal Mexican nationals through *enganchistas*, or contractors, on the basis of seasonal work such as in food processing plants. The workers are told that they will receive the bulk of their low wages at the completion of a specified time period. But just prior to the end of the time period, employers have been known to call the Immigra-



Romana Acosta Bañuelos

tion Service reporting that they suspect some of the workers of being "wetbacks." The workers are then rounded up and deported, without receiving their final pay.

The work force of 300 at Ramona Foods is made up mainly of women. Thirty-six of them were captured in the raid and deported back to Mexico, although one demanded a hearing.

As it turns out, Nixon shares Bañuelos' appreciation for cheap Mexican labor. The Oct. 18 issue of *Time* revealed that "Before he was nabbed by FBI men, Francisco Martinez Llamas, an illegal Mexican alien, worked for two days last summer as a gardener on the grounds of the Western White House at San Clemente."

Bañuelos claimed that the raid at Ramona Foods was an attempt by Democrats to prevent her appointment as Treasurer of the United States, but in reality she was the victim of a stepped-up attack on illegal aliens by the ruling class and the labor bureaucracy. In the face of rising unemployment, the U.S. ruling class already has underway a new campaign of pointing out the "injustice to U.S. residents" of having Mexican nationals, Dominicans, and other Latinos working in the U.S.

In 1970, the number of deportations went up to 317,016, a 240 percent increase from 1967. The ruling class hopes by this method to force Raza aliens to suffer the brunt of the rising unemployment and thus minimize a radicalization among U.S. workers.

In periods of prosperity, the Border Patrol and the Federal Immigration Service look the other way while employers indiscriminately superexploit Raza workers who come here hoping to find a better life for themselves and their families.

The appointment of Bañuelos would make her the first Mexican-American to fill such a high government post. Nixon, like other capitalist politicians, is grooming himself and brushing up on his Spanish for the Chicano vote in 1972. *Ya Mero* (Sept. 25), a Spanish language Chicano paper from McAllen, Texas, noted however that being U.S. Treasurer "is a job with little power, with responsibility limited to signing your name on American paper money.

"The real manager of the financial matters of the U.S. government is not the treasurer but the secretary of the treasury, the title of which is held by the ex-governor of Texas, John Connally, an individual known in his home state as a conservative, a racist [and] anti-Mexican. . . ."

# ¡La Raza en Acción!



USE OF SPANISH IRKS MONOLINGUAL RACISTS: *El Chicano*, published in San Bernardino, Calif., reports in its Sept. 8 issue that the use of Spanish by two students and a guest speaker at a high school graduation ceremony earlier this year brought sharp reactions from several school officials. "Addressing commencement exercises of Gambetta School [in Castroville, Calif.], where more than 400 of the approximately 500 students are Mexican-American . . . the speakers spoke first in Spanish and then in English.

Although the Chicano parents were extremely happy about this, the culturally arrogant administrators were incensed. "It was a disgrace to let it happen. It should never have been allowed to happen," was the reaction of Judge Kenneth Blohm, a trustee. School board chairman Leonard Shirrel demanded that "Before something like this happens again the board should know about it." The principal, Paul Murray, obviously outraged that Chicanos should use their native language, stated flatly, "It won't happen again."

50,000 FARM WORKERS STRANDED: The October *Frontline Strike News* of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) reports that "about 50,000 workers are stranded [in the Midwest], unable to earn enough money to get back to Texas. National Strike Director Jim Drake reports that there are about two workers for every available job at 70 cents an hour. Families are doubled up in housing.

This tragic situation for Chicano workers results directly from the conscious policy of over-recruiting by growers, with the full cooperation of the Texas Employment Commission, California Labor Offices, and Midwest state employment offices. In a special article in the Oct. 3 *New York Times*, Donald Janson reported some of the re-

cruiting methods used by growers.

"Carmen Olguin and 40 others were sent nearly 2,000 miles by the Calexico, Calif., [Farm Labor] office to Illinois to work for the Green Giant Company for \$2 an hour. Less work and more deductions than expected cut this to 36 cents an hour, Mr. Olguin said, and when he complained to the Calexico office upon returning [having paid his own way there and back], 'they just laughed at us.'" (Now you know why the Green Giant is so jolly.)

In another incident, Janson reports that "Esmeralda Sanchez, of Texas' Rio Grande Valley, was referred with a large group of workers to Ohio tomato fields but found little work on arrival because the grower had 4,000 harvesters on hand rather than the 1,000 he actually needed."

The Farm Labor Offices, ostensibly set up to protect farm workers, do quite the opposite. Terry Y. Feiertag of the Illinois Migrant Council put it this way. The farm labor network "exhibits no awareness that it is to function in any way as a government protection against exploitation of the worker, but rather acts as an all-too-willing partner of the employer in just such exploitation."

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SETS EXAMPLE: As most people know, the federal government is charged with enforcing the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Executive Orders 11246 and 11478, all of which deal with nondiscrimination in federal contracts.

The pattern of discrimination against nonwhite workers of course continues. But a speech by Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.) in the Sept. 23 *Congressional Record* indicates that federal employment practices regarding government workers is as bad or worse than the national pattern. Accord-

ing to Roybal, "over half of GS-1 jobs, or the lowest federal pay category, are filled by minority groups, while only 2 percent hold GS-18 positions, or the highest white collar category."

Of the 2.6 million federal employees, fewer than 3 percent are Spanish surnamed. In the top echelon of government, only 0.33 percent are Spanish surnamed. This is completely out of proportion to the figure of at least 6 percent Spanish surnamed in the population as a whole.

The Civil Service Commission, charged with executing the equal employment program is one of the worst offenders. Out of a total of 5,300 employees, only 140 or 2.6 percent are Spanish surnamed, with 75 percent of them in the lowest paying jobs. Likewise with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Out of 700 employees only 64 are Spanish surnamed, with not one in a top level position. The same story is to be found in the Departments of Commerce; Labor; Health, Education and Welfare; and Housing and Urban Development, where less than 2 percent of the employees are Spanish surnamed.

Most revealing is that the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), supposedly set up to help the poor and minority groups, has only 894 employees listed as from a minority out of 2,400. Although Spanish-surnamed people make up about 27 percent of the poor, only 3.6 of those employed by the OEO are Spanish surnamed.

Even the *vendido* Roybal was forced to conclude that "The government has acted immorally and illegally. By its indifference, it has perpetuated this occupational caste system and turned the ideal of equal employment into another American myth." We should add that expecting Roybal's party or the Republican Party to do anything about it is falling victim to still another myth.

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

# Calendar

BOSTON

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

## WHICH DIRECTION FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT?

A discussion of perspectives for the antiwar movement by representatives of the two national antiwar coalitions. Speakers: Don Gurewitz, a coordinator of Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition; and Andy Himes, staff member of Boston People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m., at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

**ALIENATION: A PERMANENT CONDITION OF HUMAN LIFE?** Speaker: Dr. Morris Starsky, Marxist philosopher. Fri., Oct. 29, 8:30 p.m., at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 463-1966 or 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**THE PADILLA AFFAIR: ARTISTIC FREEDOM IN CUBA**—A symposium featuring Susan Sontag, writer; Irwin Silber, staff writer for the Guardian; David Thorstad, staff writer for The Militant; and Sandra Levin, author just returned from Cuba, editor of the recently published book *Venceremos Brigade*. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m., at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Continental dinner served at 6:30 p.m., \$1.25. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 982-6051.

**FLY OVER TO 706 BROADWAY** (4th St.), Eighth Floor, on Sat., Oct. 30, 7 p.m., for our spirits and witches party—an extravaganza of dinner, games, prizes, dancing and other delights. Eat, drink and be merry with us. Donation: \$2. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

**FALL SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES:** "History of the Young Socialist Alliance," the second of three lectures on the current radicalization by Caroline Lund, staff writer for The Militant. Sun., Oct. 31, 1 p.m., at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Admission: 50c. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call 260-0976.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**IN DEFENSE OF CARLOS FELICIANO.** Fri., Oct. 29, 8:30 p.m., at 2744 Broadway (105th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For further information, call 663-3000.

**UPPER WEST SIDE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF RALLY AND PARTY.** Sat., Oct. 30, 8 p.m. Speakers: David Keepnews, SWP high school candidate for New York State Assembly; Stacey Joslin, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress; B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Harlem; Julie Simon, chairwoman, Columbia University SMC. All invited to attend. To be held at the Upper West Side SWP campaign headquarters, 2744 Broadway (105th St.). Call 663-3000 for further information.

PHILADELPHIA

**NIXON-MAO-VIETNAM:** Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m., at 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1, t.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**THE JEAN SAVAGE SHOW** will be aired on Philadelphia's Channel 3 Tues., Oct. 26 at 10:30 p.m.

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Jean Savage will present her program and interview representatives of the Student Mobilization Committee, Women United for Abortion Rights, and the Philadelphia Peace Action Coalition. Savage will also be seen in a special broadcast on Channel 6 on Wed., Oct. 27 at 9:30 p.m. and has taped a show for WFLI radio that will be broadcast Sun., Oct. 24, at 9 p.m. Call WA5-4316 for further information.

SEATTLE

**CHICANO LIBERATION AND THE '72 ELECTIONS.** Speaker: Mirta Vidal, author of *Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth*, frequent contributor to the *International Socialist Review* and *The Militant*. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m., at 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. Dinner served at 6 p.m., \$1.50 (Dinner and forum combo—\$2.25). For further information, call 523-2555.

TWIN CITIES

**THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT.** Speaker: Mary Hegderson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 29, 8:30 p.m., at 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## Atlanta rights lawyer killed

By DOUG JENNESS

On Saturday Oct. 9 Atlanta civil rights attorney Peter Rindskopf was killed in an automobile accident. Rindskopf, 29, was a partner of Howard Moore, chief defense counsel for Angela Davis, in the law firm of Moore, Alexander, and Rindskopf.

Rindskopf was widely respected in Atlanta for his legal competence and his willingness to defend those unfairly treated by this racist society. He handled housing and job discrimination suits, draft cases, defended GIs and represented the NAACP in several court cases. He was a principled defender of civil liberties.

In 1970, as a lawyer for the Southern Legal Assistance Project, he represented Linda Jenness, who was then the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, in a suit against the state of Georgia's discriminatory election laws. The section providing for high qualifying fees was overturned by a three-judge federal court in the summer of 1970. Earlier this year, Rindskopf argued a case before the U. S. Supreme Court against the excessive number of signatures needed for Georgia nominating petitions, but the court upheld the state law.

At the time of his death, he was involved in a legal battle involving desegregation in Atlanta schools.

Rindskopf's untimely death will be mourned particularly by those from Atlanta's Black community and antiwar and radical movements who knew that they could call him any time, day or night, and receive legal assistance.

## Veteran socialist dies in Penn.

PERKASIE, Pa.—John Knisely died here Oct. 7 at the age of 65. Across the years since he was born in Allentown, Pa., he had made many contributions to the trade-union and revolutionary-socialist movements.

After only six years of formal schooling, John went to work in a pants factory where he became a voluntary organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Later he was made an official organizer for the union and assigned to the New England area to organize pocketbook workers. In preparation for this assignment the union had sent him to Brookwood Labor College in New York State. During the 1930s he was also a supporter of the National Unemployed League, especially in his native territory of eastern Pennsylvania.

John joined the Trotskyist movement in the mid-thirties and in 1938 he became a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party. During the upsurge of labor struggle following World War II he was an active member of the SWP's Tri-city branch of Allentown, Perkasie and Reading. After the branch was dissolved in the period of cold war and intensive witch-hunting, he became a supporter of the party's branch in nearby Philadelphia.

Having become a skilled carpenter and cabinet maker by the mid-forties, John went into the building construction business on his own, together with his son. His earnings enabled him to make substantial financial contributions to the SWP. At critical moments during the fifties, which were rough financial times for the party, he made key contributions directly to the SWP national office and he helped to keep *The Militant* going.

After retiring from the construction trade, John joined an art league and became a potter and designer in ceramics and glass to gratify his creative instincts. On several occasions in recent times he and his wife, Anna, made their home and spacious grounds in Perkasie available to the Young Socialist Alliance for picnics. Among John's last political acts was his participation in the November 1969 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C.

## ...dock

Continued from page 19

altered, come hell or high water, PMA or Bridges.

Along the waterfront still stand—as if expecting reoccupancy—the makeshift picket shacks erected during the 100-day strike. Painted on the side of these plywood and tarpaper structures is the slogan, "We shall return!"

By JEAN SAVAGE

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 20—Striking members of the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, were ordered back to work in this port by a common pleas court injunction Oct. 17. A federal district court upheld the injunction the following day.

The 6,000 Philadelphia dock workers walked off the job Oct. 1 in response to the East Coast strike call of the ILA. All Atlantic Coast ports are closed and the union is urging all Gulf Coast ports to comply with the strike call as well.

The court action here could seriously cripple the strike, which seeks to extend the guaranteed-annual-income provision of 2,080 hours pay (40 hours for 52 weeks) won by longshoremen in the port of New York under the contract that expired Sept. 30.

The back-to-work injunction here was granted on the flimsiest basis: a joint union-management statement Sept. 22 which said that "based upon the extension of the present contract . . . all of the ILA locals in Philadelphia would continue to work . . . until the termination of the presidential wage freeze."

Charles Brown, terminal workers ILA secretary, said that the men were as resentful about conditions now as when the strike began. They show no inclination to return to work at any of the piers in this port. The union is appealing the court ruling to the Federal Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit.

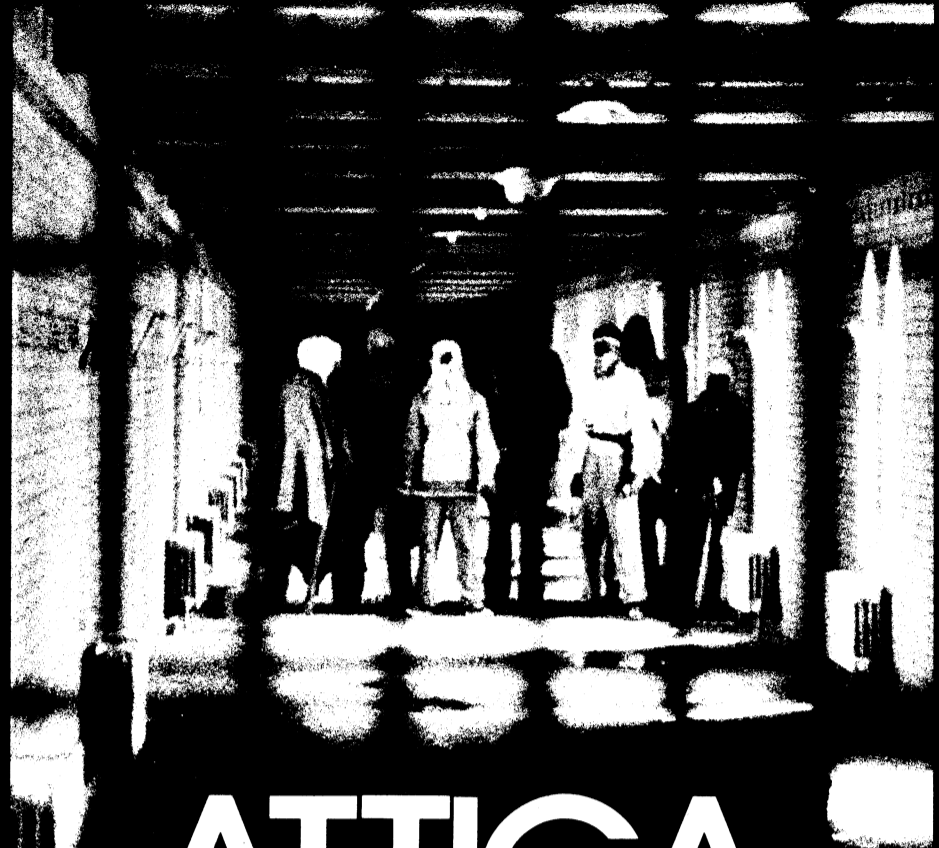
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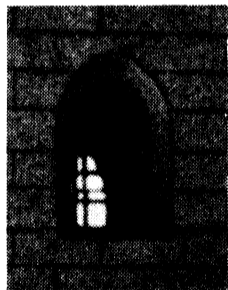
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# THE MILITANT

## Angela Davis defense compels state to reveal illegal evidence

By NORTON SANDLER  
SAN RAFAEL, Oct. 20—The opening of the trial of Angela Davis may be delayed again while Judge Richard Arnason rules on important defense motions asking that the trial be moved from Marin County to San Francisco and calling for the suppression of evidence confiscated in illegal searches. In proceedings yesterday and today, defense counsels Margaret Burnham and Howard Moore Jr. submitted 42 examples of damaging publicity the defendant has received in Marin County which could prejudice the trial.

The pretrial motion to suppress evidence charged to have been illegally obtained was submitted by Moore Oct. 5. The hearings on that motion forced the State of California to reveal some of the evidence it plans to use in its prosecution of Angela Davis for murder, kidnapping and conspiracy.

Davis is charged with purchasing the weapons and masterminding a kidnap and escape attempt that led to the death of Jonathan Jackson (George Jackson's brother), and three other men, including Marin County Judge Harold Haley on Aug. 7, 1970.

Davis asserted in the hearings on Oct. 5 and 6 that the state had obtained its evidence in a series of illegal searches, and that the suppression of this evidence could have a direct bearing on the state's ability to prosecute her when the trial formally opens Nov. 1.

The hearings before Judge Richard Arnason revealed that on July 30, 1970, Davis and Jonathan Jackson were stopped by customs inspector Robert Murrel at the San Ysidro bor-

der station between Tijuana, Mexico, and San Diego. Murrel claimed that in a routine spot check—performed on one-third of the cars that go through the border station—he discovered in the trunk of the defendant's car "subversive literature" and subsequently directed the car to a secondary inspection area.

The "literature" included copies of the newspaper *People's World*, pamphlets containing information on the Soledad Brothers, and the book *The*

Mass Psychology of Fascism by Wilhelm Reich.

*The Angela Davis defense campaign has been marked by demonstrations at home and abroad. More than 30,000 people from all over France took to the streets Oct. 3 in Paris, demanding freedom for Davis. Fania Jordan, Angela's sister, addressed the throng at a subsequent rally, before going on to other European countries. There were a series of demonstrations in the U.S. Sept. 25, the largest of which was in New York where close to 3,000 turned out for a rally in Central Park. In addition to these actions, there was recently a protest in New Delhi by students and faculty of Delhi University outside the U.S. Embassy. And in Cuba, at the University of Havana, a Free Angela Davis Committee has been formed.*

der station between Tijuana, Mexico, and San Diego. Murrel claimed that in a routine spot check—performed on one-third of the cars that go through the border station—he discovered in the trunk of the defendant's car "subversive literature" and subsequently directed the car to a secondary inspection area.

The second inspection was executed by Thomas Hardin, who claimed on the witness stand that it is his "duty to protect the U.S. from any treasonous literature . . . that advocates the violent overthrow of the government." According to Hardin, further searching led customs inspectors to discover a receipt for a gun purchase and a .32 magnum bullet shell, which were both forwarded to the FBI.

These discoveries apparently moti-

Howver, State of California Bureau of Investigation and Identification inspector Richard Mercurio, in a report dated Oct. 23, 1970, states that the defendant's 1959 blue Rambler was searched solely because of the lateness of the hour, and the "unusualness of Blacks crossing the border at that time of night."

Mercurio, in a barely audible voice,

admitted under oath that his report was an accurate reflection of his conversations with Murrel.

The defense motions also forced prosecutor Albert Harris to introduce into evidence a list of items confiscated by the FBI in a search of the defendant's Los Angeles apartment, including a letter from Ruchell Magee that had been forwarded to Davis, unmailed letters to "George," signed "Angela," and some undeveloped film.

The search, it was later revealed, had been executed on a warrant granted in Los Angeles Aug. 18, even though the affidavit for the warrant was not submitted until Aug. 25.

The majority of the testimony on Oct. 6 was provided by special FBI agent Warren Monroe, who conducted the arrest of Davis and David Poin Dexter in a New York motor lodge Oct. 13, 1970.

After questioning by Moore, Monroe admitted that it was extremely unusual to book people at the place of arrest, and conceded that he could not recall a similar procedure in his seven years as an agent.

During his examination of Monroe, prosecutor Harris asserted that Angela Davis was planning to go into "exile" in Cuba. This assumption was largely based on some notes left behind by the defendant along with an introductory Spanish language textbook.

Later, State Attorney General and former FBI agent Evelle Younger, in an attempt to counter the ludicrous courtroom proceedings, told a state-wide radio audience, "Our court system . . . faces perhaps for the first time a situation in which the people's case has been prejudged to an almost unbelievable extent. Through deliberate or accidental deception, many people have actually come to believe that Angela Davis is being prosecuted because of her sex, race and politics.

"We don't hold political trials in California—regardless of who the victim or the defendant is," Younger concluded.

## Soledad pretrial hearings held

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER  
SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 13—Judge Spiro Lee Vavuris does not allow the clenched-fist salute in his court. The press calls Vavuris "the cool-it judge," as he presides over pretrial hearings in the Soledad Brothers' murder case like a straight-tailored business executive addressing his board of directors. Vavuris was appointed to "cool" the Soledad case after authorities were embarrassed by the Aug. 28 courtroom police attack, in which club-swinging cops injured many spectators.

But Vavuris' melodious "Good morning, Mr. Cluchette and Mr. Drumgo," does little to modify the atmosphere of an armed camp in which the two Soledad Brothers are being tried. Judge Vavuris has instituted an elaborate security routine, which includes a clothing search and photographing of all court spectators. After passing a police guard armed with a submachine gun, the spectators must view the trial from behind a bullet-proof partition, as they in turn are observed by closed-circuit television.

Floyd Silliman, attorney for John Cluchette, and Richard Silver, attorney for Fleeta Drumgo, charged in court that the security measures amounted to intimidation and would prejudice jurors into immediately concluding that the defendants were dangerous.

However, on Oct. 13 Judge Vavuris denied defense motions to change any security procedures. The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California has announced that it will challenge the constitutionality of the courtroom security measures in a suit, which will probably be filed next week in federal court against the sheriff, chief of police, and the city and county of San Francisco.

ACLU spokesman Charles Marson stated, "We think the security measures exceed all reasonable demands. . . ."

"Women are being stripped naked, compelled to spread their legs and submit to examination of their vagina. This is done to all female spectators, regardless of whether there is reason to believe they are suspicious or dangerous."

On Oct. 13, attorney Floyd Silliman argued in vain before Judge Vavuris that the state should help to pay for defense costs, or allow him and Richard Silver to withdraw from the case. Silliman maintained that supporters of the Soledad defense had raised about \$30,000, but that these funds were exhausted long ago to pay for travel expenses, interviewing witnesses and filing pretrial motions.

Vavuris also denied the motion of John Thorne, former attorney to George Jackson, that either Jackson be tried in death as co-defendant with the Soledad Brothers, or that the state dismiss the case against Jackson with the admission that he was innocent.

The state had routinely dropped all charges when Jackson was shot down at San Quentin Aug. 21. Judge Vavuris ruled that the state did not have to build a case against Jackson, but conceded that since he had never been proven guilty, the law therefore presumed Jackson innocent of the Soledad murder.

The trial of the Soledad Brothers is scheduled to begin Oct. 27.



Photo by Brian Shannon

New York women's liberation demonstration, Aug. 26, 1971.