

Lessons of the L.A. Chicano protest

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THE MILITANT

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Is female oppression secondary? p. 15

N.Y. jail revolt demands end to trial delays, mistreatment

By RANDY FURST

NEW YORK—Four rat-infested, overcrowded municipal jails, their cells jammed with Black and Puerto Rican inmates most of whom are awaiting trial, became the setting last week for a full-fledged prison revolt as several thousand embittered prisoners seized hostages and laid down demands for lower bails, speedier trials and an end to intolerable conditions.

The rebellion erupted in the Long Island City branch of the Queens House of Detention Oct. 1 and spread with chain-reaction swiftness to jails in Brooklyn, Manhattan and briefly to Rikers Island. The city administration moved methodically if cautiously, fearful that their brutal assault on the prisoners would mobilize the massive sympathy the inmates enjoyed in the Black and Puerto Rican communities of New York. At the end of five days, Mayor John V. Lindsay and his cops had crushed the rebellion.

The revolt ended in a double cross.

While Lindsay met with a prisoner's delegation inside the Queens jail Oct. 5, outside, correctional officers attacked the inmates who were attempting to surrender. Guards wielding nightsticks, iron pipes, pickaxe handles and baseball bats, converged on several hundred surrendering inmates in a bloody assault as three horrified reporters watched. The attack came shortly after Lindsay had promised no reprisals if the 300 inmates surrendered peacefully.

"This government cannot tolerate a breakdown in our prison system," said Mayor Lindsay last week discarding his liberal colors. "We cannot and will not be powerless in the face of this disorder."

What was the extent of the beatings? "No one was hurt seriously," Al Castro, director of public affairs and chief apologist for city correction commissioner George W. McGrath, said in an interview with this newspaper. "The papers right now are screaming brutality, brutality, brutality. I ask you, as a man, think of this. You have five institutions that rioted. You had over 4,600 inmates involved. You had over 32 hostages that were taken and in all of this, in all of this, despite what you have read in the papers, despite what the pictures say, there was no one seriously injured."

Photographs and hospital records don't tell lies however. A hospital official at Bellevue told *The Militant* that some 12 prisoners had been treated there. "It was a gruesome scene," wrote *Daily News* reporter Michael McCardell Oct. 6. With two others, he had climbed to the ninth floor of a nearby warehouse to observe the Queens inmates surrender. "No editing was done on the story," McCardell later told *The Militant*. "One inmate," he wrote, "was dragged out a doorway onto a loading platform and five guards attacked him with their clubs. They battered

(Continued on page 20)

REVOLT AT THE TOMBS. Prisoners raise their fists in Manhattan Men's House of Detention. Known as "The Tombs," the prison was built to house 932. There were over 1,400 in its cells when wave of prison rebellions swept New York.



Kansas U students aid women strikers

Student involvement has big impact

Lawrence, Kansas
A strike by about 40 women at a small plastics factory in Overland Park, Kansas, has given Kansas U students a unique opportunity to aid a section of the labor movement.

The women's grievances include sexual abuse by male foremen, unhealthy conditions and lack of health insurance, sexual and racial discrimination in wages and hiring practices, and personal insults such as being termed "stupid, ignorant bitches."

The production workers of C.M. Moore Plastics Co. voted to unionize in May 1970, but being small and unorganized, they paid no dues and have been relatively inactive. When their grievances pushed them to strike action, they found themselves unrecognized by Moore, unaided by the international, and unsupported by many fellow employees. After two weeks of picketing, morale had dropped and the line had dwindled.

The remaining women and their labor field representative then contacted a professor and several students at KU who met with the strikers and agreed that massive student support could be crucial in winning the struggle. A Worker Support Committee was built and plans were laid for mass day and night picketing of the plant, investigations into legal rights issues, and extended public education at KU.

The student involvement has had profound consequences already: media coverage, previously nonexistent, has become extensive; police and Kansas Bureau of Investigation harassment has multiplied; students who supported the labor movement on prin-

Letters from our readers

This 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. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

ciple are being plunged into their initial labor struggle; and many workers are for the first time getting to know the people who they had previously feared or even hated.

Lynn Anderson

Chicano prisoners show national pride

Seattle, Wash.
On Sept. 16 the Chicano prisoners at McNeil Island Penitentiary presented a program celebrating Mexican Independence Day, which we were able to attend. The spirit of solidarity which characterized the meeting showed how the concept of La Raza, or national pride, has been able to inspire all Chicanos, even those isolated in prison.

The prison's Teatro Del Pinto presented a play written and directed by an inmate. The play described the trial and execution of a Mexican guerrilla who failed to deliver arms to General Villa because he allowed his brother, a government soldier, to escape instead of killing him. The play stressed the importance of total commitment on the part of revolutionaries to the work for the betterment of all. As the actors put it, revolutionaries must learn to think in terms of "we" rather than in terms of "me."

Emil Aguayo
Stephanie Coontz

Good journalism

Riverside, Calif.
As far as good (many times excellent) journalism goes, yours is the best newspaper I have read in years.

D. V.

Presswoman visits trade show

New York, N. Y.
I want to share some impressions of the National Association of Printers and Lithographers trade show, which workers from the shop that prints *The Militant* went to recently.

At the entrance, precision sheet-fed presses humming at 10,000 impressions an hour with dot-on-dot registration greeted buyers and onlookers. Salesmen representing over 150 companies offered the latest in printing equipment.

Attractive, braless girls dressed in American Indian garb directed interested men to the Chief 24 press while salesmen talked about circulating fountains and pre-loading platforms.

A girl in a flashing red micro-mini and a star-studded thigh stumbled over her memorized explanation of the four-color-web press nearby as buyers made her giggle with embarrassment.

Salesmen and demonstrators were surprised but pleased to talk shop

with me as one of the few presswomen they had ever met. One salesman, looking at my ink-imbedded hands, asked in amusement, "You're a woman pressman? I never met one before. Whatdayaknow," he said to the cross-legged girls perched on tables, handing out flyers, "women's liberation!"

A demonstrator, annoyed at my interest in a Heidelberg press, suddenly blurted, "Do you run a press?" Amazed at my affirmative answer, he proceeded to show me a new feature on the press.

The 3M representative, demonstrating the newest printing process, called dryography, had no time to answer my questions. But when he noticed me examining some sample products with my ink-stained hands, he exclaimed, "You're a lady pressman? I only knew one other . . . during World War II."

The printing show was educational in many ways. Especially revealing was how industry, advanced technologically, is equally backward sociologically. The Soviet Union, although it has a long way to go in women's liberation, employs 71 percent women at the point of production in the printing industry. In this country a presswoman remains an oddity.

Suzanne Weiss

Wants to organize teach-in on Middle East

Brooklyn, N. Y.
I would like to thank you for Robert Langston's article in the Oct. 2 issue, "The Real Facts about the Palestinian struggle." It was the most complete and most shocking account of the mass murder of Palestinian nationalists I have seen.

I would be interested in setting up a teach-in or similar activity at my college, Bank Street College of Education, which I imagine has many rather unthinking Zionist supporters.

Ann L. Zulowski

Fraser-Borgmann Defense Committee formed

Philadelphia, Pa.
On Sept. 15, 1970, a grand jury here returned indictments against Steve Fraser and Dick Borgmann, two members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, for conspiracy to possess explosives with intent to use them unlawfully. The Labor Committee denounces these charges as being completely untrue, and part of a concerted effort by police and city officials to suppress the activities of the Labor Committee.

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Closing news date—Oct. 7

At the time of the arrests in April 1969, Lt. George Fencil of the Philadelphia police department went so far as to connect the Labor Committee (then, the SDS Labor Committee) with an East Coast plot to blow up national monuments. Suffice to say that not a shred of evidence has been produced to substantiate these or any other charges. However, while charges were dropped against two of the four originally arrested, and bail for Fraser and Borgmann was reduced from \$15,000 to \$10,000, the case will be brought to trial (possibly in November) with possible sentences of 12 years in prison and fines.

A Fraser-Borgmann Defense Committee has been formed to secure the broadest possible support and publicity about the case. Plans include a rally at the forthcoming pretrial arraignment, as well as forums to be held at colleges, high schools, and around the country. A benefit concert in Philadelphia and a national fundraising and support appeal will follow in the near future.

For more information contact: In Philadelphia: Jane Friedman, 4322 Chestnut St., apt. 412, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. In other cities: Leif Johnson, 3 Claremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 10027.

Nat'l Caucus of Labor Committees

Likes 'In Brief'

Lancaster, Calif.
I am pleased that the SWP is against violence in protest activity. Am impressed with Harry Ring's analysis of Cuba's struggle for the 10 million tons. I like the "In Brief" and the "Great Society" sections of the paper. Many other good features.

P. G.

securities (If there are none, so state). None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Flax Hermes
Business Manager

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Nixon, Hoover, in attack on campus activists; YSA opens campaign to alert student mov't

President Richard Nixon added the authority of the White House to a vicious red-baiting attack on student radicals issued Sept. 21 by J. Edgar Hoover. With a covering letter of endorsement, Nixon forwarded copies of the Hoover statement to 900 administrators and students Sept. 27.

This appears to be a further step in the Nixon administration's clamp-down on students.

Recent moves include Att'y General Mitchell and Vice-President Agnew's attack on the Scranton Commission report on student unrest; a request for appropriations to send 1,000 FBI agents onto the campuses this fall; and the new set of political "guidelines" issued by the Internal Revenue Service which schools must follow in order to maintain their tax-exempt status.

In the FBI letter, Hoover labeled five student organizations "extremists," blaming them for "violence" and "lawlessness" on university campuses. The organizations named were the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, Weathermen, Young Workers Liberation League, and Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

"The extremists," Hoover declared, "are a small minority of students and faculty members who have lost faith

Hoover's letter represents a serious attack on student rights. While some people may excuse it as just another smear attack by an aging cop who makes a habit of such witch-hunting pronouncements, actually it is a dangerous challenge that must be met and repudiated by the entire student movement.

Hoover's letter is one component of a generalized assault being launched by the Nixon administration on the basic democratic rights and civil liberties of students. Nixon is launching his assault this fall in an attempt to roll back the gains won in the student strike of May 1970 and to silence the growing student opposition to his policies. . . .

[The Hoover letter] is a classic example of the kind of arguments used by the powerful when they perceive a challenge to their power to continue exploiting and oppressing people. These arguments have several features:

1. They picture society as a monolith and equate opposition to government policies with a hatred of and desire to destroy everything in the society. They try to present the reform and reconstruction of society as disorder and chaos.

To achieve this end, they utter platitudes about the flag, patriotism and loving America—as if the interests of Nixon and the administration were the same as the interests of the majority of the American people.

But the United States is divided! Nixon does not represent the majority of women, working people, young people, Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans—those who are exploited and denied the opportunity to develop their full human potential by the Hoovers, Nixons, Agnews and the tiny minority of capitalists who own and run society for their own benefit. . . .

2. They distort and try to obscure the real demands, proposals and objectives of radicals. "They have no rational, intelligent plan," Hoover says. "They'll ask you to abandon your common sense."

But masses of students do not move into action because an imaginary handful of "extremists" can make them take leave of their reason. We move because we want to create an alternative to the decay and misery we see around us and we know such an alternative is possible. . . .

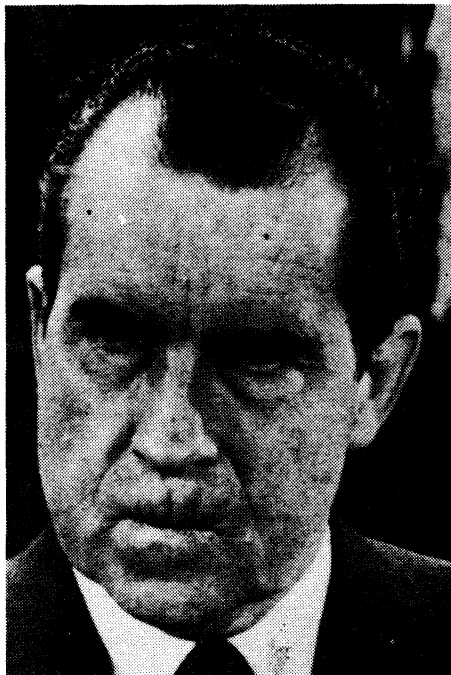
3. They try to make the victim into the criminal and the criminal into the victim. These men, who bear the responsibility for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, tens of thousands of American GIs and countless others here at home and around the world, have the audacity to speak about violence as if it came from the students!

As they prepare to interfere with the peaceful exercise of fundamental political and human rights by students—who are citizens like anyone else—they try to brand their victims as "extremists" and perpetrators of violence.

These hypocritical accusations are designed to hide the truth about the real extremists—the mass executioners and exploiters who would rob those opposing them of their basic rights. Nixon and Hoover are the real extremists. The real source of violence is the cops and troops they maintain to guard private property and preserve the status quo around the world. . . .

YSA program

The YSA is a revolutionary socialist youth organization whose purpose is the building of a revolutionary



Richard Nixon

movement which can lead the working people in the transformation of society and the construction of socialism.

We base our program on the principles of Marxism and on the traditions of the American people represented by figures like Sam Adams, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Eugene Debs and Malcolm X.

The tradition of which the YSA is a part—of struggle against injustice and exploitation, and of international solidarity among the oppressed of all countries—is the best tradition of the American people, and the attempt of Nixon and his administration to resurrect the witch-hunt hysteria of the 1950s when this tradition was stigmatized as "alien" and "un-American" will not work. . . .

The Cuban revolution demonstrated to tens of thousands of young people what the "threat of Red aggression" in reality meant—people who had been stepped on by the United States government standing up and saying, "Enough!" and taking control of their own affairs. . . .

One of the most important factors in sweeping back the vestiges of McCarthyite thought control was the growth of the mass movement against the war in Vietnam. . . . [The YSA has] worked actively for the organizing of mass demonstrations by coalitions based on non-exclusion, i.e., the participation of anyone who agrees with the demand of immediate withdrawal, regardless of his or her other political beliefs.

Today the YSA is one of the major national organizations actively building the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the National Peace Action Coalition.

Another factor in blunting the thrust of 1950s anti-communism has been the resurgence of the Black struggle, the growth of Black nationalism, and the upsurge of nationalist consciousness and militancy among other oppressed national minorities, such as Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Native Americans. . . . The YSA is a multinational organization, and Third World YSAers are active in all phases of the struggles for self-determination of the oppressed national minorities. . . .

One of the most powerful new movements that has risen [in the recent period] is the women's liberation movement. Women leaders of the YSA were among the first to become involved in and inspired by this profoundly revolutionary movement. The YSA immediately realized the enormous

potential for drawing in participation of the masses of women to fight against the institutions which restrict them to an inferior status. . . .

* One of the ways the YSA works to build the mass movements against war, for self-determination and for women's liberation is by supporting the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP candidates are activists who play a day-to-day role in organizing and leading the mass movements.

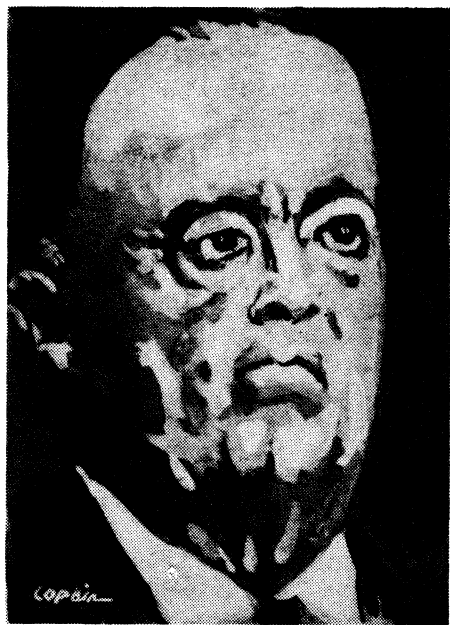
They use their campaigns to educate more people about these movements and to win new forces to the struggles for liberation and against war. These socialist election campaigns provide a clear-cut alternative to those looking for a way out of the hollow game of capitalist Democratic and Republican party politics.

Another way we work for the mass movement is by organizing and mobilizing students in colleges and high schools, using the campuses as bases to reach out to other sections of the population. . . .

The YSA has a comprehensive program for the campus, linking up the needs of students with those of the majority of the population. We call for free education, the abolition of tuition, an annual salary for students and guaranteed jobs upon graduation.

We call for student-faculty control of education, full civil liberties for all students, including high school students, and no police on campus. We call for an end to campus complicity with the Vietnam war. We call for community control of education by Third World communities, adequately financed Third World studies departments, required courses in Third

(Continued on page 12)



J. Edgar Hoover

in America. They ridicule the flag, poke fun at American institutions, seek to destroy our society. They take advantage of the tensions, strife, and often legitimate frustrations of students to promote campus chaos."

In the White House letter endorsing Hoover's slanderous attack, Nixon described Hoover's letter as "a cogent and enlightened analysis. . . ."

At a press conference at Columbia University, Oct. 2, Susan LaMont, national chairwoman of the YSA, Norman Oliver from the YSA national office, and Patricia Grogan from the Columbia University YSA pinpointed the Hoover letter and Nixon's endorsement of it as a further step in the deepening attempt to intimidate students following the massive upsurge on campuses last May.

They announced a national campaign by the YSA to counter the Nixon-Hoover attack on the student movement.

Following are excerpts from the open letter to American students released by the YSA. Copies of the full text of the letter can be obtained from the YSA national office, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

SMC answers Hoover smear of 'extremists'

J. Edgar Hoover's "Open Letter to College Students" is "a blatant attempt to stifle free speech and opposition to the war in Southeast Asia," the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War declared in New York, Sept. 30.

The SMC, a national student antiwar group, was labeled as "extremist" and responsible for campus "lawlessness" in a letter released by the Justice Dept. Sept. 21.

"If students are disillusioned with the universities," the SMC declared, "it is because the universities have too long sanctioned ROTC, war research and discrimination against minority students. . . ."

"The violence and repression perpetrated by Hoover and the forces he represents is the real 'extremism' in America—and if Hoover is really concerned with 'disrespect' for authority, he should realize that the 'problem' will not go away until he and Nixon and Agnew put an end to their attacks on the rights of American people and until ALL the troops are brought home from Indochina."

♀ Women's liberation notes

"NEW YORK — The cuff length controversy rages on relentlessly as male consumers continue their confused approach to selection of clothing for fall wear.

"The severe drop in cuff lengths from 3 millimeters above the ankle to 2 millimeters below the ankle is what's behind their consternation."

Thus begins an article in the *New York Times*, which is a hilarious spoof on the *New York Times* and at the same time a sharp protest against the way women are treated in the news media.

The *New York Times*, published by Deborah Biele of the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women, was widely distributed on the New York Aug. 26 demonstration. It is still possible to order copies or bundles of the *New York Times* from Deborah Biele, 11 West 94 St., Apt. 3A, New York, N.Y. 10025. The price is 25 cents each for single copies, 15 cents each for 100-500, and 10 cents each for 500 and up. Payment must be sent with your order.

The U.S. Department of Labor reports that women are "invading" many crafts that were previously considered "for men only." The number of women now participating in apprenticeship training programs for various crafts is 1,800, which is 72 percent more than last year.

Women are learning to be plumbers, operating engineers, shipfitters, aircraft mechanics, auto mechanics, machinists, construction electricians, sheet metal workers, carpenters, pipefitters and shoe repairmen, among other things.

Along with the new legislation banning discrimination against women, and with the rise of the women's liberation movement, the spirit and confidence is spreading among women that we can do any job men can do.

A new monthly newspaper has come out of the Canadian women's liberation movement: *The Velvet Fist*. Published by members of the Toronto Women's Caucus, the first issue contains articles on media treatment of women, Canadian women's history, high school women's liberation, abortion, and the Aug. 26 action in Toronto, as well as poetry by women. You can write for a copy from *Velvet Fist*, P.O. Box 808, St. F, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.

"The moral views of a minority can no longer be forced on the entire population," said Madeline Schwenk, speaking for the Illinois coalition called TRIAL (Total Repeal of Illinois Abortion Laws). TRIAL held a press conference to announce plans for a statewide conference aimed at getting rid of Illinois abortion laws, to be held Oct. 16 and 17 on the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Eleven organizations are affiliated with TRIAL, including such groups as Chicago Women's Liberation Union, University of Illinois Women's Liberation, Illinois Citizens for the Medical Control of Abortion, Zero Population Growth, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, AUGUST 27, 1970

SEC'Y OF STATE WEDS JAMES R. BUCKINGHAM

By HENRIETTA GOLD

MONTEGO BAY, August 25—Mr. and Ms. Theresa Buckingham announce the marriage of their son, James Leslie, to Anne Strongen Sharpe, the Secretary of State.

Mr. Sharpe's mother is the well-known heart surgeon, and his grandmother, Della Buckingham, ran for the Presidency in 1920 but did not live to see the election.

Mr. Sharpe, a graduate of Deadbriar Finishing School, made his debut in 1965 at the Honeysuckle Cotillion. He attended Yale, Harvard, Radcliffe, and participated in the Junior Year Abroad program in Lichtenstein, where he learned to make dumplings.

The bridegroom wore a simple black Cardin suit with an Edwardian shirt of Alencon lace dotted with seed pearls. He carried a simple bouquet of daisies and was given in marriage by his mother. His six attendants were similarly dressed in pink shirts. Attending also, as Best Woman, was the bridegroom's sister, Bernice Buckingham.

The bride received her B.S. from M.I.T., and her LL.B. and J.D. from Harvard. At twenty she became a partner in the law firm of Hellish & Hurried, then went on to the bench of the Court of Appeals and, following that, the State



Mr. Anne Strongen Sharpe
former James Leslie Buckingham

Supreme Court. She managed President Livia Wonder's campaign and was appointed to her Cabinet. It was Ms. Sharpe's draft of the Vietnam Peace Treaty that was finally accepted.

Social page from New York Times

George Washington University Women's Liberation is planning a regional educational conference on the GW campus in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 16 and 17. The conference is conceived of as a way to follow up on the Aug. 26 actions by drawing many new women into the women's liberation movement, especially women who just began to identify with women's liberation around Aug. 26.

The conference will encompass the broad spectrum of women's liberation issues, with workshops and presentations on day care, abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, Third World women, international women, the causes of women's oppression, self-defense for women and other topics.

Women from all over are urged to attend and contribute ideas. Free housing and day care will be provided. For more information contact Margaret Scott, 1525 31st St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Still another mass women's liberation gathering is planned in New York City, called by the N.Y. Aug. 26th Strike Coalition, but also including women's organizations that have become involved in women's liberation since Aug. 26. This meeting, which will take place on Oct. 12 at 4 West 76 St., is to launch an ongoing coalition to continue the fight around the demands of Aug. 26 and other issues.

— CAROLINE LUND

Seattle high school activist fights home ec requirement

By ROBB LUTTON

SEATTLE—Chris Robinson, a 16-year-old senior at Roosevelt High School here, is going to court to have her school's home economics requirement for female students declared unconstitutional. In order to graduate, female students are required to take a course in sewing and cooking, a blatantly discriminatory and sexist regulation designed to prepare women for their role as household slaves.

Robinson is coordinator of the Seattle High School Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and is also an activist in the Young Socialist Alliance.

The suit is being co-filed by four

other high school women around the state, with the legal help of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The announcement of the suit at a press conference has generated tremendous interest. About 10 different radio stations, newspapers and television stations participated. Since the press conference, Chris Robinson has been contacted and interviewed by nearly every news medium in Seattle.

She has also met with an enthusiastic response from high school women. Robinson has announced that because of the broad response to the case, she and other students will be launching a women's liberation group in Seattle high schools.

Texas conference of women's mov't a major success

By LAURA MAGGI

AUSTIN—On Sept. 26 and 27 over 250 women gathered here for the first Texas women's liberation conference, hosted by Austin Women's Liberation. Women came from 30 different cities, and there was an impressive display of the breadth of the women's movement. The age range was from 13 to 60 years; there were students, workers, union organizers and professional women present. A sizable number of Black women and Chicano women attended as well as the entire female staff of the Valley Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

The feeling of sisterhood and unity ran throughout the conference. As one woman said in the final plenary session, "This has been the greatest experience for me. This is the first time I've ever felt sisterhood and power." From the applause, it seemed that most of the conference agreed with her.

The first session of the conference was on "The Crisis of Women in Our Time," and included talks by: Bea Deardan on the family; Barbara Wuensch on women in the economy; Mariana Hernandez, SWP candidate for U.S. senator, on special problems of minority women; and Evelyn Sell, from the Socialist Workers Party and Austin Women's Liberation, on the psychological oppression of women.

Workshops were held, covering the above topics as well as child care and early childhood education, sexism in education, and women in the war.

The conference reconvened for a second panel on the right of women to control their own bodies, with Judy Smith and Vic Fow of Austin Women's Liberation discussing the legal and medical aspects of abortion and birth control as well as the Austin Women's Liberation campaign against abortion laws.

Dinner was cooked by male supporters of women's liberation and the child-care center was also staffed by men.

The conference reconvened Saturday evening for a movie, "Salt of the Earth," and media show, with rock music provided by an all-female band.

Sunday's workshops covered topics like the mass media's image of women, the hidden history of women, the Equal Rights Amendment, women's liberation and the left, how to organize a women's liberation group, and lesbianism. Workshop reports were given at the final plenary session chaired by Charlene Torrest of Houston NOW.

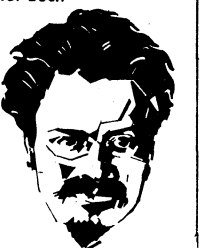
Of particular significance was the report from the abortion and birth-control workshop, given by Evelyn Sell. She announced that the workshop had made plans for a conference to be held in Dallas in November to call a mass demonstration against Texas abortion laws. The demonstration would be held in January in Austin, when the Texas legislature reconvenes to discuss liberalizing the abortion laws. Tumultuous applause greeted the announcement.

Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question

Introduction by Peter Buch

These interviews, letters and articles analyze Zionism, Birobidjan, and anti-Semitism in both the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union. 50c

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Al Fateh statement

'Towards a Democratic State in Palestine'

part II

In the Oct. 9 issue of *The Militant* we published the first installment of a document entitled "Towards a Democratic State in Palestine." It was drafted by Fateh, the largest of the Palestinian national liberation organizations, and contributed to the Second World Conference on Palestine, held in Amman, Sept. 2-6, 1970.

The final portion of the document is printed below. Subheads are from the original. Copies of last week's issue can be ordered from our business office, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Enclose 20c.

Difficulties and limitations

It is quite difficult and risky at this early stage of the revolution to make a clear and definitive statement about the new liberated Palestine. Realism rather than romantic daydreaming should be the basic revolutionary approach. We do not believe that victory is around the corner. The revolution does not underestimate the enemy or its imperialist allies. What will happen during the years of hard struggle for liberation cannot be easily predicted.

Will the attitude of Palestinian Jews harden or become more receptive and flexible? A further drift to the right, the stepping up of anti-Arab terrorism—in the Algerian O. A. S. tradition—followed by a voluntary mass exodus on the eve of liberation will pose a completely different problem and will be quite regrettable.

On the other hand, joining the revolution and working with it will lay firmer ground for the new Palestine. The revolution is striving hard to achieve the second alternative.

Guerrilla operations are basically

directed at the military and economic foundations of the Zionist settler-state. Whenever a civilian target is chosen, every effort is made to minimize loss of civilian life—though one would find it hard to distinguish civilians and non-civilians in this modern spartan militaristic society where every adult is mobilized for the war. Hitting quasi-civilian areas aims at the psychological effect of shocking the Israelis into realization that the racist-militaristic state cannot provide them with security when it is conducting genocide against the exiled and oppressed Palestinian masses.

In the Dizengoff street bomb (Tel Aviv), Fateh guerrillas delayed the operation three times to choose a place (in front of a building under construction) and a time (12:30 a.m.) to maximize noise but minimize casualties. The result: few were injured, but thousands were shocked and made to engage in serious rethinking.

In conclusion, despite all uncertainties, there is the hope, the vision and the behavior of the Palestinian revolutionaries, designed to achieve a better future for their oppressed country. Answers must be thought out and found for myriad questions relating to this future. Even if the answers are tentative, they will start a dialogue which provides the road towards maturity and fulfillment.

Profile of a democratic Palestine

1. The country

Pre-1948 Palestine—as defined during the British mandate—is the territory to be liberated, the territory where the democratic, progressive state is to be created. The liberated Palestine will be part of the Arab homeland and

will not be another alien state within it. The eventual unity of Palestine with other Arab states will make boundary problems less relevant and will end artificiality of the present status of Israel, and possibly that of Jordan as well.

The new country will be anti-imperialist and will join the ranks of progressive revolutionary countries. Therefore, it will have to cut the present life-links with, and the total dependence on, the United States. Therefore, integration within the area will be the foremost prerequisite.

It should be quite obvious at this stage that the new Palestine discussed here is not the occupied West Bank or the Gaza Strip or both. These are areas occupied by the Israelis since June 1967. The homeland of the Palestinians usurped and colonized in 1948 is no less dear or important than the part occupied in 1967.

Besides, the very existence of the racist oppressor state of Israel, based on the expulsion and forced exile of part of its citizens, is unacceptable to the revolution even in one tiny Palestinian village. Any arrangement accommodating the aggressor settler-state is unacceptable and temporary. Only the people of Palestine—its Jews, Christians and Moslems—in a country that combines them all is permanent.

2. The constituents

All the Jews, Moslems and Christians living in Palestine or forcibly exiled from it will have the right of Palestinian citizenship. This guarantees the right of all exiled Palestinians to return to their land whether they have been born in Palestine or in exile and regardless of their present nationality.

Equally, this means that all Jewish Palestinians—at the present Israelis—have the same right provided, of course, that they reject Zionist racist chauvinism and fully agree to live as Palestinians in the new Palestine. The revolution therefore rejects the supposition that only Jews who lived in Palestine prior to 1948 or prior to 1914 and their descendants are acceptable. After all, [Moshe] Dayan [minister of defense] and [Yigal] Allon [deputy premier] were born in Palestine before 1948 and they—with many of their colleagues—are diehard racist Zionists who obviously do not qualify for a Palestinian status; whereas newcomers may be anti-Zionists and work ardently for the creation of a new Palestine.

In the interview referred to earlier [published in *Al-Taleez*, June 1969], Abu Iyad, one of the officials of Fateh, reasserted that not only progressive Jews but even present Zionists willing to abandon their racist ideology will be welcome as Palestinian citizens. It is the belief of the revolution that the majority of the present Israeli Jews will change their attitudes and will subscribe to the new Palestine, especially after the oligarchic state machinery,

economy, and military establishment are destroyed.

3. The ideology

The Palestinians in the process of and at the time of liberation will decide on the system of government and on the political-economic-social organization of their liberated country.

(It should be repeated at this juncture that the term Palestinians includes those in exile and under occupation and Jewish settlers.)

A democratic and progressive Palestine, however, rejects by elimination a theocratic, a feudalistic, an aristocratic, an authoritarian, or a racist-chauvinistic form of government. It will be a country that does not allow oppression or exploitation of any group of people by any other group or individual; a state that provides equal opportunities for its people in work, worship, education, political decision-making, and cultural and artistic expression.

This is no utopian dream, for the very process of achieving the new Palestine inherently produces the requisite climate for its future system of government—i.e., a people's war of liberation brings out new values and attitudes that serve as guarantees for democracy after liberation.

Witness changing attitudes towards collective work in refugee camps in Jordan and Lebanon. Palestinians and other brothers joining them volunteer work and livelihoods. They are not exploited or enslaved labor. The values of human life change. Unlike Israeli napalm raids and indiscriminate killing, Palestinian guerrillas kill sparingly and selectively.

New forms of human relations emerge. No master-slave relation can be attained among fighters for freedom. Increasing awareness of the international dimensions of their problem and discovery of who backs the oppressor and who supports the oppressed creates new responsibilities to the international community, especially to the supporters of liberation and democracy.

Therefore, Palestinians after liberation will not accept subjugation from anybody and will not reintroduce oppression against any group, for this would be a negation of their *raison d'être* and an abdication of their revolutionary existence.

This is quite obvious in Palestine refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan. After twenty-two years of oppression, humiliation and manipulation by secret police and local exploiters, the camps have awakened to the revolution. In the process, the exiles have broken their bonds, have thrown out the secret police and its spies and allied exploiters and have instituted democratic self-management.

Medical, educational and social services are being provided locally through the revolutionary organizations in a self-help fashion that has

(Continued on page 16)



Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan

Liberation News Service



Commandos in training

Group's membership swells

SMC chapters map plans as Oct. 31 protests near

At more than 200 colleges and universities, Student Mobilization Committee chapters have greeted the new semester this fall with mass planning sessions and big membership drives.

The key date on which activity is focusing is Oct. 31. Chosen by the National Peace Action Coalition as Peace Action Day, and supported by SMC nationally, Oct. 31 will see massive antiwar demonstrations in every major city in the country.

Hundreds of thousands of leaflets were coming off mimeograph machines in SMC offices from coast to coast, posters and meeting notices were beginning to appear on dorm bulletin boards as SMCs stepped up activity in preparation for Oct. 31.

In Minnesota where some 10 SMC chapters function on campuses throughout the state, a regional SMC conference drew 200 to the University of Minnesota. The conference endorsed Oct. 31.

Well-attended conferences have been duplicated in other SMC regions. With SDS dead, on many campuses the SMC has emerged as the largest, most deeply rooted radical student organization. SMC chapters are experiencing the largest influx of student militants since the organization was founded at a student strike conference in Chicago in 1966.

The University of Massachusetts in Amherst, student population of 15,000, was one indicator. At the first SMC meeting in mid-September, 500 students showed up and 150 signed up as members.

UMass students took office space during the May strike after Nixon ordered the Cambodia invasion. The offices were used to promote UMass as an antiwar university, reaching out to the community and organizing antiwar activities. "The real job now," said SMCer Sid Finehirsch by telephone, "is to retain the office."

At New York University's Washington Square campus, the SMC moved into the center stage of the student movement in the opening days last month.

One subcommittee was building a Middle East teach-in. Another subcommittee was overseeing leaflet distribution, others were working on articles for a weekly column in the student newspaper. Five leaflets have been ground out so far, publicizing the Oct. 31 action, an Oct. 15 build-up rally, and the SMC planning meetings. Door-to-door membership drives in the dormitories were yielding results.

Many campus chapters have been having spirited discussions over Nixon's recent threat to send U.S. troops to the Middle East, with the overwhelming majority of SMCers strongly opposing any use of U.S. troops there.

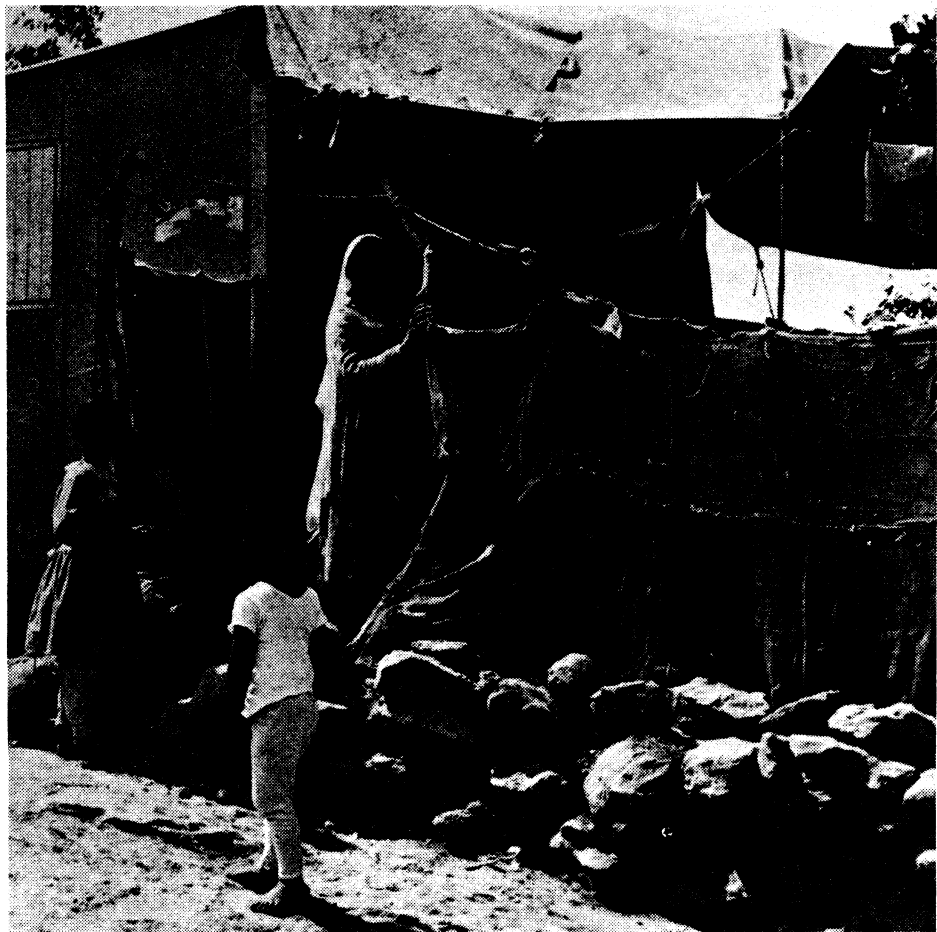
With an Oct. 3 demonstration of 1,500 cosponsored by the SMC already under its belt, the Ann Arbor, Mich., SMC chapter is stepping up work on the Oct. 31 action. Some 200 attended the first SMC meeting on campus.

Southwestern SMC chapters are no exception. According to Mary Prejean, a sophomore SMCer at the University of Houston, there are 50 paid-up members of the chapter there, and plans for action look very good.

A central aim of the fall offensive is finding ways of linking up with other elements in the community. At the University of Illinois Circle campus in Chicago, Oct. 9 has been informally designated "Outreach Day" by the SMC. On the agenda are leafletting outings in Ft. Sheridan Army base, the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, several factories, and local high schools. Still aiming for Oct. 31, a "Vietnam Day" has been scheduled for Oct. 15 with a film festival, a skit by a Chicago women's liberation group, and a speaker from the United Auto Workers.

With a ROTC on campus at the University of Illinois and an anthropology professor doing counter-insurgency research in a Thailand project for the Pentagon, the SMC chapter there appeared to be brimming with issues.

— R. F.



Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan before Hussein's attempt to crush the fedayeen.

Palestinian resistance retains significant strength in Jordan

By ROBERT LANGSTON

OCT. 7 — Despite the horrible slaughter the Palestinian people had to endure in the most recent, two-week battle of the Jordanian civil war, it is evident that the Palestinian resistance movement won a significant victory and has retained important positions of military strength.

Under the terms of the agreement between guerrilla supreme commander Yassir Arafat, Jordan's King Hussein, and representatives of eight Arab states besides Jordan, both the regular commando units and Jordanian army units are reported to be gradually withdrawing from Amman and from the northern cities of Irbid, Zerqa and Ramtha. This does not, however, mean that the Palestinians in those cities will be left undefended.

The popular militia, composed of people who normally live and work in the cities but who are armed and take part-time military training, have remained intact — and are clearly much larger and better organized than appeared to be the case before the recent fighting.

Although the truce agreement says nothing about the status of the militia, the Jordanian government has consistently demanded that they be

disbanded and their arms turned in. The guerrilla organizations with which the militia are associated have refused to permit them to be disbanded, and according to the Oct. 4-5 *Le Monde*, an officer of the Arab Higher Committee — established to supervise implementation of the truce agreement — said last Friday that it was not possible to disarm them.

There are tens of thousands of militia members in Amman alone, according to the Oct. 2 *Le Monde*, and one of their leaders explained their position this way: "The militia has nothing to do with the Cairo accords. Only the regular fighters are supposed to leave Amman. No compromise is possible on this point. We must have a militia to protect the revolution from the counterrevolution."

The Palestinian national movement has thus emerged from the battle with a large auxiliary force, tested under fire. In addition, the fact that the militia cannot be forced to disband is a political victory of the first magnitude for the Palestinians, for it demonstrates how deeply rooted their movement is in the masses and how resistant it is to demoralization from the kind of genocidal attack the Hussein clique launched against it.

Washington's grief about Nasser

The death of Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser of a heart attack September 28 at the age of fifty-two marked the end of an era in the Middle East and in the so-called Third World. Nasser epitomized the efforts of the national bourgeoisies in the colonial areas in the postwar period to carry through bourgeois-democratic revolutions, to break free from the tutelage of the advanced capitalist countries — but without embarking on a socialist revolution or involving the masses in struggle, and in fact actively opposing the latter alternative despite the most vigorous demagoguery to the contrary.

As millions throughout the Arab world mourned the man who had become a symbol of Arab nationalism, political observers in the imperialist capitals tried to weigh the significance of Nasser's death in the current turmoil in the Middle East.

Most regarded Washington as the main loser. The September 29 *New York Times*, for example, said: "Although Mr. Nasser gained a reputation in his early years in power as a fire-breathing radical, in recent years he had become a force for moderation and pragmatism."

The *Times* summed up the comments on the floor of the United Nations immediately after the news of Nasser's death was announced:

"All those who spoke appeared to fear that the forces of moderation in the Middle East had suffered profound damage and that the forces of extremism would be strengthened as a result of the Egyptian President's death."

The *Washington Post* spelled out its main worry quite clearly in its September 29 issue:

"For the United States, Nasser's death is a crucial loss. Although Egypt and America had their differences, there remained a grudging mutual respect. Often Egypt gave the Americans a helping hand. . . .

"With Nasser gone, the guerrillas, along with other extremists in the Arab world, no longer have any polit-

ical brakes to check what some observers feel is their slide to the left."

This view of Nasser as a force for "moderation," that is, conciliation with Washington, was expressed in some detail by the New York financial magazine *Business Week* in its October 3 issue:

"We have the feeling Nasser kept the area calmer than it would have been without him," said a U.S. expert on Middle East oil in Paris this week.

"Oilmen thus echoed the judgment of diplomatic observers that the death of Egypt's president removes a moderating influence on the militant ideologies, fierce political rivalries, and national antagonisms that have kept the Middle East in turmoil for a quarter century. . . .

"It may be months before Nasser's death can be measured for its full impact. . . . But Western oilmen fear that it means more trouble ahead for them, starting in Egypt itself."

"Reminiscent of Eldridge Cleaver's Soul on Ice."
Verne Woodson, San Francisco Sun Reporter

Black Voices From Prison
by Etheridge Knight

192 pp. cloth \$5.95 paper \$2.45

Black Voices from Prison is more than just a collection of rhetorical testimonies or penal poetics written by a gaggle of antisocial misfits. It is an anthology of iron-forged rage, quenched in tears of frustration; mentally insightful, subliminally reminiscent of Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*. This group of brief interviews, poems and social critiques serves not only as interesting reading about those who are behind 'the gray walls,' but as well, functions as an indictment assailing the existing social pressures and inequities that result in the imprisonment of many, too many black men. . . .

Verne Woodson, San Francisco Sun Reporter
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SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

An editorial in the Sept. 21 Mass Media, an undergraduate newspaper at the U of Massachusetts at Boston, takes a look at the irrelevancy of the Democratic and Republican parties to the needs of the Black community. It concludes on the following note:

"What about the Socialist Workers Party? Is this the answer for the minority groups? . . . There may be a noticeable increase in the power of the Socialist [Workers] Party among the minority groups, possibly due to inability on the part of the two main parties to answer or relate to the echoing cries of the Black communities.

"What will be the answer the Republican and Democratic politicians give to the Socialist Workers Party platform of Black control of the Black

MacGregor nor Democrat Hubert Humphrey for U.S. Senate. As a result, it has voted to endorse SWP candidate Nancy Strebe.

On Oct. 17, the Women's Liberation Committee of the Socialist Workers Party Campaign in California is sponsoring a special one-day conference on "Write Women Back into History." The day's activities will include talks on "American Feminism—Roots of our Movement" by Terry Hardy, SWP candidate for California controller; "Revolutionary and Socialist Women," by Dianne Feeley, California SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; and "Women's History—a Weapon in our Liberation," by Carol Lipman, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Sessions will take place at 2338 Market St., San Francisco; tel: 626-9958.

When Andrew Pulley, California SWP candidate for Congress (7th c.d.), was scheduled to debate his Democratic and Republican opponents on a Berkeley radio talk show Sept. 27, his opponents canceled out. Not happy about having to defend their views in Pulley's presence, they decided on a more comfortable arrangement and rescheduled themselves on the same show a week later.

Clifton DeBerry was the only New York gubernatorial candidate to accept the invitation of N.Y. NOW (National Organization for Women) to appear at a Sept. 29 panel discussion. Both Nelson Rockefeller and his Democrat opponent Arthur Goldberg sent women to represent them, claiming they had schedule conflicts.

To loud applause, several women in the audience complained that it was difficult under the circumstances to get a good picture of the candidates' views on the questions under discussion.

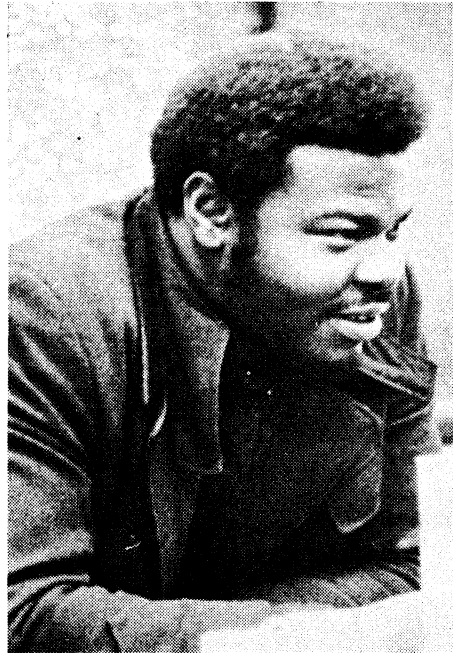
Clifton DeBerry drew the strongest applause of the evening when he said, "If these men are 'too busy' to come down here and talk with you and listen to what you have to say, you



Minnesota SWP candidate Nancy Strebe.

community — Immediate withdrawal from Vietnam — Free and legal abortions — Free 24-hour child-care centers?"

The executive board of the Young Republicans at Augsburg College in Minneapolis feels that it can morally support neither Republican Clark



California SWP candidate Andrew Pulley.

should be 'too busy' to vote for them on Nov. 3."

The Rhode Island AFL-CIO invited candidates for major office (not, however, those of the SWP) to address its state convention which opened in Providence Sept. 25. After the group was urged to reconsider the exclusion, Socialist Workers senatorial candidate Daniel Fein was also granted time. Fein called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia as a solution to the burdens the war imposes on workers.

Georgia SWP gubernatorial candidate Linda Jenness and a score of campaign supporters held an early morning send-off rally at the Atlanta induction center Sept. 29 for Georgia campaign director Bill Moran, who was due to be drafted. Moran informed the authorities that he intended to "exercise all my rights" in the Army and that he would fight any attempt to prevent him from doing so.

The campaign will not need to find a new director, however. The Army decided it did not want Moran.

— DAVID THORSTAD

SWP wins ballot victory in New York

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK, Oct. 5 — An important victory was scored for the New York Socialist Workers Party election campaign last week when the secretary of state certified the SWP candidates on the ballot. A court decision on the SWP's ballot status had not been expected until sometime in late October.

The Socialist Workers Party won a federal court suit last June when a provision requiring candidates to obtain 50 signatures on nominating petitions from each of 62 counties was invalidated. Also struck down was a provision requiring that a person be a registered voter in the last election in order to sign independent nominating petitions. The State of New York, however, won a stay on this decision from Supreme Court justice John Harlan pending a decision by the Supreme Court this month.

Thus it was expected that the state officials would not place the SWP candidates on the ballot. Apparently they lack confidence in the merits of their appeal and feared a Supreme Court decision against the election laws and a last minute court order to place the SWP candidates on the ballot. The state won the stay from Justice Harlan only after he received a written commitment that the state could place the SWP candidates' names on the ballot even a few days before the Nov. 3 election.

The Coalition for a Fair Ballot in New York, formed to fight the discriminatory election laws, will continue its campaign to demand a favorable Supreme Court decision that will make it easier for future candidates running independent of the capitalist parties to obtain ballot status.

SAN FRANCISCO — In a decision on Sept. 24, a three-judge federal court denied a request by candidates of the California Socialist Workers Party to have a place on the ballot. The SWP candidates were asking for "immediate relief" pending a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court on a suit they filed against California's outrageously restrictive election laws.

The court ruled that the suit was not filed far enough in advance of the election to allow time for any other decision to be implemented. The decision stated that "Suspect though California's system may be, this court is reluctant to grant the sort of relief herein requested" and encouraged the plaintiffs to re-file the suit far in advance of the next general election.

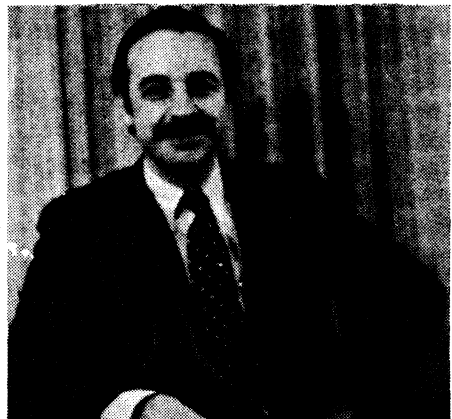
New Dems interview SWP candidate

By JOHN HAWKINS

DETROIT — The Michigan New Democratic Coalition seems to be searching for an alternative in the upcoming elections to incumbent attorney general Democrat Frank Kelley. Kelley, who hastened to beat the Nixon administration to the punch in attacking the student movement, recently ruled that there is a conflict of interest in students holding office on university governing boards in Michigan.

Kelley supports state aid to parochial schools and favors more "latitude" to Michigan police to carry out their attacks on the citizenry. He also earned the wrath of the left wing of his party for his stance at its state convention. The NDC in Michigan was the organizational force behind the adoption of a resolution supporting U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and a resolution calling for amnesty to

draft refusers at the Michigan state convention of the Democratic Party. Kelley, along with the Democratic Party candidates for U.S. senator and governor, opposed both resolutions and publicly dissociated himself from the convention's stance.



Michigan SWP candidate Ronald Reosti.

Sore over this rebuke, the NDC has refrained from endorsing any candidates for the offices of U.S. senator, governor and attorney general.

On Oct. 2, four members of the NDC, including the corresponding secretary Allan Jones, met with Ronald Riosti, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general, to discuss the office of attorney general and what Riosti would do if elected. Discussion covered the 18-year-old vote, ending the tax-exempt status of church property, the relationship between the mass anti-war movement and electoral politics, and the La Raza Unida Party in Colorado and Texas.

The Michigan NDC plans to circulate the transcript of the discussion to its total membership and mailing list with the address and phone number of the campaign headquarters for anyone interested in helping Riosti's campaign.

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Sub drive, at 5,061, passes one-third mark

By WADE DOUGLAS
OCT. 6—One-third down, two-thirds to go.

That's the latest on the massive *Militant* subscription drive to secure 15,000 new readers by Nov. 15.

As the drive wound up its third week, 5,061 new readers had been added to *The Militant's* subscription rolls. That figure already put the socialist newspaper ahead of its 1969 fall subscription goal of 4,000.

During the drive salesmen and saleswomen are offering a 10-week subscription to *The Militant* for \$1. An additional \$1 will bring an introductory three-month subscription to the *International Socialist Review*.

The most ambitious drive in more than two decades saw two areas, Northhampton, Mass., and Middletown, N. Y., hit their quotas this week. Philadelphia was closing in with 427 subscriptions sold out of 500, Austin was fourth with 237 subscription sales out of 300, and Houston ranked fifth with 151 subs sold out of a quota of 200.

However, numerous areas continued to show low subscription sales. Unless all the areas with 10 percent of their quotas or less begin coming through,

The Militant subscription drive will fall short.

Sellers were urged to aim for gaining 75 percent of their quotas—and shipping the subs on to New York—by Oct. 13 in order to keep pace with the objective of accumulating the bulk of the subscriptions early.

ISR sales were 186 subscriptions shy of the one-third mark with 648 subs tallied.

The Marxist magazine is aiming for 2,500 sales by Nov. 15.

Detroit's baseball team may be ailing but its *ISR* sub sellers were doing yeoman work at last report with 52 sales toward their quota of 117. That put Detroit magazine sales first among the big cities.

Mansfield, Pa., was tops among the small towns with seven *ISRs* sold out of a quota of eight.

Sell, sell, sell. That was the best advice to be given at this juncture in the nationwide drive.

There were supplementary suggestions, however. Mike Lux of Berkeley said his area's sellers were on almost daily organized mobilizations and weekly SWP and YSA mobilizations. "Married dorms are a gold mine," Lux advised.

Ypsilanti and Atlanta areas chipped in and bought advertisements for *The Militant* in local underground newspapers.

Philadelphia has produced its own leaflet for people without money—a reminder to buy later.

Barbara Peterson who heads the drive in Los Angeles emphasizes the "concentrated effort" in the dormitories. "In the last four days we have sold 138 subs," she says.

At Emmanuel College, a Catholic School for women in Boston, nuns bought subscriptions to *The Militant*. "We have a different view of the world than we did in the past," one nun explained.

Boston's women's liberation activists had sold the greatest proportion of the subscriptions.

A Baltimore, Md., reader who set himself a quota of 10 said he had "little doubt that I'll surpass it."

The blitz, also known as saturation selling, yields big socialist dividends if you work at it. Some sellers worked at it in Washington, D. C., descending on George Washington University with a stock of sub blanks and back issues and emerging two hours later with

32 *Militant* subscriptions and seven *ISR* subs.

Natalie Harary hasn't bought a lunch yet at the Hunter College cafeteria in New York, but she's sold 26 of her 51 subscriptions there. She prefers cafeteria selling to dorm blitzes, she says, but also gets subscriptions at women's liberation and Student Mobilization Committee meetings.

"It's a matter of opening your mouth when you're involved in political work," she says.

Meanwhile, Providence, R. I., won our special comeback award of the week. School opened there and most of the campus-based *Militant* sellers moved into action, jumping from an embarrassing single subscription sold to a respectable 66 sales with 84 more to go.

Subscription scoreboard		
City	Quota	New subs
Northhampton, Mass.	20	27
Middletown, N.Y.	5	5
Philadelphia, Pa.	500	427
Austin, Texas	300	237
Houston, Texas	200	151
Oxford, Ohio	50	33
Worcester, Mass.	100	57
Detroit, Mich.	700	355
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	10
Twin Cities, Minn.	600	281
Long Island, N.Y.	75	33
Portland, Ore.	100	44
Providence, R.I.	150	66
Mansfield, Pa.	50	21
Baltimore, Md.	10	4
Newark, N.J.	75	29
Atlanta, Ga.	500	190
Seattle, Wash.	400	150
Boston, Mass.	1,000	360
North Boston	(250)	(151)
Cambridge	(250)	(72)
South Boston	(250)	(66)
Logan, Utah	50	17
Ypsilanti, Mich.	50	17
San Francisco, Calif.	750	241
Berkeley, Calif.	600	190
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000	317
New York, N.Y.	2,000	615
Hayward, Calif.	40	12
Niagara Falls, N.Y.	20	6
Chicago, Ill.	1,500	447
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	22
Kansas City, Mo.	100	29
Washington, D.C.	300	85
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	28
Cleveland, Ohio	600	168
La Crosse, Wis.	50	13
Tallahassee, Fla.	50	13
Bloomington, Ind.	100	11
DeKalb, Ill.	150	33
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	1
Knoxville, Tenn.	50	11
Staatsburg, N.Y.	10	2
El Paso, Texas	75	14
Binghamton, N.Y.	150	22
Tampa, Fla.	100	14
San Diego, Calif.	150	18
St. Louis, Mo.	50	5
Madison, Wis.	300	29
Milwaukee, Wis.	150	14
Bellingham, Wash.	40	3
Kent, Ohio	45	3
Riverside, Calif.	150	9
New Haven, Conn.	60	3
Oshkosh, Wis.	50	2
San Joaquin Val., Calif.	50	2
Paterson, N.J.	60	2
Little Rock, Ark.	50	1
Red Hook, N.Y.	50	1
Cincinnati, Ohio	60	1
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	235	2
Yellow Springs, Ohio	125	6
East Lansing, Mich.	25	0
East Stroudsburg, Pa.	10	0
Grinnell, Iowa	5	0
Grosse Pt., Mich.	20	0
Kingsville, Texas	5	0
Mission Viejo,	5	0
Nacogdoches, Texas	10	0
Santa Cruz, Calif.	5	0
Selinsgrove, Pa.	5	0
Youngstown, Ohio	10	0
General	400	152
GOAL	15,000	5,061

Detroit GI wins important ruling on Army transfer

By MICHAEL SMITH
DETROIT—Sp4 Jerry Brown was a medical examiner giving preinduction physicals at the Fort Wayne Induction Station in Detroit. On June 26, 1970, he was ordered to report to Fort Jackson, S. C. He refused the order.

On Oct. 1 in an unprecedented decision Judge Stephen Roth took jurisdiction over the matter, declaring that "the military is not totally immune from court review of its actions."

Brown had exposed to the press, in what developed into a scandal in and around Detroit, the slipshod methods used at Fort Wayne in giving physicals. In retaliation, Brown argued, the Army ordered him transferred.


There will now be a hearing as to whether in fact the transfer was legal, the judge indicating that in taking jurisdiction he would regard the order as illegal if it was given to punish Brown for exercising his First Amendment right of freedom of speech.

The key paragraph of the decision which can now be used to protect GI activists reads:

"Where the chronology of events could lead one to believe that the action taken by the Army was for reasons other than military need or the exigencies of national defense (e.g., for punitive reasons), and this by design or effect punished a serviceman for exercising his constitutional rights, it is subject to court review."

The decision was an important advance. In a similar case in 1969, Pvt. Joe Miles, an organizer of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Fort Bragg, N. C., received what was obviously a punitive transfer to Alaska. Miles challenged the Army's move but the court would not intercede.

What will be the outcome? Brown's attorney, Dennis James, told *The Militant* that "We feel we have already won an important victory in establishing the jurisdiction of the federal court to review such cases. We are confident that in a hearing on the merits we will prove that the transfer was a punitive move to silence Brown and intimidate others."



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Aug. 29-Sept. 16 — New stage for La Raza

Lessons of the L.A. Chicano protest

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

(The following article is based on a number of talks given by Camejo in Northern and Southern California. Antonio Camejo is the SWP-supported candidate for superintendent of public instruction in California and an instructor in the Latin and Mexican-American Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland.)

The events in East Los Angeles of Aug. 29 through Sept. 16 constituted the most significant upsurge and mobilization of the Chicano people in recent years. The Chicano struggle for self-determination was taken to a higher level, with repercussions not only for La Raza but for the entire Third World struggle in the United States.

The Aug. 29 National Chicano Moratorium against the War in Vietnam, which mobilized some 30,000 Chicanos, was the largest antiwar protest in Los Angeles history and the largest organized, independent mobilization of an oppressed national minority in the present radicalization. Likewise, the Sept. 16 action was a mass response to the police attack of Aug. 29.

All together, within a brief two-and-one-half-week period, the huge East Los Angeles Chicano community was thrown into motion in protest over oppressive conditions, especially the actions of the Los Angeles County sheriffs on Aug. 29. No less than 100,000 people appeared on Sept. 16 to vent their protest in spite of intimidation tactics and an extended occupation of the community by the police.

Originally canceled by its conservative leadership, the usually establishment-oriented Sept. 16 Mexican Independence parade this year was infused with militant protest because of the community outrage which was brought to bear.

This mass upheaval in East Los Angeles is part of and a continuation of the radicalization and independent organization that has occurred throughout Aztlan in the last two years. The Los Angeles events confirmed the validity of the independent, mass-action concepts developed by the Texas Raza Unida Party, the Colorado Raza Unida Party, and the Chicano Moratorium.

The history of Aug. 29 to Sept. 16

Split decision in Salazar inquest

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 6 — The jury of the coroner's inquest into the Aug. 29 death of Chicano journalist Ruben Salazar announced a split decision today. After hearing 15 days of testimony, ending Oct. 5, four members of the jury concluded that death was "at the hands of another person," while three concluded it was an "accident."

The inquest carries no legal weight. But officials, hoping that the inquest might cool the rage of the Chicano community, found the tables turned on them when Chicanos effectively used the inquest as a public forum to expose the inconsistencies of the police story. Officials had hoped to blame the Chicano Moratorium, which organized the Aug. 29 antiwar demonstration, for Salazar's death.

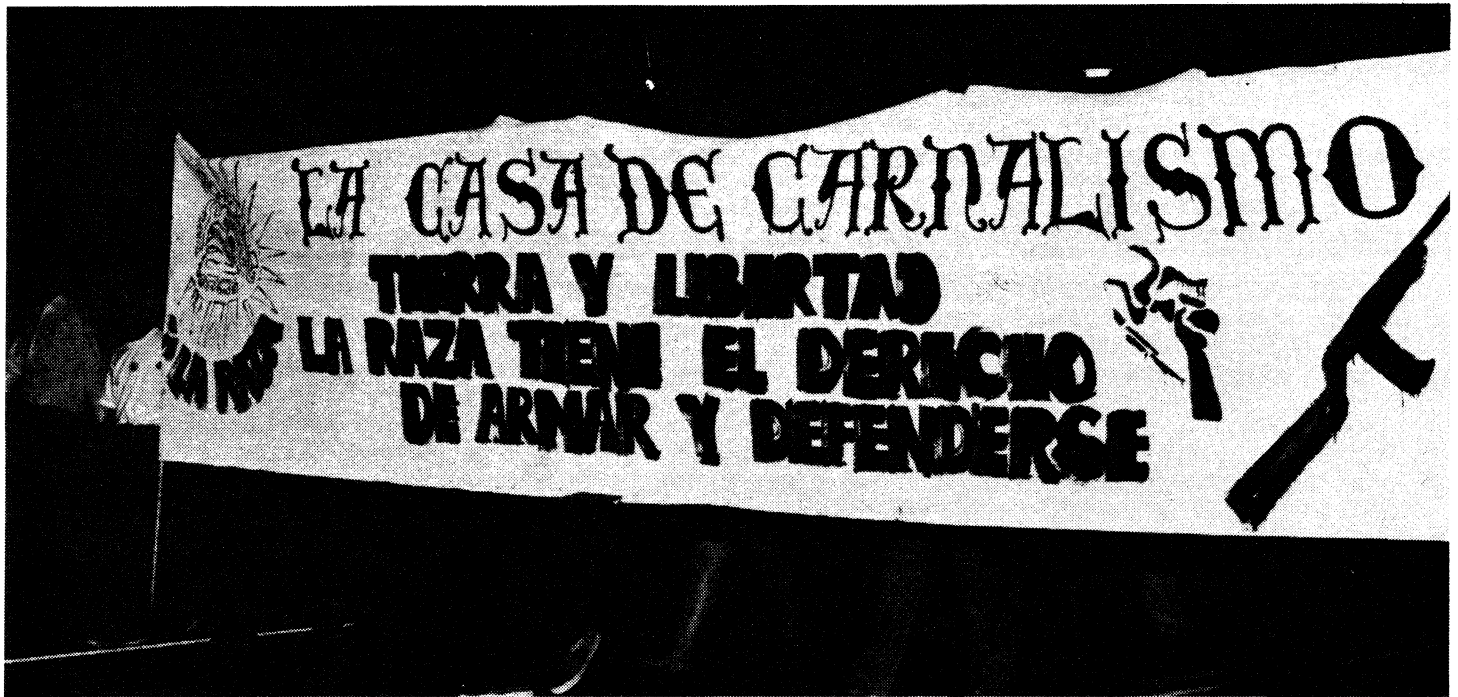


Photo by John Gray

"Land and Liberty, Armed Self-defense is Our Right" declared this banner carried in Sept. 16 Chicano demonstration. The slogan places cause for violence directly on shoulders of ruling class, not on victims of that violence.

can be described as an intense period of debate, education, discussion and struggle for a correct tactical and political course of action.

The Aug. 29, 30,000-strong Chicano Moratorium demonstration against the Vietnam war was something new in American political life. Never before had an oppressed nationality in this country so consciously mobilized in such large numbers to protest a war from which they suffer disproportionately.

The successful action came as a result of a correct political outlook and painstaking organizational efforts by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC) leadership. Rosalio Munoz and others in the NCMC built the Aug. 29 action on the basis of involving as large a number as possible around the demand "Bring our *carnales* [brothers] home now." Anyone who supported that demand and action was welcome to help — regardless of their opinions on any other questions. As the date drew nearer, more and more sections of the community became involved in the preparations.

To seasoned observers of the antiwar movement, the Aug. 29 action was something to behold. This was a powerful march — 30,000 people marched and loudly chanted slogans which expressed their pride and confidence. Thousands lined the streets to cheer the demonstration, indicating the overwhelming community support for the antiwar action. Clearly this was the beginning of a significant movement in the United States.

For whatever reasons, the Los Angeles County sheriffs attacked and dispersed that demonstration, and apparently planned it that way.

The police did much to provoke that peaceful demonstration, filming events "carefully" to gather "evidence" of "violence" for later use. Over 500 specially trained deputies fully armed with riot gear were on the scene, stationed on every corner.

The police finally used an incident at least a block away from the rally as a pretext for their attack. In the course of the assault, they managed to kill three *carnales*, including Ruben Salazar, who was respected and known by the entire community. The reaction went much deeper than they had anticipated or bargained for. In an explosion of anger, a number of Anglo-owned businesses in the Chi-

cano community went up in flames. The police attack mobilized the entire Chicano community in Los Angeles and drew sharp protest across the country.

The unprovoked police assault brought virtually every segment of the Chicano community (as well as many other people) to their feet in protest. Many not previously involved now sought a militant and effective answer to the police. Newly aroused forces were brought into contact with the Moratorium's outlook.

In the face of this unforeseen development, the ruling class began a concerted effort to block the growing protest. The Democratic Party sent its ward heelers around to cool it. Simultaneously, Los Angeles mayor Yorty, Los Angeles County sheriff Pitchess, and Los Angeles police chief Davis began cries of "outside agitators," attempting to isolate the Moratorium leadership from the community.

The line of argument expressed by Yorty and his friends came down to: "They were seen running around throwing bottles! They were from outside. They weren't from your community! We know you are 'good meskins.' They were from Texas, Denver, Oakland, and not only that, they were communists!" Los Angeles County sheriff Peter J. Pitchess talked about all the "inflammatory literature" they had found at the park. The sheriff pointed out how a pamphlet with Mao's picture on it had been distributed to marchers.

The whole intent of this slander attack was to confuse the community about where the violence came from, telling people that the violence came from those protesting, that is, from the oppressed.

The truth is that the capitalist system commits violence every day in many different forms. When a *chamiquito* [child] walks into school and the teacher can't speak Spanish, that's violence. When such students are held back year after year, or classified as "mentally retarded," and finally drop out of high school at the rate of 70 percent, as in Los Angeles, that's violence against people. The police brutality against Brown people which goes on every day in the barrio is violence.

Since this is the overriding reality of this capitalist society, the first thing the ruling class attempted after Aug. 29 was to make the victim look like

the criminal and the criminal look like the victim.

Mass protest needed

What was the required response of the Chicano community in this situation? An attempt to intimidate the Chicano community into silence had obviously occurred. What was necessary was a massive and clear response to that attack. It was necessary to go out and mobilize the masses of Chicano and Latino people in a militant protest of the police repression and the war in Vietnam.

To deepen what had been started Aug. 29 and involve new and broader layers of the community was the task at hand. To bring the power of the entire community to bear, it was essential to involve large numbers of people in the formulation, planning, and organization of whatever response was to take place.

On Sept. 1, at the first mass community meeting called to discuss the question, a peaceful and legal mass march and rally to be held on *el 16 de septiembre* was unanimously agreed to. The action was to focus around three things: 1) to protest the police attack and murders of Aug. 29, reaffirming the constitutional rights of free speech and assembly; 2) to complete the antiwar protest which was cut short; and 3) to commemorate the 160th anniversary of Mexican independence. It was assumed that everyone who supported

(Continued on page 10)



...lessons of the Chicano protest

(Continued from page 9)

the demands of the action should be mobilized to participate.

The meeting wanted to show the police that they had not succeeded in intimidating anyone and that in fact they had awakened so many people that if they tried it again on the 16th there would be perhaps 1,000,000 people in the streets.

Response to red-baiting

Also needed was a reaffirmation of non-exclusion in the movement and an answer to the red-baiting. It was necessary to clearly state that the police were solely responsible for the violence that had taken place.

How could gringo politicians talk about "outsiders" and about Corky Gonzales "crossing state lines"? No Chicano is an outsider in Aztlan.

But the issue also went much deeper. The ruling class uses the same slander tactics against all movements in order to divide them and obscure the real political issues. A resolute rejection of such tactics, a response by masses of people, was necessary.

The first move after Aug. 29 by the NCMC and the Congress of Mexican-American Unity (CMAU) was to raise bail money to get *everyone* out of jail as soon as possible.

They did not, however, act quickly to answer the red-baiting, the cries of "outside agitator," or the hints of the district attorney that perhaps Corky Gonzales could be indicted for violation of the Civil Rights Act for "crossing state lines to foment a riot."

Mass meeting

When the idea of *el 16 de septiembre* was first proposed and unanimously passed by the Sept. 1 community meeting of 600, the NCMC leadership tended to go along with it but then delayed in actually organizing the community for it. You might say that some of the leaders had either lost confidence in their own ability to mobilize people or weren't interested in involving broader layers of the community. This was reflected in their reluctance to call mass community

meetings, a reluctance which grew more pronounced as time went on.

The NCMC leadership was confronted with a genuine mass movement and then was hit with intense pressure from conservative groups who feared and opposed the mass mobilization that was occurring. Rather than turning to newly radicalizing layers of the community for support and mobilizing people around the ideas that made the Moratorium successful, the Moratorium leaders began accommodating to the desires of the right, especially the desires of the Comité Civico Patriótico Mexicano, the group of businessmen and "civic leaders" who normally put on the Sept. 16 parade.

The Comité initially called off the parade for "fear of violence" after the first wave of red-baiting by Yorty and others. This met with such outrage from the aroused community that the Comité realized a demonstration would occur anyway. They then reversed themselves and rescheduled the parade—to throttle the militancy they feared by tightly organizing the parade. Many behind-the-scenes meetings then ensued.

Pressure from the right

It was at this point that the NCMC leadership faltered. Instead of trying to involve the Comité on the basis of a militant protest, they accommodated to the conservative leanings of the Comité. When red-baiting occurred in the movement, they let it pass.

An organization called LUCHA (League of United Citizens to Help Addicts) became involved during this period, attempting to bureaucratically take control of the monitor system for the march and set the tone for what would take place on the 16th.

LUCHA, which has worked closely with the apparatus of the Democratic Party in the past and having at least one of its members on Mayor Yorty's staff, deepened the red-baiting, talking about "getting tough" with "left-wing elements." Their aim was to get the planning for the demonstration out of the hands of the militants and back into the hands of the so-called respon-

sible elements such as the Comité and all the other businessmen, *vendidos* [sellouts] and gringo politicians who traditionally run the Independence Day parade.

The leaders of the NCMC and the Congress of Mexican-American Unity did not answer Moe Aguirre of LUCHA when he got up and said that "we must make sure that outside agitators and left-wing elements do not cause any violence on the 16th." They remained silent. That is a critical mistake when a struggle like this begins to take place. That is always the first step, the opening of the door, to co-opting the entire movement and throttling any militant protest by the masses.

Abe Tapia, president of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), correctly asked San Francisco MAPA president John A. Ramirez to answer an attack by San Francisco supervisor Bob Gonzalez to the effect that "white long-hair radicals" had caused the "rioting" in Los Angeles. Ramirez stated that "the only group that routinely incites riots in our community is the police department."

But, unfortunately even Tapia didn't think the question out thoroughly. In the mass community meeting, Sept. 1, he got up and said, "Progressive Labor is having a demonstration in Atlantic Square tomorrow, and I want 20 *vatos* [guys] to go down there with me and take care of them."

Progressive Labor Party is rightly despised in the Chicano community because of its anti-nationalist line. But MAPA, the NCMC and CMAU, while disassociating themselves from the action, should have defended PL's right to hold that rally. What was needed was a statement that said, "We are not going to play the role of cop in doing to PL what the police did to us the 29th. We are for the right of assembly whether we agree with those who are assembling or not. That's what the right of freedom of speech and assembly is all about." Unfortunately the situation wasn't answered in that manner and so this fed the fire of the red-baiting attack.

"Anti-communism"

We must look carefully at this question because it will occur again and again in future struggles. What is the ideology used by the ruling class to justify the war in Vietnam? Anti-communism. That's what the Democrats and Republicans have used to justify the devastation of Vietnam, the slaughter of the Vietnamese people, and the murder of over 8,000 *carnales* in Vietnam. Aug. 29 began breaking down the anti-communist myth and so the gringo capitalist politicians reintroduced it right into the movement in Los Angeles.

When you don't answer red-baiting correctly you can end up in league with some strange people. For example, the following letter from the Atlantic Square Retail Merchant's Association was addressed to Esteban E. Torres, president of the Congress of Mexican-American Unity, and Rosalio Munoz, Chicano Moratorium Committee:

"Gentlemen: In behalf of all of the Atlantic Square community, I want to express our appreciation for your statement regarding the 'proposed Atlantic Square Rally' of Sept. 2. That statement and its wide circulation by your organizations cooled what may have resulted in an explosive situation. This responsible action is deeply appreciated by all Atlantic Square merchants and employees." Signed Martin Brooks, president.

Even Sheriff Pitchess issued a statement in "appreciation" for stopping the PL rally!



Lincoln Heights contingent Sept. 16

So you see, one must be very careful how these attacks are answered. The way to deal with PL and their incorrect politics is not to go beat them up. That doesn't clarify anything. PL says that nationalism is reactionary. If you go down and break up their demonstration, they can use that to confuse people. The way to answer PL is to expose their politics, that is, to take them on on the basis of their ideas and to educate people as to why they are wrong.

The character of the 16th

As a result of the accommodation by the NCMC leaders to the conservative orientation of LUCHA and the Comité, a change began to take place in the character of the 16th. The original leaflet put out by the NCMC and CMAU calling for the Sept. 16 action clearly stated: "Ruben Salazar, Gilberto Diaz, Lynn Ward, We shall not forget you! . . . There will be a peaceful, legal parade and rally to commemorate the 160th anniversary of Mexican Independence and to protest the unprovoked police attack on the Saturday, Aug. 29, rally against the war in Vietnam, reasserting our constitutional right of freedom of speech and assembly."

Suddenly a few days prior to the 16th, the NCMC came out with a new leaflet which read: "16th of September parade and rally. . . . Traditional route . . . everyone is cordially invited to participate. . . ." It listed the assembly point and that's it.

What happened to Ruben Salazar? What happened to the police repression? What happened to the talk of protest? Another little sheet of paper put out by the monitors committee, controlled by LUCHA, stated as point number 11 in a "Code of Conduct," "No inflammatory signs will be carried by marchers."

It was clear that they were on the way to changing the character of the 16th from a protest to a "respectful, responsible show of unity," as Munoz himself favored. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, along with other people from the community, passed out a statement to one of the mass community meetings, expressing concern with what was happening and outlining a course of action to correct it. The statement read in part:

"Yorty, Nixon and Pitchess would like to see a 16th confined to a few *vendidos* and gringo politicians eating enchiladas. They would like to see us parade in our 'colorful, picturesque' clothes and terminate the day with a picnic. They don't want to see our entire community, enraged by the death of three innocent *carnales* (mur-

La Raza Unida Party wins place on Colorado ballot

By JAMES LAUDERDALE

Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado

DENVER — When the Democratic Party in Colorado attempted to have La Raza Unida Party's candidates disqualified, they were rebuffed and a significant victory was scored for the Chicano movement.

On Sept. 23, John Lopez, a minor union bureaucrat chosen by the AFL-CIO Colorado Labor Council to work with Democratic candidates, and a former Democratic Party captain, challenged the La Raza nominating petitions. The challenge revolved around the fact that Albert Gurule, La Raza Unida candidate for governor, was too young to take office; and that when signing the petitions people gave an oath "on my honor" instead of "by the everloving God," as stipulated.

Arguments were presented before the Colorado secretary of state on Sept. 26. Lopez' attorney attempted to disqualify not only Gurule but also the whole La Raza Unida ticket, most of whom satisfy all requirements for holding public office.

They argued that since Gurule couldn't take office, a vote for La Raza Unida Party would be worthless and in effect the party would be disenfranchising voters. La Raza attorney Eu-

gene Deikman replied, "Those people who vote for La Raza are disgusted with the tweedle-dum, tweedle-dee attitude of the two major parties. Most will not vote Republican or Democrat anyway. They will vote for a party that represents a real alternative and they will do so in the full consciousness of the fact that La Raza Unida Party will not win the election."

"Mr. Lopez," Deikman continued, "is a flunky for Mark Hogan, Democratic candidate for governor." At this point the spectators in the courtroom broke into applause. "Hogan feels that a vote for La Raza Unida will be wasted because it will be a vote against him."

Byron Anderson, Colorado secretary of state, ruled on Sept. 28 that all the Raza Unida Party candidates would be on the ballot. He termed Lopez' challenge "premature," since the state constitution says only that Gurule, who is 27 years old, is too young to become governor (for which the age limit is 30), but it doesn't place any age limit on the right to run for that office.

He also ruled that having people swear "on my honor" when they signed the petitions implied the same depth of conviction as having them swear "by the everloving God."



Photo by John Gray

dered by the police) protest the *chango* [cop] brutality. They want us to forget about the war, to forget about why we marched four miles in the hot sun on Saturday, Aug. 29."

We outlined the need to answer the red-baiting and reaffirm the three-pronged purpose of the 16th: 1) an antiwar protest; 2) a protest against the police repression; and 3) a commemoration of Mexican Independence. The statement continued, "If we fail to respond in this way, we will be helping to continue and to intensify their victimization of our community and our leaders."

The militancy of that statement reflected the sentiments of many, as was shown on Sept. 16. In spite of the Comité's attempts to throttle the militancy, a minimum of 100,000 people appeared for the action in a mood to protest. The militant contingents in the parade were vigorously cheered. The Chicano Moratorium contingent which led the march grew from around 300 at the start to some 3,000 by the end of the route.

El 16 de septiembre

Those who had read the first leaflet issued, or who had made up their minds long before to protest, came prepared for that. There were several militant contingents, including the NCMC contingent, interspersed throughout the march. The Chicano community of Lincoln Heights brought their own protest banners against the war and against the police murders. One of their large signs read: "Stop the War, Stop the Cops." Another contingent carried a huge portrait of Ruben Salazar which was later taken to West Los Angeles Community College and placed above the entrance to the campus. Militant chants of "Chicano Power" and "Raza Si, Guerra No!" could be heard along the march.

Usually march organizers delay the start of a march to maximize participation. The 16th started on time to minimize participation. Thousands of people were still pouring into the assembly point by the time the parade was already on its way. They were greeted with a sound truck which told them that the last contingent had left and that everything was over. Some demonstrators asked another sound truck following the last contingent to call on spectators to join the march. The truck began to do this but was immediately stopped by monitors.

Each contingent was surrounded by LUCHA monitors, and the more militant they were the more monitors were around them. Because of the tight monitoring system, only about 10,000

actually marched, contrary to the *People's World* claim that the "demarcation between marchers and spectators was all but erased. . . ."

The fact that the march occurred, that over 100,000 gathered, and that the mass militancy was expressed—these were significant victories. The cops did not dare attack this march. But in light of what could have been done, the march represented a partial, inadequate answer to the police riot of two and one-half weeks earlier.

The Comité's influence on the parade insured that it would have an aspect that can only be described as disgraceful.

The police were there in force on every street corner. All the traditional floats were there in a spirit that made you wonder whether Salazar had died at all or whether it was just a rumor. The Sept. 26th issue of *People's World*, apparently in ecstasy, reported, "Bands, horsemen, and women dressed in brilliant Mexican national costumes, several floats, and cars carrying politicians led off the parade." They don't bother to inform us that two of the floats belonged to the U.S. Navy. A destroyer and a missile launcher! And this was supposed to be a protest against the war!

Some people overheard a conversa-

tion among a few Chicanas who were watching the parade go by. "The pigs are laughing at us! They're laughing at us!" they said. In the eyes of the police, these were the "good Mexicans," the "peaceful Mexicanos," the "humble Mexicanos." And those police were just smiling.

When the Lincoln Heights contingent came by, I was standing among the spectators to get a feel for their reaction. In front of me was an older woman who had just watched several floats go by, including the US Navy's, a savings and loan company, and Sloan's cleaners. When she saw that militant contingent approaching she lit up and began yelling to them, "No se vendan, no se vendan!" [Don't capitulate. Don't sell out!] And that was the spirit of thousands of people along the parade route.

The "responsible" leaders had their day. Jesse Unruh, the gringo Democrat running for governor of California, who recently stated that "An attack on violent crime ought to be the number one priority in California," had a truck with signs saying "Arriba con Unruh" [Up with Unruh] and two additional cars in the parade! And while this gringo politician, who has never done a thing for the Mexicanos was shaking hands with some of the spectators, LUCHA monitors were running onto the sidewalks and ripping bundles of *The Militant* out of the hands of YSAers and SWPers.

And all the enchilada-eating politicians were there on a reviewing stand at the conclusion of the parade. Members of the Mexican consulate, including a military officer of the same army that slaughtered hundreds of students in Tlatelolco, also paraded.

On the reviewing stand was some *vendido* who was announcing all the floats as they went by, including identifying the various contingents in a happy, friendly manner, as if to say, "The community is all out here together, isn't that wonderful?" And down the road came the contingent from Casa de Carnalismo, a barrio youth group with a beautifully painted banner. The announcer began, "Ah, Casa de Carnalismo. . . ." He took one look at the slogan on that banner and almost turned pale. It read "Tierra y Libertad, Tenemos el Derecho de Armarnos para Defendernos." [Land and Liberty, we have the right to armed self-defense.] Needless to say, the announcer didn't read it out loud, and I don't think there were any LUCHA monitors who were about to take the banner away from those youth.

The scheduled rally at the end of the parade was canceled by the NCMC

because of the denial of a permit for the East Los Angeles Community College stadium. Instead, a short rally of about 5,000 was held in a college parking lot where Munoz and Torres spoke briefly about having a rally on Oct. 12, to be called, of all things, "El Dia de La Raza." (Oct. 12 traditionally commemorates the arrival of the Spaniards in the new world and is not a holiday popular with those who are proud of their Indian heritage.)

Young Chicanos angered and frustrated with what had occurred in the face of their expectations, vented their anger on the police, resulting in at least one Chicano and a deputy wounded and some 68 arrests, including some damage to Atlantic Square businesses.

A political test

How did the various political tendencies claiming to have a program for struggle and change respond to the events of Aug. 29-Sept. 16?

Prior to Aug. 29, the Progressive Labor Party attacked the NCMC as being "divisive of the working class" because it was organizing a nationalist antiwar action under the slogan "Bring the Carnales Home." PL, which considers Chicano nationalism to be "reactionary," opposed the slogan because it didn't call for bringing Anglo GIs home as well. They argued that if all the Chicano soldiers were withdrawn from Vietnam the war would continue with those remaining!

It is patently absurd to believe that the Chicano masses could build a movement strong enough to force the government to bring all the *carnales* home, and that the Afro-American and Anglo GIs would simply say, "That's OK. We'll continue fighting." Any movement that was so successful would affect the entire Army, Anglos as well as Blacks.

Nevertheless, PL participated with their own banner (Smash Racism) in

(Continued on page 12)

Chicano party excluded in 3 Texas counties

AUSTIN — The Texas Supreme Court ruled on Oct. 1 that La Raza Unida Party could not be placed on the ballot in the Nov. 3 elections in three counties of the state, Dimmit, Zavala and La Salle. La Raza Unida Party is running 15 candidates for office in these counties. The party remains on the ballot in several other south Texas counties.

The court's ruling was based on technicalities and is a clear case of political harassment. Texas election law is almost unreadable and is obviously designed to keep Texas a one-party state.

La Raza Unida Party will seek a restraining order to prevent those three counties from printing ballots until an appeal is made in federal court.

Mariana Hernandez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Senate from Texas, made the following statement in support of La Raza Unida Party's right to be on the ballot:

"La Raza Unida Party is—regardless of the decision of the court—a legitimate party and one representing the aspirations of the Mexicanos to improve the conditions under which Mexicanos are forced to live. It should be on the ballot and the Socialist Workers Party condemns the court's decision to deny them this right.

We urge all citizens, whether they belong to La Raza Unida Party or not, to show their support for the right of La Raza Unida Party to be on the ballot. I especially urge all candidates to take a stand in support of the right of La Raza Unida Party to be on the ballot."

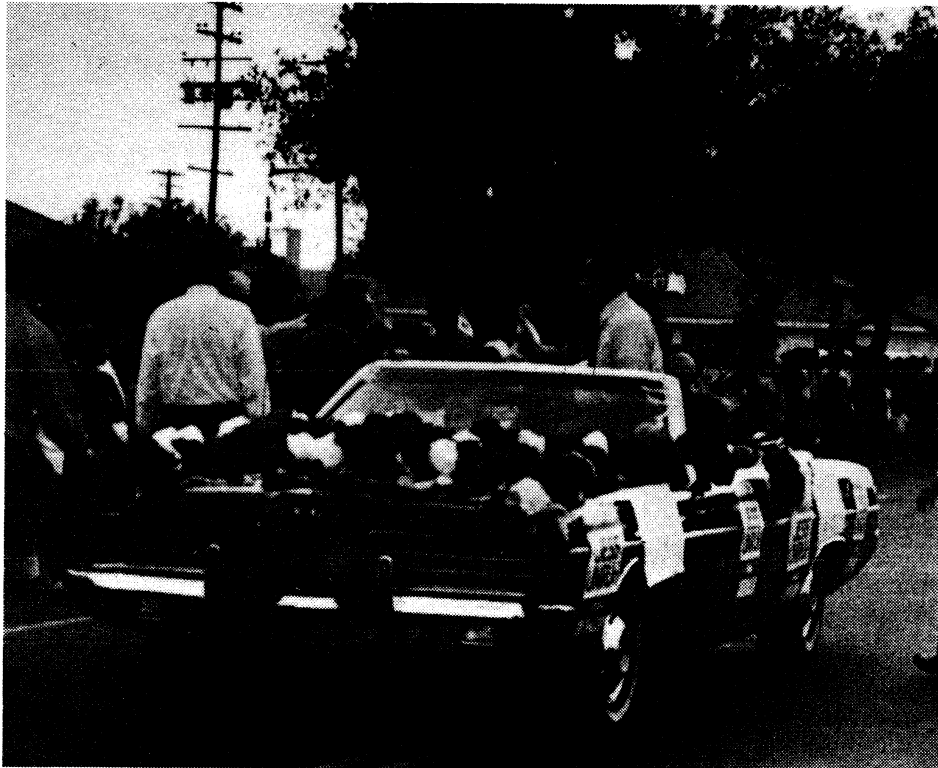


Photo by Dave Saperstan

Jesse Unruh, Democratic Party candidate for governor of Calif., tried to wrap himself in Mexican flag by placing red, white and green campaign posters on every telephone pole along march route. The character of the parade was such that this Anglo capitalist politician felt completely at home.

... Chicano

(Continued from page 11)

what they had characterized as a basically reactionary movement. After the attack of the 29th, PL called their own sectarian action in the Atlantic Square business district of East Los Angeles on the very day of Ruben Salazar's funeral. In terms of a program of action for the masses of the Chicano people in response to the police attack, PL had nothing to say.

The Communist Party did not play a role in its own name in the Chicano Moratorium Committee, nor did it project any concrete response to the repression of Aug. 29. However, the general approach of those sympathetic to the line of the CP was to "let things cool down." They favored a toned-down *16 de septiembre*, after it was proposed, with an emphasis on Mexican Independence rather than on a protest of the war and the police repression.

While Ricardo Romo of the Peace and Freedom Party participated in several press conferences organized by the NCMC just prior to and after Aug. 29, the PFP played no role in the aftermath. Romo himself did not project any course of action for the community. Apparently not grasping the significance of the upsurge in the Chicano community of Los Angeles, Romo left the scene and played no role in organizing for the Sept. 16 action.

The Brown Berets initially played a role in the first two Chicano Moratoriums but did little to build the Aug. 29 action. A few days before the march they published an attack on the Moratorium committee and on Rosalio Munoz personally, accusing him of having "stolen" the NCMC from them. Although the Berets did participate in the Aug. 29 march and rally, they played no role in the aftermath. Individual members of the Brown Berets did participate in the work of building for the 16th, but not the organization nor any of its recognized leaders.

A new stage

The Los Angeles events involved a social confrontation of great importance. This upheaval mobilized tens of thousands and foreshadowed greater social conflicts to come. One can easily imagine what could have

... YSA letter

(Continued from page 3)

World history for all students, and the right of national minorities to use their own language in the school system. . . .

The YSA is an open, legal organization; our ideas and activities are not secret and never have been. In fact, we do all we can to publicize them as broadly as possible because we want the growing numbers of young people who share our ideas to join the YSA!

The interests of revolutionary socialists are not different from those of other students. Any victory that gains students more control over their lives—such as the May strike and the antiwar university—is a victory for revolutionaries.

We participate in campus struggles with the audacity and confidence which stem from our identification with the interests of the majority.

The YSA calls upon the entire student movement to join us in repudiating Hoover and Nixon and in building united fronts to defend the gains of the student strike last May. And to those students who see that the problems of the university are caused by capitalism, we say help us lead the coming American socialist revolution—JOIN THE YSA!

transpired in Los Angeles if a Raza Unida Party with an experienced, independent, authoritative leadership and a correct program had existed. A mammoth protest of the entire Chicano community backed by its supporters could have rocked Los Angeles and been a giant stride toward Chicano control of the Chicano community.

While the Los Angeles events marked a new stage in the Chicano struggle, the Sept. 16 action fell short of its potential. The responsibility for that lies squarely on the shoulders of the Moratorium leadership, who had the credibility and authority to lead an enormous, effective, militant protest.

The debate and struggle that took place within the movement over correct policy has important lessons for future social battles of this nature. The mobilization of an entire community including its most conservative elements will occur many times again, and the debates and underlying issues will be much the same. The experience gained by the militants in the Los Angeles struggle will be important for the future development of the Chicano movement.



Photo by B. R. Washington

Puerto Rican student conference held march from Columbia Univ. to Bronx in New York.

Puerto Rican students meet in New York

By CANDIDA McCOLLAM
and MIGUEL PADILLA

NEW YORK — On Sept. 22-23, about 1,200 young Puerto Ricans and Latinos attended a student conference at Columbia University to celebrate *El Grito de Lares* (The Cry From Lares), the 102nd anniversary of the first armed Puerto Rican revolt against Spanish domination. Sept. 23, 1868, was the day Ramon Emeterio Betances, Puerto Rican abolitionist and revolutionary, led a revolt against the Spanish and proclaimed the first Puerto Rican republic. Lares is the town where the initial uprising occurred.

The conference was organized by the Puerto Rican Student Union (PRSU) and the Young Lords Party (YLP). They invited representatives from Latino and Latin American nationalist organizations to participate. These included: Federation Universitaria Pro Independencia (FUPI—University Federation for Independence); Movimiento Pro-Independencia (MPI—Pro-Independence Movement); two Dominican groups, Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MDP—Dominican People's Movement), and Frente de Estudiantes Revolucionarios Dominicanos (FERD—Dominican Revolutionary Student Front); and the Chicano Moratorium.

The Independence Day celebration has a special importance for Puerto Ricans in New York. Given the fact that Puerto Ricans are the largest oppressed national minority of the two million Latinos in New York, the conference afforded an extremely important opportunity for discussion of issues affecting that community.

One of the topics dealt with was the oppression of Third World women. Three Puerto Rican sisters, Hilda Ortiz (PRSU), Flavia Rivera (FUPI), and Denise Oliver (YLP), addressed the conference on the importance of child-care centers and equal education and job opportunities for Third World women. They condemned the depressed living conditions in the New York *barrios* and the miseducation in the New York public schools as products of racism.

On the second day of the conference, MPI member Jose Irrizary, won a standing ovation when he called for Puerto Ricans to unite with American revolutionaries to destroy U.S. imperialism. He also stressed the need for unity on all fronts between the independence movement in Puerto

Rico and in the U.S., and called on all oppressed peoples to break with the parties of their oppressors.

Jose Ovia of FERD denounced the brutal massacre of the Dominican people by the yankee-Balaguerista dictatorship in Santo Domingo. He appealed for mass participation in a demonstration in support of the hunger strike being waged by political prisoners at La Vitoria prison in Santo Domingo.

Much applause and cries of "Viva la Raza" greeted Roberto Elias from the Chicano Moratorium. Elias described the brutal police attack on thousands of Chicano demonstrators at the Aug. 29 Los Angeles moratorium. He outlined the dynamic of the Chicano struggle in the Southwest, where for the first time Chicanos in several states have broken with the Democratic and Republican parties to

form La Raza Unida parties.

The conference launched a campaign to establish "Liberate Puerto Rico Now Committees" to build support for the independence struggle on the Island. As part of this campaign, a mass demonstration was called for Oct. 30 at the United Nations to demand independence for Puerto Rico.

After the final session of the conference, a spirited and militant march of 700 conference participants left from Columbia University for La Plaza Borriquena (Puerto Rican Plaza) on 138th St. in the Bronx. There, over 3,000 Puerto Ricans gathered to commemorate the anniversary of *El Grito*.

The conference was the largest gathering of the New York Puerto Rican movement ever held. Its militancy and size brought into dramatic relief the radicalization which is affecting the Puerto Rican community.

IN THE OCTOBER

International Socialist review

THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE PAST/ by George Breitman. An examination of the prospects for the revolutionary movement in the 1970s.

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In Brief

CLEVELAND SELLERS CONVICTED: "I'm not surprised," said attorney Howard Moore in the aftermath of the three-day trial in Orangeburg, S.C., that saw Sellers convicted and sentenced to a year at hard labor and \$250 fine. "I don't believe a Black man can get a fair trial by a jury any place in racist America." A notice of appeal has been filed with the South Carolina Supreme Court, said Moore. The conviction of Sellers Sept. 28 on trumped-up charges of inciting a riot in February 1968 had more than a touch of irony to it. The supposed "riot" occurred two days before the Orangeburg massacre, the cold-blooded murder of three students on the campus of South Carolina State College and Claflin College by members of the Southern Law Enforcement Division. "Cleveland Sellers was peaceful, orderly and nonviolent at all times," defense attorney F. Henderson Moore said in his summation to the jury last week. "This would be the first one-man riot in history." All the prosecution witnesses testified that there was no riot. "The government's witnesses said he hadn't done anything," said Howard Moore, "and they still convicted him." Contributions to aid the appeal can be sent to the Southern Legal Assistance Project, Suite 1154, 75 Piedmont Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

MURDER IN VIRGINIA: The unprovoked slaying of a Black youth in Portsmouth, Va., by a white policeman last month will become the target soon of a major legal action by ACLU attorney Joseph Hellinger. By telephone, Hellinger told *The Militant* that John T. Bellamy was shot dead by Jerry T. Ennis, a police detective on Sept. 19. "The cop claimed he was being shot at," says Hellinger. "We have witnesses who say that he wasn't shot at. We have eight statements that more or less indicate that it was murder. The shooting was indiscriminate." According to Hellinger, what happened was this: At 4:30 that afternoon, a fight broke out outside Frank Lawrence Stadium, a school football field in Portsmouth. Police arrived and opened fire. Nine Blacks were hit. Bellamy was shot three times and mortally wounded. The third bullet was fired into him as he lay on the ground. Another youth was shot six times and remained on the serious list at Portsmouth General Hospital for days. Two mass meetings in the community have been called to protest the killings. Hellinger says he will soon have policeman Ennis brought to trial.

BILLBOARD BOONDOGGLE: Remember the 1965 Highway Beautification Act that made many roadside billboards illegal? Five years later most of those illegal billboards are still there. In fact, the Department of Transportation reports that of some 800,000 billboards, 334 have come down since 1965. DOT staffers calculate that at that rate they'll be in the billboard removal business for 11,000 years.

WILLIAMS GETS LONG TERM: Bobby Lee Williams was sentenced to up to seven years in a New Jersey state reformatory Sept. 18. The Black youth was convicted of attempting an assault on a Plainfield, N.J. police officer in July 1967. "It will be up to the authorities at the Yard-vill Reformatory to determine when he will be released," says David Frost, cochairman of the Williams defense committee. Williams pleaded innocent to the assault charges. An all-white jury

did not convict him on two counts of assault but did find him guilty of making a menacing gesture at the cop. Two appeals are planned. One appeal will challenge the conviction. A second appeal will be based on the fact that Williams was secretly indicted in December 1967 but not informed of the indictment until 11 months later. Contributions for the appeal are needed. Checks may be made payable to Plainfield Joint Defense, 218 Watchung Ave., Plainfield, N.J. 07061.

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK: "Each day American cars exhaust into our atmosphere a variety of pollutants weighing more than a bumper-to-bumper line of cars stretching from Chicago to New York City."—Dr. Paul Ehrlich, ecologist. . . . **PAVED OVER:** Every year, a half-a-million acres of productive land in the U.S. is covered with concrete, says *National Wildlife Magazine* in its Oct.-Nov. 1970 issue. . . . **POISONING THE WATER:** Nearly 2 1/2 tons of lead is being discharged daily into the lower Mississippi between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, the Senate Subcommittee on Energy, Natural Resources and Environment has been told. The committee also heard testimony on Aug. 26 and 27 that two companies are respectively discharging 59 pounds and 39 pounds of arsenic into the water every day. The two firms, Kaiser Aluminum and Allied Chemical Co., are not fooling with any ordinary poison. Arsenic is toxic to all animals which have a central nervous system.

CANDIDATE ROMNEY: Lenore Romney, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate from Michigan, says that civil disobedience used in the 1960s by civil rights advocates was "immoral." She is quoted in a UPI dispatch in the *Baltimore Afro-American* Sept. 26. . . . **CANDIDATE DUFFEY:** Rev. Joseph D. Duffey, Democratic "peace" candidate for the U.S. Senate from Connecticut, says, "We have come to a time when we realize the war is not going to be ended by protest, by demonstrations, and that demonstrations are not helpful right now." He is quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 9, 1970. . . . **JOIN THE SMC:** Arguing that the Vietnam war is going to be ended by protest, by demonstrations, and that demonstrations are helpful right now, the Student Mobilization Committee has launched a membership drive. "We expect to sign up thousands of antiwar students," says Steve Bloom of the SMC National Office. Membership fee is \$1 and entitles a person to vote at national conferences of the SMC. Bloom says the drive will be a "means of consolidating the largest student antiwar organization in the country." He said that to join one has to support the basic principles of the SMC—immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia, an end to the draft, an end to campus complicity with the war, support in building mass actions against the war, and non-exclusion. Send \$1 to SMC National Office, 15 E. 17th St., New York, N.Y. 10003, or contact your local SMC chapter. In return, you'll receive a card and button.

AGNEW GREETED IN LOUISVILLE, KY.: It was not exactly a warm greeting. When the vice-president showed up at a downtown hotel Sept. 22, some 300 to 400 persons were marching outside, chanting antiwar slogans such as the usual "Agnew Go Home!" Several Black groups and women's liberation groups participated. The march was sponsored by the Louisville Peace Council, a student organization at the University of Louisville, and an ad hoc formation called "Majority for a Silent Agnew." . . .

RANK-AND-FILE SUPPORT: Last spring, a student at Georgia State University with a ROTC scholarship, became active in the Atlanta Mobilization Committee. Later, Jim Burfiend joined the Young Socialist Alliance. Burfiend and ROTC got along less and less and finally ROTC officials said he had violated his contract and had him activated. He reported to Ft. Jackson in August where his sergeant chose to single him out as a socialist in front of the other men in his platoon. When the other GIs were transferred to Ft. Polk, La., Burfiend's transfer was held back for several days. Now at Ft. Polk, Burfiend learns he is being watched closely. He was informed of this by a man from military intelligence who says he likes Jim and does not like the intelligence apparatus. The Army's biggest difficulty, however, seems to be that all the men like Burfiend. The platoon gets to elect one GI to represent them on an advisory board, informing the brass of the platoon's gripes. Burfiend was unanimously elected.

KOLKO CHALLENGES CANADIAN GOVERNMENT: Gabriel Kolko, a radical professor who was barred from teaching at York University in Toronto this fall, is taking the case into court. Kolko accepted a job as an American history

professor at York but, in "the Canadian public interest," he was refused landed immigrant status by Canadian authorities July 20. Canadian officials advised him informally that they had contacted the FBI before acting. Kolko said by telephone that he was being harassed because of his politics. "Unless they 'land' you," he says, "you can't work and you can't bring in your belongings." He said that the Canadian government's check with the FBI is "routine procedure." Kolko said he would go to court this week. "We want to force the Canadian government," he says, "to reveal its evaluating procedures and its political criteria for evaluating Americans."

SOLDIER APPEALS: An Army medic who refused to remove a peace medallion from his neck was court-martialed Sept. 24 at Ft. Riley, Kan. Emil Schaeffer was fined \$100 and the following day was discharged. His attorney, Irving Achtenberg, says he will appeal. As for the peace medallion, Achtenberg says that Schaeffer is still wearing it. . . . **FT. HAMILTON GIs APPEAL:** Members of the 26th Army Band, Ft. Hamilton, N.Y., have completed legal preparations and have signed a class act to halt the Army's effort to suppress their antiwar activities. The case was presented in the Circuit Court of Appeals, in New York Sept. 21. Eleven men have been transferred out since July 8—mostly to Vietnam and Korea. The transfers stem from the GIs' antiwar work. Most of the band members signed an immediate withdrawal petition and the wives of a number of the band members participated in an antiwar demonstration. They have now formed a group called Fort Hamilton GIs United.

ON STRIKE: Of the 350,000 General Motors workers on strike, 100,000 are Black. . . . **NEWS-REEL FILMS:** Newsreel has a new brochure out on movement films available and rates. Write New York Newsreel, 322 7th Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001 (Phone: 212-565-4930); or San Francisco Newsreel, 451 Cortland Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94110 (Phone: 415-826-2989). . . . **OPPOSE NIXON:** Imprecise though polls are, the latest Louis Harris survey on Nixon's support is interesting. Harris finds that Nixon gets a positive rating from 48 percent and a "negative" rating from 49 percent of the population. The latest standing with organized labor says Harris is 62-37 percent "negative." The poll was published in the *New York Post* Sept. 17.

INDIAN SILENCED: Frank James, 46, is an instructor at the Nauset Regional High School in Orleans, Mass. He is a Wampanoag Indian. He was invited to make the main speech at the 350th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims on Sept. 11—a special state dinner under the sponsorship of Gov. Francis Sargent. But after James submitted his speech for use as a press release, just prior to the dinner, he was told by Ernest A. Lucci, deputy state commissioner of commerce and development, that he would not be allowed to speak after all. James told *The Militant* that the reason he was sacked was that he included a number of historical facts in his speech. One fact was that just after the Pilgrims landed they opened up an Indian grave and stole trinkets from it—then reburied the corpse. Another fact dealt with the Pilgrims seizing corn without payment. "Lucci said that he could not and would not allow me to give the address," James says. "He didn't think it was the time and place for such things." In some ways, not so much has changed in 350 years.

—RANDY FURST



"A lady just said if we don't like it here, why don't we go back where we came from."

Gov't continues assault against Panthers

By RANDY FURST

The murderous nationwide campaign against the Black Panther Party reached a new peak during the last month as the roster of victims—framed or shot—grew by more than 20.

In the past four weeks, police shot their way into the New Orleans and Toledo headquarters of the Panthers while a judge in Milwaukee sent Panthers to prison on terms ranging up to 30 years.

One Black youth was gunned down by police on a New Orleans street. Fourteen other New Orleans Blacks were locked up in maximum security on bonds of \$100,000 each.

Meanwhile, major trials, including those of Black Panther chairman Bobby Seale and Panther founder Huey Newton, moved closer.

In New York where 13 Panthers are being framed for an alleged conspiracy to bomb public buildings, Black Panther Afeni Shakur had her \$100,000 bail revoked after a particularly unjust ruling by the trial judge.

New Orleans police raid

"It was like being in the midst of a war," one Panther later told his attorney, George Jones.

Hundreds of rounds of police bullets were fired into the headquarters of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) during an early morning raid in New Orleans Sept. 15. Police finally drove the Panthers out with a barrage of tear gas.

The Panthers suffered minor gunshot wounds. Fourteen, including two juveniles, have been charged with five counts each of attempted murder. Five Panthers are also accused of aggravated battery in the alleged torture of two police agents preceding the police raid. Now held in maximum security cells in Parrish Prison, the defendants, says Jones, are in good spirits. "They believe that the people are behind them," Jones said.

Jones is attempting to lower the bonds that now stand at \$100,000 each. Contributions to aid the bail fund can be sent c/o Lawyers Consti-

tutional Defense Committee, 606 Common St., New Orleans, La. 70130.

Black youth murdered

Twenty-one-year-old Kenneth Borden was shot to death by New Orleans police a few yards from the NCCF's bullet ridden headquarters the night following the police raid. The Black youth, police allege, was killed as he raised his arm to heave a molotov cocktail at a grocery store. But eyewitnesses tell a different story.

Ruby Richards, a 28-year-old Black housewife was sitting on some porch steps about 20 yards from where Borden was slain. "I wouldn't want to witness something like that again," she said in a telephone interview. "It was about 10:15 or 10:20 p.m. All the lights were out on Piety St. It was quiet. We were just sitting, talking about how quiet it was. These four Black dudes turned off Pleasure St. and into Piety St. These fellows didn't have anything in their hands. They didn't make any attempt to attack Foreman's Grocery or Hall's Grocery. All we saw were the four of them walking, and the next thing we knew, all we heard was bullets." There was no warning given, Richards said.

"There was one shot," she continued, "and then all the shots rung out. There were so many of them shooting it sounded like it came directly across the street from where we were at. All we could see was the four little fellows dropping. The little Kenneth boy, when he dropped, he never moved. He spun around and he fell and just lay there. He laid there for two hours."

The police had said the youth was about to throw a molotov cocktail. Did she see that?

"They had no molotov cocktails," Richards said. "There was nothing laying around that dead boy's head. They say they had guns but they didn't have guns. They weren't bothering anybody and they just opened fire on them."

Three other youths escaped injury. They also say they had no guns. Their account appears to be incontestable. Police have yet to produce the alleged weapons of the youths.

Police attack in Toledo

Two Blacks, John McClellan and Mike Cross, are under arrest in Toledo, Ohio, where police launched a bloody assault on Black Panther Party headquarters shortly before 2 a.m., Sept. 18.

"They certainly will enter not-guilty pleas," said attorney Robert Kaplan in a telephone interview. Kaplan said that attorney Milton Henry would soon enter the case. "The police shot up the building," Kaplan said. "There were no shots fired from the inside out. There was no evidence of that. There were no snipers. It was just an unwarranted attack."

Police assert that earlier someone allegedly walked up to a police patrol car, parked a block from the Panther's storefront office and said, "Hey, baby, I've got something for you," and proceeded to shoot patrolman William Miscannon dead. The attacker fled. McClellan was arrested nearby—for murder.

"After Miscannon was shot," says Kaplan, "the evidence seems to be clear that his fellow partner, Walter Shaw, went berserk and started shooting up the street and firing into the Panther headquarters. A lot of other police arrived and they began shooting up the headquarters."

Cross and two women left the building unharmed. But Larry McClellan, John's brother, was wounded in the hand, and Boyd Montgomery was shot in the stomach. Montgomery was



Curtis Powell, one of New York Panthers on trial, being seized, April 2, 1969.

taken to Mercy Hospital in critical condition, but, according to Kaplan, he is expected to live.

Cross was questioned by police and released. He returned to the Panther office the following morning to observe police still firing into the headquarters although no one was inside, according to Kaplan. Police told Cross to go into the building, Kaplan says. "The police went in right behind him. And then they found guns and later on found explosives." Cross was arrested on weapons possession. It was a set-up. Contributions to aid the bail fund can be sent to Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 3514, Toledo, Ohio 43608.

Seale, Huggins face trial

Bobby Seale pleaded not guilty to three capital offenses and preliminary motions were expected to be filed soon as the trial of the Black Panther Party chairman neared in New Haven, Conn.

Seale and Erika Huggins will probably go on trial together in mid-November, according to attorney Charles Garry. Seale, accused by Connecticut authorities of ordering the killing of Alex Rackley, who was found shot to death in a swampy area in Middlefield, Conn., in May 1969. Seale is charged with first-degree murder and kidnapping resulting in death, conspiracy to murder and conspiracy to kidnap. Huggins pleaded not guilty to two similar conspiracy charges plus three other counts last April.

Charges were reduced on three other Panthers in the final week of September after they pleaded guilty to lesser offenses.

George Edwards, 33, admitted to taking part in the torture of Rackley in the New Haven Panther offices in May 1969 and pleaded guilty in New Haven Superior Court to two counts of aggravated assault. Margaret Hud-

gins, 22, and Rose Marie Smith, 17, pleaded guilty to reduced charges of aggravated assault and were given suspended sentences. They were released on probation Oct. 2.

Milwaukee Panthers get 30 years

Two Milwaukee Panthers were each sentenced to up to 30 years on Sept. 22 after a jury of 11 whites and one Black deliberated for a little more than three hours. Jesse White, 21, and Booker T. Collins Jr., 22, were convicted of attempted murder of a policeman. An appeal is expected.

Panther convicted in Chicago

Bradley Green, was found guilty of murdering a patrolman in Chicago last month. The verdict was delivered by Judge Louis B. Garippo.

Afeni Shakur jailed

Black Panther Afeni Shakur was returned to prison Sept. 30 and her bond revoked after she showed up 40 minutes late for court. Shakur and 12 other Panthers are on trial, accused of conspiring to bomb New York City buildings and railroad yards. Shakur told Judge John Murtagh that she had received a phone call that her mother was seriously ill. She rushed to the hospital only to learn that the report had been false, she told the judge. She apologized for being late. Judge Murtagh listened indifferently to the story, then revoked Shakur's bail, which had taken community groups more than a year to raise. Eight jurors have been selected for the trial so far.

Newton trial date set

Huey Newton is scheduled to be retried Jan. 11. Newton was released Sept. 5 pending a retrial after serving more than two years of a 2-15 year sentence. Attorney Charles Garry objected to the new date as he will probably be defending Seale in New Haven at the time Newton's trial is scheduled to begin.

UE condemns gov't attacks

The recent national convention of the United Electrical workers (UE), which opened in Atlantic City on Sept. 21, passed a strongly worded resolution calling on union members to protest government attacks on the basic democratic rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Among other things, the UE convention paid special attention to attacks on the Black Panther Party:

"The First Amendment right of the Black Panther Party to exist and function must be defended regardless of whether one agrees or disagrees with aspects of the Black Panther Party program. The government's drive to exterminate the Black Panther leadership is the most virulent attack upon the right of dissent in this country and must be turned back if the rights of other dissenters are to be preserved."

An answer to the Communist Party

Is female oppression secondary?

By PEGGY BRUNDY
and CAROLINE LUND

A heated confrontation between activists in the women's liberation movement and the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) took place in New York Oct. 2 at a debate sponsored by the YWLL. The debate was supposed to be on the women's Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), but it rapidly developed into a debate over the validity and potential power of the women's liberation movement itself.

Ann DeLio of the National Organization for Women spoke for passage of the amendment. She pointed out that while this amendment is no panacea it would for the first time in history extend all constitutional rights and equal protection of the laws to women.

Judy Edelman of the YWLL spoke in opposition to the amendment on the grounds that it would supposedly hurt Third World and working-class women. She went on to say that the women's liberation movement is racist and anti-working-class because the movement is not, in its majority, made up of Third World and working-class women.

In the discussion period two male supporters of the CP-YWLL position told the women in the audience that women, organizing around demands as women, have never been a major force for revolutionary change. Thus, women can best serve the revolution by continuing their role as the "hardest workers and most dedicated supporters of other causes," they said.

Women's liberation activists in the audience of about 100 were incensed. One after another, women took the floor to challenge the inaccuracies in Edelman's statement, to refute her defamation of women's liberation struggles, and to pose clearly the importance of the struggle for equal rights for women.

This CP-YWLL attack on the ERA and on the women's liberation movement is not something new. In past weeks, the *Daily World*, the CP's newspaper, has carried one article after another opposing the amendment. The Sept. 5 issue carried an article by David Engles called "Women's Rights—A Matter of Not-So-Simple Justice," which puts forth the same basic arguments raised by Edelman and her supporters in this debate.

The title of Engles' article is taken from the title of an April 1970 report of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities called "A Matter of Simple Justice." From the title of Engles' article itself, it is clear that the author has some doubts about the justice of the whole women's rights struggle.

The *Daily World* attacks this report from the Task Force on two counts: First because the report recommends passage of the ERA; and second, because it urges that the government be "as sensitive to sex discrimination as to race discrimination."

The main point of the article concerns the question of what Engles calls "priorities." By objecting to the demand that the government be "as sensitive to sex discrimination as to race discrimination," Engles implies that the government need not be so concerned with preventing discrimination against women; that women are wrong to throw themselves into the struggle against their own oppression; that women are not very oppressed, especially in comparison to Black people.

In support of his position, Engles quotes a speech by Frederick Douglass—one of the greatest abolitionists and also a strong supporter of women's rights. In it Douglass attacked the women's rights fighters who refused to support the Fourteenth Amendment because it did not give women the vote along with Black men:

"When women because they are women are dragged from their homes and hung on lampposts; when their children are torn from their arms and their brains dashed to the pavement; when they are objects of insult and outrage at every turn; when they are in danger of having their homes burnt down over their heads; then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot."

The suffragists who opposed the Fourteenth Amendment because it didn't give them the vote along with Black men were wrong. The winning of greater rights by any sector of oppressed people is a step forward and strengthens the struggles of other oppressed layers. But the paragraph which Engles quotes so approvingly misses the mark, for two reasons.

One is that it completely ignores the fact that half of the Black population is female. Why give only Black men the vote?

The second thing wrong with Engles' approach is his attempt to set the struggles of oppressed people against each other by trying to measure the degree of their oppression. The only revolutionary approach is to encourage the attempts of any oppressed people to throw off their oppression, rather than belittling the struggle of one oppressed group because it is supposedly less oppressed than another group.

And furthermore, women entering into struggle against their oppression can only help advance the Third World liberation struggles, just as the women's movement has been aided and educated by the Black struggle.

How does one measure the degree of oppression? Are working people only oppressed when they are being shot at and beaten in the streets during a strike but not while they are simply working on the job? Brutal, physical terror is one of the most horrifying forms of repression. However, the ruling class uses it only when all else fails. Oppression is most often accomplished not through naked force but by more subtle methods. It remains, nonetheless, oppression.

The oppression women suffer is extremely deep-rooted in this society. The minds and personalities of female children are molded to be submissive from the very beginning of their lives. Although women are not slaves in the sense of being sold as commodities, they are taught the mentality of a slave: that they are helpless, dependent and passive.

And if women are not convinced thoroughly enough of their inferiority during childhood, all the institutions of this society work together to keep them in an inferior status anyway—the laws, the schools, the church, marriage and the family system.

To say, as David Engles does, that the women's liberation movement should not be a "priority" struggle, is simply a variation on the theme that women are protesting about nothing; that they really don't have it so bad and should be satisfied with their lot.

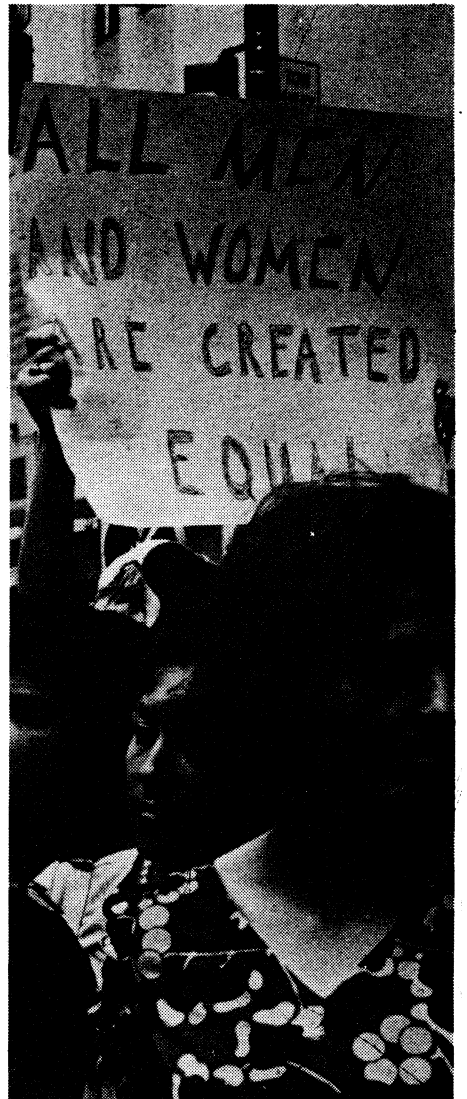
This theme was also elaborated at the YWLL debate. A young woman said, Yes, sisters, we are oppressed

as women, but we must be rational about it. That oppression can be eliminated only under socialism. The most effective way to bring about socialism is to fight to end racism. Our struggle must be subordinate to that struggle.

A member of the New York Feminists charged that for thousands of years women have been told that our oppression isn't important. But now women are deciding we're not going to wait until after the revolution to begin the fight against it.

Fortunately the women's liberation movement has developed a deep enough consciousness of women's oppression and the justice of our struggle that we will no longer be dissuaded—either by conservatives or by so-called radicals like the CP—from fighting against our oppression until we achieve full liberation.

The CP-YWLL opposition to the women's liberation movement has nothing to do with Marxism. Revolutionary Marxists see the feminist movement as part of the revolutionary process that Marxism advances. The response of revolutionaries is to give wholehearted support to feminism and to do whatever they can to aid the process of women becoming conscious of their oppression and acting to end it.



Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

MILITANT LABOR FORUM OF THE AIR. Every Tuesday, 6-7 p.m. **WTBS-FM, 88.1.** Tues., Oct. 13: Stuart Singer will discuss his recently published pamphlet *The Kennedy Dynasty*. Tues., Oct. 20: "Massachusetts senatorial candidates." The Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and Socialist Workers Party will be represented by Spaulding, Kennedy, Baird, and Camejo respectively. For more information call 536-6981.

STUDENT STRIKE: THE LESSONS OF MAY 1970. Newsreel film, "On Strike," documentary of San Francisco State strike. Speakers: Sid Feinhirsch, student strike leader at U of Mass., Amherst, and publisher of underground paper *Carbunde Review*; and Eric Poulos, YSA member and leader of strike at Clark University. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. *Ausp.* Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

A DISCUSSION OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Naomi Allan, SWP candidate for Ill. state treasurer; and representatives of other women's liberation organizations. Sun., Oct. 18, 3 p.m. Dinner at 2 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Rm. 310. Tel: 641-0147. *Contrib:* \$1, students 75c. *Ausp.* Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT. Speakers: Russell C. Means, Dennis Bowen, Ted Means, Henry Oldhorn. All are leading members of the Cleveland American Indian Center. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. *Donation:* \$1, h.s. students 50c. *Ausp.* Debs Hall Forum.

BENEFIT FOR OHIO SWP CAMPAIGN—OCT. 25. Open House 4 p.m. Followed by theater party at Cleveland Playhouse (Brecht's *Three Penny Opera*) 7:30 p.m. Ticket for both \$5. For further information call 861-3862 or 751-2722.

DETROIT

TWO FILMS ON PALESTINE: "PALESTINE WILL WIN" and "COMMANDOS IN ACTION." Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES

CAMPUS UNREST: A PROGRAM FOR STUDENT-FACULTY CAMPUS CONTROL vs. ESTABLISHMENT POLICE CONTROL. Speaker: Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for governor of Calif. Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4 St. For further information call 269-4953. *Ausp.* Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

PANEL DISCUSSION: Ruthann Miller, coordinator of

Aug. 26 N.Y. Women's liberation demonstration, and other leading women's liberation spokeswomen will discuss New York's newly proposed abortion guidelines. Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). *Contrib:* \$1, h.s. students 50c. For further information call 982-6051. *Ausp.* Militant Labor Forum.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATES ON RADIO-TV:

Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress (18th CD) on panel with Jose Stevens, Communist Party candidate for Congress (18th CD). Sun., Oct. 11, 10:30 a.m. **WNBC-TV** (ch. 4). . . . Kipp Dawson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, with other candidates for Senate. Sun., Oct. 11, 2-5 p.m. on **WABC-TV** (ch. 7). Re-broadcast Oct. 11, 10:00 p.m. on **WPIX-TV** (ch. 11); Fri., Oct. 23, 1:15 p.m. on **WOR-AM** (710). . . . Eva Chertov, SWP candidate for Congress (19th C.D.). Oct. 14, 6:45 p.m. on **WHBI-FM**. Oct. 16, 8:30 a.m. on the Joey Adams Show, **WEVD-AM** (1330). . . . Hedda Garza, SWP candidate for Nassau county executive, debates opponents. Oct. 25, 11:30 a.m. on **WCBS-TV** (ch. 2).

SAN FRANCISCO

PANEL DISCUSSION ON KATE MILLET'S "SEXUAL POLITICS." Speakers: Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Arlene Daniels, sociologist; Susan Boncher, writer. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Tel: 626-9958. *Contrib:* \$1, h.s. students 50c. *Ausp.* Militant Labor Forum.

WRITE WOMEN BACK INTO HISTORY: Seminars sponsored by Women's Liberation Committee, Socialist Workers Party Campaign. Sat., Oct. 17, 12-5 p.m. Topics: 12:00 p.m.: *American Feminism—Roots of Our Movement.* Speaker: Terry Hardy, SWP candidate for comptroller. 1:30 p.m.: *Revolutionary and Socialist Women.* Speaker: Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. 3:30 p.m.: *Women's History—A Weapon in Our Liberation.* Speaker: Carol Lipman, Nat'l Comm. YSA. 2338 Market St. For further information call 626-9958.

TWIN CITIES

WHAT NEXT FOR THE YOUTH AND STUDENT MOVEMENTS? Speakers: Sue Vass, Young Socialist Alliance; a member of the 100 Flowers Collective; a Third World Student. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave. N.E. *Donation* \$1, students 50c. For further information call 332-7781. *Ausp.* Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

YELLOW SPRINGS

THE ORIGIN OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION. Speaker: Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia. Tues. Oct. 13, Antioch College. For further information call 767-9047.

...Fateh

(Continued from page 5)

brought back dignity and self-respect. Crime rates in these camps have drastically gone down to 10 percent of their prerevolutionary magnitude. Self-discipline has replaced the police. The new militia is providing the link between the revolutionary avant-garde and the mass base. Democratic checks are built in. These Palestinians will not accept oppression and subjugation from anybody and will not enforce it on anybody.

News men and other foreign visitors have discovered that nowhere in the Arab world can they find equally mature and tolerant people vis a vis the Jews than in the camps in Jordan and Lebanon and especially among the Ashbal: the fighting lion cubs. These young Palestinians (8-16 years) are almost totally free of any anti-Jewish biases. They have a clearer vision of the new democratic Palestine than that held by bourgeois city dwellers. These young people are the liberators of tomorrow. They will complete the destruction of Israeli oppression and the rebuilding of the new Palestine.

If the democratic and progressive new Palestine is utopia, then the Palestinian guerrillas and camp dwellers are starting to practice it.

Two misconceptions

Several interpretations of the democratic Palestine have sprung up in different quarters. These require clarification and some corrections. An attempt will be made presently to discuss two of them that seem to be quite vital:

1. The call for a nonsectarian Palestine should not be confused with a multi-religious, a poly-religious or a bi-national state. The new Palestine is not to be built around three state religions or two nationalities. Rather, it will simply provide freedom from religious oppression of any group by another and freedom to practice religion without discrimination. No rigidification of religious lines is desired by the revolution. No hard and fast religious distribution of political offices and other important jobs is envisioned. The Lebanese model (where the reactionary, quasi-feudalist or commercial-capitalist hierarchy divides jobs and offices on the basis of sectarian lines to perpetuate its domination of the masses) is completely alien to the revolution.

Abu Ammar reiterated several times that the president of the liberated Palestine could be a Jew, a Moslem or a Christian not because of his religion or sect but on the basis of his merit as an outstanding Palestinian. Furthermore, religious and ethnic lines clearly cross in Palestine so as to make the term bi-national and the Arab-Jewish dichotomy meaningless, or at best quite dubious.

The majority of Jews in Palestine today are Arab Jews — euphemistically called Oriental Jews by the Zionists. Therefore, Palestine combines Jewish, Christian and Moslem Arabs as well as non-Arabs (Western Jews).

2. The new democratic Palestine is NOT a substitute for liberation. Rather, it is the ultimate objective of liberation. A client state in the West Bank and Gaza, a Avneri-style de-Zionized or Pasteurized Israel or a Semitic Confederation are all categorically rejected by the revolution. [Uri Avneri is a member of the Israeli Knesset and publisher of the largest circulation weekly magazine in Israel.] They are all racist blueprints to delude the Palestinians and other Arabs and continue Israeli hegemony and Palestinian subjugation. They all assume the maintenance of the basic aggression that led to the forced exile of Palestinians and the oppression of the masses. The sine qua non of the new

Palestine is the destruction of the political, economic and militarist foundations of the chauvinist-racist settler-state.

The maintenance of a technologically advanced military machine through a continuous flow of Western capital and exchange of population has led the expansionist Zionist machinery to perpetuate one aggression after the other. Therefore, liquidation of such a machinery is an irreplaceable condition for the creation of the new Palestine. When the machinery of the Nazi state was liquidated, the German people were liberated together with other nations that were oppressed by Nazi Germany, such as Poland, Hungary, Holland and France. The Germans were not liquidated.

The transition, and after

It is quite logical to expect specific transitional collective accommodations immediately after liberation, and even a few remaining in the normalized permanent state, i.e., some collective or group privileges besides the pure individual privileges. Jews, or non-Jews for that matter, would have the right to practice their religion and develop culturally and linguistically as a group, beside their individual political and cultural participation. It is quite logical for example to have both Arabic and Hebrew as official languages taught in government schools to all Palestinians, Jews or non-Jews.

The right of free movement within the country and outside it would be guaranteed. Palestinians desirous of voluntarily leaving the country would be allowed to do so. Immigration would be restricted in a transitional period to the return of all exiled Palestinians desirous of return. In a normal permanent state, however — subject to agreed upon regulation and the absorptive capacity of the country — immigration would be open without discrimination. Freedom of access, visits, extended pilgrimage and tourism would be guaranteed — subject of course to the normal regulation — to all Jews, Moslems or Christians of the world who consider Palestine a holy place worthy of pilgrimage and meditation.

Is the New Palestine viable?

Several well-intentioned critics maintain that even if the creation of the democratic Palestine is possible, it will not survive for long. Their basic contention is that the population and cultural balance will heavily favor the Jews in the new Palestine. This — in their argument — will lead either to an explosive situation or to the domination of the new Palestine by the Jews and a possible reversion to a neo-Zionist state in disguise.

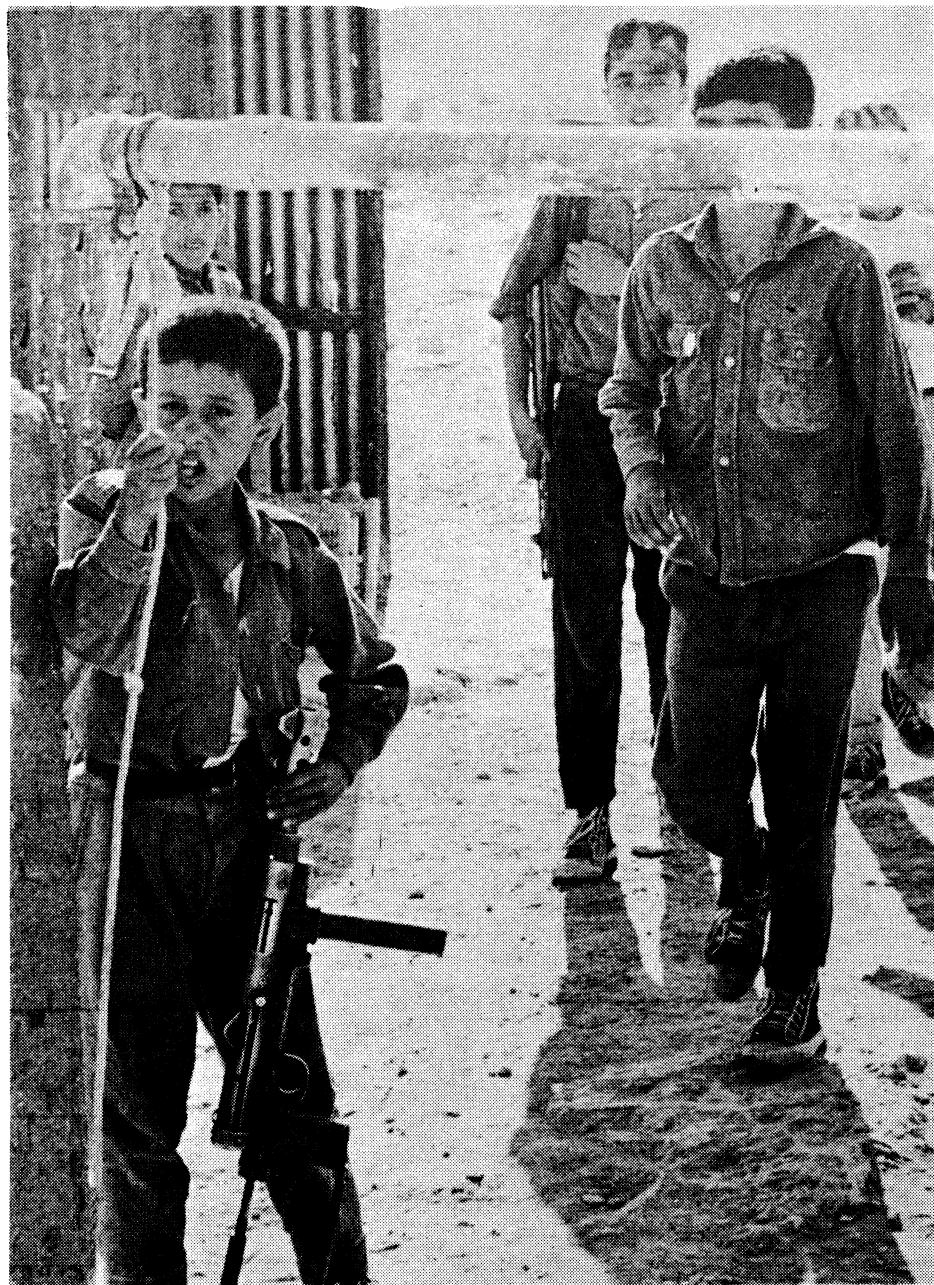
The argument is serious and looks quite plausible given the present set up and the European dichotomy of the "Arabs" as a backward group and "Jews" as a modern one.

As for population, the Jews in Palestine today number 2.5 million compared to 2.6 million Palestinian Arabs (Christians and Moslems) in the occupied territories before 1967 and after it, and in exile.

Birth rates and net natural growth rates are higher among Arab Palestinians than among the Jews in Palestine.

Immigration, however, has been the major cause of growth in the Jewish ranks. Nevertheless one must consider the fact that 250,000 Jews have permanently left Palestine (emigrated) since 1949 in a period where relative security prevailed. Most of the emigrants were European Jews, whereas most of the new immigrants were Arab Jews who found it very difficult to stay in their countries after the creation and survival of the aggressor settler-state of Israel.

The process of the revolution will



The next generation

inevitably increase the tempo of emigration, especially of those beneficiaries of a racist state who will find it very difficult to adapt to an open plural society. Parallel to that development will be the increasing modernization of the Arab countries and toleration of all minorities including the Jewish citizens. Fateh is already engaged in serious negotiations with several Arab countries to allow Jewish emigrants back, to return their property, and to guarantee them full and equal rights.

These factors are expected, on the whole, to maintain relative population balance in Palestine.

The pace of social and educational development is increasing rapidly among the Arab Palestinians as well. It is estimated that the number of university graduates among the Palestinians in exile exceeds 50,000.

Palestinians have successfully played the role of educators, professionals and technicians in several Arab countries, especially those in the Arabian peninsula and North Africa. Arab Palestinians faced this cultural challenge in pre-1948 Palestine and managed in the relatively short period of 30 years to compete effectively with the Jews in agriculture, industry, education and even in the field of finance and banking. Armed with this spirit of a victorious revolution, hopefully in comradeship with a significant number of Jews, the Arabs of Palestine will become effective and equal partners in the building of the new country.

Integration of Palestine within the Arab region will add to its economic and political viability. The present Arab boycott will obviously be replaced by economic aid and trade, a goal which the settler-state of Israel completely failed to achieve, remaining thus an American ward and protégé during its entire existence.

Conclusion

The democratic, nonsectarian Palestine still lacks full clarity and elaboration, but this is the best that can be done at this stage of the arduous liberation struggle. Through armed struggle the Palestinians have outgrown their bitterness and prejudice in

a relatively short time. A few years ago, discussing this proposal would have been considered as a complete sellout or high treason. Even today, some Arabs still find it very difficult to accept the proposed goal and secretly — or publicly — hope that it is nothing more than a tactical propaganda move.

Well, it is definitely not so. The Palestinian revolution is determined to fight for the creation of the new democratic and nonsectarian Palestine as the long-term ultimate goal of liberation. Annihilation of the Jews or of the Palestinian exiles and the creation of an exclusive racist or theocratic state in Palestine be it Jewish, Christian or Moslem is totally unacceptable, unworkable and cannot last. The oppressed Palestinian masses will fight and make all needed sacrifices to demolish the oppressor exclusive state.

The Israeli racists are greatly irritated by the idea of a democratic Palestine. It reveals the contradictions of Zionism and bares the moral schizophrenia that besets world Jewry since the creation of Israel. The adoption of the new goal by several significant progressive Jews scares world Zionism. Israeli Jewish professor Loebel and French Jewish writer Ania Francos were threatened and molested by Zionists for their sponsorship of a democratic Palestine as the ultimate goal of liberation. The Zionists are stepping up their campaign to discredit the idea especially among the Jews.

Their effort has been in vain. The force of logic and the effect of years of persecution in exclusive societies at the hands of racists are opening the eyes of Jews and others in the world to the only permanent solution that will bring a lasting peace and justice to our Palestine: building a progressive, open, tolerant country for all of us.

THEY GO TOGETHER. Readers of *The Militant* usually appreciate the *International Socialist Review*. Do you have a subscription?

Third world liberation notes

Black-oriented party certified for 1972 South Carolina ballot

According to the Sept. 12 Baltimore *Afro-American*, the Black-oriented United Citizens Party has been formally certified by the South Carolina secretary of state. It becomes the fourth political party to be constituted in the state. The party, begun last December, obtained by March of this year more than the necessary 10,000 signatures of registered voters. The UCP will appear on the ballot in November 1972.

Although the signatures were not filed in time for the party to appear on the ballot this year, the UCP is running a write-in campaign for the offices of governor and lieutenant governor. Its candidates respectively are: Thomas D. Broadwater, a Columbia lawyer, and Rev. Julius McTeer. The candidates are slated to make a state-wide speaking tour. According to John R. Harper II, president of the UCP, "We want people to see our candidates and hear about the party. . . . We are anxious to build enthusiasm and this is a very good way of doing it."

Part of the program of the UCP calls for a new state constitution, the right to form labor unions, lowering of the voting age to 18, abolishing the draft and capital punishment, and "a full and open investigation of the Orangeburg massacre."

In the same issue of the Baltimore *Afro-American*, it was revealed that one of the factors directly sparking the radicalization of Angela Davis may have been the white racist bomb-

ing of a Birmingham, Ala. church back in 1963. In that bombing four little Black girls lost their lives. The parents of those four girls, the *Afro-American* reports, were close friends of Davis' mother and father.

After exhausting all appeals in June, Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris have eluded attempts by state and federal authorities to railroad them to jail. The New York militants were convicted, due to the efforts of an agent provocateur, on the charge of conspiring to assassinate Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and other assorted sell-outs. The U. S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case, even though two other appeal courts handed down split decisions.

Having forced them to flee, the government is now trying to collect \$40,000 that was put up earlier as bail money by friends and relatives of the two. Homes, insurance policies, and a sizable amount of cash was pledged to guarantee bail. Mrs. Marion Holder, who has five children and is Arthur Harris' mother, had pledged everything towards bail. She and others are greatly in need of funds to thwart government seizure of their homes and other assets. Donations can be sent to: Defense For Ferguson and Harris, P.O. Box 821, Jamaica, New York 11431.

A Houston grand jury recently ruled the police assassination of Peoples Party II leader Carl Hampton Jr., was "defensive in nature and thereby justified." But the facts point toward a police conspiracy to kill Hampton. The cop that fired the fatal shot was atop a church whose minister had been asked to cancel services for that night. Thus, the cop was in sniper position, waiting and ready for his intended victim.

In West Point, Miss. a white racist, Seth Stanley, who in late August murdered a Black man in broad daylight, was recently released by a court on the basis of "suffering from emotional problems since early childhood." The Black man, John Thomas Jr., had been an active campaign worker in the drive to elect John Buffington mayor of West Point.

The entire Black community, which is a little over half the population of 10,000, was mobilized over the Buffington campaign. In the primary on Aug. 4, Buffington came in second in a field of five. But when the runoff occurred in late August, he lost.

The day before that runoff, Stanley, reflecting white fears and anxieties about the realization of Black political power, went up to Thomas, who was sitting in a campaign truck, and shot him six times.

Thomas left behind a wife and 11 children. His oldest son, Pvt. E-4 Bobby Thomas, is very bitter, after having been decorated seven times for courage and bravery defending this white racist society on the battlefields of Vietnam. In retaliation for this political assassination, the Black community is conducting a 99-percent-effective boycott of local white merchants.

In an interview in the Oct. 2 *Muhammad Speaks*, Eva Jefferson, Black president of student government at Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill., is quoted as saying, "I do wonder why so few Black students are involved in antiwar protests when Black people are the ones getting killed in Southeast Asia."

—DERRICK MORRISON



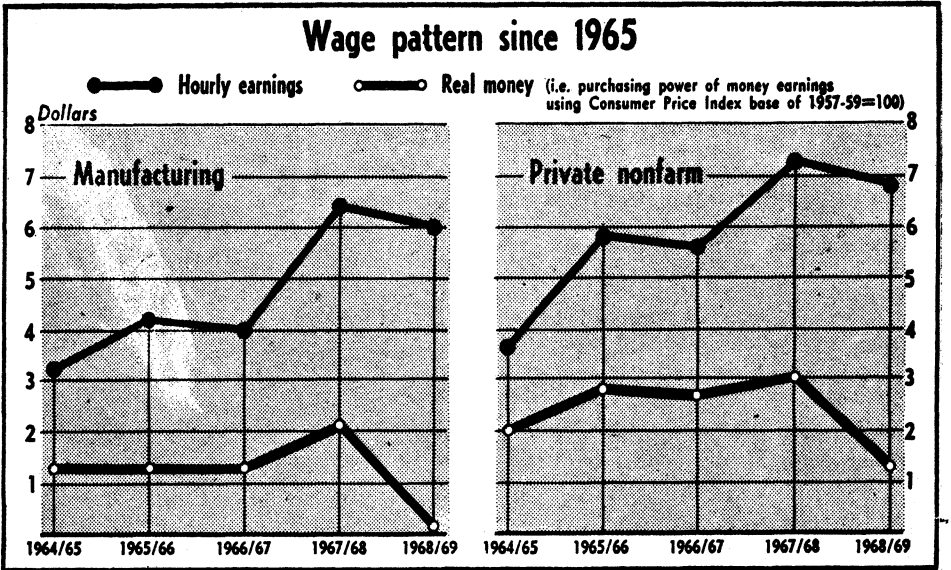
Herman Ferguson

GIs Speak Out Against the War

The Case of the Ft. Jackson 8 interviews of participants by FRED HALSTEAD

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THE BIG PROBLEM. Although wages of most workers have increased since the beginning of the escalated war in 1965, as this graph shows, prices have risen even faster. Buying power remains at 1959 level.

ITU convention motions face vote by membership

By JEAN Y. TUSSEY

On Oct. 14 five changes in the constitution of the International Typographical Union proposed by the delegates to its recent convention (Aug. 1-7) go to a referendum vote of the entire membership.

Three of these propositions are adjustments to inflation for certain categories of the membership. Proposition No. 2 would increase the rate for the use of automobiles by union officers and members performing services for the union away from home, from 10 to 15 cents per mile.

No. 4 would improve the income of pensioners by increasing from \$200 per month to \$300 the amount a pensioner member may earn before he must pay the 2.5 percent pension and mortuary assessment.

No. 5 would reduce the length of time necessary to qualify for the maximum death benefit of \$500 from 15 to five years, with adjustments for those in the union a shorter time.

Only two of the propositions may meet considerable resistance in the membership vote: No. 3, which would increase the monthly per capita tax from \$1 to \$1.50, and No. 1, which would increase the terms of all elective officers from two to four years.

ITU members, who already pay more in dues and assessments than most other unions, may reject a further increase—particularly since their efforts to combat inflation with cost-of-living clauses in their contracts are discouraged by the conservative national leadership.

Proposition No. 1 is likely to prove to be the most controversial issue in the referendum because it extends the period of time during which the policies of already powerful national officers would not be subject to direct approval or disapproval by the membership.

An indication of how sensitive ITU members are to any encroachments on union democracy was the adoption by the convention of two resolutions condemning the Nixon administration and the Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO for proposing union contracts binding the membership without a membership vote.

Proposition No. 65 resolved that "this 112th Convention of the International Typographical Union declare our unrelenting opposition to legislation at any level of government which would eliminate or weaken the decisive vote by the unionists directly affected on the contracts under which they work."

Proposition No. 26 urged all local unions to "conduct an active legislative campaign to defeat any such bill in Congress or the state legislatures."

Another resolution called attention to a weakening of union democracy in the AFL-CIO, which "has promulgated restrictive procedures which must be observed by state, area or city central bodies, lest they be expelled from the AFL-CIO, including a prohibition against election by secret ballot of officers of said state, area or city central bodies."

Implementation of these and other progressive resolutions adopted by the ITU convention will depend on the extent to which the membership is informed on all the issues and their ramifications.

Equally important is the encouragement and development of local leadership involving the younger, more energetic working printers, men and women, and educating them in unionism—not simply in the new processes required by their employers.

Fresno protest of moves against Chicano studies

FRESNO, Calif. — On Sept. 12 about 150 Chicano students and community members blocked registration lines at Fresno State College insisting that the Chicano studies department be reinstituted before classes go on as usual. Chanting "No school for us, no school for you," the Chicanos were supported by the Black Student Union and MESA, a coalition of Third World students from several local campuses.

The blockade tactic, which was effective except for a few registrants who found other entrances to the gym, was triggered by the administration's decision to disallow the Chicano studies department because there were no "qualified" instructors. For some reason, instructors who were qualified last year are no longer qualified.

This was the most recent and blatant move by the Fresno State administration to eliminate the rights of the students and faculty members to organize on behalf of the larger community, which is almost 50 percent Chicano. By eliminating these rights they hope to maintain Fresno State as an institution that serves agriculture, big business and the war machine, rather than one that serves the interests of those who are attempting to organize to defend themselves against these criminals.

National picket line

Postal reform makes 'business-like' start

The postal strike last March was the biggest labor news this year. One result was the enactment by Congress this summer of legislation to "reform" the postal system and put it on a profit-making basis.

Three recent news items, which received little attention, show that the new post office service is off to a proper "business-like" start.

The first of these is the report from Washington, Sept. 24, that Nixon will soon name the nine members of the Board of Governors. One of the men scheduled to govern the new postal system is Frederick Kappel, ex-chairman of the board of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. Others to be named are an oil company executive, a banker, a public utilities commissioner, a stock broker, a rancher, a former professor, and a labor-management consultant.

It was previously announced that the cost of mailing a letter will increase from six to eight cents. This is now expected to go higher.

The second news item indicates that changes already made in the postal service anticipate the new profit-oriented management. A suit filed in federal court on Sept. 25 by Gustave J. Johnson, president of Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers (AFL-CIO), asks the court to declare that there is no longer anything special about special delivery mail, and to order the refund of \$5-million in extra postage fraudulently collected.

Johnson and a member of the union, Louis Yockel, charge that a cutback in special delivery service to four runs a day (from the former regular 13 runs) became effective in Manhattan Sept. 14. This means that many letters costing an extra 45 cents go out with the regular deliveries of 6-cent mail.

The third news item of special interest to all postal workers is the announcement that the AFL-CIO has set up a new Council of American Postal Employees (CAPE), comprised of six AFL-CIO craft affiliates and the independent Rural Letter Carriers. These seven unions, with the personal participation of AFL-CIO president George Meany, took responsibility for the "settlement" of the postal strike and supported Nixon's postal legislation.

The plan now is to present a united



New York postal workers on strike last spring

front of all postal workers during the negotiations for a new national agreement scheduled to start in mid-October.

One of the aims of CAPE is said to be the total merger of all postal employees into one big postal union. Merger talks have started with the National Postal Union, largest organization of postal workers not in the council. No mention is made of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, a predominantly Black organization and one of the oldest of the postal workers unions.

The Alliance held its national convention in Norfolk, Va., in August with more than 300 delegates from all 50 states, the Pacific islands and Puerto Rico. This is a rather large and viable organization to try to ignore.

* * *

Growers in California's fertile Sa-

linas Valley once treated Mexican-American farm workers like vegetables in the fields, to be sorted and separated and plowed under when they got bad.

The growers, trying desperately to halt the organizing drive of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, are attempting to use their recent sweetheart contract with the Teamsters union to block strikes by field workers.

The strikes of UFWOC, headed by Cesar Chavez, draw upon the strong nationalist sentiments of the Mexican-American farm workers and have solid community support.

As an AFL-CIO affiliate, UFWOC is an integral part of the trade-union movement and has attempted to retain fraternal relations with the Teamsters. In a series of discussions between the two unions, the UFWOC asked the Teamsters to cancel con-

tracts covering field workers and agree upon jurisdictional lines for organizing in all agricultural areas. Teamsters spokesmen appeared to be satisfied with their established jurisdiction, covering drivers, packers, and shed workers.

More than 1,000 field workers signed affidavits that they were not members of the Teamsters union, had never been approached about joining any union except the UFWOC, and were told only by the employers that the Teamsters union represented them.

Some growers bowed to the effective strike action of UFWOC and cancelled their sweetheart contract with the Teamsters. In one case the normal work force of 700 dropped to less than 100 when the strike call — huelga — went out. Two of the largest tomato growers have recognized UFWOC.

— FRANK LOVELL

Steelworkers convention: some new faces present

By FRANK LOVELL

The 15th constitutional convention of the United Steelworkers of America, which opened in Atlantic City Sept. 28, reflected in a dim way the unrest and dissatisfaction in the steel mills. The 3,500 delegates, representing 1.2 million members of the union, included many timeservers of the officialdom, but there were also new faces among them.

Many locals of the Steelworkers union are now represented by men who a few months ago were working in the heat, dirt and noise of the mills. Recent local elections recorded a tendency by the membership to turn out old officials and get new ones at the plant level.

Mindful of these changes and the new mood of militancy, top officials of the union brought to the convention some radical-sounding contract demands to be put to the steel industry next summer.

In his keynote speech, President I. W. Abel promised that "a very substantial" wage increase will be demanded, that the cost-of-living escalator clause (given up in 1959) will be restored, that shorter hours will be

fought for, that improved pensions will be sought, and that the steel industry will be closed for two weeks every summer for vacations under the new contract.

Advising "every member and every local . . . to get in fighting trim for the struggles that lie ahead," Abel turned his attention to the steel industry and to the key economic demand of the union for 1971: "I serve solemn notice on the American steel industry and on all the industries for whom our members labor—the cost-of-living agreement which you took from us in 1959 must be restored in 1971."

These fighting words were popular, but the delegates had some additional suggestions. Speeches from the floor made it clear that the membership wants to get rid of the no-strike clause in the present contract and to vote on the terms of any future contract before it is signed.

They charged that the grievance procedure works to the advantage of the companies and that steel workers are bound by the no-strike pledge even when the companies force unsafe work-

ing conditions upon them. They seek immediate correction of these injustices.

A number of Black delegates demonstrated outside the convention hall, demanding representation on the International Executive Board, an end to discrimination on the job, and revival of the union's civil rights department.

Top officials managed to win approval for an immediate wage raise for themselves. They felt no compulsion to wait until 1971. Abel took a raise from \$50,000 to \$60,000 for his yearly pay. Walter J. Burke, secretary-treasurer, will get \$42,500, up from \$35,000. Vice-President Joseph P. Molony made the same gain. Annual wages of the national director of Canada and 24 district directors were raised from \$20,000 to \$25,000 a year. These huge pay increases were opposed by many delegates, and if submitted to a referendum vote of the membership would surely be turned down.

The remarks Abel offered about the general political situation seemed to reflect the dissatisfaction of union men and women today, and to be a tacit

recognition that demands of the union would encounter strong government opposition. He denounced the Nixon administration for its economic policies, which have spurred inflation and fostered unemployment. He also criticized and ridiculed the Democrats, saying, "It is time for the Democratic party to establish some mechanism — and I don't care what it might be — so that when it comes before the voters the voters will know that it says what it means and means what it says — and that it can deliver on its promises."

This, of course, is asking more than can rightly be expected of any political party of the capitalist class.

Walter J. Burke, the secretary-treasurer, urged solid support for Democrats. He said Nixon's appointments have changed the character of the National Labor Relations Board, and he asked for financial contributions to help "labor's friends."

There were signs of organized opposition to the present leadership of the union, but these did not reveal a basic difference with the economic or political program of the Abel machine.

in passing . . .

The May-June issue of the Cuban magazine *Tricontinental* (which the U.S. Post Office has just delivered in this country) contains a penetrating article by the Belgian Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel on "Intellectuals and the Third World."

Mandel analyzes the ways that intellectuals have in the past failed to assume their revolutionary duty and how and why they are beginning to take a more active part in aiding and leading revolutionary struggles today. He points out:

"The intellectuals cannot reach any true clarity concerning the misery of the Third World without real commitment. The unity of theory and revolutionary practice is a total unity: without revolutionary practice it is impossible to acquire a sufficient theoretic comprehension; and without revolutionary theory, practice is condemned to groping and to being nearsighted and ineffective. For the intellectual in the imperialist countries as well as in the countries of the Third World — total commitment means participation in the revolutionary struggle.

Without this participation, there is no way of freeing oneself of co-responsibility for the misery of more than 2,000 million human beings."

Mandel concludes that what holds priority is "the patient task of constructing a revolutionary organization capable of intervening effectively when a revolutionary situation presents itself."

* * *

The August-September issue of *The Radical Therapist* devotes itself entirely to articles concentrating on the psychological aspects of women's oppression and how the psychotherapeutic profession reinforces the oppression of women.

Nicole Anthony writes in "Open Letter to Psychiatrists": "The psychiatric profession is built on the slavery of women. Oppressive definitions of woman underlie all of its theory and most of its practice. When a woman protests the slave-servant role she is labeled emotionally ill."

Marilyn Zweig in "Is Women's Liberation a Therapy Group?" points out that "Sometimes people think that a



Ernest Mandel

Woman's Liberation Group is a therapy group (or encounter group, as some call it)." She examines why this isn't and ought not to be the case:

"We try again and again to see in the individual life story of the individual woman what there is in common with the life stories of other women. We believe that many of the factors which produce unhappiness in one woman's life can also be shown to be producing a similar unhappi-

ness in the lives of other women." (Write to *The Radical Therapist*, P. O. Box 1215, Minot, North Dakota, 58701, for a one year sub at \$6. Single issues are \$1 each with a bulk rate discount of 20 percent on orders of more than ten.)

* * *

Over the decades, ultraleftism has taken an unfortunate toll upon the radical movement. In this country, in recent years, those imbued with the spirit of ultraleftism have attempted to substitute specious combinations of rhetoric, personal courage, and alleged exemplary activities for activity that can unite masses of people in opposition to the aims and foundations of the capitalist state through challenging its right to make war (Bring the Troops Home Now), its right to govern the lives of individuals (Free Abortion on Demand), and its right to rule (Black Control of the Black Community).

Two new pamphlets deal with the pernicious phenomenon of ultraleftism and the alternatives to it: *Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action* by Peter Camejo and *Marxism versus Neo-Anarchist Terrorism* by George Novack. (25 cents each. Write to Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.)

—MALACHI CONSTANT

Black Americans slate pro-Arab-revolution ad

A group called the Ad Hoc Committee of Black Americans for Truth about the Middle East is raising funds in order to place an ad in the *New York Times*, demonstrating that many Afro-Americans support the Arab revolution rather than Israel. An ad recently appeared in the *Times* calling for more U.S. aid to Israel, signed by a number of Black Americans.

The proposed ad says, in part: "We state that we are not anti-Jewish. We are, however, anti-Zionist and against the Zionist state of Israel, which is

an outpost of American imperialism in the Middle East. Zionism is a reactionary, racist ideology that justifies the expulsion of the Palestinian people and enlists the Jewish masses of Israel and elsewhere in the service of imperialism to hold back the Middle East revolution.

"The Arab revolution is part of that anti-colonial revolution which is going on in Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, Bolivia, Laos, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and all over the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

The ad states that, "Israel, Rhodesia, and South Africa are three privileged white settler-states that came into existence by displacing indigenous peo-

ples from their lands.

"Israel and South Africa each have about 4,500 political prisoners — one-third of whom have not been brought to trial. In the occupied Arab territories, there is not even a pretense of democracy. Palestinians live at the whim of Israeli Army commanders; arbitrary imprisonment without trial; demolition of houses and villages; curfews; deportations and mass punishment.

"All these methods are 'legalized' by the so-called 'Emergency Laws' inherited by the Zionist state from the former British colonial mandate in Palestine. Likewise, in South Africa, under Proclamation 400 any policeman in

the reserves has the right to arrest any African at any time and to hold him indefinitely, incommunicado, without charges."

The ad also points out that the South African government supported Israel during the June 1967 war.

According to Paul Boutelle, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, the group has already received significant pledges from Afro-Americans who realize the importance of demonstrating solidarity with the Arab revolution, but there is a great need for funds in order to run the ad. Contributions should be sent to: COBATAME, 243 W. 125 St., Room 16, New York, N. Y. 10027.

New women's center opens in Boston

By EVELYN CLARK

BOSTON — On Saturday, Oct. 25, Boston Female Liberation held an all-day open house to celebrate the opening of its new office and hall. The open house was a great success, attended by hundreds of women, and afforded a chance for women working in campus chapters and various citywide committees and study groups to meet one another for the first time.

Female Liberation plans to participate in the abortion conference scheduled for Oct. 24 and to build the mass demonstration for free abortion on demand set for Oct. 26 at Government Center. Both of these actions are being coordinated by MORAL (Massachusetts Organization to Repeal Abortion Laws — a coalition of groups and individuals). Also being planned is a three-day Female Liberation conference on Nov. 13-15.

Female Liberation holds orientation meetings every Tuesday night at 8 p.m. at the office. Campus chapters have their own orientation meetings. There are numerous study groups, small groups and work committees already in progress and more in formation at both the city office and on campus.

Women interested in finding out more about Female Liberation or getting involved in the movement are invited to stop at the office, which is open daily from 9 to 5, or come up any evening. There is always a film, meeting or discussion going on. The address is 1126 Boylston St., Boston: tel: 262-4030.

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-2416.

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

Fullerton: YSA c/o K. W. Jeter, 1324 W. Valencia, #F, Fullerton, Calif. 92633.

Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel: (415) 537-3656.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

Riverside: YSA c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

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

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, Andrew Jackson Sta., San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP-YSA, P.O. Box 18415, Denver, Colo. 80218. Tel: (303) 744-6578.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Jacksonville: YSA, c/o Neill Wade, Box 8409 Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

Orlando: YSA, 762 Overspin St., Winter Park, Fla. 32789.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

Tampa: YSA, c/o Chip Jeffries, 903 E. Robson, Tampa, Fla. 33604.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

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

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510

(day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Ft. Wayne: YSA, c/o Bill Cullane, 830 E. Berry, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46803.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

Worcester: YSA, Box 410, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, UMKC Student Center, Box 38, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110. St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, #A9, St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd. Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mark Anthony, 217 Spruce St., Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, P.O. Box 19004, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45219. Tel: (513) 241-9048.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: (216) 861-3862.

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Carol Kershner, 2635 S.W. Hume St., Portland, Ore. 97219.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o Ken Evans, Apt. 208-A, Corey Creek Apts., Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8641, University Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 523-8445.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Dallas-Ft. Worth: YSA, Box 863, UTA Station, Arlington, Texas 76010.

El Paso: YSA, UTEP, P.O. Box 178, El Paso, Texas 79999.

Houston: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 39196, Houston, Texas 77039.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Ingrid Johansen, Rt. 2, Box 109, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA c/o 431 N. 9th St., LaCrosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 276-4463.

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, 1603 Elmwood Ave., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.

Nixon's Vietnam 'offer' means continued war

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 8—President Richard Nixon's proposal for a "standstill cease-fire" in Indochina, outlined in a national TV broadcast last night, does not represent even to a slight degree a change in the fundamental policies of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

These policies assert Washington's "right," through the massive intervention of its military power, to dictate to the peoples of Southeast Asia the governments Washington chooses on the terms Washington chooses.

Washington has won this "right" in the last decade *solely* by waging brutal, devastating warfare, *solely* by dropping more bomb tonnage on the peo-

ples of North and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos than was dropped in the entire second world war, *solely* by slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian people and well over 50,000 American GIs.

This "right," Nixon arrogantly reasserted Oct. 7.

The cease-fire proposal begins by maintaining that U.S. military forces will continue to occupy the positions they now occupy.

To top it off, Nixon's proposal rests on the assumption that the hated dictators Thieu and Ky must be part of any settlement Washington agrees to. And this, Nixon states, is because "We stand firm for the right of all

the South Vietnamese people to determine for themselves the kind of government they want."

Few words ever uttered—even by other capitalist politicians—reach the hypocrisy and cynicism of this sentence.

The timing of Nixon's proposal, one month before elections, served one useful purpose. As Democratic Party politicians, led by the chief-dove, Senator Mike Mansfield, rushed to endorse the Nixon proposal, it exposed for every American just where these so-called peacemakers really stand.

The doves stand squarely behind Nixon in asserting Washington's right to continue to occupy Southeast Asia

with military forces and to continue to dictate the terms of government to the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Nixon's proposal and its endorsement by the Democrats emphatically underlines the importance of the national antiwar demonstrations to demand *immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops* that are slated for Oct. 31.

These demonstrations, in massive numbers, in the streets, independent of the Republican and Democratic party war-makers, will show how to bring real peace to Southeast Asia: by ending Washington's bloody intervention in Indochina once and for all, by bringing every single American GI home—NOW!

... N.Y. jail revolt

(Continued from page 1)

his head and blood flowed over his face and body. He was kicked off the platform and several other guards pounded him again with their clubs. His limp form then was lifted off the ground and thrown into a bus as another prisoner was hauled out and belted across the back with a club. Then more clubs rained down on him until he was motionless and blood-soaked. He too was thrown into the bus. Another man was pushed out, his hands above his head. A bat caught him in the stomach and he doubled over. More clubs came down on his spine. Eight guards were slugging away at one time." McCardell saw seven other similar beatings. Lindsay emerged later in the morning. Questioned about the beatings, he said, "I have been told there were injuries on both sides."

From a fifth floor window, a Black inmate leader, a megaphone in his hand, called out beyond the throng of police to a small group of youthful supporters. "They were using baseball bats," he shouted, "and clubs. We are afraid for our lives. Is this justice? Is this justice?"

There were indications, however, that more reprisals were in the offing. "Sure, I think there will be retaliation against some of the prisoners," said Alfred Earl Warren, a 20-year-old correctional officer who was held hostage by inmates in the Manhattan jail but nevertheless supports the demands of the revolt 100 percent.

Despite four days as a hostage, officer Warren, like some of the other guards seized as hostages, bore the inmates no ill will. He explained why. "You got to understand that these prisoners had no one to grab," Warren told *The Militant*, "and they had grievances for so long, so they had to grab the nearest potatoes. And that was us. No harm came to anyone, thank God, so I don't think any retaliation should be done."

Officer Warren was not alone in his opinion. Three thousand community residents demonstrated at the Brooklyn jail Oct. 3 and it was clear that large segments of the community sympathized with their brothers inside. And brothers they were. Some 80 percent of the residents of New York's massive jail system are Black or Puerto Rican.

This newspaper's own inquiries into the jail apparatus here, corroborated prisoner allegations that the city jail system is a chamber of horrors. "The place is filthy," said Joe Brown, 30, a Black correctional officer at the "Tombs" jail in Manhattan. "There are mice all over the place," Brown said.

The Tombs has been so overcrowded, he related, that in some cells, equipped to sleep two inmates, the third cell occupant must sleep on the floor. Sometimes there are no blankets. And sometimes, inmates who slept on the floor were bitten by mice.

According to a 55-page report from a state senate committee issued this week, New York's jails are 183 percent overcrowded. "One of the worst prison systems in the world," is the way Panther attorney Gerald Lefcourt describes it.

Most outrageous—and a central target in the revolt—is the bail system—which keeps the poor behind bars. Most of the 14,000 inmates in New York detention centers have yet to come to trial—the figure often used is 80 percent. And 41.6 percent of the inmates awaiting trial have been held for three months or more. "Sometimes, if a guy wasn't guilty, he'd plead guilty to a lesser charge rather than stay in jail," says officer Brown. "A large percentage of them are like that."

State senator Waldaba Stewart from Brooklyn, who helped write the Senate study, offers a grim conclusion. "I'm convinced," he told this newspaper, "that the whole attitude of our legal system is that you are guilty until proven innocent."

The demands of the rebels emerged in bits and pieces differing from prison to prison, but they included the following: speedy trials; lower or no bails; better food; an end to the overcrowding; more humane conditions; the establishment of recreational facilities; the rescinding of the revocation of Black Panther Afeni Shakur's bail (see page 14); no reprisals against inmates; removal of hostile guards; and the institution of a citywide inmates council to represent the prisoners in jail policy decisions.

If the final demand had far-reaching implications, it was perhaps a harbinger of future developments. At an unprecedented emergency bail-review hearing conducted on the revolt's third day in response to prisoner's demands, 10 men from the Queens jail were released without bail. The hearing represented a clear victory for the prisoners, though officials no doubt saw it as a minor concession in order to gain time and the upper hand.

The courageous Long Island City rebels held out five days, even as police equipped with clubs and tear gas began to move against the city's mutinous prisoners in other jails, smashing the revolts one by one. However, as officer Warren, the hostage, observed, "The inmates had real unity in there."



DEMAND RIGHTS: A delegation of prisoners state grievances during armistice talks in midst of jail revolt.

But with the revolt crushed, the capitalist politicians could be expected now to begin passing the buck again, drenching the public with liberal tears about horrid conditions, comforting the naive with false promises—as well as the usual warnings against more outbreaks. Lindsay's surrender-or-else ultimatum issued to 200 rebels while police massed outside the Tombs Oct. 4 was typical: "I am aware of your grievances and problems," he said in a hookup via WINS radio aimed especially at the rebels on the Tombs' eleventh floor, "... but you must understand that this city cannot tolerate violence and disorder."

Inside the Tombs, prisoners who have waited in damp and sunless cells, eaten cold and tasteless food for more than three years—in some cases—without coming to trial, listened on their radios to the Lindsay ultimatum that they release their hostages within 30 minutes or else. They reluctantly gave up the hostages and surrendered.

"That man, Lindsay, he didn't care," said officer Warren, later. "He only cared as far as showing the force of his own authority." In the aftermath, it was apparent that even some of the men who are hired by the prisons to keep the prisoners in line couldn't stomach it.

Greek regime to receive full U.S. military support

The Nixon administration announced on Sept. 22 that the U.S. will resume all arms shipments to Greece. This officially ends the embargo on U.S. military aid to Greece which was proclaimed by Lyndon Johnson following the April 1967 military coup.

The authoritative French newspaper *Le Monde* attributed Nixon's move to two main factors:

"For one thing, the Greek leaders showed great understanding in offering the U.S. the use of their airports as bases for a possible rescue operation of American residents in Jordan. . . .

"Greece is the only Eastern Mediterranean state to allow the U.S. to use its naval installations without restriction." (*Le Monde—Weekly Selection*, Sept. 30)

In reality, the Pentagon had continued to supply weapons to the Greek dictatorship despite the supposed em-

bargo. The July 27 *U.S. News and World Report* listed Greece as the seventh biggest recipient of U.S. arms from 1950 to 1959. The total value of military aid to Greece in this period was given as \$1.5-billion.

"The Defense Department is reported to have supplied this year nearly twice as much military aid to Greece as authorized by Congress," *New York Times* correspondent Tad Szulc wrote from Washington April 16. "Although the government said that only spare parts, trucks and minor items were being provided after the coup, Greece received \$44-million in 1967 and \$55-million in 1968.

"Officials here were unable to explain at the time how this 'marginal' aid could amount to such high figures."

The *Le Monde—Weekly Selection* predicted that "in 1970 and 1971 Greece will probably receive more than \$50-million worth of armaments, including M-48 tanks and F-5 supersonic reconnaissance aircraft."