

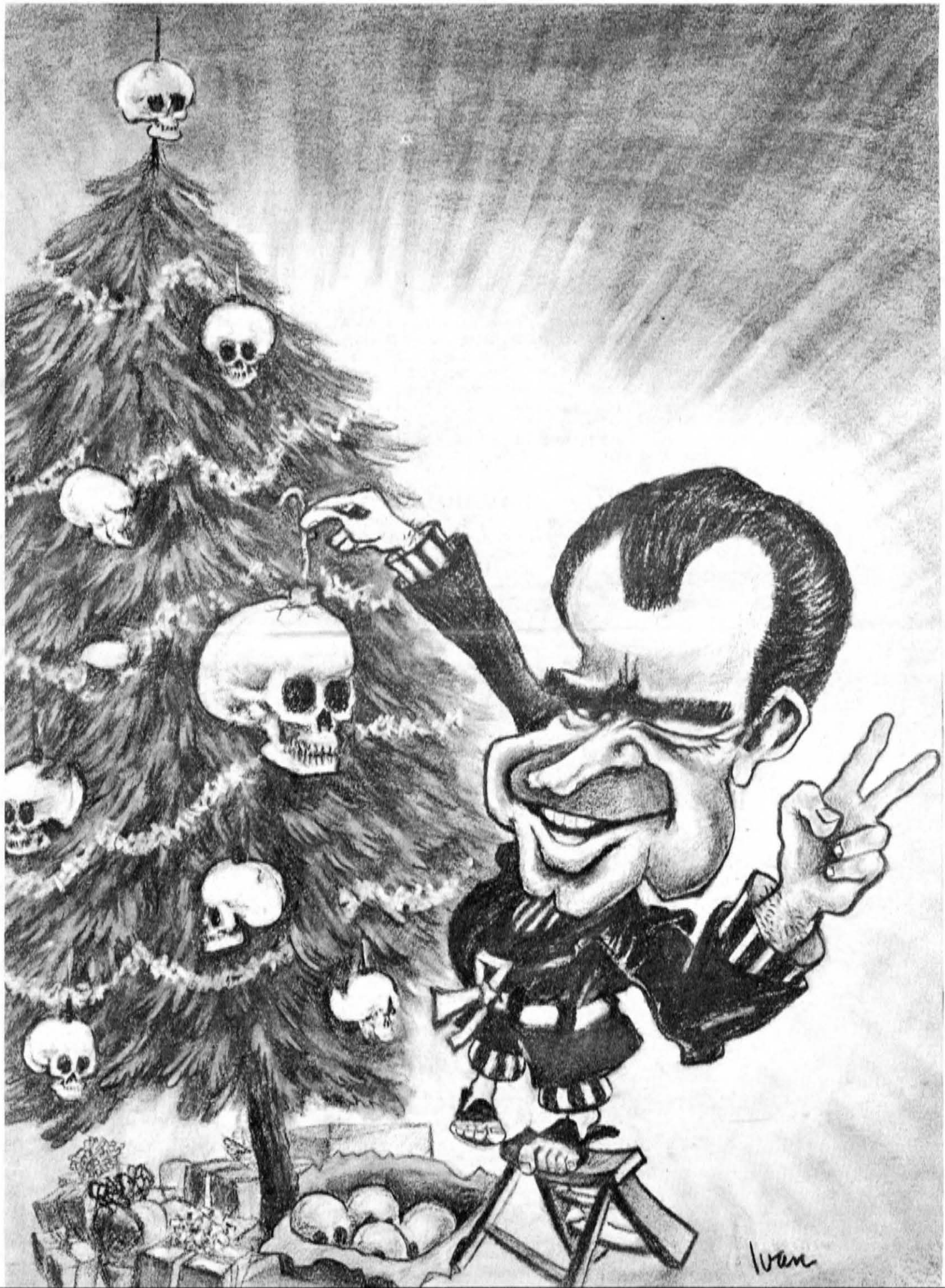
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# THE MILITANT

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

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**CRYSTAL CITY'S RAZA UNIDA IN ACTION/11**  
**PHOENIX WOMEN SPEAK OUT/8**  
**TROTSKY ON STALIN'S RISE TO POWER/16**

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# In Brief

## Cairo Survival Crusade

Dec. 19 will be the day of the Survival Crusade called by the United Front of Cairo to mobilize broad support in response to the most recent attacks by police and vigilantes on a boycott picket in downtown Cairo.

The Survival Crusade will be an opportunity for Blacks from throughout Illinois to come to Cairo to witness the horrors that have been inflicted on the Black community in recent months. The day will begin with tours through the Pyramid Courts housing project, the scene of most of the attacks, and will culminate in a mass demonstration in the white downtown business district.

The United Front has initiated a statewide campaign to build the Cairo Survival Crusade. Press conferences have been called by supporters of the United Front in most of the major cities throughout the state. A speaking tour has been set up for representatives of the United Front to build support for the Dec. 19 Crusade. Meetings have taken place at Central YMCA College and High School, Loop Junior College, and Malcolm X High School.

Before an audience of 80 people at the Chicago Militant Labor Forum on Dec. 12, United Front spokesmen Leon Page and Horace Jones gave an historical sketch of the white vigilante terrorism that has plagued Cairo's Black community for years and the response of the Black community to it. The forum was given prominent coverage in the *Sun Times*, one of Chicago's major newspapers.

A coalition called the United Front to Build the Cairo Survival Crusade has been established. Participants in the coalition include the Marshall High School Black Student Union, the Central YMCA College Black Student Association, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the United Front of Cairo (Chicago branch).

## Phila. antiwar action set

Philadelphia's Peace Action Day Coalition has called for a pre-Christmas vigil and march on Wed., Dec. 23, 6:30 p.m. at City Hall. Featured speakers will be Reverend David Gracie of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam and Ken Campbell, a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The vigil and march will be followed at 8 p.m. by an open house at the YWCA at 2627 Chestnut St.

## Black students win fight

On Dec. 3, Black students at Pepperdine College in Los Angeles struck and forced the closing of the school until a list of demands were met. Their action was triggered by the firing of Ron Ellerbe, a Black public relations writer and community relations representative for the college. The administration claimed that Ellerbe had been inadequate as a journalist.

Black students maintained that Ellerbe was fired because of his activity in organizing the Black community.

About 300 Black students, spearheaded by the Black Students Union, demonstrated for Ellerbe's reinstatement. When the administrators refused their demands, the students occupied several buildings. Threatened with expulsion and arrest, the students abandoned the building and urged others to strike and close the school down.

Under this pressure, the administration agreed to meet with the striking students. Carl Rideau, a spokesman for the Black students, informed *The Militant* that all 11 strike demands were conceded by the administrators. Ellerbe has been temporarily reinstated and an impartial commission has been established to determine the real cause for his dismissal.

## Juan Farinas convicted

Juan Farinas was convicted on three counts of violating the Selective Service Act after trial Dec. 10-11 in Federal District Court in New York. The defendant faces a possible five years in prison and a fine of \$10,000 on each count. An appeal is planned to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The charges against Farinas stem from an incident which took place in the summer of 1968, when he attempted to distribute leaflets opposing the Vietnam war to fellow inductees at the New York induction center. He is charged with disruption of the Selective Service System and failure to report for induction, both of which are untrue. Farinas never refused to be inducted, but only made known his intention to exercise his constitutional right to discuss his opposition to the war with other GIs. The only "disruption" that occurred was Farinas' peacefully passing out an antiwar leaflet.

Farinas is a supporter of the Workers League.

The morning the trial began, a demonstration of about

100 supporters took place outside the courthouse. The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is planning to expand its activities in building support for Farinas and raising the funds to publicize the case through the appeal stage. The address of the committee is: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

## Strike enters third year

Between 1,500 and 2,000 Chicanos and their supporters from around the state of Texas held a rally and march in Austin Nov. 29 to commemorate the end of the second straight year of the strike of Chicano workers against Economy Furniture in Austin. The spirited action demonstrated a deepening nationalist sentiment and support for La Raza Unida Party.

Local 456 of the Upholsterers International Union, which is conducting the strike, is 90 percent Chicano. The union was formed in 1968 to fight the discriminatory and unfair labor practices of furniture manufacturer Milton Smith. Although the union has been certified by the National Labor Relations Board as the bargaining agent for Economy Furniture employees, the company has refused to bargain with it.

To force the company to bargain, the strike was begun on Nov. 27, 1968. A boycott of stores that stock Economy furniture was organized to support the strikers.

Lencho Hernandez, boycott coordinator and rally chairman, told the crowd that the issues went beyond the Economy Furniture strike. The wide support the strike has received is a reflection of the growing feeling of solidarity among Chicanos, he said.

Albert Pena, Bexar County Commissioner, announced to the crowd that he had withdrawn from the state Democratic Party and that he supported La Raza Unida Party. He attacked both the Democrats and the Republicans for not being responsive to the needs of Chicanos.

Mario Compean of San Antonio MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) urged Chicano groups to unite around the perspective of establishing La Raza Unida Party in the whole of Texas.

Attention was drawn to the crucial role of Chicano women in the struggle with the announcement that a Chicana conference would be held next May in Houston.

Contributions to aid the strikers may be sent to UIU Local 456, 9600 Old McNeil Rd., Austin, Tex. 78758.

## N.J. cops in armed raid

A leader of the Black People's Unity Movement in Camden, N.J., was wounded in an early morning raid Dec. 15 when police broke into his home, allegedly in search of drugs. Michael Edwards, 23, Minister of Community

## WE'RE MOVING

**Beginning Dec. 23, The Militant will be occupying new, expanded offices. Our new telephone numbers will be (212) 243-6392 and 243-6393. All correspondence should be addressed to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.**

Development for BPUM and a longtime community and student activist, was shot in the leg and hospitalized in fair condition.

According to the police version of events—the only version available so far—11 armed policemen from Camden's Criminal Conspiracy Control and Intelligence Unit descended on Edwards' home at 2:25 a.m., armed with search warrants. When no one came to the door, their story goes, they broke it down and proceeded to Edwards' second floor bedroom. There allegedly followed an armed confrontation between Edwards and the police before Edwards was wounded and arrested.

Three other people were also arrested in the raid: Milton Brady Harmon, 25; James Higgs, 20; and Rosella Watson, 19. All were charged with possession of narcotics allegedly found in the house and possession of stolen property. Edwards was also charged with assault with a firearm with intent to kill.

A Michael Edwards Defense Fund and other action committees have been established. Contributions to the defense may be sent to the Michael Edwards Defense Fund, Black Cooperative, 303 North Second St., Camden, N.J. 08102.

Randy Furst is on vacation. This week's column was compiled by Caroline Lund. Contributors included: Fred Feldman, Mark Ugolini, Baxter Smith and Mark Zola.

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# N.Y. women press on abortion, day-care needs

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK, Dec. 12—Six hundred women braved freezing, driving rain today to march for an end to all restrictions on abortion, with no forced sterilization, and for free 24-hour child-care centers. That so many women turned out on what Channel 7-TV called one of the worst days of the year reflects the urgency of the demands.

And on the eve of the march, its character was expanded to include a defense of feminist Kate Millett from the sensational yellow journalism of *Time* magazine.

The demonstrators were overwhelmingly campus women, with contingents from Barnard, Columbia, Lehman, Queens, New York University, and several others. These women had been mobilized by women's liberation events—from karate demonstrations to special literature displays—at dozens of New York area campuses in the week leading up to Dec. 12.

As demonstrators began their two mile march up Fifth Avenue, they linked arms and held onto soggy banners, with the slogans on many washed out by the rain. The women broke into cheers when about 40 Black women from the Phoenix Organization of Women, women from drug rehabilitation centers in the city, came running across the street to join the march. The POW women, one of the most active forces in the Third World Women's Caucus of the Coalition, took their place at the lead of the demonstration, along with members of the Spanish-American Feminists and other Third World women.

Close behind the Third World women was Lene Birnbaum, cover editor of *Cosmopolitan*. Members of the Coalition had met Birnbaum earlier this month at a sit-in protesting *Cosmopolitan's* treatment of women as ego-bolsters for men. She told feminists then that she enjoyed dressing up for men and considered *Cosmopolitan* to be the women's liberation magazine,

but apparently she stands with feminists on child care and abortion.

A Queens College woman said she almost didn't come because of the rain. "But then I realized that lots of women who were planning to march because they support abortions and child care wouldn't show up either, and someone has to be here to speak for them, so I came."

A middle-aged woman said it was the possibility of further restrictions on the liberal New York abortion law that brought her out. "If there's one thing that binds all classes of women," she added, "it's bad gynecological care. Some of these doctors should grow uteruses—then they'd know what it's like to have no control over your body."

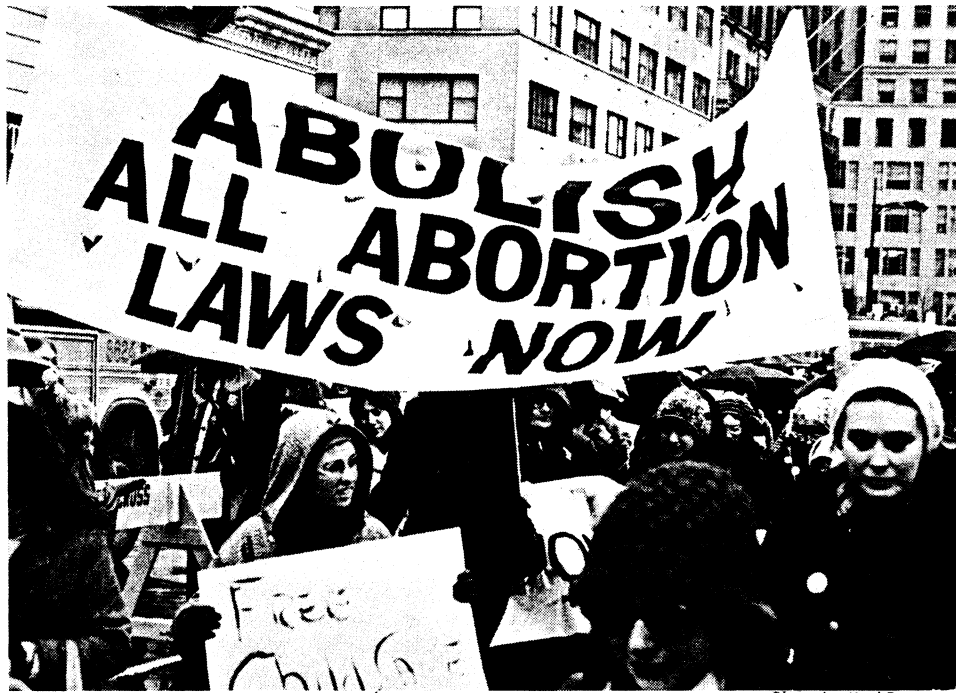
A rally was held in a park nearby Gracie Mansion, the home of Mayor Lindsay at whom the demands were directed.

As the women waited for the rally to begin, they read leaflets being passed out by the Women's Strike Coalition, the group sponsoring the demonstration. The leaflet referred to an article in the Dec. 14 issue of *Time* that singled out Kate Millett, author of *Sexual Politics*, for attack.

To justify raising questions about the legitimacy of the feminist movement, *Time* drops a fact that they think will tear the entire movement apart—Kate Millett, "the high priestess" of the movement, has recently acknowledged that she is bisexual. "This disclosure," *Time* concludes, "is bound to discredit her as a spokeswoman for her cause, cast further doubts on her theories, and reinforce the views of those skeptics who routinely dismiss all liberationists as lesbians."

Millett reports that *Time* had been holding her courageous statement, made at a recent panel on sexual liberation at Columbia University, over her head for several weeks, stooping to such tactics as threatening to tell her mother!

The Coalition leaflet said, "*Time*



New York, Dec. 12

Photo by Karl Bermann

magazine wants us to run scared, disown Kate and all our gay sisters." It went on to describe how after the Nazi invasion of Denmark, all Jews were told to wear armbands. So Jews could not be singled out, every Dane wore an armband.

"In essence, *Time* is asking us to issue lavender armbands. That's why we're ALL wearing lesbian armbands today—to show that we can stand together as women, regardless of sexual preference."

Virtually every woman present put on a lavender armband in solidarity with Kate Millett. As chairwoman Ivy Bottini said, "They've attacked one member, so they've attacked all of us. To show them no one is going to be picked off for her sexual preference, we're all standing together."

Millett was one of the featured speakers at the rally. The rain forced all speakers to abandon the speeches they'd prepared and just speak briefly. Ruthann Miller, of the Socialist Workers Party and a coordinator of the march, said, "Most of what I wanted to say has already been said, said by all of us together—marching out in that freezing rain, united until we get what we want."

Noting the large participation of Third World women in the march, Dolores Prida of Spanish-American Feminists said, "Centuries of machis-

mo have held us back, but we are with this movement now and we are going ahead with you."

Other speakers included Betty Friedan; Ellen Turner, who spoke on the needs of parents with disabled children; Nancy Fried of Barnard Women's Liberation; Barbara Love of Gay Liberation; Michelle Berry from POW, and Ros Baxandall from the Child-Care Collective. Congresswoman-elect Bella Abzug had agreed to speak, but did not show up.

Although only a fraction of the size of the massive Aug. 26 demonstration, the march clearly reflected the growth of the women's liberation movement since that time. It documented the continually expanding breadth of the movement and attested to the effectiveness of the campus as an organizing center. The march furthermore established the Women's Strike Coalition, a broad united front of close to 100 organizations, as a group that is prepared to respond to every form of oppression women face, be it from *Time* magazine or the city government.

The next meeting of the Coalition will be Jan. 7, 7:30 pm, at 360 W. 28th St. Since this is the day after the state legislature reconvenes, with further restrictions on abortion on its agenda, it will be a crucial meeting for the women of New York.

## Student activists gather for New York YSA convention

NEW YORK, Dec. 15—Young Socialist Alliance chairwoman Susan LaMont opened a YSA press conference in New York today to announce the upcoming Young Socialist convention to be held Dec. 27-31. She stated that one purpose of the convention will be to prepare the YSA for helping to build new and even larger mass upsurges than last May's student strike against Nixon's escalation of the Southeast Asian war.

The 1,500 participants expected to attend the convention, said LaMont, will include antiwar, women's liberation and Third World liberation activists as well as antiwar GIs, revolutionaries from around the world, and representatives from the Palestinian liberation struggles.

Norman Oliver, director of the YSA's Third World liberation work, told of his recent trip to Belgium, where he attended a conference of European revolutionary-socialist youth, and to Germany, where he met with Black GIs on several bases who are organizing against the war and against racism in the armed forces.

Oliver said that one of the things to be discussed at the convention will be how the antiwar and Third World

movements in this country can link up with these newly-formed organizations of antiwar and Black nationalist GIs.

The third statement to the press was made by Cindy Jaquith, director of the YSA's participation in the women's liberation movement. She blasted *Time* magazine for the attack in its Dec. 14 issue on Kate Millett and on the women's liberation movement. *Time* wrote that Kate Millett's recent public statement that she is bisexual serves to "discredit" her and reinforces the view that the women's liberation movement is made up only of lesbians.

Jaquith defended the right of lesbians, and all women, to be in the women's liberation movement, and pointed out that the movement has already proved through mass demonstrations like the one on Aug. 26 that it does relate to masses of American women.

The YSA convention will begin at 10 a.m. on Dec. 27. For further information on the schedule, housing, etc., call the YSA national office at (212) 989-7570. The convention will be held at Manhattan Center, 311 W. 34th St. (near 8th Ave.). Registration will be \$2.00 for the entire convention.

## Canadian revolutionary youth set Montreal conference

Occupied Montreal will be the site of this year's convention of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist youth organization, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. A major theme of the Dec. 31-Jan. 2 gathering will be opposition to the current suppression of civil liberties in Quebec and defense of those who have been arrested under the War Measures Act. The War Measures Act was instituted last October to clamp down on all Quebec nationalist activities after the kidnapping of a government official and a British diplomat.

A special session of the convention will be held Saturday at 3 p.m., featuring prominent participants in the Quebec independence movement, to express solidarity with the political prisoners and to project a massive defense campaign throughout Quebec and Canada. According to a press release from the YS/LJS, the conven-

tion will pose the stepping up of the independence struggle as a counter-offensive to the government's attacks.

Another major discussion at the convention will center on the growing women's liberation movement in Canada and on a national day of protest Feb. 14. The protest, calling for free abortion on demand, was initiated by the Abortion Workshop at a recent conference of the Canadian women's movement.

The YS/LJS is the only revolutionary youth organization fighting for Quebec independence in both Quebec and English Canada. It is the largest and fastest growing radical youth organization, and the convention will have delegates from every province of Canada except Prince Edward Island.

For more information on the conference, call (514) 861-3018, the LJS headquarters in Montreal.

# Behind Nixon's reescalation

By DICK ROBERTS

The Nixon administration has taken further steps to underline that it intends to return to the policies of murderously bombing North Vietnam that were temporarily suspended by the Johnson administration two years ago.

There can be no doubt that a major tactical shift in military operations is underway: Washington hopes that extensive bombing of North and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos will compensate for diminished ground combat activities by U. S. troops.

These moves underline that Nixon is continuing to seek a military victory in Southeast Asia.

Max Frankel, chief of the *New York Times* Washington bureau, analyzed Nixon's moves Dec. 12. "President Nixon's plan for troop withdrawals from Vietnam was bound to lead to the conclusion that American air power must be used to compensate for diminishing ground strength," Frankel wrote.

Frankel noted that the antiwar sentiment of American voters rules out a reescalation of U. S. ground combat: "the political imperative to reduce American casualties and keep on withdrawing troops from the war zones leaves air power—combined with vast military aid—as the only effective way of helping allied forces throughout Indochina."

And Frankel added that "by preparing the ground for the use of widespread bombing in place of combat troops, Mr. Nixon is moving toward the Johnson policy at the very start of the big American buildup in 1965 when it was hoped that the use of air power could avoid a massive injection of combat troops."

Thus Washington's bloody attack on Vietnam comes full circle. Nixon's preparations for sending hundreds of bombers against North Vietnam have the same purpose today as Lyndon Johnson's orders to send the first bombers against North Vietnam over five years ago.

The bombing is designed to punish the North Vietnamese for supporting the revolutionary forces in South Vietnam. Washington's ultimate hope remains to force Hanoi to make a deal and cease assisting the South Vietnamese fighters.

This was the meaning of Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's threat Dec. 11 that the absence of "meaningful" negotiations in Paris could provide the pretext for renewed bombing of North Vietnam.

There is little to distinguish Nixon and Laird's explicit policies from the policies the Nazis used against the resistance in occupied Europe during World War II. The "crimes" of the resistance were followed by retaliations in which tens and sometimes hundreds of civilians were mowed down; now the toll of civilian casualties from U. S. bombing in Southeast Asia runs into the millions.

Johnson was forced to partially halt the bombing of North Vietnam in March 1968 and to completely halt it in October 1968 under the immense pressure of the antiwar movement, not only in this country but also internationally. October 1968 saw massive marches against the U. S. attack on Vietnam drawing 100,000 in London and over 800,000 in cities throughout Japan.

Johnson's advisers warned him of an unprecedented social crisis in America if he persisted in escalating U. S. troop shipments to Vietnam, as the generals were demanding.

But Johnson's tactical shift on the bombing and his decision not to transfer unlimited reinforcements to the battlefields did not in any way signify abandoning U. S. imperialism's perspective of a military victory in the long run. The purpose was to throw the antiwar forces off. Two-and-a-half years ago, on June 2, 1968, Max Frankel wrote:

"It was primarily to buy time at home to keep waging the war's military and diplomatic battles abroad that Johnson accepted the dovish counsel of at least a partial halt in the bombing. . . . So far the tactic has worked better than he dared to hope."

What is perhaps not so well remembered by many antiwar activists today is that Washington drastically escalated the ground warfare in South Vietnam in 1968 and that *Richard Nixon—despite his talk of a 'secret peace plan'—escalated the ground warfare even further in the first six months of 1969.*

The *New York Times* reported Jan. 3, 1969: "1968 was the most costly year of the war for the United States. . . . Nearly half of the 30,543 Americans who have lost their lives in Vietnam since 1961 were killed last year."

And the same newspaper reported on Oct. 10, 1969, that *the U. S. casualties in the first six months of 1969 were 30 percent higher than the last six months of 1968.*

Nixon was ultimately forced to begin reducing American GI casualties



Darcy/Newsday

in mid-1969. This was also designed to defuse antiwar sentiment. The announcement of troop withdrawals and "Vietnamization," like Johnson's opening of the Paris "peace talks" over a year earlier, were again mainly designed to lull the American people into believing the war was finally coming to an end.

*New York Times* editor James Reston wrote on Sept. 21, 1969: "The president wants to reduce the costs of the war, cut the casualties and the draft, and reduce the opposition so that he can gain more time to fight and negotiate."

Another *New York Times* correspondent, Robert Semple, wrote the same day: "Thus [Nixon] has embarked on a series of withdrawals designed to tranquilize public opinion and persuade Hanoi that the U. S. is truly capable of extending the war indefinitely."

"Tranquilize public opinion" and "extending the war indefinitely" are far from being synonymous with "ending the war" and "withdrawing U. S. troops." But they are accurate descriptions of the real policies of Washington's war-makers.

Under the cover of withdrawing troops and "Vietnamizing" the war, the Nixon administration drastically stepped up the bombing of South Vietnam and Laos, and then on April 29, 1970, launched the massive U. S. attack on Cambodia.

Now that nation is engulfed in a war that is gradually approaching the scale of warfare in South Vietnam. Ironically enough, the \$255-million that Nixon is presently seeking to finance the tottering Pnompenh regime is identical to the sum Johnson requested to finance the war in support of the Saigon regime in 1964.

An important difference between Pnompenh today and Saigon six years ago is that the U. S. Air Force is already engaged in a massive daily saturation bombing of the area surrounding Pnompenh—on a scale that was not reached in South Vietnam until 1968. This bombing is staving off a collapse of the Cambodian city to the revolutionary forces that have surrounded it.

Despite Nixon's promises to the contrary, it is quite unlikely that Washington can stabilize the Lon Nol regime over the long run without once again sending in U. S. combat troops.

At the same time, there is a new wave of popular resentment of the U. S. war among the South Vietnamese populace. Demonstrations of thousands of citizens in Quinhon last week were led by high school students who had borrowed a slogan from their Latin-American sisters and brothers: "Yankee go home!"

A report that the Saigon government itself was "infiltrated" by thousands of revolutionary "agents" was taken seriously in Washington circles.

And the American GIs have increasingly been expressing a bitter hatred for the war that is apparently playing a role in tying the hands of the U. S. military. *New York Times* reporter Gloria Emerson reported in a dispatch dated Dec. 4 that the problem of U. S. officers in South Vietnam is "to buck up morale so low that it can hardly be measured. . . ."

She quoted the reaction of one GI to his superior officer: "That's him—see him? He wants us to be in a firefight with the dinks so he can act like John Wayne. We call him the jungle pimp. . . ."

Hatred of U. S. aggression in Vietnam. That is the common denominator of tens of millions of persons on this globe: the peoples first of all of Southeast Asia who have been the victims of imperialist counterrevolution for nearly three decades; the American GIs who are obliged to enforce the policies of U. S. imperialism; the millions of Americans who have over and over again demonstrated their opposition to the war; and other millions of peoples throughout the world who have also voiced opposition to Washington's barbaric invasion.

These are the forces that Washington is buffeted by as it strikes out wildly and then recoils like a trapped beast.

As Nixon lashes out with the death-dealing bombs of the U. S. Air Force, revolutionaries should put one thought first in their minds: a unified international antiwar movement, coupled with the liberation fighters on the battlefields of Southeast Asia, has the potential power to end the U. S. aggression.

It is the duty of revolutionaries to organize this potential power into an effective movement.

—Dec. 15, 1970

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NPAC convention session

Photo by Herman Kirsch

## NPAC begins building for April 24

CLEVELAND—Staff members of the National Peace Action Coalition said activity is already under way for building the mass march against the Vietnam war slated for Washington and San Francisco April 24. A button advertising the event is now being designed, they said, and a brochure which describes the principal decisions of the Dec. 4-6 NPAC convention in Chicago is now at the printers.

NPAC, a national organization of local area peace coalitions, union, Third World, women's and community antiwar groupings, also has the active support of the Student Mobilization Committee in building the nationwide action.

Literature, buttons and general information may be obtained from NPAC at 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Phone: (216) 621-6518. Contributions, which are urgently needed, may be sent to the same address.

## NCAWRR leader retreats on withdrawal demand

By ALEX HARTE

CLEVELAND—Prof. Sidney Peck of the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, and others associated with him in that coalition, are apparently retreating from the now-traditional demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam to a position of calling on President Nixon to "set a date" for such withdrawal.

This political retreat was spelled out fairly clearly when Peck spoke here Dec. 12 at a meeting sponsored by Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. Peck described his recent visit to North Vietnam and referred particularly to the North Vietnamese stand in Paris that it would not negotiate on other issues, such as prisoners, until the U.S. committed itself to a definite date for withdrawal.

He then told the audience that "large" demonstrations would be held in this country sometime in the beginning of May and that they would center on the demand that the U.S. set a date for withdrawal. He was apparently referring to a demonstration plan that leaders of NCAWRR have said they will present to an invitational gathering of that group in Chicago Jan. 8.

Unlike previous mass demonstrations which had demanded that the U.S. get out now, Peck said the projected May action would instead address itself to the president, saying, "If you're really sincere about getting out, then set a date for withdrawal!"

In the question period, Peck made it quite clear that he was presenting the idea of demanding Nixon set a date for withdrawal, as counterposed to demanding immediate withdrawal.

Peck's argument that it is more practical and effective to demand some specific future date for withdrawal rather than insisting on immediate

withdrawal is essentially a repeat of the argument put forward in the early years of the antiwar movement by such conservative forces within it as the Communist Party. They argued that negotiation proposals would seem more "reasonable" to the American people and were also more in accord with the negotiation moves of the beleaguered Vietnamese.

What proved to be a decisive majority of the antiwar movement responded then that the demand for immediate withdrawal was the only prin-

ciple one consistent with the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese people; that it would be accepted even more readily than amorphous negotiation declarations, by an increasingly war-weary American people; and that it was the best support that could be given to the Vietnamese people.

In responding to American military power, the Vietnamese have every right to resort to any means necessary, including, if need be, negotiations with the imperialist blackmailers. But this in no way relieves the U.S.

antiwar movement of fighting for the immediate, unconditional unilateral withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Professor Peck and NCAWRR to the contrary, that position remains fully valid today.

In addition to retreating from the withdrawal position, the speech suggested that Peck is beginning to propound views on political action with which he had not previously been considered to be associated. Generally, he had supported the stand that the antiwar movement must remain independent of the capitalist parties and capitalist politicians.

In this speech, he suggested that one of the positive features of the Oct. 21, 1967, Pentagon antiwar demonstration had been that it had assertedly paved the way for the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns.

He further said that people in the movement tend to frequently get discouraged. As an example, he pointed to what he saw as a failure last May of the antiwar movement to actively campaign for the Hatfield-McGovern amendment, which would have set a June 30, 1971, date for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Actually intended to get the demonstrators off the streets, the amendment was permitted to die as the antiwar upsurge ebbed.

Now apparently arguing that the amendment died for lack of support from the antiwar movement, rather than being a ploy to defuse it, Peck opined:

"People on Capitol Hill need people in the streets to move." The McGovern-Hatfield amendment, he asserted, contained that clause which he now feels the antiwar movement should be fighting for—setting a yet-to-be-determined date for U.S. withdrawal.

## L.A. PAC weighs united action

LOS ANGELES—Sentiment for a united antiwar action this spring was manifested at a meeting of the Peace Action Council here Dec. 7. Originally an antiwar coalition, the PAC now regards itself as a "multi-issue" formation addressing itself to a variety of social concerns.

At the Dec. 7 meeting, however, Leo Frumkin, chairman of the Los Angeles Out Now antiwar coalition, was given 10 minutes to report on the National Peace Action Coalition convention in Chicago, from which he had just returned, and its plans for a mass march against the war in Washington and San Francisco April 24. Frumkin stressed that he hoped PAC would agree to actively participate in building the April 24 action.

Time was then given to PAC chairman Irving Sarnoff to present the viewpoint of the National Coalition against War, Racism and Repression, with which he is associated. Sarnoff said essentially that the problem was to concentrate on multi-issue action rather than antiwar demonstrations

and opined that people were "tired of marching" in antiwar demonstrations. He argued that PAC should not endorse the April 24 demonstration.

After a good deal of questions and discussion from the floor, Prof. Donald Kalish, a leader of PAC and chairman of the meeting, stepped out of the chair to express the view that he was torn on the issue and that he considered the need for some kind of a united action an urgent matter. He said it would be very bad if there was an NPAC action in April and a NCAWRR action in May. He then made a motion that Frumkin present a position paper outlining NPAC's proposed course of action, that Sarnoff similarly present one on behalf of NCAWRR and that both papers be mailed out to PAC affiliates and key activists as a basis for arriving at a considered position on the problem.

After further debate, Kalish's motion was adopted by a vote of some 35 to five with about five abstentions.

## Conn. Panther prosecutor presses for hanging jury

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN, Dec. 14—Jury selection in the case of Black Panther Party leaders Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins is now in its fifth week, with a total of three jurors selected from approximately 200 examined.

The Seale-Huggins trial was preceded by the conviction of Black Panther Lonnie McClucas for alleged conspiracy to commit murder and for lesser charges.

Seale and Huggins are charged cumulatively with aiding and abetting murder, conspiracy to murder, conspiracy to kidnap and kidnapping resulting in death. The alleged victim was Alex Rackley.

Inclusion of Black Panther Party national chairman Bobby Seale in the

case signifies that this is the key case in the attempt by the U.S. government to crush the Panthers, with the legal cover of the courts as well as by more direct methods.

From the outset of the jury selection, it has been clear that State's Attorney Arnold Markle is seeking the death penalty for Seale and Huggins. Repeatedly, the prosecutor has used his questions to attempt to eliminate potential jurors who are against capital punishment.

The defense lawyers, Charles Garry for Seale and Catherine Roraback for Huggins, have attempted to argue against the exclusion of jurors opposed to capital punishment on two grounds. First they cite a study conducted by a University of Chicago

Law School professor which found that a "death-oriented" jury was also a conviction-prone jury.

Secondly, they have argued that the jurors' feelings about the death penalty are irrelevant to determining guilt or innocence, and that if necessary a second jury can be selected to consider sentencing.

Defense motions made on the basis of this argumentation have been arbitrarily rejected, as were earlier defense motions questioning the composition of the panel of citizens from which the jury is being selected. Only 10 of the 200 potential jurors interviewed to date were Black. The defense claims that the jury selection process discriminates against the young, the poor, and the nonwhite.

The defense has so far used up 19 of its 60 peremptory challenges, where-

as the prosecution has used only 13.

In anticipation of the defense line of questioning, Judge Mulvey is giving more lengthy instructions to each new panel of prospective jurors so they know the "correct" answers to give in order to appear impartial. In some cases, the judge has prompted the jurors to rephrase their responses in such a way that the defense is forced to use up its limited number of challenges.

According to the *Panther Trial News*, which has been covering the trial regularly for the Panther Defense Coalition, "It seems apparent that the prosecution and the state are playing a waiting game which will end with the defense's sixtieth challenge. At that point Mr. Markle, in fact, will pick the jury."

# In Our Opinion

## Barbaric strategy

Nixon's "broadened" interpretation of when he has the "right" to bomb North Vietnam marks an ominous new escalation of the U.S. imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people.

Nixon plans to resume full-scale bombing of the North for the same basic reasons that motivated Johnson. Johnson tried to justify the air war against the North Vietnamese with the pretext that the attacks were intended to "interdict" the flow of troops and materiel to the South. But correspondents on the scene soon established that there was no significant relation between north-south traffic and the bombings. The real reason for the murderous attacks, it became plain, was U.S. intent to try to hammer the North Vietnamese into ending their support for the South Vietnamese liberation forces and to get them to put pressure on those forces to give up the fight.

Johnson finally suspended the bombings under fierce antiwar pressure—a pressure so excruciating that it threatened to erupt into a full-scale social crisis and did in fact compel him to abandon reelection plans.

Seeking to avoid Johnson's fate, Tricky Dick developed a strategem he hoped would defuse the antiwar movement and thereby give him the elbowroom to continue seeking military victory in Vietnam. His moves included empty "peace" proposals; a limited reduction of the massive U.S. forces in Vietnam; and a greater use of Saigon troops for ground combat, necessarily coupled with increased aerial bombing.

Now, the resistance of Vietnamese civilians expressing itself in new demonstrations, with a precipitous decline in GI morale, and with a near-disastrous military situation in Cambodia, Nixon has decided to try again to bomb the North Vietnamese into submission. And he apparently assumes that U.S. and international antiwar sentiment has been pacified to the point where he can get away with it.

Renewal of the bombing will mean added suffering for the North Vietnamese people. But news reports from Hanoi confirm what could be easily deduced from the whole previous record. The people of North Vietnam are prepared to deal with this new aggression.

And we can be certain that this monstrous new crime will rekindle active, mass antiwar opposition here and abroad. Nixon may have fooled some into believing he was winding up the war. But opposition to the war today goes deeper than ever.

What remains is for the organized antiwar movement to act as the indispensable catalyst that will bring on a massive new explosion of antiwar opposition demanding U.S. troops be brought home now. The April 24 demonstration called by the National Peace Action Coalition provides the vehicle for accomplishing this.

## Another big step

Eight years ago *The Militant* was only four pages, and the circulation was about 4,000. Two years ago we had only 12 pages, and our circulation was 10,000. With this issue we go to 24 pages and our circulation is up to 25,000. The redesigned format of our larger paper is, we think, a major improvement in its technical quality.

This significant growth is due to the radicalization that has penetrated every corner of our society and created more distributors and sellers, more subscribers, more readers and more young radicals who see *The Militant* as their paper. The recent subscription drive that increased the number of readers by 16,044 in a two-month period was made possible by the pride that *Militant* supporters have in the paper.

The trademark of *The Militant* is the truth—the unvarnished truth. It uncompromisingly exposes and attacks all forms of inequality, privilege, hypocrisy and oppression in this decaying capitalist society and militantly promotes the socialist alternative.

Presenting facts about capitalist oppression and analyses of political events and movements, *The Militant* serves as a political guide for activists in the mass movements—women's liberation, Black, Chicano, antiwar, and labor—and as the political organizer for the revolutionary-socialist wing of these movements.

We do not expect the size, circulation and quality of *The Militant* to stop here. It's only the beginning.

# Letters

### Guardian

There is no doubt that some Mobe-NCAWRR people have red-baited NPAC. Nevertheless, your suggesting that the *Guardian* was also guilty of such an action was as unnecessarily divisive as it was preposterous. This also helps to obscure criticisms of the *Guardian* which are principled.

The editorial duel which *The Militant* has started can be a good thing if it serves to clarify the difference between a single-issue antiwar approach and a multi-issue approach. Before the controversy develops further, however, I think *The Militant* should retract its suggestion about the *Guardian's* alleged red-baiting.

Robert Schwartz  
Miami Beach, Fla.

[In describing the *Guardian's* coverage of the National Peace Action Coalition we noted that each article commented in one way or another about the role of the Socialist Workers Party in NPAC. The total effect was to create the entirely unwarranted image of NPAC as some kind of an SWP "front."

[We further noted that if the *Guardian* were to justify this consistent reference to the SWP and NPAC as merely reporting news, then it could only be assessed as a double standard of reporting since none of the articles on the remnants of the New Mobilization Committee and on the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression even mentioned the forces which have the decisive political influence in that formation, namely the Communist Party and the so-called radical pacifists.

[We do agree with reader Schwartz that the key political question in dispute is that of the single-issue vs. multi-issue approach to building the antiwar movement and propose to discuss this question in coming issues. — Editor]

### Correction

The Dec. 4 *Militant* referred to the recent Israeli demonstrations in support of the national rights of the Palestinians as "anti-Zionist." This is utterly inaccurate. The demonstrations at Hebrew University were organized by students in Siah (the Israeli New Left) who feel that Zionism, as a movement of national liberation, must support all other movements of national liberation, including the Palestinian. This, by the way, is also the position of the World Union of Jewish Students.

Siah calls for a federation of two states in Palestine as the only solution which can insure that both the Israeli and Palestinian communities will have control over their national destinies. Siah, despite vigorous attacks by the Israeli ruling class, is the most rapidly growing Israeli socialist organization. It has been active in university and high school organizing throughout Israel. It has held several demonstrations in the last year—under considerable harassment from the authorities. Siah has comradely ties with the U.S. organization, the Radical Zionist Alliance.

P. C.  
Oberlin Radical Jewish Movement  
Oberlin, Ohio

### Narrow-minded?

I would like to point up several things I find difficult to comprehend when I read *The Militant*. It would seem to one who has been at some of the news events you report that your reportage is not much less slanted, and sometimes even more so, than that in the "regular" press, and yet you so often berate that press for its prejudice.

I do not understand how anyone who condemns the violence in Indochina can support violence from any side in the Mideast. Further, I cannot understand how one who condemns capitalist aggression and imperialism in Indochina and elsewhere can possibly even imply approval of the continued violently exploitative imperialism of Russia, as exemplified by the crushing of the revolts in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Instead of following any *old* party line, why not preach (and practice) true love instead of hate, peace instead of violence, however "justified," freedom for the people instead of power to whomever can sway the most votes by lies and promises?

I doubt you'll print this. I think you are probably too narrow-minded and scared of moderate (life-loving) liberalism to dare print something which might make people think twice about raising you to power.

P. M.  
Jacksonville, Fla.

### Real criminals

I was much struck with the enclosed letter from Brooklyn printed in the Nov. 28 *New York Times*. This is a minister speaking!

"Recently, jail inmates in our city rebelled . . . against such abuses as an unjust bail system and excessively cruel punishment—arbitrary beatings by guards; bug-infested, crowded jails; long detainment without trial. Yet, those responsible for these conditions are left undisturbed while the prisoners are indicted as the culprits.

"In my opinion . . . these indictments must rather be given to:

"The commissioner of corrections who accepted these conditions without effective protest;

"The judges who irresponsibly allowed the calendar to back up, while coming in to sit on the bench at convenient hours in the late morning, and leaving at a convenient hour in the afternoon; . . .

"Guards who unlawfully mistreat prisoners and especially the guards whose pictures were published showing them in the act of unlawfully and brutally beating prisoners after the riots;

"The district attorney for mis carriage of justice in overlooking the real culprits and indicting the wrong people. . . ."

A. W.  
Stamford, Conn.

### 'Jail Nixon, throw away Ky!'

I was particularly impressed by the fact that almost a third of the 800 demonstrators who greeted Ky's arrival here Dec. 2 were Asians, mostly young Japanese, organized by the Asian Americans for Peace. Marching separately, they wore yellow headbands and sang, "Revo-



# The Great Society

lution, now, now, now, we will win and we will win it now! We want our freedom!"

Evidence that the traditional political passivity of the Asian community is changing was first indicated when hundreds of young Asians joined an antiwar rally in Little Tokyo last spring.

The Asian demonstrators chanted, "One, two, three, four; we won't fight your racist war. Five, six, seven, eight; organize, it's not too late," "Jail Nixon, throw away Ky," and, in Japanese, "Smash the security treaty."

*Della Rossa*

*Los Angeles, Calif.*

## Transsexual challenges

### Miami ordinance

The Tallahassee Young Socialist Alliance has granted full support to the defense of militant transsexual Angela Douglas. Douglas was recently arrested in Miami, Fla., and charged with "wearing the clothing unbecoming his or her sex," an old city ordinance used to enforce dress codes upon Native Americans. A \$250 bond was set which was raised by a local feminist. The case will be taken to federal court and such laws challenged on the grounds that they are unconstitutional and infringe freedom of expression.

Angela Douglas is one of the founders of Gay Liberation Front, Los Angeles, and the Transvestite-Transsexual Action Organization and is a member of several other GLFs. She was in Miami by invitation to attend a conference on transsexualism at the University of Miami.

Douglas is now in Tallahassee to bring pressure upon state officials to end cross-dressing laws and provide welfare, vocational rehabilitation and medical assistance to transsexuals.

Letters of support should be sent to *Forever Amber*, 1822 W. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057.

*Brett Merkey*

*YSA*

*Tallahassee, Fla.*

## Doubles Militant sales

Please increase my bundle order of *Militants* to 50 a week. I always seem to sell out too quickly with only 25.

*Militant* sales are getting easier every day as people get accustomed to seeing a revolutionary newspaper on sale. Perhaps the bourgeois press is one of the best reasons to read the *Militant*. Yesterday a woman bought one and signed the local YSA mailing list. On leaving, she said, "I'm totally fed up with the *New Britain Herald*!" I'd say she made a change for the better.

*H. G.*

*New Britain, Conn.*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

**Shrewd as a pig**—The Detroit Police Badgers beat the Wayne County Sheriff Stars in the first annual Pig Bowl match. There were a few slugfests in the course of the game and the sheriffs hollered foul, claiming the cops had agreed to use only their downtown men on the team and then "temporarily" transferred some pros downtown.

**Praise the Lord and pass the napalm**—The unofficial inquiry into U.S. war crimes in Vietnam heard testimony from Dr. Gordon Livingston, a psychiatrist at Johns Hopkins University, that Col. George Patton III had asked the chaplain to pray for a big guerrilla body count. The good reverend responded with the prayer: "Oh Lord, give us the wisdom to find the bastards and the strength to pile on."

**Easy on the ajax, fellas**—Two major manufacturers of children's bubble baths agreed to reformulate their product in response to complaints of infection and irritation of the urinary tract.

Purex and Gold Seal agreed to remove from the bubble bath what was described as an industrial-strength detergent.

**A no-panic judge**—A federal judge rejected a Consumer's Union plea to order a number of unsafe toys off the market. Included were a cap pistol which makes a noise louder than a jackhammer and a metal casting set that heats up to 700 degrees. The judge agreed they obviously might present a danger to children but said this was not sufficient reason to order them off the market.

**Reformist pot and kettle dep't**—A Chilean Christian Democrat is suing the Stalinist paper *El Siglo* for libel. The paper had indignantly accused him of instigating "illegal" seizure of land by squatter groups.

**The Xmas spirit**—Business experts advise you can do better, taxwise, to take a business associate out for a night on the town rather than sending

a gift. Only \$25 of the gift's cost is tax deductible, but the entire night on the town can be taken off. The only proviso being that during the evening, talk must be "directly related" to business. But then, what else is there to talk about?

**Concern for prisoners**—Georgia state senator Culver Kidd, who wants the U.S. to show its concern for prisoners in North Vietnam by increasing the bombing, is also concerned about prisoners here. It was disclosed that the same day he made a bomb-'em speech, he telephoned two state judges urging them to go easy in sentencing a recently convicted racketeer.

**Blow to breeding**—Pet shop operators agree mongrels are now outselling purebreds 10 to one. A somewhat off-beat finding is that of a Chicago dealer who finds an increase in sale of llamas. He says it's because they're affectionate and eat less than ponies.

—HARRY RING

# ♀ The Insurgent Majority

Two days after the New York Women's Strike Coalition sat in at the offices of *Cosmopolitan*, editor Helen Gurley Brown met with the women to discuss their demands. She agreed immediately to institute a regular feminist column in the magazine, for which she will pay "top rates." Refusing the demand for an entire women's liberation issue, she did agree to print regular articles on feminism on topics suggested by the Coalition.

She also rejected the demand for \$2,500 reparations for the psychological damage done to women by the rampant sexism in her magazine. Nor would she make any firm commitment to end the sexist ads and articles she prints. She agreed, however, to join a consciousness-raising group, so perhaps she will end up granting more of the demands than she plans.

At a panel on "Women and the Law" held at Yale University Dec. 8, Eleanor Piel pointed out that a woman trial lawyer's first task is still "to prove her right to be in the courtroom." Piel described a recent visit she made to a client at a Connecticut jail where officials made her wait more than two hours while they verified her credentials. The call they made to her office began, "There's a woman here who claims she's an attorney."

According to the Dec. 1 issue of *The Spokeswoman*, a federal court judge in Arkansas ruled Oct. 12 that a state protective law for women workers must be extended to cover male workers as well in order to comply with Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The company, Podlatch Forests, Inc., had tried to have the protective law, which required that women must be paid time and a half for working overtime, declared void on the basis of Title VII. But the judge ruled instead that time-and-a-half pay for overtime must be extended to men.

This example shows that equal rights legislation such as the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution and Title VII will not automatically void all protective laws. Some women in the movement have assumed this, and therefore opposed the ERA.

The women's movement can be most effective if it fights for the ERA and for extending the protective laws to men, thereby exposing the hypocrisy of the concept that women must trade protective laws for equal rights. Women who oppose the ERA because they think it will hurt the protective laws tend to end up centering their fire against sections of the women's movement who support the ERA, rather than where it should be directed—against the employers, the politicians and the trade union bureaucrats who hypocritically insist that there is a contradiction be-

tween the protective laws and equal rights for women.

In the "when in doubt, insult a woman" category is a statement made recently by South Vietnam's Vice-President Ky. Asked to comment on the role of PRG delegate Madame Nguyen Thi Binh in the Paris peace talks, Ky said, "Never trust a woman in politics."

The Young Women's Christian Association has just announced that it will open several day-care centers in New York next year. Their centers will accept infants and stay open 24 hours "if necessary."

This move is part of what the *Christian Science Monitor* has called "the day-care decade." They report that for the estimated 5 million preschool children of working mothers, there is day-care space now for only 640,000. The largest hindrance to expanding this figure has been the costs involved. The *Monitor* estimates it costs \$2,000 to keep one child in a center for a year, compared to the \$870 required to keep a child in school.

"Pacific Southwest is one of the first airlines to reap the profits of realizing that in the competitive airline business, extras like sexy wrappings on the stewardesses can make all the difference." So began a Dec. 3 article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* reporting on the new "sex suit" uniforms PSA has designed for its stewardesses.

A caption under a photograph of these short, low-cut "suits" read, "For profit and fantasy." PSA's publicity director explained, "In this very competitive business, you've got to have a gimmick. Using implied sex—or outright sex, if you will—is our gimmick."

Asked what she thought of the outfit, which the article says "makes you want to hijack the stewardess and throw away the plane," stewardess Vicky Hughes said, "I'll feel so conspicuous. Those men undress you with their eyes. . . . I won't go anywhere alone in that dress."

Referring to the men who are 75 percent of PSA's passengers, Hughes said, "We're in a job where we're not competing with men. We take their minds off women who do compete with them. . . . I often wonder what the women passengers think."

PSA should well be wary, however, of its gross treatment of women employees as sex objects. Twelve TWA stewardesses have just filed a class suit, claiming male flight attendants are paid up to \$3,500 a year more for the same work, and are demanding compensative payments back to 1963.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE and CAROLINE LUND

# POVERTY, DRUGS, FEMINISM-- PHOENIX WOMEN SPEAK OUT

**"MY WHOLE CONDITION WAS THAT YOU DO WHAT MEN TELL YOU TO DO. BUT IT'S NOT THAT WAY. I AM EQUAL TO THEM AS A HUMAN BEING, AS A WOMAN."**

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

The Aug. 26 women's demonstration in New York City included a large contingent of mainly Black and Puerto Rican women from Phoenix House, a network of city-supported drug rehabilitation centers. Women have organized within Phoenix to form the Phoenix Organization of Women (POW).

Since Aug. 26, POW has continued to be active in building the permanent New York women's liberation coalition and played a major role in building the Dec. 12 demonstration for free, community-controlled abortion clinics and child-care centers.

In an interview with *The Militant*, some of the leading activists in POW, Pat Spellman, Mary Terry and Carolyn Welch, related how and why they became involved in women's liberation.

Pat Spellman explained that she had been involved in women's liberation for over a year. "I needed that kind of information; I needed some strength," she said.

They related that because of the propaganda and distortions of the mass media, some of the women in Phoenix had been turned off from the women's liberation movement, thinking that it was "bra-burning." However, as they learned more about it, they refused to let the fabrications of the press influence their noninvolvement any longer.

"We decided that, as staff members at Phoenix House, we wanted to take the day off on Aug. 26," said Pat Spellman. "I told my regional director, 'I'm taking the day off, and we're going on the women's march.'"

They read about the plans for Aug. 26 in the daily press. And because Pat Spellman had begun to contrast the articles in the press with the consciousness-raising she received from women's liberation rap sessions, she began to read literature on feminism and decided that the issues of the movement were relevant to her life. She stated, "I was reading books and sitting up late at night and taking my stand and then defending feminism."

She went on to say that a lot of the women in Phoenix House had a very open attitude toward women's liberation because it was for "standing on your own two feet as a person and not grabbing hold of someone, and not thinking in terms of coming out and just marrying someone right away so you can exist."

Spellman told about her experience at Synanon, another drug rehabilitation center, before she came to Phoenix House. She said that the program there did not stimulate independence; rather it encouraged you to stay on forever.

"I wanted to get out desperately. I felt that I just wasn't turning into a person. But I couldn't even conceptualize ME, walking out of there, all alone, no friends, no family, no money, no nothing, and getting a job all alone, and going on my own. So I married to leave it—you know, just like a lot of women marry to leave home. I just let myself get into being married because we both wanted to leave, and that way we wouldn't be alone. That's not a very good reason to get married."

Synanon was also sexist. "The women," Spellman said, "were the curtain-hangers and the re-

ceptionists and the secretaries. And they always, like, did for the men. Each of the men always had a woman working with him. She was supposed to do things like fix up his office and see that he had his coffee."

We went on to talk about reasons for "early pregnancy" among young women in Phoenix House, and poor and Third World women in general. The POW women pointed out how women in this society are educated to believe that the most important thing in life is to get married, have two kids and look attractive to men. We compete with each other with false eyelashes, lipstick and wigs for a "good catch." And because we are so used to having our identities revolve around men, it becomes quite easy to fall into the plight of submission.

"There are a lot of girls here," said Spellman, "who, the first time somebody said gee, you're cute, and I love you, and they were 15—just let the guy take them off on a roof top. And of course they get pregnant, and they get stuck in some jail or youth house because they committed the 'crime' of getting pregnant. So they have a kid somewhere in a foster home. Some of them get married; some of them don't. . . ."

She said that of the women under 20 years old in Phoenix House, more than half had babies somewhere.

## 'Middle-class' demands?

In spite of the fact that some people have referred to the Aug. 26 demonstration demands as "middle-class" and "reformist," the POW women felt that the issues of women's liberation were relevant to Third World women. They saw the need for child care as being obvious, especially so that working mothers would not have to leave their children at home unattended.

One of the women explained that Phoenix House was her first job where she got equal pay for equal work. She contrasted this with her previous employment where she was earning \$60 for doing the same job as a man who was earning more money. "Every time he got a raise, he got a raise because of the good work I did. Plus, I had to go get his coffee in the rain. He couldn't drink coffee from the coffee machine. Every day I had to go down three flights of stairs and around the corner to get him coffee. Not the guy he worked with. Me. That was part of my job. . . ."

I asked what they thought about the concept of abortion being a form of genocide of Third World people. "Abortion to me means that you would get pregnant by choice only," said Spellman. "When I think of abortion for Third World women, I think in terms of a lot of young girls who get taken advantage of out in the streets; and I can't look at it as genocide, because what happens to their children if abortion is illegal? They're in foster homes, they're in orphanages, they end up in youth homes, they end up in penitentiaries, and they end up here at Phoenix House."

Carolyn Welch, who has been speaking at meetings in favor of abortion, added, "I don't think it's genocide, simply because I think a woman should be allowed the choice to have a baby or not to have it. And everybody doesn't get pregnant because they want to. Like the situations I was in, if abortions were legal maybe I wouldn't have had to go through a lot of things that I had to go through."

"When I got pregnant the first time, I was 14, and there was the hassle, because a 14-year-old girl doesn't care to get pregnant, and I had to go to school. And everybody was looking down at me because I was a 'bad girl' and the whole thing. And people were telling me to give my kid away. I spent the last two months of my pregnancy at a home for unwed mothers. And on the sixth floor of the home they had a nursery full of kids. And I thought, these people are telling me to give my kid away, and that he's going to have a nice home. They ran a whole game on me. But I knew about all those kids upstairs. They probably told their mothers the same thing, and the kids are still just sitting up there waiting for somebody to take them."

They also mentioned that Phoenix House was unique in its program and approach. Unlike some programs which serve merely to keep addicts off the streets or to try to make them fit back into the society as it exists, they said that at Phoenix House "we not only feel that you're supposed to stop shooting dope and live a good, clean, constructive life; we think that when you're coming out of using drugs you can think a lot more clearly about current issues. We feel that being involved in the kinds of things that are happening that are going to be good for society—if society is allowed to exist—is going to make it possible for each one of our people to go out and use whatever skills they have as a human being to fight for the social reform that the whole movement is for, such as women's liberation."

They went on to discuss the formation of seminars in the Phoenix centers during the past year on such topics as the victimization of Angela Davis, the Kent State and Jackson State killings, the Panthers and the Young Lords.

The first seminar held on Kent State showed some degree of indifference toward the students who were brutally murdered by guardsmen while protesting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. Because the residents of Phoenix, both Third World and white, come from poor families and communities where any inclination to attend college is stifled at an early age, it was difficult to sympathize with supposedly privileged white students.

However, the Phoenix residents had an entirely different reaction to the murder of the Black students at Jackson State. The seminar helped to heighten their consciousness of the fact that this system will move to crush any struggle by which it feels threatened.

The alienation of capitalist society has produced drug users who spend a great deal of their time moaning in a bottomless pit. Until recently, this has had the effect of greatly hampering any type of militant struggle by some of the most oppressed people in this country. However, the consciousness of great numbers of former drug users is changing; they are becoming radical, and their eyes are opening to the fact that there can be little struggle while one is floating on "cloud nine."

Pat Spellman said, "How do you get someone to stop shooting dope? I guess if you have something better to do you don't need dope. If you're really enjoying life, you don't want to kill that feeling with drugs. But how can you go out and enjoy life on the old standards? I mean, can you enjoy making a lot of money doing a shit job? Can you enjoy screwing other people? Can you enjoy running around dressed the way other people think you should be dressed and saying what

Maxine Williams is a member of the Third World Women's Alliance in New York and the Young Socialist Alliance.





some other people want you to say? I mean, how do you enjoy that, in this jungle? Especially in New York City. This city is like a snake pit to me.

"We've talked a lot about involvement; and not just going out there and making a lot of money and being clean, but going out there and getting involved. I know that getting involved is one of the things that gives my life meaning. But it isn't going to help unless a whole lot of us get involved. A few people can't do it because there are just too many people on the other side, and they're really heavy."

### Consciousness-raising

The women described how the organization of POW had developed out of the growing feminist consciousness of Phoenix women which began to occur in clinical sessions for women only. "We did a lot of consciousness-raising. We would talk about how we've got to develop more women's strength. How we need more women, and we want more women in the program. And that we didn't have enough women clinicians.

"We really started grooving behind all those women together and how beautiful they were. There was an awful lot of power there. Why do we have to be sat on so much? Why do we have to fight extra hard for our thing? And why do we have to feel funny about asking for certain things? I think that there are a lot of things that women don't get because they just don't ask.

"I've noticed one thing," said Pat Spellman. "In the last few months a lot more men are starting to understand women's liberation—just because women are talking about it. At first we were very defensive about it, and when it first hit, I mean, the men went crazy."

But when the emotional things wore off, she said, the men could see that it made sense, and their attitudes began to change.

"I've talked to a lot of the men about it. For instance, on abortion I say, why, that's not your problem! You never have to worry about that. You can afford the luxury of deciding whether it's ethical or moral because you don't get big and fat. So what do you care?

"I'll tell you one thing. If men got pregnant, there would have been legal abortions from the beginning of time. If women were in charge of the laws, there always would have been free, legal abortions. You get much more practical when it's your belly that's popping out. And all that God shit goes out the window, because that's a kid in there, and he's going to be out there one of these days.

"And child-care centers — men don't take care of their kids. They're out working every day. They leave the wives with the kids anyway, so they ought to be happy if there were child-care centers so the wives can go to work and she won't be bitching and yelling at him for more money when he won't give her any money."

Referring to the insecurities of men, she pointed out that women's liberation demands don't take anything at all away from men—except being on top of women.

"A lot of the men here at Phoenix can understand this because they've been out there in the streets. You take a girl, a typical example, who was raised by her hustler brothers. She is out in the streets with a pimp when she is 14; she has got three or four kids, and she is in with a dope fiend. She has always had a man. There's nothing in her life that a man has not told her to do.

"She comes here to the center, and when you talk to her she doesn't say anything, or she just says 'huh?' Then she starts reading and studying, and going around to do things all on her own. She gets into everything. And after about eight months she can take care of herself. A girl like this came and said to me once, 'You know, any time when one of the guys in the house says anything to me I just blow up. Like I hate him, all of them! My brothers, my father, my uncle, that pimp!'

"And actually, if you have those feelings about men and if you don't get in touch with them, they just stay there in you."

Spellman continued, "I think women have to go through a whole thing of screaming and raging and ranting. I know, I went through it. You know, every day you get a new revelation of how you are oppressed. Everywhere I looked, the papers, the magazines, ads. I couldn't look at television, I couldn't go to movies, I couldn't read any more books because I started looking at how the women characters were oppressed. I mean *everything*—even shopping. I looked at all the people in their jobs, like in the department stores, where the men are in charge and the women run around behind them. Everywhere I looked I would get into it."

Carolyn Welch attends a community college and has been trying to get the sisters there involved with feminist issues. "I had talked to a lot of Black women at my school," she related, "trying to get them interested. My thing was the three demands—abortion, child care and equal pay for equal work. And some of the things that they told me blew my mind.

"Like, they didn't want to be over their men. If

he wasn't liberated, they didn't want to be liberated. And I'm trying to tell them that they're women. I couldn't understand why they couldn't understand, because growing up like I did, I saw so many women left with children. And that man wasn't nowhere in sight. Three kids here, and he's somewhere else having some more kids, and here this poor woman's struggling or on welfare or whatever.

"My rationalization for why they didn't understand," she continued, "was, well, they're young; they haven't really experienced anything rough. They're just like normal college kids. Whereas, I've had a lot more experience behind me; I've been out there with three kids by myself on welfare and not knowing what to do. I don't have anything against guys, but I want to be able to stand on my own two feet."

Pat Spellman told me about her experience when she couldn't get an abortion. "I called my mother, and she came to tell me, go down to the adopting deal and see if you can get that baby adopted out, and then I'll come and get you. I didn't want to do it. I really wanted my baby by that time; it was too late to have an abortion. I was home two days, and they sent me to the Salvation Army. I finally got married again. I had my baby in jail."

I asked the two of them what they saw as the connection between drug addiction and the oppression of women, and Carolyn said, "Women who use drugs are the lowest on the totem pole. You can't get lower than that."

Pat Spellman gave her observations about the women who have come to Phoenix House. "My impression of the women who have gone through the centers is that the majority of them are really strong women. They have such a fantastic strength. . . . These were women who did not accept the role. They are women who want to live their own lives. They were the ones who wanted to be adventuresome, who wanted to stand out on the corner or climb out the window, or to run and play and be bossy and to places and go things. But there was never a direction for them. The roles that were left to them weren't satisfying."

Mary Terry, another leader in Phoenix House, made a statement summing up the process of feminist consciousness affecting women in Phoenix House. She said, "In Phoenix I learned a whole new way, so far as men and women are concerned, that I didn't have when I came in. My whole conditioning was that you do what men tell you to do. But it's not that way. I am equal to them as a human being, as a woman. That's the most important thing that I have learned."

# Seattle defendants given stiff contempt sentences

By SHARRON COONTZ

TACOMA—Five of the Seattle Eight defendants received 12-month contempt sentences and two received six months, in the latest in a series of outrages in the Seattle Eight Conspiracy Trial (one defendant has still not been arrested).

Judge George Boldt ordered a mistrial Dec. 10, claiming that the defendants had prejudiced the jury against themselves. He also cited the six defendants present (Sue Stern was in the hospital) for contempt of court.

The contempt citations came after the jury was brought into the courtroom before the defense had arrived—a highly unusual procedure—and the defendants, not knowing the jury was already there, sought a delay in leaving their conference room for the courtroom. The judge cited them for failing to respond to his order to enter the courtroom with sufficient speed. The defendants then "compounded" their "offense" when they realized what had happened and sought to apologize to the jury for the delay.

After informing the defendants they were in contempt, the judge dismissed the jury, declared a mistrial and adjourned the court.

The press immediately began questioning jurors, and of eight asked, not one said they had been prejudiced against the defense by the incident. In fact, two or three said that after hearing the testimony of the government's witness—who had admitted he was willing to lie (see *The Militant*, Dec. 18)—they would never believe the government's case.

The irony of the mistrial declaration,

as defendant Michael Lerner pointed out later, was that earlier the prosecution had delayed the trial by eight hours and had been admonished but not in the presence of the jury. The judge could very easily have cited the United States attorney for contempt as he did later with the defense, and declared a mistrial because the jury was prejudiced. But if that had happened, the blame would have been on the prosecution for disrupting the trial. Now, however, the government has a second chance on a case that wasn't going at all well for them.

There will be a hearing on the mistrial, though, and if the defense can prove that the jury was not prejudiced and the judge overstepped his authority, the case may be dismissed.

The hearing on contempt was delayed until Dec. 14. Then, what had been merely ludicrous became tragic. The attorneys and defendants all spoke and explained that the situation on Dec. 10 had been simply a misunderstanding and lack of communication—and not contempt.

When defendant Susan Stern rose to speak, the judge ordered her not to, saying she hadn't been cited for contempt but would be if she spoke now.

She pointed out that had she been able, she would have done what the others did and was certainly influenced by the mistrial order. Stern then proceeded to give an eloquent speech regarding the nature of the trial. Two minutes from the end, the judge told her to stop. She didn't, and he signaled the marshals.

Two very large marshals jumped Stern, still weak from her operation.



Seattle defendants: Abeles, Marshall, Lippman, Dowd, Lerner, Kelly, Stern.

Defense attorney Michael Tigar ran forward, demanding that they let her go. He was grabbed by two more marshals, maced, and dragged from the courtroom, while other lawyers, defendants, and spectators tried to help Stern. Two other defendants were badly hurt as the marshals dragged them away.

They then handcuffed the remaining defendants and led them out. Meanwhile, the head marshal began clearing the courtroom despite Tigar's warning that it was a violation of the spectators' and defendants' constitutional rights. About 25 spectators, in-

cluding this reporter, refused to leave and were carried, dragged or pushed out of the courtroom.

In ordering the contempt sentences, the judge explained that "divine guidance" had assured him that the way to prevent disruptions when the case was retried was to make the defendants serve their terms first.

Bail has not yet been set, but indications are that it will be outrageous. Funds are urgently needed for bail and defense activity. Please send contributions to Seattle Eight Defense, P. O. Box 1984, Seattle, Wash. 98111.

## Kent State University convicts two student activists

By SYD STAPLETON

KENT, Ohio — Two Kent State students were found guilty Dec. 15 of minor rules violations, as the university administration took moves to silence political activists on the campus.

Jerry Alter of the Young Socialist Alliance and Jerry Persky of the campus Yippies and Student Religious Liberals were both sentenced to disciplinary probation for one quarter. In addition, Alter was suspended from school for one quarter.

The sentences were handed down despite hearings which exposed the political character of the charges against the students.

Alter and Persky were charged with soliciting funds without a permit, for the defense of the "Kent State 25"—

the students and one faculty member indicted by a special Ohio grand jury on charges stemming from the Kent State murders last May.

The grand jury absolved National Guardsmen of the responsibility for the killings and instead blamed the students.

Alter was also charged with falsifying information on campus recognition forms for the YSA, and Persky was charged with not following a university directive in connection with selling the *Quicksilver Times*. Money from these sales was to have gone to the Kent State 25 defense.

Both the YSA and the Student Religious Liberals were mentioned in the witch-hunting report of the special grand jury. The presence of these

organizations on campus was cited in the report as an example of the university's "permissiveness" which the grand jury held as a factor in the Kent murders.

Persky and Alter were defended in the disciplinary hearings by attorneys Jerry Gordon of Cleveland and Jim Reif of New York. The attorneys attempted to have the case dismissed when it was learned that the university official who was prosecuting the students in the hearings had himself appointed the judge of the hearings.

The attorneys also attempted to have the hearings stopped on constitutional grounds since it is clearly illegal to require permits for the sale or circulation of political material, or for soliciting support in a political case.

But these and other motions pertaining to irregularities in the case were denied. In the hearings, the defense attorneys exposed the fraudulent character of the prosecution's case and forced it to withdraw several motions. This helped in reducing the sentences the administration had originally requested and will pave the way for further appeals of the guilty verdicts.

Four women in the hearing room expressed their opposition to the administration prosecution by wearing pointed black hats. The four, who are members of Wippies, a new group of women's-liberation-oriented former Yippies, explained that since the case was obviously a witch-hunt, they hated to see anyone disappointed.

## 'Spectator' surveys gov't crackdown on college publications

By LARRY SEIGLE

NEW YORK — The Columbia University *Spectator* and other college publications across the country are facing a censorship crackdown under political "guidelines" issued by the Nixon administration through the Internal Revenue Service. A story in the Dec. 14 issue of the daily *Spectator* reveals new information about the extent to which the government is attempting to control student publications.

The IRS guidelines prohibit "partisan" political activity on the nation's campuses, using the threat of suspension of tax-exempt status to win compliance.

The *Spectator* article reported that "Besides five student publications discovered in an earlier survey as already facing censorship, a recent investigation revealed that at least four more college papers are facing administration pressure."

"The business manager of the *Daily Princetonian*, the student newspaper of Princeton University, reported recently that his paper had been warned by the university's lawyer not to violate the ISR guidelines."

A similar warning has been received by New York University's *Washington Square Journal*. A spokesman for the Journal told the *Spectator* that "The

vice-president and general counsel of the university told us that we can't endorse candidates because that would endanger the tax-exempt status of the university."

"In addition to the Princeton and NYU papers," "the editors of the University of Georgia *Red and Black* and the Chatham College *Matrix* in Pittsburgh were told by their administrations prior to the November elections not to endorse candidates."

The *Spectator* discovered that "Seventeen of 22 school papers contacted in an informal poll indicated that they endorsed candidates in the past elections, and by doing so, these publica-

tions have violated the IRS code."

A lawyer for a midwestern school was quoted as saying, "It's a question of how far the government can go in limiting the First Amendment right for tax-exempt organizations."

The IRS guidelines are part of a drive by the Nixon administration to crush the student movement. The attempt to restrict freedom of the press is one of the most pernicious aspects of this antidemocratic campaign. These attacks must be met by a broad, united campaign to expose Nixon's plan and maintain and extend student rights.



## A Militant Interview



# Crystal City's Raza Unida Party tackles some basic problems

Crystal City is a central stronghold of the recently organized Raza Unida Party of Texas. In elections last spring, it elected members to the city council and a majority to the local school board. In this past November's general election, the Raza Unida Party nominated 16 candidates for county offices in Zavala, Dimmitt, La Salle and Hidalgo counties. In the first three counties, the party was barred from the ballot on technicalities, forcing them to run a write-in campaign.

Despite fraud and harassment at the polls and the fact that all ballots are in English, the party polled an impressive write-in vote and even succeeded in electing one of their write-in candidates, Roel Rodriguez, 24, to the office of county commissioner from Precinct 3 in La Salle County.

Antonio Camejo was in Crystal City with a team of Militant reporters to cover the election. On Nov. 5, two days after the voting, he interviewed Jose Angel Gutierrez, a leader of the Raza Unida Party and chairman of the Crystal City School Board, and Bill Richey, the city manager of Crystal City.

**Militant:** What are your projections now for the 1971 city elections and the 1972 state and national elections?

**Gutierrez:** Well, the first order of business will be to conduct a very vigorous and extensive voter registration drive. We're registering 18-year-olds now and everybody—to make sure we have enough people registered to be victorious in the city council and school board elections coming up next year.

*Antonio Camejo is an instructor in the Latin and Mexican American Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif. He was the 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for California superintendent of public instruction.*

This election was a test of three things: 1) the popularity of the party, as opposed to half a year ago when it had its first victory; 2) an indicator of the interest and satisfaction of the voters in terms of what we've been able to accomplish already in the city council and the school board. It was a test of the voters' attitudes, not of the party but of the personnel elected under the party banner; and 3) to see how well the voters would stick behind the leadership of the party in spite of all the odds and obstacles. It was a test to see whether people would begin to crumble, to disagree and to lose interest.

In all of these tests, we would give a rating of excellent. Nobody quit. Everyone was agreeable. Everyone was solidly behind what we were trying to do, in spite of the odds—because a write-in campaign has never been successful anywhere in the country, as far as I know. And the fact is we elected one guy on a write-in in La Salle County, one guy lost by only a 40-vote margin, another candidate by 46 votes, and others by a little larger margin than that. But this was a write-in in a county with a median grade level among Chicanos of 2.3 years education.

In Cotulla, where we elected Roel Rodriguez, the median educational level is only 1.4 grades among Chicanos. This is just unbelievable! It's like a miracle. I personally was able to teach three people how to write. They couldn't even write their own names. They wrote the names of the candidates. It was the first thing they ever wrote in their lives. So I feel very confident that we'll be able to increase and in some cases completely dominate the boards in the tricounty area (Zavala, Dimmitt, La Salle) and expand.

We are already working in three other counties, in three other communities, on the same kind of agenda we used here: a school walkout, then voter registration, and then the school board and city council elections. These are the communities of Pearsall, Frio County, Lockhart in Caldwell Coun-

ty, and another town south of San Antonio. In January of 1971, we will begin organizing the party statewide. I've begun a series of speaking engagements and meetings in almost every corner of the state, trying to get core groups of people who will follow through with the organizing and the formulation of policy and the creation of leadership for the statewide effort to get the party on the ballot by 1972.

There are a lot of old Chicano politicians elected to office by the Democratic Party who have recently made statements or even outright declarations, divorcing themselves from the state Democratic Party. They still retain ties with the national party. An example of this is Albert Pena in San Antonio, who's been a lifelong Democrat. He's county commissioner of Bexar County. He stated unequivocally that he'll no longer be a candidate for office under the Democratic Party, that he will be in the Raza Unida Party. He comes up for reelection in 1972.

There are others who would like to do this. There has been some talk of one of our older Chicano civil rights leaders perhaps running for governor on the party ticket in order to aid its attractiveness statewide. And we're also discussing the possibility of getting some other kinds of ethnic candidates to run in other parts of the state among Blacks and poor whites in east Texas. In 1972 we should be in good shape.

Now, on a national scale I haven't heard how other groups have been doing. The party was on the ballot in Colorado. I don't know yet how they did.

**Militant:** They got between 2 and 5 percent of the vote.

**Gutierrez:** Well, if they got between 2 and 5 percent, that's pretty good. Two to 5 percent is a lot of voters. Even 2 percent indicates that they should

be a very strong factor in the politics of Colorado. With us going statewide and them already trying that and establishing a base, and with the present efforts in California and a few other states, it looks very good for the possibility of a national party emerging.

**Militant:** What is your evaluation of the statewide "Rebuilding Committee" and the liberal-oriented "New Party" that has emerged in Texas?

**Gutierrez:** Well, the Rebuilding Committee is an effort by white liberal Democrats who are thwarted in their efforts to get a liberal candidate or liberal planks in the Democratic Party platform. So what they're trying to do is to get the Republicans elected in order to assure that the conservatives will then dilute their strength between conservative Democrats and conservative Republicans, giving the liberal Democrats a chance to win. They can't take on all the conservatives, but they may be able to take on half of them.

They're trying to destroy the present Democratic Party, and so are we. But they're trying to destroy it by building up the Republicans! We think that's insane. The only way to fight the Democratic Party, to fight the gringos (white racists), is to organize the Chicanos and really take the Democrats head on, because there are more of us in this area than there are of them. It's that simple.

Now, with the New Party you've got an entirely different situation. Looking at their platform, looking at what they stand for, they are totally inconsistent. They talk about being against the imperialism that's going on in Vietnam. They talk about the fact that they disapprove of the political reasons why we are intervening in many areas of the world, and on the next line they say that they're against the Arabs and for Israel.

On the one hand, they are satisfied with the situation of Chicanos. They don't see any problems here at all. And on the other, they want legalized abortions, they're for planned parenthood, they're against DDT. They're ecologists, yet they don't see any kind of environmental problem in poverty and everything it does to the environment in terms of trash, in terms of sewage, lack of water, etc. These are environmental problems caused by the powers that run this system. So I just find them full of inconsistencies. I think they are men and women who are just on the latest style of liberal politics. They switch from day to day.

**Militant:** In relation to the steps that have already been taken toward involving the Chicano community in control of its own affairs, do you envision implementing community control in a more direct way, that is, creating some kind of vehicle for the whole community to directly intervene into the functioning of the city and the schools rather than by just coming, say, to a city council meeting?

**Gutierrez:** Yes. What's been done so far—and this is only half a year since the elections—is that the teachers are now organizing themselves into a union. They've already got legal documentation

filed, and they've established a credit union. They're getting incorporated so they can build houses for themselves through our legal powers and our financing of their effort.

The students are also doing the same thing. They are reorganizing themselves, reworking their constitution.

They and the teachers are part of an advisory committee. Parents from the community are also part of the advisory committee. It is called an "advisory" committee, but its powers are much broader than just advising. They are the ones who decide for us what to implement. This is not yet fully functioning because the students and the parents haven't sent their representatives yet. They are working on it at the moment.

That's one area where the school officials would be told by the different people affected—the students, the teachers, the employees, and the parents—what should be done in the schools. The janitors and maintenance people in the schools and the bus drivers have already organized themselves. One of the first things they asked for and got was a 20 percent across-the-board raise.

Now, there is also Ciudadanos Unidos (United Citizens), which is the organization in the community of the parents, of the voters. That's where most of the decisions of a programmatic or policy nature are made and then related to us, the board officials. That's almost invariably the case.

**Militant:** How is Ciudadanos Unidos organized? Can anyone be a member?

**Gutierrez:** No, the membership is pretty exclusive. You have to be approved by the total membership, and your name has to be presented a week before it's brought up for a vote. People have to speak for you there, or against you, and then if you're approved you pay your dues and perform certain duties of the organization in terms of work, etc. Out of the whole community, we've only got about 200 members, which is very limited. The organization is just taking the best people we can find to carry the load. This may be a handicap, but it certainly hasn't been evident yet, because these 200 people have been able to deliver, with the consensus and the agreement of the whole community.

**Richey:** Another avenue of community expression has been the rallies, which have involved large numbers of people here. Last Sunday we had a community rally, for the elections, of 1,000.

**Gutierrez:** We've had another problem which has been classical in any kind of a colonial-type situation in which people have been without the ability, the knowledge or even the freedom to express themselves. They tend to leave things up to you. We, as the elected officials, have had to do a tremendous amount of education with all the interest groups involved, to teach them that they should go ahead and complain to us and demand what they want and so on. The fact that the teachers organized is not an accident, or that all the employees in the city, or the janitors, or the maintenance people, or the students are organized. You know, we were principally organizers when we got here. Now we find ourselves in elected positions or administrative

positions because there's a lack of personnel. But the people don't see us as the board president or as the city manager. They see us as the guy who came here to begin organizing. We were part of the community first, and we still are.

**Militant:** Are there any plans for direct community control of the police in Crystal City?

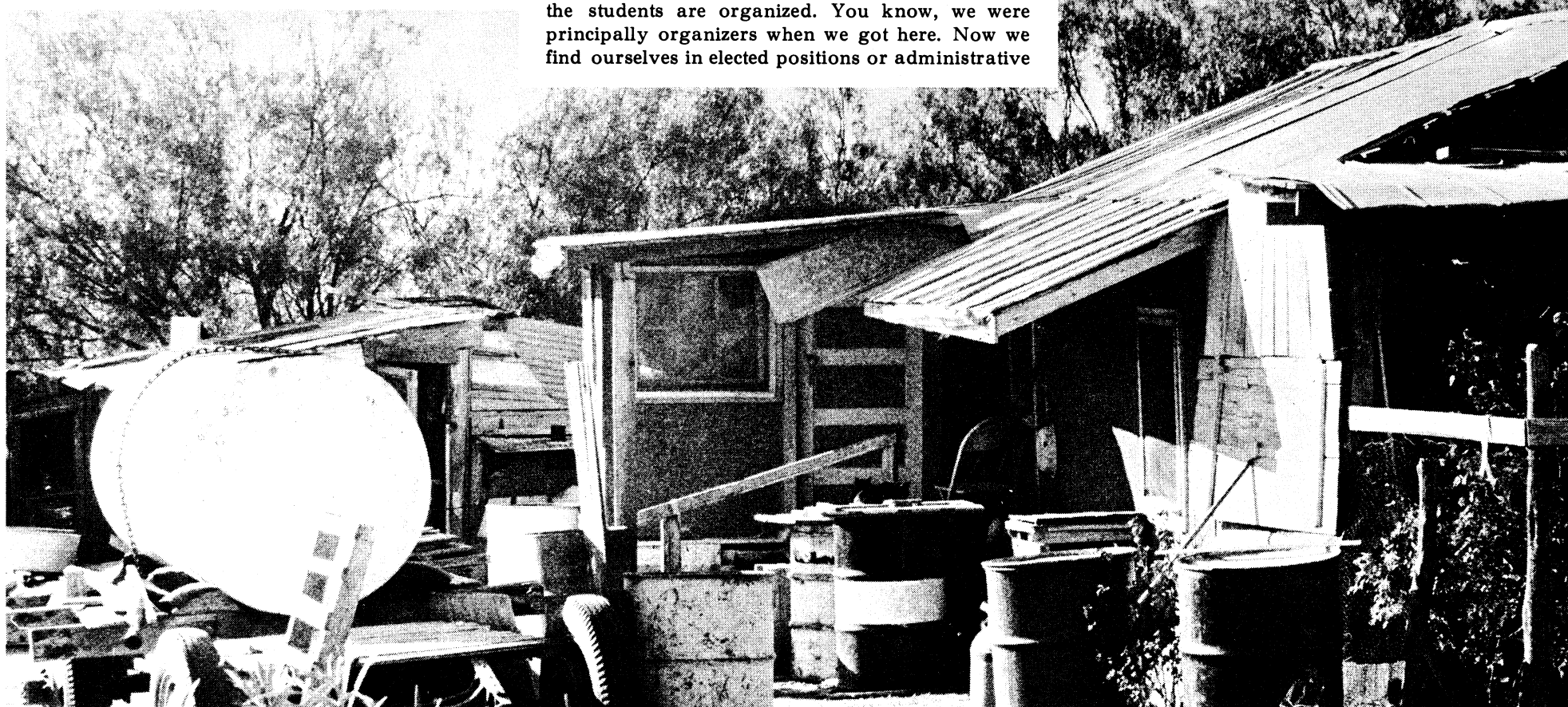
**Gutierrez:** We discussed with two of the policemen about setting up a community group which would review complaints against the police, scrutinize police behavior, check out applicants, procedures and policies, and review the judge's records and trial procedures. The group would make recommendations and assist the police in relations with the community.

These guys are all for it, because they are new cops who were part of the community and its suffering. They want it because that's the thing they can use to get out the other police who are not as open to being criticized by the community because of their training, background, etc. The only opposition we got from them in this discussion was on the thing about arms. Whether it would be better for them to carry a nightstick or not carry anything at all. They thought that it would be asking an extreme sacrifice of them because we have a lot of people here who are pretty heavy guys. You approach them with no gun at all, and forget it, because they've got a gun.

The record now of people who've been jailed is remarkable. In the six months that we have been in office, the only people who have been jailed have been drunks who just sleep it off at night. We haven't eliminated crime. It's just that we have a different perspective and attitude about crime. People used to be picked up selectively and at random for any excuse. This is simply not done any more. The jails have been empty and it's unfortunate, because we've got one of the better jails in the area. It's air conditioned, it's got good mattresses, running water, toilet facilities, and good meals. It's better than what you're staying in tonight, I can bet you!

**Richey:** On the question of guns and the police. I don't think we can disarm our police as long as the highway patrol and the sheriff are armed and you've got a gun rack in every pickup in town. It's a question of several things. This is a primitive area. It's a very western, southwestern area where guns carry a great deal of respect, and where we have several opposition law enforcement agencies that are armed. I just don't think we can do away with weapons right now. You know, when you control the state, then you can do all kinds of other things. We're a small environment trapped inside of a larger environment, and we have to exist as we can.

On the question of the drunks, I've talked to the police chief and the other officers, and its understood that no drunk is to be arrested if he can be



**MAKING DO.** People living just outside Crystal City use old oil drums for water. Area will be incorporated into city to provide people water and other services.

Crystal City photos by Antonio Camejo



convinced to go home or be convinced to be taken home.

**Militant:** Could you clarify the relationship between the rangers, the highway patrol and the resolution you passed asking them to stay out of Crystal City?

**Richey:** We can't enforce that. The state law provides that the Department of Public Safety (DPS) has jurisdiction anywhere within the state of Texas and the county sheriff has jurisdiction anywhere within the county. They have obeyed our requests to a great extent, and they no longer patrol the barrios. When we have a rally, they don't go out and drive around it. They still do one thing that we asked them not to do and that is to give tickets within the city.

Once we have won control of the county government we'll have much stronger control over the sheriff and the Department of Public Safety.

The Texas Rangers have recently removed their headquarters from Carrizo Springs to San Antonio, and the captain, Captain Allee, retired. They finally forced him to, which takes a great load off of us here, not having a company of Texas Rangers eight miles away. We still have some problems in Cotulla, however. One, a ranger resides in Cotulla, and that presents us with a grave problem. He's one of those old-time rangers like Allee. The old-timers have no compunction about beating the crap out of anybody for any reason whatsoever. So we still have the problem of an individual ranger here and there and the state police, who have jurisdiction anywhere in the state.

**Militant:** I understand that you (Gutierrez) have been elected business agent of the Teamsters local at the DelMonte plant, that there's a big debate over that, and that you are now in the process of organizing a new union there.

**Gutierrez:** The union membership had an election to select a business agent. I was gone when they had the meeting, and so they chose me on the condition that when I got back they would ask me. So when I got back they told me what the situation was and that they wanted me to take on the fight for them. Ever since then, the Teamster leadership has refused to cooperate with them in any way.

This thing was at a standstill until midsummer when the membership filed a petition to decertify the Teamsters. For some reason the application was not timely and it was refused. The next step the members took was to state that after the contract expired (Dec. 1, 1970) they would refuse to recognize any contract that was negotiated by the Teamsters with the local plant management.

One working day, about 4:30 p.m., they called in all the employees for a big company meeting. They brought them into this warehouse, locking not only the doors to the warehouse but also the plant gates so nobody could get in or out. Then the management and the Teamsters explained to the membership that they had to vote either for or against the contract. The ballot was a sheet of paper that could be torn in half with the words "Yes, I accept the contract" on one side, and "No, I don't accept the contract" on the other. There were two boxes, and they were told to put the "yes" half in one and the "no" half in the other, which meant that they would come out even, or unanimous, depending on how you looked at it.

The people, of course, refused to vote. Then four or five tried to get out and found out that the doors were locked. Then all hell started breaking loose. So the company finally had to unlock the doors. Then the employees went outside and found the gates locked. When the company unlocked the gates the workers all started walking off the job.

About four or five days later, we had a series of meetings with some of the Chicano leadership, and they decided that they would resign from the union. So they petitioned the plant not to deduct any further dues from paychecks and announced they were resigning from the union and filing the proper papers to incorporate into a new union. Out of the 257 members of the Teamsters union, all except 10 resigned. The 247 have all joined the new union, which is called Obreros Unidos Independientes (United Independent Workers). This new union is not formally connected with La Raza Unida Party. It is organized through Ciudadanos Unidos as a community effort. They have their own leadership and their own offices. The role

*La Raza Unida Party posters, buttons and stickers are available. Write for information on bulk orders and prices. La Raza Unida Party, 1316 North Avenue A, Crystal City, Texas 78839; tel. (512) 374-2298.*

I'm playing with them is that I'm asking the state to certify me as a labor organizer. I'll have the proper credentials to organize labor unions, something we forgot to do way back when.

The Teamsters now have lost well over \$1,000 a month in dues. They charge \$6.50 a month membership dues with absolutely no benefits to the workers. Now they have 10 members, four of whom have signed the contract. There is a Texas law, the "Contract Bar Rule" which prohibits any other union from challenging them or dismissing the contract, once management and the union leadership have signed. But because of all this history of violations, of locking workers inside the warehouse, and trying to force the vote with management collaborating with them, we stand a good chance in the courts of not only getting them thrown out but probably fined heavily also.

We plan to get in a petition to have an election in January or February between us, the Teamsters, and no union at all. This "right to work" law, for once, is working in our favor. This is because the people who are not signing with the Teamsters are saying that they have a right to work without a union. At present our union can't get into the plant officially. So until that election takes place, things are still going to be in quite a rough situation for the employees, needless to say.

**Militant:** Could you go into the fact that the DelMonte plant is just outside the city limits, and how that has affected the workers and the city as a whole?

**Richey:** There is a long history to the DelMonte plant's relationship with the city. DelMonte has established an ideal company-town situation. They came here right after the war in 1945 with an understanding from the city that they'd never be taxed and never be regulated, never be incorporated into the city, never be inspected for health reasons, and a hundred other things.

They maintained that arrangement until 1963 when Chicanos first took over the city council. They saw fit to draw up a legal contract with the city, which they had passed by the Anglo city council just before turning over power to the new Chicano city council. With the spring 1970 elections, they decided to do the same thing and drew up a seven-year contract. But they made some mistakes this time. That's when I went in and checked it out and saw that the member of the city council who signed the contract happened to be a foreman of the DelMonte Corporation at the time. This was a clear case of conflict of interest which makes that contract void under Texas law. We have asked the federal court for a declaratory judgment or automatic decree in our favor because the law is so plain in this matter.

Within the next 60 days—before Dec. 31, 1970—we are going to incorporate DelMonte and the land beyond into the city limits. This will bring in \$13,000 in taxes a year which the city has been missing. That's \$130,000 that this city has passed up in the last decade. When you consider matching federal funds, it runs into the neighborhood of over \$600,000 in projects that could have gone to the city.

Another consideration of great importance is that DelMonte get into the jurisdiction of the city where our own local police patrol. If it ever comes to a showdown on the question of the union and a strike and so on, I would really prefer to have the city declare martial law and send city police out there, as opposed to the Texas Rangers.

**Militant:** To turn to some broader topics, many activists have asked me what your views on the war in Vietnam are. Would you comment on that?

**Gutierrez:** I can't put it in a better way than one of our candidates did on election night after we found out we had lost. He said, "It's really amazing that I read in the paper that we're supposed to be in Vietnam fighting so those people can have free elections. And hell, we can't even do it here!" I don't know what I could add to that. There's not a damn thing we should be doing over there. Chicanos have to fight here, not over there.

**Militant:** What do you see as the solution to the war?

**Gutierrez:** The answer to the war is in the White House. You have to get rid of the kind of policies that are formulated by this country all over the world in order to maintain its power here and abroad. The only reason this country maintains its power here is because it leeches off the rest of the



world. And when that stops, then you'll have no problems.

I'm very concerned about the liberals and many others who advocate the all-volunteer army. I think that's just disastrous to us. In the all-volunteer army you'll have Chicanos, Blacks, Indians and poor whites and everybody else who doesn't have a chance in this society forced into that.

**Militant:** One of the most controversial questions in the Chicano movement today is the question of women's liberation. What is your thinking on the role of women in the movement?

**Gutierrez:** I don't think it's controversial at all. What is controversial is whether the Chicano will admit that Chicanas are the backbone of the movement today. I don't see any other kind of conclusion you could reach. The women are the ones who carry the load in the Chicano movement organizationally, in leadership, and in too many areas where males claim to be leaders. In terms of support, in terms of ideas, in terms of just sheer guts and going out and confronting the situation, the women are the ones who carry the load. The problem they have is that they're trying to do two things at once. They're trying to diplomatically soothe the ego of the Chicano male and at the same time not exert themselves to the point that they close the doors for any Chicano male to provide leadership also.

Now, if you're talking about women's condition as a whole in society, it's all there, it's very obvious—they've got to work outside and work in the home; we don't. We can drink beer, and they can't. We can screw around and they can't. And on and on. There's just a host of things they can't do that we can do by the norms of the community.

Many people who are associated with whatever kind of leadership role are usually the first ones to use the same kinds of cliches, to make the same types of stereotype statements, or racist statements about women, that others make about Chicanos. They say, "Well, I have one at home," or "some of my best friends are girls," or "women are really great typists," or "we need someone to get coffee, let's have the girls do it," or "we need a secretary, so let's elect a girl." Even within a minority group or a certain class, this is the way the thing has been for so many centuries, even before capitalism. This is going to be one of the hardest battles that is ever going to be fought anywhere.

# N. Calif. Raza Unida Party conference held

By FERNANDO GUERRERO

OAKLAND, Calif. — The first concrete steps toward organizing a northern California Raza Unida Party have been underway for the last several weeks. On Nov. 13, approximately 60 interested persons from all over northern California met to discuss the necessity of organizing an independent Chicano political party.

The unanimous opinion of those present was that the two-party system, especially the Democratic Party, has been one of the chief obstacles in the Chicano struggle for liberation. Everyone agreed that only an independent political party of La Raza could wage an effective struggle at all levels to secure self-determination.

It was agreed by all those present at the Nov. 13 meeting to go back to their respective communities and help organize La Raza Unida Party chapters. Another meeting was planned for Dec. 11 at Union City, at which each chapter was to be given an opportunity to make a progress report and present any platforms or documents it had worked out.

With little coordination and no extensive publicity, over 450 persons attended the second regional meeting of La Raza Unida Party Dec. 11. The turnout is an indication of the willingness and desire of the Chicano and Latino community to organize and struggle independently.

There was a broad cross-section of La Raza community represented at the three-hour meeting. Persons of all ages, backgrounds and political beliefs participated.

The highlight of the meeting came when Victor Acosta, a Latino activist and one of the founders of the Latin-

and Mexican-American Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland, read the preamble and platform of the Oakland-Berkeley chapter of La Raza Unida Party. These two documents, the only formal presentations at the meeting were received very enthusiastically.

The preamble and platform outlined a militant program for mobilizing the Chicano and Latino community in independent political action for community control. The document stressed the unifying revolutionary force of nationalism and the need for mass action. An especially important section of the Oakland platform was presented by Carmen Alegria. It outlined the triple oppression Raza women face—as Chicanas or Latinas, as workers and as women in capitalist society—and the necessity of Raza women to

play a central role in La Raza Unida Party.

After the presentation, a lively discussion took place on the perspectives and nature of the party. Most people felt that a future meeting was necessary to allow other chapters of the Raza Unida Party to study the Oakland platform and to present their own possible programs.

However, most people present felt it was necessary to end the meeting with some basic principles that would set guidelines for the party. This was provided by the Oakland chapter of the party, which presented the meeting with the following motion:

"La Raza Unida Party will not support any candidate of the Democratic or Republican Party or any individual who supports these parties."

This motion was passed by the over-

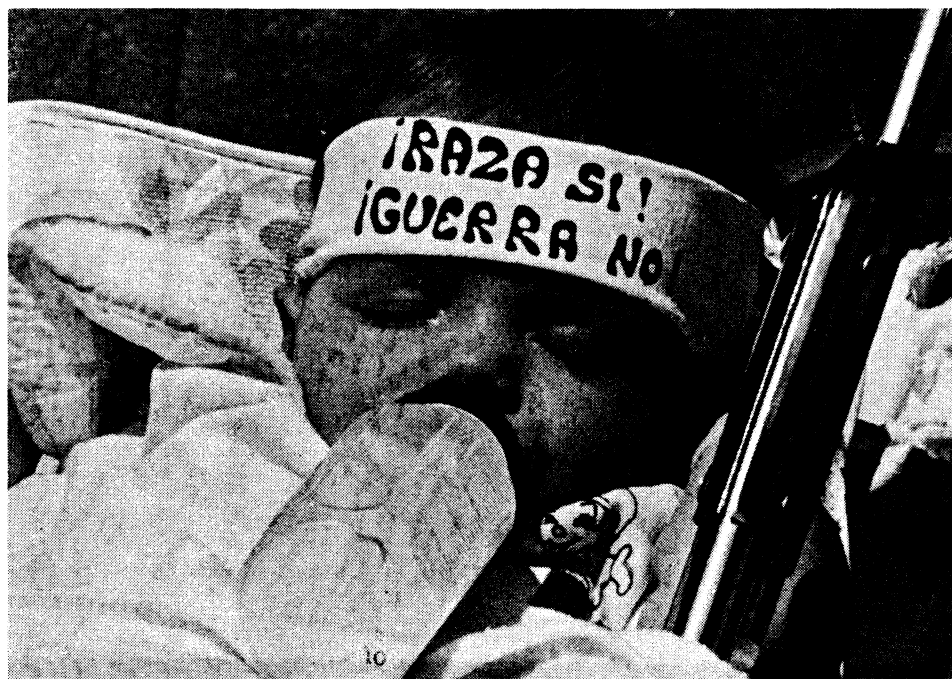
whelming majority of those present. Some people, including Ricardo Romo, 1970 Peace and Freedom Party gubernatorial candidate, argued that the motion was "unnecessary" since it was "understood." Most, however, felt that the motion was necessary in order to leave no doubt in anyone's mind where La Raza Unida Party stood on the question of breaking with the two-party system and the necessity of organizing La Raza into its own political party.

This was a reaffirmation of the position previously voted upon by the Berkeley-Oakland Raza Unida Party and of the basic philosophy of the Colorado and Texas Raza Unida Parties.

Ricardo Paniagua Lopez from Stockton, California, stated that to distinguish between Democrats and Republicans was like "choosing between Hitler and Musolini." The meeting gave notice to those who exploit and oppress us that we will no longer support their two parties or candidates—be they white, Black or Brown.

A meeting for Jan. 17 at San Jose was agreed to, and a steering committee of representatives from each area was organized to arrange and publicize the upcoming northern California meeting.

The Oakland Raza Unida Party is presently preparing to participate in the upcoming municipal elections in Berkeley and Oakland and, along with Stockton, California, is registering people into the Raza Unida Party. The party there has already developed broad support from individual MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association) members, former Dellums for Congress campaign workers, and students and community people.



## Preamble to Oakland-area Raza Unida program

### Section I

When we begin to illuminate and examine the so-called "dark chapters" in the history of this nation, the most affluent and powerful nation in the world, we see that the history of La Raza is to be found therein, and that from the beginning, the United States used the labor of our people to build not only the Southwest but this entire country, and to amass fortunes for the Anglo exploiters of our people.

We examine further: we see that our lands were stolen from us. We see that the only payment was in poverty, starvation, disease, racist mockeries made of our language and culture and race. This was the payment for the labor which our people put into the building of this country, for the lands that were unjustly stolen from us. This country has seen fit to use and brutalize our people, and to attempt at the same time to trick us into thinking that it bears no responsibility for our oppression and that its greatest desire is to help us.

The two political parties in this country, and particularly the Democratic Party, have been the primary tools of our oppression.

Because we see through the trickery of the Democratic and Republican politicians, and see that these two political parties have completely failed us in their promises, and understand that in reality they have been working for the benefit of the wealthy Anglos by furthering and perpetuating the oppression of our people;

Because our people are still starving, are still being miseducated, are being increasingly brutalized by police authority;

Because poverty and death from curable dis-

eases are still rampant among our people;

Because our people are not given the benefit of the justice that is due them as citizens of this land, and therefore fill the jails in outrageous numbers;

Because the denial of education and job opportunities to our women has placed them in an even more oppressed situation than the men of La Raza;

And because this total racist oppression of our people is an integral part of an economic system which uses as its political arm the two-party system, two parties working for the same wealthy few, two parties between which there is no significant difference in our eyes;

Given that these factors of oppression form the common denominator that unites us, therefore, we the people of La Raza have decided to reject the existing political parties of our oppressors and take it upon ourselves to form La Raza Unida Party, which will serve as a unifying force in our struggle for self-determination.

We understand that our real liberation and freedom will only come about through independent political action on our part. Independent political action, of which electoral activity is but one aspect, as a means of involving La Raza Unida Party at all levels of struggle in actions which will serve to involve and educate our people. We recognize that self-determination can only come about through the full and total participation of La Raza in the struggle.

Because of the cultural genocide committed against our indigenous population by an outside invader, and in full recognition of the daily oppression, humiliation, degradation, psychological and spiritual assassination, economic exploitation and the continuing misery of our people in viola-

tion of their basic constitutional and human rights, we consider it not only our right but our obligation to struggle for our full and complete liberation by any means necessary.

These oppressive conditions that form the common denominator that unites us give rise to a spiritual cohesiveness, a collective consciousness, that forms the basis of Raza nationalism.

We further specify that although the protection of our culture and the continuing maintenance of it will be a necessary part of our struggle, we recognize that our culture alone cannot produce our freedom, and that only an organized and protracted struggle, confronting our oppressors at every level and involving the greatest number of our people, can bring about our goal of complete self-determination and total freedom.

### Section II

La Raza Unida Party will not support any candidate of the Democratic or Republican Party or any individual who supports these parties.

### Section III

Membership: Any person of La Raza registered in La Raza Unida Party and/or who works actively to support the program and activities of the party will be considered a member with the right to participate in all decision-making processes of the party on the basis of one person, one vote.

By "La Raza" we mean those people who are descendants of, or come from Mexico, Central America, South America and the Antilles.



# Railroad workers fight for right to strike

By FRED HALSTEAD

CHICAGO—Following the recent 18-hour national rail strike, which was outlawed by a special act of Congress, an emergency meeting on the right to strike was called by leaders of eight locals of the United Transportation Union in the Chicago area. The meeting, attended by 200 officers and members of the UTU and other rail labor unions, set up a "truth committee" to publicize the plight of railway workers and win the support of unions and other sections of the American public for the right of railroad workers to strike. The congressional strike ban expires March 1.

Robert Groah, UTU general chairman on the Belt Railway of Chicago, and one of the initiators of the meeting, declared: "We were on a legal strike and suddenly found Nixon and Congress coming after us and saying 'You illegal people. You lawbreakers. Back to work.' While they were say-

ing this, they were still trying to blot the ink dry on the law we were violating. I am sick and tired of complying with all of the laws in order to effect a change and then having the railroads say, 'We are not going to bargain. Congress will take care of this.' And Congress does. We are going to have to get political."

In attendance at the meeting was UTU international vice-president Quinton Gabriel. Although Gabriel spoke in favor of the resolution, he was criticized sharply from the floor for the failure of the International officials to make strike preparations.

Said one member, "When I got there our union had no picket signs, no strike headquarters. If it hadn't been for the Clerks' signs I wouldn't even have known that there was a strike. What kind of leadership is that?"

There were cries for new leadership and demands for the right to vote on contracts. (UTU members do not

ratify contracts. Only a small percentage of the union officials vote on such matters).

One member said to Gabriel, "If you want to be president of the UTU you better support the Right to Vote Committee." And Gabriel replied sheepishly, "You may be right."

A telegram from Robert Johnson, regional director of Region Four of the UAW was read. It said in part, "I join ranks with you and the officers and members of the UTU in reaffirming the right of free workers to strike. This right must remain inviolate and as the last resort of working men and women to secure economic and social justice."

A guest speaker was Wayne Kennedy, cochairman of the Chicago Joint Council of the American Federation of Government Employees, who spoke on behalf of Allan Kaplan, AFGE national vice-president. Said Kennedy, "My own suggestion is that not only

must the railroad unions take militant strike action to secure justice for their membership, but that the American public should take the railroads away from the few corrupt multimillionaires who now own and run them for their own private interest; and they must turn the management of this vital industry over to the real experts—the railroad workers themselves (loud applause). When this comes about, the railroad workers will once again be able to take pride in their industry and the American public will receive the service which it so desperately needs.

"In short, we must not only win the fight which you are fighting now, but all workers in all unions which deal with the government as an employer, as a regulator of wages, must stand together to secure a decent place in this society and to build a country based on the dream of Eugene V. Debs."

## Resolution of the Chicago railroad workers

The following is the full text of the resolution passed by 200 officers and members of Chicago-area rail unions, establishing a "truth committee" to publicize the plight of railway workers and win support for their right to strike.

In a truly free and democratic country, all citizens are guaranteed the right to free speech, assembly, religion, and the right to strike. The right to strike is the only power that working men and women have to win improvements in their wages and working conditions. Without the right to strike, trade unions representing millions of Americans are powerless to improve the standard of living of their membership.

President Nixon, by means of Congressional action and threats of fines and imprisonment of union leaders, has halted the strike until March 1. We have gone back but will continue our fight for decent wages, job security and the democratic right to strike.

The carriers and their friends in Congress claim our demands are inflationary and yet these very same

gentlemen voted themselves a 41 percent increase in pay, and that was not considered inflationary. The president of the United States had his pay increased 100 percent, and that was not considered inflationary. In view of their actions, we believe it is completely hypocritical on their part to attack our demand for \$1.65 per hour increase in pay spread out over three years with a cost-of-living clause to protect that wage increase from erosion due to inflation.

We have been working without a contract for nearly a year. We invite President Nixon and those congressmen who voted in favor of the strike-breaking bill to work for one year without a contract. We also invite President Nixon and those antilabor congressmen to visit the railroad yards across the nation in order to see for themselves the conditions we must work under. We invite them to attempt to support their families with the wage scale of railroad workers. If they had to work for the same pay under the same conditions that we do, as railroad workers, we think that they would hesitate to report for work.

If we are so vital to the nation's economy and transportation, then we think it is about time that we stop being treated as second-class citizens.

The railroads and the so-called "neutral" presidential fact-finding board propose to eliminate thousands of our jobs, thus throwing our members and families out into the street—in the midst of growing unemployment—in the name of "greater" productivity. We can't be productive if we are out of work. The work-rules changes proposed are totally unacceptable.

In Chicago, the lawyers of the Rock Island Line compared striking union members to Adolph Eichmann. They claim that we are "lawbreaking" criminals and they, the carriers, are the victims. In Adolph Eichmann's Germany the railroad workers were not allowed to strike. Who are they trying to kid!

The Rock Island Line has demanded and been granted a contempt-of-court hearing against members of the railway clerks union. It appears that this railroad wishes to see union members fined and thrown in jail on Dec.

23. This is the carriers' Christmas present to the families of union men on the Rock Island. We demand the right to strike and call upon all Americans to support our fight for a better life.

We feel compelled to take our case directly to the American public. We call upon all affiliates of the AFL-CIO, and independent unions such as the United Auto Workers and Teamsters, to speak out in defense of our democratic right to strike. If the anti-labor forces succeed in this attack on our right to strike, other unions will be next.

In order to effectively take our case to the American people, this body of rail union members is forming a "truth committee" which will organize a campaign to get out the real facts on our working conditions. We will oppose any attempts to intimidate any of our members along the lines proposed by Rock Island Line officials.

Since the press has reprinted in full President Nixon's statement on the strike we are asking the newspapers represented at this meeting to reprint in full the text of this resolution.



## Minneapolis airline strike ended

Airline clerks, machinists, and others in Minneapolis started returning to work Dec. 14 after voting to accept a new contract with Northwest Airlines, ending a five-month strike.

Exact terms of the agreement were not publicly released, but it is known that workers gained "substantial" wage increases said to approximate 37.6 percent over the life of the new three-year contract. Some provisions for retroactive pay were also included, covering the period from Oct. 1, 1969, when the old contract expired, to July 8, 1970, when the union was forced to strike. In addition, the settlement specified terms for rehiring members of the Machinists union who had honored picket lines of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airlines Clerks.

The first break in the strike came last November when Northwest pilots voted to stop flying unless negotiations were resumed by management.

Company spokesmen estimate their

"losses" from the strike at \$160-million, presumably the total bill they will present to other airlines in the mutual aid pact.

Tentative terms of a settlement were first agreed upon Nov. 22 by Charles L. Dennis, president of the Clerks union, and Northwest representatives, but these terms did not provide job protection for the strikers and were rejected by them.

Dennis subsequently told representatives of the railroads, with whom he was also conducting negotiations, that he had no intention of repeating his experience with the airlines. According to the Dec. 11 *New York Times*, he commented:

"Fellas, you'd better start realizing the problems of those of us who have to lead working people these days. These are very difficult problems, and you'd better show some understanding of them. The other day I got hung in effigy at the Minneapolis airport, and I don't intend ever to get hung again."

## HOW DID STALIN DEFEAT THE OPPOSITION by Leon Trotsky

The following article was written by Leon Trotsky while in exile in Norway in November 1935. It appeared originally in the Russian-language *Bulletin of the Opposition*, No. 46, December 1935. It has been translated into English for the first time by Fred Buchman for the book *Writings of Leon Trotsky—1935-36* published last month by Pathfinder Press, New York. The article is of special interest because of Trotsky's explanation as to why he decided not to use the Red Army to block Stalin from usurping power.

Trotsky's article was written in reply to a letter from Fred Zeller, secretary of the Seine Youth Organization and an active member of the Socialist Party of France, who was expelled from the SP for his adherence to the views of the international Left Opposition.

The questions set by comrade Zeller's letter are of interest not only for history but also for the present time. It is not unusual to meet them as often in political literature as in private conversation, although in different forms, mostly personal ones. "How and why did you lose power?" "How did Stalin lay his hands on the apparatus?" "What makes for Stalin's strength?" The question of the internal laws of revolution and counter-revolution is put everywhere and always in a purely individual way, as if the matter concerned a game of chess or some sporting contest and not profound conflicts and modifications with a social character. In this context many pseudo-Marxists are in no way distinguished from vulgar democrats who use the criteria of parliamentary lobbies when faced with great popular movements.

Whoever understands history however slightly knows that every revolution has provoked a subsequent counter-revolution which, to be sure, has never completely thrown the nation all the way back to its starting point in the sphere of economy but has always taken from the people a considerable part, sometimes the lion's share, of its political conquests. And the first victim of the reactionary wave as a general rule, is that layer of revolutionaries which stood at the head of the masses in the first period of the revolution, the period of the offensive, the "heroic" period. This general historical observation should now lead us to the idea that the matter is not simply one of the skill, the cunning or the art of two or a few individuals but of incomparably more profound causes.

Marxists, unlike superficial fatalists (of the type of Leon Blum, Paul Faure, etc.) do not deny the role of the individual, his initiative, his audacity, in the social struggle. But unlike the idealists, Marxists know that consciousness is, in the last analysis, determined by being. The role of the leadership in the revolution is enormous. Without a correct leadership, the proletariat cannot conquer. But even the best leadership cannot foment revolution when it does not have the objective conditions. Among the greatest merits of a proletarian leadership must be reckoned the capacity to distinguish the moment when one can attack and when it is necessary to withdraw. It was this capacity which constituted the main strength of Lenin.\*

The success or failure of the Left Opposition's struggle against the bureaucracy, to some degree or other, naturally, depended on the qualities of the leaders in the two warring camps. But before speaking of these qualities, we should clearly understand the characters of the warring camps themselves, for the best leader of one camp could be absolutely worthless for the other, and vice versa. The question—it is very current (and very naive)—"Why did Trotsky not use at the time the military apparatus against Stalin?" is the clearest evidence in the world that the questioner does not wish to or cannot reflect on the general historical reasons for the victory of the Soviet bureaucracy over the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. I have written about these reasons more than once in a certain number of books, beginning with my autobiography. I propose to sum up the most important conclusions in a few lines.

It is not the present bureaucracy which ensured the victory of the October Revolution but the working and peasant masses under Bolshevik leadership. The bureaucracy began to grow only after the definitive victory, swelling its ranks not only with revolutionary workers but also with representatives of other classes (former Czarist functionaries, officers, bourgeois intellectuals, etc.). The present bureaucracy, in its overwhelming majority, was, at

\*The Stalinists do exactly the opposite: when there was an economic revival and relative political equilibrium they proclaimed "the conquests of the street," "barricades," "Soviets everywhere" (the "third period"); and now, when France is going through a deep social and political crisis, they throw themselves round the necks of the Radicals, that is, of a bourgeois party that is absolutely rotted away. A long time ago it was said that these gentlemen are in the habit of singing funeral psalms at a wedding and at funerals wedding hymns.

the time of the October Revolution, in the bourgeois camp (take as examples merely the Soviet ambassadors Potemkin, Maisky, Troyanovsky, Surits, Khinchuk, etc.). Those of the present bureaucracy who in the October days were in the Bolshevik camp, in the great majority of cases played no role however slightly important in either the preparation or the conduct of the revolution, or in the first years following it. This applies above all to Stalin himself. As for the present young bureaucrats, they are chosen and educated by the older ones, most often from among their own children. And it is Stalin who has become the "chief" of this new caste which has grown up after the revolution.

The history of the trade union movement in every country is not only the history of strikes and in general of mass movements; it is also the history of the formation of the trade union bureaucracy. It is sufficiently well known what enormous conservative power this bureaucracy has been able to acquire, and with what infallible sense it chooses its "genial" leaders and forms them according to its needs: Gompers, Green, Legien, Leipart, Citrine, etc.\*\* If Jouhaux has succeeded till now in maintaining his positions against attacks from the left, it is not because he is a great strategist (though, no doubt, he is superior to his bureaucratic colleagues: it is not for nothing that he fills the first place among them) but because there is not a day, not an hour, when his entire apparatus does not struggle obstinately for its existence, does not select collectively the best methods of that struggle, does not think for Jouhaux, and does not inspire him with the necessary decisions. But that in no way means that Jouhaux is invincible. Given a sudden change in the situation—towards revolution or towards fascism—the whole trade union apparatus will lose its self-confidence, its skillful maneuvers will show themselves to be without power and Jouhaux himself will produce an impression, not remarkable but miserable. We need only recall what despicable nonentities the powerful and arrogant chiefs of the German trade unions showed themselves to be in 1918 when the revolution broke out, against their will, as well as in 1932 when Hitler appeared.

These examples show the sources of the strength and the weakness of the bureaucracy. It emerges from the movement of the masses in the first period, the heroic period. But having risen above the masses, and then having resolved its own "social question" (an assured existence, influence, respect, etc.), the bureaucracy tends increasingly to keep the masses immobile. Why take risks? It has something to lose. The supreme expansion of the influence and well-being of the reformist bureaucracy takes place in an epoch of capitalist progress and of relative passivity of the working masses. But when this passivity is broken, on the right or on the left, the magnificence of the bureaucracy comes to an end. Its intelligence and skill are transformed into stupidity and impotence. The nature of "leaders" corresponds to the nature of the class (or of the caste) it leads and to the objective situation through which this class (or caste) is passing.

The Soviet bureaucracy is immeasurably more powerful than the reformist bureaucracies of all the capitalist countries taken together since it has in its hands the state power and all the advantages and privileges bound up with that. True, the Soviet bureaucracy has grown on the soil of the victorious proletarian revolution. But it would be the greatest naivete to idealize, for that reason, that same bureaucracy. In a poor country—and the USSR is at present still a very poor country where a private room, sufficient food and clothing are within the reach of only a tiny minority of the population—in such a country millions of bureaucrats, great and small, make every effort to ensure before anything their own well-being! Hence the great egoism and the great conservatism of the bureaucracy, its fright in the face of the discontent of the masses, its hatred of criticism, its angry persistence in stifling all free thought, and finally, its hypocritical and religious kneeling before the "leader" who embodies and defends its unlimited domination and its privileges. All that, taken together, is the content of the struggle against "Trotskyism."

It is absolutely beyond question and of major importance that the Soviet bureaucracy became more powerful as the blows struck harder against the world working class. The defeats of the revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia gradually undermined the confidence of the Soviet workers in their international ally. Inside the country acute misery still reigned. The boldest and most

\*\*Only a pure lackey could speak of Stalin as a Marxist "theoretician." His book, *Problems of Leninism*, is an eclectic compilation, full of schoolboy errors. But the national bureaucracy has conquered the Marxist opposition by its social weight, not at all by "theory."





devoted representatives of the working class had either perished in the civil war or had risen higher and, for the main part, been assimilated into the ranks of the bureaucracy, having lost their revolutionary spirit. Weary, because of the terrible efforts of the revolutionary years, without perspective, poisoned with bitterness because of a series of disappointments, the great mass fell into passivity. Reaction of this kind is to be seen, as we have already said, after every revolution. The immense historical advantage of the October Revolution, taken as a *proletarian* revolution, is that the exhaustion and the disappointment have profited not the class enemy, the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, but the upper layer of the working class itself and the intermediary groups linked with it who have entered the Soviet bureaucracy.

The genuine revolutionary proletarians in the USSR drew their strength not from the apparatus but from the activity of the revolutionary masses. In particular, the Red Army was created not by "men of the apparatus" (in the most critical years the apparatus was still very weak), but by the cadres of heroic workers who, under Bolshevik leadership, gathered round them the young peasants and led them into battle. The decline of the revolutionary movement, weariness, the defeats in Europe and in Asia, the disappointment of the working masses was inevitably and directly to weaken the positions of the internationalist-revolutionaries and, on the other hand, was to strengthen the positions of the national and conservative bureaucracy. A new chapter opens in the revolution. The leaders of the preceding period go into opposition while the conservative politicians of the apparatus, who had played a secondary role in the revolution, emerge with the triumphant bureaucracy, in the forefront.

As for the military apparatus, it is a fraction of the bureaucratic apparatus, in no way distinguished in qualities from it. It is enough to say that in the years of the Civil War, the Red Army absorbed tens of thousands of former Czarist officers. On March 13, 1919, Lenin said to a meeting in Petrograd, "When Trotsky told me recently that, in the military sphere, the number of our officers was several tens of thousands, then I had a concrete picture of what is meant by the secret of using our enemy: how to have communism built by those who were formerly our enemies; build communism with bricks collected against us by the capitalists! And we have no other bricks!" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, Russian ed. 1932, stenographic report, page 65). These cadres of officers and functionaries carried out their work in the first years under the direct pressure and surveillance of the advanced workers. In the fire of the cruel struggle, there could not be even a question of a privileged position for the officers: the very word was scrubbed out of the vocabulary. But precisely after the victories had been won and the passage made to a peaceful situation, the military apparatus tried to become the most influential and privileged fraction of the whole bureaucratic apparatus. The only person who would have relied on the officers for the purpose of seizing power would have been someone who was prepared to go further than the appetites of the officer caste; that is to say, who would have ensured for them a superior position, given them ranks and decorations, in a word, would have done in one single act what the Stalinist bureaucracy has done progressively over the succeeding ten to twelve years. There is no doubt that it would have been possible to carry out a military coup d'etat against the faction of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, etc., without any difficulty and without even the shedding of any blood; but the result of such a coup d'etat would have been to accelerate the rhythm of this very bureaucratization and Bonapartism against which the Left Opposition had engaged in struggle.

The task of the Bolshevik-Leninists was by its very essence not to rely on the military bureaucracy against that of the party but to rely on the proletarian vanguard and through it on the popular masses, and to master the bureaucracy in its entirety, to purge it of its foreign elements, to ensure the vigilant control of the workers over it, and to set its policy back on the rails of revolutionary internationalism. But as the living fountain of the revolutionary strength of the masses was dried up in civil war, famine and epidemics and the bureaucracy grew terribly in numbers and insolence, the revolutionary proletarians became the weaker side. To be sure, the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists gathered tens of thousands of the best revolutionary fighters, including some military men. The advanced workers were sympathetic to the Opposition, but that sympathy remained passive; the masses no longer believed that the situation could be seriously changed by struggle. Meantime the bureaucracy asserted, "The Opposition proposes international revolution and is ready to drag us into a revolutionary war. Enough of shake-ups



and misery. We have earned the right to rest. We need no more of 'permanent revolution.' We will build the socialist society at home. Workers and peasants, rely on us, your leaders!" This national and conservative agitation was accompanied—to mention it in passing—by furious slanders, sometimes absolutely reactionary, against the internationalists. It drew the military and state bureaucracies tightly together, and indubitably found an echo in the weary and backward masses. So the Bolshevik vanguard found itself isolated and crushed piecemeal. Therein lies the secret of the victory of the Thermidorian bureaucracy.

Talk about the extraordinary tactical and organizational qualities of Stalin is a myth, deliberately created by the bureaucracy of the USSR and of the Communist International and repeated by left bourgeois intellectuals who, despite their individualism, willingly bend the knees to success. These gentlemen neither understood nor recognized Lenin when, pursued by the international scum, he prepared the revolution. On the contrary, they "recognized" Stalin when this recognition brought only satisfaction and sometimes direct advantages.

The initiative for the struggle against the Left Opposition belongs properly not to Stalin but to Zinoviev. At first Stalin hesitated and waited. It would be wrong to think that Stalin had even a strategic plan from the outset. He kept testing the ground. There is no doubt that the revolutionary Marxist tutelage weighed on him. In fact, he sought a simpler, more national, "surer" policy. The success which attended him was something unexpected, in the first place by himself. It was the success of the new leading layer, of the revolutionary aristocracy which was trying to liberate itself from the control of the masses and which needed a strong and reliable arbiter in its internal affairs. Stalin, a figure of the second rank in the proletarian revolution, appeared as the unchallenged leader of the Thermidorian bureaucracy, first in its ranks—nothing more.

The Italian fascist or semi-fascist writer Malaparte has published a book, *Coup d'Etat: The Technique of Revolution*, in which he develops the idea that "Trotsky's revolutionary tactics" in contrast to Lenin's strategy could assure victory in a given country under given conditions. It is difficult to imagine any theory that could be more absurd! However, the sages who with hindsight accuse us of losing power because of indecision, at bottom look at things from Malaparte's point of view: they think that there are certain special technical "secrets" with whose help revolutionary power can be won or preserved, independently of the effect of great objective factors: victory or defeat for the revolution in the East and the West, the rise or fall of the mass movement in a country, etc. Power is not a prize the most "skillful" win. Power is a relationship between individuals, in the last analysis between classes. Governmental leadership, as we have said, is a powerful lever for success. But that does not at all mean that the leadership can guarantee victory under all conditions.

What is decisive in the last analysis are the class struggle and the internal modifications produced inside the struggling masses.

It is impossible, to be sure, to reply with mathematical precision to the question: How would the struggle have developed had Lenin been alive? That Lenin would have been the implacable enemy of the greedy conservative bureaucracy and of Stalin's policy which steadily bound to itself all of his own kind, is apparent in indisputable fashion from a whole series of letters, articles and proposals by Lenin in the last period of his life, especially from his "Testament" in which he recommends that Stalin be removed from the post of general secretary, and finally from his last letter in which he breaks off "all personal and comradely relations" with Stalin. In the period between the two attacks of his illness, Lenin proposed a common faction with me to struggle against the bureaucracy and its general staff, the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee where Stalin was in command. For the 12th Party Congress, Lenin—to use his own expression—was preparing a "bomb" against Stalin. All this has been told—on the basis of precise and indisputable documents—in my autobiography and in a special article, "Lenin's Testament." Lenin's preparatory measures show that he thought that the imminent struggle would be very difficult; not that—there is no doubt about it—he feared Stalin personally as an opponent (it would be ridiculous to speak of that) but because he saw clearly behind Stalin's back the tissue of the common interests of the powerful caste of the leading bureaucracy. While Lenin was still alive, Stalin was conducting a sapping operation by the medium of agents cautiously spreading the rumor that Lenin was an invalid intellectual, out of touch with the situation, etc., in a word, putting into circulation the same legend which has now become the unofficial version of the Com-

continued on page 22

By DOUG JENNESS

A reader recently wrote to the Communist Party's *Daily World*, "I cannot see how supporting liberal Democratic politicians can have effect other than prolonging the illusion that the major capitalist parties can ever be responsible to the interests of the masses. . . ."

In the Dec. 9 *World*, columnist Conrad Komorowski attempts to refute this and defends the CP policy of supporting liberal capitalist candidates. Entitled "Avoiding the Trap of Political Nihilism," Komorowski's case is based on the assumption that differences among capitalist politicians and parties exist which the working class should utilize to its advantage whether in temporary alliances, compromises or support to capitalist candidates.

To bolster his argument, he quotes the head of the Department of Historical Materialism at Moscow University, D. I. Chesnokov, from his book *Historical Materialism*.

"If one of the bourgeois parties recognizes gains achieved by the working class," explains Chesnokov, "such as the right to strike, the right to defend collective bargaining with the employers, etc., while the other tramples these rights underfoot, or pursues a particularly aggressive foreign policy, then under certain conditions the

Further, a capitalist politician supporting an antiwar action initiated by the independent organizations of the antiwar movement is qualitatively different from the antiwar movement advocating support to capitalist parties or candidates or making election alliances with them.

Chesnokov even admits that "it should always be remembered that both of them [bourgeois parties] will defend bourgeois interests against those of the workers." Their programs, policies, and actions, regardless how progressive they may seem, are formulated within the framework of defending the capitalist system.

Komorowski tries to illustrate the Communist Party approach toward this question by using the example of the 1970 New York senatorial race. There the Communist Party ran candidates for U. S. senator, governor, lieutenant governor, and U. S. congressman, 18th C. D. (Harlem). This was the largest CP slate in New York since 1946.

"It [the CP] vigorously campaigned for the defeat of James L. Buckley, senatorial candidate of the Conservative Party, but it did not support either his Democratic or Republican opponents," proudly explains Komorowski.

From this, one might conclude that the CP departed from its 34-year tra-

editorial, was to halt "the attempt headed by Nixon and Agnew, to replace democratic institutions by police-state institutions. The peril is profound."

The scope of this "peril" was underlined by Gus Hall in an Oct. 26 Cleveland speech when he warned that "the American people should be on the alert against the possible setting of Reichstag fires to be set off in these days before the elections." (The fascist regime in Germany set fire to the Reichstag, the German parliament building, in February 1933 and blamed it on the Communists as a pretext to smashing all opponents.)

To halt the impending danger of a "police-state" or "fascist" takeover, the Oct. 22 editorial declared: "The task of all workingmen and women, of all progressives, is to insure that every candidate supporting the Nixon drive is defeated—including those who 'oppose' Nixon's candidate with a program that is no different. It is urgent to concentrate all democratic efforts behind the most determined pro-peace, pro-labor, pro-Black liberation candidates instead."

Komorowski boldly asserts that this outlook of supporting one capitalist party to defeat another "in essence is the Marxist-Leninist position. It is expressed in more detail and variety in the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin." Komorowski, please turn to

The fact that the CP ran seven candidates in three states in 1970 had nothing in common with advancing the independence of the labor, antiwar, Black, Chicano or women's liberation movements, as the CP candidates all promoted the need to defeat Nixon-backed candidates by supporting liberal Democrats.

The central task of revolutionary Marxists is precisely to help the mass movements to break from capitalist parties and to promote independent political organizations to oppose these parties and their policies. This approach not only helps to advance the struggle against capitalist rule but is also the best means of fighting against the threat of reaction, even fascism. Under the pressure of the Nixon-Agnew harangues, most of the liberal Democratic politicians tumbled all over each other to prove who was the best supporter of "law and order."

What kind of defense against reaction is liberal Albert Gore and his ilk if they capitulate to Wallaceite racist pressure? The best defense is the existence of independent mass movements and organizations that have not subordinated their own interests to those of the capitalist parties and therefore can organize an effective struggle to defend their interests from right-wing reaction and fascist gangs.

The CP's campaigns never raised

# THE CP'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY HUSTLE

working class will find it advantageous to support the first bourgeois party in its dispute with the second."

Revolutionary socialists have never argued that there are no differences between capitalist politicians. Mostly, these are demagogic creations designed to hustle the votes of one or another constituency. At other times these differences do reflect actual tactical and even strategic differences—sometimes spurred by differing particular economic interests—over how best to defend and preserve capitalist interests.

On the basis of such differences, one or another capitalist politician may sometimes deem it expedient to support the working class or other mass movements on particular issues. We have seen this, for example, now and then in the antiwar movement and in the cases of persons whose civil liberties have been abridged. Although such support sometimes may be advantageously utilized by the mass movement, Marxists continue to relentlessly oppose the political views of the capitalist politicians and fight all their attempts to blunt the independent character of the mass movement. Such a stand is most pressing when capitalist politicians are seeking to utilize their support for one or another good cause to prove that their parties are or can be effective vehicles of social progress.

dition of supporting Democratic or Republican party candidates. But Komorowski quickly assures us that "many concerned voters among progressives voted for the Democratic candidate, Richard Ottinger, with the aim of blocking a victory for the ultra-right. They did this without illusions about the character of the Democratic Party as a bourgeois party."

He concedes that this was a bitter pill even for some of these "progressives," who "expressed resentment because they felt they were caught in a situation of having to accept the 'lesser evil.'" But to reject such situations," he asserts, "to refuse to make the most of them is a form of political nihilism."

To get a clearer view of the CP's insidious policy, let's take a look at how they applied it in the state of Tennessee. There, Democratic senator Albert Gore geared his campaign to winning over the racist Wallace supporters in the eastern part of the state. But because Gore was a prime target of Nixon and Agnew's attacks, CP general secretary Gus Hall told a post-election national committee meeting of his party, "It is to the credit of Black voters that many of them overlooked this crass opportunism of Gore and, as a choice between lesser evils, voted for him anyway."

The central theme of the CP's attitude toward the 1970 elections, according to an Oct. 22 *Daily World*

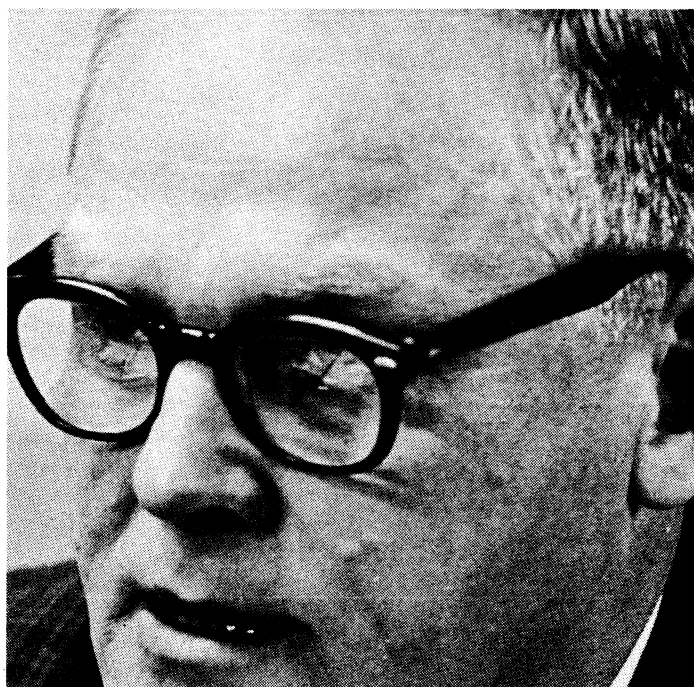
the page and show us! We don't believe it.

In an address to the Communist League of Germany in 1950, Marx and Engels wrote that the working class should see to it "that everywhere workers' candidates are put up alongside of the bourgeois-democratic candidates, that they should consist as far as possible of members of the League, and that their election is promoted by all possible means. Even where there is no prospect whatsoever of their being elected, the workers must put up their own candidates in order to preserve their independence, to count their forces, and to bring before the public their revolutionary attitude and party standpoint. In this connection they must not allow themselves to be seduced by such arguments of the democrats as, for example, that by so doing they are splitting the democratic party and making it possible for the reactionaries to win. The ultimate intention of all such phrases is to dupe the proletariat. The advance which the proletarian party is bound to make by such independent action is infinitely more important than the disadvantage that might be incurred by the presence of a few reactionaries in the representative body." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Foreign Language Publishing House).

the idea of an independent Black party based on the Black community to struggle for Black liberation. They never helped publicize or promote the important example being set in Texas and Colorado by the independent Chicano party—La Raza Unida. Such formations, in the CP's view, too sharply oppose the Democratic Party.

The logical consequence of the CP's treacherous class collaborationism was its opposition to building mass antiwar actions on Oct. 31 and its refusal to support and build a mass, independent movement of women to fight for their liberation. It's hard to build mass actions against particular social evils and at the same time hustle votes for representatives of the parties responsible for those evils and which, in fact, are the targets of those demonstrations.

The 75 Socialist Workers Party candidates in 15 states were not concerned whether a few spineless liberals who ran scared at the first bark of an Agnew were elected to Congress. They used their campaigns to expose the Democratic and Republican parties, help organize independent mass movements, promote an independent Black political party, support candidates of La Raza Unida Party and take socialist ideas to millions of Americans.



Gus Hall, Communist Party general secretary, is pleased by Democratic Party gains in 1970 elections



# Third World Liberation Notes

According to the Dec. 14 **Black Panther**, 30,000 students and workers in Chicago stayed home on Dec. 4 in commemoration of the deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Three rallies held simultaneously at noon that day attracted over 5,000 people.

Hampton and Clark, leaders of the Illinois Black Panther Party, were assassinated a year ago by the police in an early dawn raid on their apartment. The raid was ordered by State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan. It was the subsequent mass outburst that forced recognition of the fact that Hanrahan's "shoot-out" was just a straightforward police murder of two Black youths, one of whom (Hampton) was still sleeping when bullets pierced his skull.

"'The Great White Father' is the common enemy of every living thing, yet in his disgusting hypocrisy, he, the barbarian, never fails to cast himself in the role of benefactor, while casting his victim in the role of beast. So perverted in his racism is the white supremacist that he even builds monuments to his malevolent deceit. In the center of the Santa Fe plaza is a stone shaft inscribed: 'To the heroes who have fallen in the various battles with savage Indians in the Territory of New Mexico.' Just to look upon the faces of this ancient race of Indians is to know that they have never been, and will never be, savage. To look upon the face of a Nixon, a Hoover, an Agnew, a Mitchell, is another story. Their faces mirror the utter degradation to which the human soul can descend, and it is their unquenchable thirst for blood that has brought them to this depraved condition. How is it then, that these bags of corruption parading around in trousers can be accorded the respect befitting a Man?"

The quote is from an article by Antonia Xochitotzin in the Dec. 7 special double issue of **El Grito Del Norte**. The issue is devoted to land struggles in America, Hawaii, Alaska, Japan and India. A three-month subscription can be obtained for \$1, a one-year subscription for \$4. Write to: El Grito Del Norte, Box 466, Fairview Station, Espanola, N. Mex. 87532.

In the **New York Times** of Dec. 13, it was reported that one American division in Vietnam is setting up a "hot line" between lower ranking Black soldiers and the division command. The move is in response to a demonstration by about 40 Black soldiers in front of the division headquarters in Chulai, which is 335 miles north of



Angela Davis

Workers World photo

Saigon. The soldiers were protesting reassignment to the field.

"Popular recording artist Aretha Franklin said Monday she stands ready to put up Angela Davis' bond whether it is \$100,000 or \$250,000," the Bay Area **Sun Reporter** announced Dec. 5.

"'Angela Davis must go free,' said Franklin. 'Black people will be free. I have been locked up before (for peace disturbance in Detroit), and I know you have to disturb peace when you ain't got peace.'

"Miss Franklin said she is going to 'see Angela go free, and see if there is any justice in our courts. . . . Not because I believe in communism, but because Angela is a Black woman and she wants freedom for Black people.

"'I have the money. I got it from Black people,' the famous artist said, adding that she would like to 'use it in ways that will help our people.'"

An editorial in the **Voice of Hope**, a newspaper put out by a Black community organization in Houston, stated:

"Blacks in Texas are going to realize some day that the Black man must measure his progress by the amount of power he acquires and the extent to which he can control his own life. No other measure makes sense. How can a Black man boast about the Astrodome when Blacks in Houston don't even own a sandlot football field?

"In the area of politics, power is essential just as in any other. Democrats, Republicans and third parties composed of so-called liberal whites and would-be progressive Blacks have not satisfied the needs of Black people in this country. Black people need a party of their own; a party they control; a party that is truly responsive to their needs. Whites control the Democratic and Republican parties. Blacks have about as much chance gaining control in them as they do in exercising power over the space program or General Motors. The sooner Blacks realize this and begin moving in another more positive direction, the better it will be for all Black people."

— DERRICK MORRISON

## N.Y. Panther lawyer hit with contempt charge

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—In an ominous move, on Dec. 14, Judge John M. Murtagh declared one of the lawyers in the trial of 13 Black Panthers guilty of contempt of court. William Crain, the defense lawyer concerned, was even denied the right to consult a lawyer over the matter.

The contempt action flowed from a directive the judge had given the lawyers earlier the same day. In that private conference, the judge told the defense and prosecution attorneys to desist from arguing over objections after he had overruled or upheld them. Actually, this directive was meant mainly for the six defense attorneys. While cross-examining a police undercover

agent, Gene Roberts, the defense has been hampered repeatedly by prosecution objections upheld by the judge. And when the prosecution doesn't object, the judge himself often tells the agent, "You need not answer that."

The Panthers, who have been held since April 1969, are being framed on indictments of conspiring to bomb department stores and police stations.

The police agent, Roberts, infiltrated the Panther Party in April 1968. This wasn't the first Black militant organization he infiltrated. Previously he was in Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity. He became one of Malcolm's bodyguards. From the OAAU, Roberts went into Charles Kenyatta's Mau Mau organization. To

do better undercover work there, he obtained a black belt in karate.

In fact, ever since Roberts joined the New York Police Department in 1964, he has been involved in undercover work, writing up weekly reports of his activity.

Under cross-examination by Crain, Roberts revealed he liked what Malcolm had to say. So Crain asked why he didn't testify before the grand jury that investigated Malcolm's assassination. Roberts replied that it was up to his superiors. This says a lot about the police investigation into the assassination.

In later cross-examination, Crain brought out contradictions between the

daily handwritten reports and the subsequent typewritten reports Roberts submitted to his superiors. For instance, in January 1969, one daily typewritten report indicates that a defendant went to New Jersey to pick up some gunpowder. But according to Roberts' testimony, this incident is not in the handwritten report, which supposedly contains the highlights of the day.

This gives credence to the defense contention that actions and remarks attributed to the defendants were doctored up or planted in the typewritten reports by police officials, thus enabling them to get indictments from the grand jury.

## Puerto Rican nationalist faces New York frame-up

By ALFREDO LOPEZ

NEW YORK—On May 17, 1970, Carlos Feliciano was arrested and framed up on charges of bombing and conspiracy to bomb buildings in New York City.

Bail was set at a whopping \$175,000 and court appeals to lower the sum are scheduled to be heard this month.

According to Ruth Reynolds, secretary of the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, the 41-year-old Puerto Rican nationalist is charged with the bombing of 35 public buildings. He has been indicted for two specific acts: the bombing of the General Electric building in Manhattan and the attempted bombing of a U.S. Army re-

cruiting station in the Bronx. All of these acts are supposed to have been committed within a five-month period—by a man with a family and working two jobs, one as a carpenter and the other as a building superintendent!

The real target of this attack, the committee points out, is the Puerto Rican independence and nationalist movement. The police charge Feliciano with membership in MIRA (Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria Armada), a Puerto Rican underground organization which has publicly claimed responsibility for bombing several buildings.

However, the police go further. In justifying the bail last May, John Fine, the assistant district attorney, said,

"The defendant is affiliated, we believe, with an alien government outside the territorial limits of the United States." Fine didn't name the "alien government" because he said it might prejudice the case!

Reynolds says one of the reasons that Feliciano was singled out for this frame-up is because he was a member of the Nationalist Party back in 1950 and a cellmate of Pedro Albizu Campos. The Nationalist Party was central in carrying out the fight for Puerto Rican independence during the 30s, 40s, and early 50s. When it was finally crushed by U.S. imperialism in the middle 50s, Albizu Campos, its leading figure, was sent to jail. While there,

he was severely tortured and subjected to medical experiments. Feliciano is a living witness to these operations.

Among the sponsors of the defense committee are David Garcia, Chicano pastor of St. Mark's Church in the Bowery, Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, Puerto Rican community leader, and Epigmenio Martinez of the Nationalist Party. Other supporters include the Young Lords Party, Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI), and the Puerto Rican Student Union.

Funds for legal defense can be sent to: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

# Solzhenitsyn's open letter to Nobel academy

Intercontinental Press

[On November 27, dissident Soviet novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn sent a letter to the Swedish Academy, announcing that he had reconsidered his original decision to go to Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 7, page 1061.)

[Following is the text of Solzhenitsyn's letter in a translation taken from the December 1 *New York Times*.]

\* \* \*

In a telegram to the secretary of the Academy, I have already expressed and now again express my gratitude for the honor bestowed upon me by the awarding of the Nobel Prize. Inwardly I share it with those of my predecessors in Russian literature who because of the difficult conditions of the past decades did not live to receive such a prize or who were little known in their lifetime to the reading world in translation or to their countrymen even in the original.

In the same telegram, I expressed the intention to accept your invitation to come to Stockholm although I anticipated the humiliating procedure, usual in my country for every trip abroad, of filling out questionnaires, obtaining character references from party organizations — even for nonmembers — and being given instructions about behavior.

However, in recent weeks, the hostile attitude toward my prize, as expressed in the press of my country, and the fact that my books are still suppressed — for reading them, people are dismissed from work or expelled from school — compel me to assume that my trip to Stockholm would be used to cut me off from my native land, simply to prevent me from returning home.

On the other hand, in the materials you sent me about the procedure of handing over the prizes, I discovered that in the Nobel celebrations there are many ceremonies and festivities that are tiring and not in keeping with my character and way of life. The formal part, the Nobel Lecture, is really not a part of the ceremony. Later, in a telegram and letter, you expressed similar apprehensions about the to-do that would accompany my stay in Stockholm.

Weighing all the foregoing, and taking advantage of your kind explanation that personal presence at the ceremony is not an obligatory condition to receiving the prize, I prefer at the present time not to apply for permission for a trip to Stockholm.

I could receive the Nobel diploma and medal, if such a format would be acceptable to you, in Moscow from your representatives, at a mutually convenient time. As provided by the rules of the Nobel Foundation, I am ready to give a lecture or present a written text for the Nobel Lecture within the six months from December 10, 1970.

This letter is an open one, and I do not object to its being published.

With best wishes,

A. Solzhenitsyn

# European revolutionary gathering got wide press

The Dec. 11 *Militant* carried an article on the congress of European revolutionary socialists held Nov. 21-22 in Brussels. The congress was organized by European supporters of the Fourth International, the international organization of revolutionary Marxists.

The size and growth of the congress (3,500 participated, with delegations from every European country) drew unusual attention from the bourgeois press, especially in Belgium and France.

The conservative Flemish daily *De Standaard* carried an article on the congress under the headline "New Age of Soviets Dawning." An extensive account was also carried in the right-wing Brussels paper *La Libre Belgique* of Nov. 23, whose correspondent was impressed by the enthusiasm of the meeting. Another Flemish daily *Vooruit* quoted from the opening speech made by Ernest Mandel, saying: "He ended by saying that there was no more noble, more urgent, and more important task than working for the overthrow of capitalism and striving to build a United States of Europe and of the world, and to build the Fourth International."

Perhaps the most objective account of the congress — and one of the longest — was in the Nov. 25 issue of the authoritative Paris daily *Le Monde*. Along with a report on the general conference proceedings, the article, by Thierry Pfister, contained quite an informative description of each of the revolutionary-socialist organizations which sponsored the congress. After mentioning that the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, had sent a delegation of 1,000 persons, *Le Monde* listed the other groups represented:

- "The International Marxist Group (the British section [of the Fourth International]), whose delegation was headed by the local Cohn-Bendit, Tariq Ali. This movement and its leader distinguished themselves primarily in connection with demonstrations of solidarity with Vietnam that assembled tens of thousands of people. With the same perspective they have just set up a movement of solidarity with Ireland. They also influence a youth organization which was represented at Brussels as well, the Spartacus League.

- "The Revolutionære Socialisten (Danish section). This group is based primarily in Copenhagen and in the country's biggest university town, Aarhus. It was this movement that led the demonstrations against holding the World Bank congress in the Danish capital. It works as a tendency in the SUF [Federation of Socialist Youth].

- "The Gruppe International Marxisten (the German section). This organization was formed in 1969. Since that year it has given impetus to a broader movement, also represented in Brussels, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, which is seeking to fill the place left vacant by the disappearance of Rudi Dutschke's SDS [German Socialist Student Federation].

- "The Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (the Italian section). This organization, formed following the war, systematically practiced 'entryism' into the Italian Communist Party. In the 1968 student demonstrations, this policy placed them in an awkward situation, resulting in a major internal crisis. Since then the groups of the organization have taken advantage of the continual strikes in Italy (the so-called creeping May [referring to May 1968 in France]) to win a base in the factories. They have succeeded particularly at FIAT, where they helped to form a workers council, and in the Bari-Taranto foundations.

- "The Kommunistische Liga (the Austrian section), an essentially student group.

- "The Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados [Internationalist Communist Party of Greece] (the Greek section). This is one of the oldest Trotskyist organizations, and one which has operated underground virtually since 1936.

"Besides these sections of the Fourth International, the following Trotskyist groups were represented, besides the Lutte Ouvrière [Workers Struggle] group in France, which sent 300 delegates:

- "The groups organized around the Spanish journal *Comunismo*, which was started up a year and a half ago.

- "Revolutionära Marxister and Bolsjevik Gruppen (Sweden). The first movement is quite clearly Trotskyist and has taken its inspiration from the wildcat strikes in Kiruna and Göteborg to struggle against the co-opting of the unions into the capitalist system. The second group developed from a split in the Maoist movement. The two formations are engaged in unity talks.

- "The Ligue Marxiste Revolutionnaire (Switzerland). This group was formed a little more than a year ago in French-speaking Switzerland, as the result of a split in the local Communist Party.

- "The Jeunes Gardes Socialistes (Belgium). This group was originally the youth movement of the Socialist Party. Since their split with the Social Democratic current, the Jeunes Gardes have moved toward Trotskyism, and last year they asked to be recognized by the Fourth International as a 'sympathizing organization.'

- "The Parti Wallon des Travailleurs (Belgium). This group was formed in 1965 as the result of a split in the PSB [Belgian Socialist Party]."

After discussing several of the central themes of the conference, the *Le Monde* article concluded with a quotation from Ernest Mandel's speech to the gathering:

"Our political opponents will talk of conspiracy. The only intellectual argument they command is in fact the cop's bludgeon and the riot squad's water cannon. But we are not dynamiters or bomb-throwers. We are not spinning any plot. We have nothing up our sleeves and nothing in our pockets. We proclaim our program to all."



Ernest Mandel, noted Belgian Marxist, has twice been refused entry into this country to fill speaking engagements on college campuses because of his "political ineligibility," according to an arbitrary application of the witch-hunt McCarran-Walter Act by Attorney General Mitchell.

Recognizing that the right to hear is as vital to democracy as free speech, eight distinguished scholars from six leading universities have filed a joint suit with Mandel against Mitchell and Sec. of State Rogers. They are asking the federal court to rule that the exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act are unconstitutional under the First and Fifth Amendments.

The Mandel Case Legal Defense Fund has been set up to publicize the facts in the case and raise money for the heavy legal expenses involved in the litigation which should reach the Supreme Court. All persons concerned with protecting our First Amendment rights should contribute generously to the work of the Fund.

Make out checks to: The Mandel Case Legal Defense Fund-NECLC, Room 913, 25 E. 26th St., New York, New York 10010.

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# Farm subsidies... are for the rich

By MARVEL SCHOLL

On Nov. 30, President Nixon signed a new three-year farm "relief" bill which puts, at least theoretically, a ceiling of \$55,000 on subsidies for wheat, cotton and field grain crops *not grown*.

The bill is supposed to prohibit the large factory-farmers from splitting up their acreage holdings in order to multiply the number of subsidies they can collect.

Who are these "poor" farmers for whom our hearts should be bleeding and our pocketbooks opened?

There are roughly 3 million farms left in this once agrarian nation. Half of this number are small, so small that their owners earn most of their living by working in nearby industrial centers, growing little more than enough to supply their families with fresh vegetables, eggs and probably milk. Their average annual farm and nonfarm income is \$7,900. If their farm sales income is \$5,000, they get a measly \$500 in subsidies.

Ironically, most rural residents who cling to their hardscrabble farms are classified as poverty-stricken. Very few of this 1.5 million earn any money at all through farm sales and are aided the least by government assistance.

Most of the subsidies—42 percent of actual cash payments of more than \$8-billion annually—goes to 7 percent of the largest landowners.

Dr. Charles L. Schulze, former federal budget director and now an economist for the Brookings Institute, gives the cost, to the taxpayer and consumer, of this so-called "welfare" program for agriculture.

The figures are based on two kinds of benefits for the farmers provided by farm-price support programs during the past three years: 1) direct federal payments. These have averaged \$3.75-billion annually. 2) market price supports. By limiting production, the price of farm products has been artificially boosted. This has raised farm income at a cost to consumers of an additional \$4.25-billion per year.

Add to these costs the additional storage, loan, administrative and other program expenses and you have a staggering total of \$9.5- to \$11-billion per year.

Farm economists have always known that federal subsidy money is distributed largely in relation to the amount of production. This has meant a trend to concentrating farm production to a minority of farms—the biggest ones—which has also meant a concentration of benefits to the large growers.

In the 1900 census, 70 percent of the American population were farmers, with acreages ranging from 40 to 160 acres. The 1960 census showed that only 7 percent of the total population lived on farms—and most of these were employees of the large landowners. The corporation farm heads live in the cities, maintaining summer homes which they can use as formal addresses if it keeps their taxes lower.

The full history of the methods used by the rich farm owners to grab the land is important but far too complicated and long to go into here. Suffice it to say, it began with the industrialization of this country before the first world war. The industrializa-

tion and mechanization of the farms were augmented when German U-boats shut off food supplies for Europe from Australia, Argentina, India and North Africa.

It was then that the Mississippi Valley became "the breadbasket of the world" with the U.S. Navy convoying freighters loaded with food and war materiel to the Allies.

The more well-to-do wheat farmers in the Valley began buying out their smaller neighbors, ousting their tenants and sharecroppers and foreclosing mortgages. These huge holdings (small today) of 10,000 acres or more demanded machinery, so machinery was bought—and the homestead mortgaged to buy tractors, combines, seeders, reapers and threshing machines.

The end of the war brought all the old suppliers of England and France back into production and the bottom fell out of the "breadbasket." Expensive, unpaid-for machinery rusted in the fields as unharvested crops rotted. The price of wheat fell so low on the world market that it was uneconomic to harvest it.

Those of us who grew up in the Mississippi Valley knew what depression meant long before the rest of the country. For us it didn't begin when the factory chimney smoke stopped in the early 30s, but in the early 20s with the farm crisis.

Meanwhile all the lands mortgaged after WWI were gobbled up by big financiers, especially large insurance companies like Prudential and Metropolitan Life who bought the deeds.

Nature played her part in destroying any hope for the smaller farmer in that area—a tremendous drought plagued the whole valley. Much of the land in Kansas, Oklahoma and Nebraska, for instance, had been pasture land, ideal for raising cattle. It never should have been put to the plow. Shallow top soil blew itself away in the awful dust storms which swept the land.

The farmers, large and small, their dreams of riches now a mirage, found themselves evicted both by the mortgage holders and the land which had blown into the next county or state. If they hung on, they faced the bulldozers, which knocked down their homes and outbuildings with ruthless impartiality.

Some of these displaced persons went to the cities to find work. Others joined the growing army of itinerant farm workers—the families of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*—forever wandering in their search for food and jobs.

The same landgrabbing financiers were operating throughout the country. Factory-farms came into existence all up and down both coasts, where vegetable and fruit crops were grown. When the Japanese-Americans in California were herded into concentration camps at the beginning of the war with Japan, these same vultures grabbed the small but rich holdings of the Nisei. And so the "Salad Bowl," in Central California where the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee is now on strike, the grape orchards farther south, the citrus groves, all these crops and the land upon which they grow became the property of city-based corporations.

# The National Picket Line

Seemingly unrelated recent events in the coal fields are the result of back-door collusion by U.S. government agencies, the mine operators, and the entrenched bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers.

Sudden death in the mines from explosions and cave-ins is a constant threat and recurring tragedy. Trickery against the miners' long struggle for healthier and safer working conditions is part of the brutal history of the industry. Both tragedy and trickery were reported in the press on Dec. 10.

Two years have passed since the disaster at Consol No. 9 entombed 78 men near Farmington, W. Va. During these two years the miners have tried to make some changes. They walked out of the pits, forcing the U.S. government to enact the 1969 Mine Safety Law, which became effective April 1 this year. They tried to elect a new union president and, where they have a chance, new district officials.

The latest example of trickery was the counting of the vote in the election of UMW District 5 president. District 5, in Pennsylvania, is the only one of 23 UMW districts in the U.S. where miners can still vote for their union officials. In all others, UMW president W.A. Boyle appoints the district officers.

Boyle's man, Michael Budzanoski, lost the election among working miners in District 5 by more than 500 votes. His opponent, Louis Antal, received 4,436 votes to Budzanoski's 3,922. The entire Boyle slate, including candidates for district secretary-treasurer and for the union's international



executive board, was defeated by similar majorities. However, Budzanoski, who is the incumbent district president, immediately announced that there are still 1,200 "absentee ballots" yet to be counted. He predicted that these uncounted ballots, which are in his custody, will give him and his cronies the majority.

During the election campaign, Antal protested to the U.S. Labor Department that the system of "absentee balloting" is a violation of the UMW constitution, a ruse "to steal the election before it even happened," and asked for government supervision of the election under provisions of the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Law.

Antal's protest has thus far been ignored, despite the fact that Budzanoski and John Seddon, District 5 secretary-treasurer, have both been indicted by a federal grand jury for alleged falsification of union expense vouchers. No further action has been taken against them.

This is a rerun of the election one year ago in which Joseph A. Yablonski, then UMW representative of District 5, sought to defeat Boyle for the presidency of the union. In that election, Yablonski also protested to the Labor Department, seeking guarantees of a fair vote and protection of his personal safety.

Yablonski's protest was ignored. Boyle claimed to have received the most votes. And last New Year's Eve Yablonski, his wife and daughter were murdered.

After the murders, the Labor Department asked the federal courts to invalidate the election of Boyle and order a government-supervised election. Nothing further has been done; no new election has yet been held.

Suspects in the Yablonski murder case have been apprehended in Ohio and await extradition to Pennsylvania for trial. The Pennsylvania prosecutor charges that an unjustified delay in Ohio courts is preventing him from proceeding against the accused.

These court delays and the inaction of government agencies suggest strong pressure from interested parties.

The mine operators have successfully exerted influence upon the Federal Bureau of Mines to prevent enforcement of the 1969 Mine Safety Act. Under the weight of the Boyle bureaucracy, the UMW has done nothing to force the mine operators or any government agency to comply with the provisions of the new safety law.

The latest tragedy in the mines, reported the same cold December day as the trickery in the UMW District 5 election, is three men trapped in a mine at Anjean, W. Va. One of them, Loren Hinkle, was reached by rescuers. He related that another miner was dead and that he did not know the fate of the third.

Such tragedies number in the tens of thousands in the mining industry. Mines are dangerous, and the modern methods of mining make them more unhealthy and more dangerous than ever.

The mine safety law, if enforced, would require basic changes in the present methods of mining. The miners are the only ones who have a stake in the enforcement of this law, and every miner knows that his life is at stake. And this involves the life of his union.

—FRANK LOVELL

# Novack on the genocide against Native Americans

*Genocide Against the Indians* by George Novack. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 31 pp. \$.50. 1970.

In his introduction to this pamphlet, George Novack writes that his intention is "not so much to tell what happened (there are plenty of such narratives of varying merit on the library shelves) but *why*. . . . I have used the Marxist method of historical materialism to answer this key question."

In a series of three essays, Novack explains the conflict between white man and red man as a conflict between social systems: the developing bourgeois society of the European im-

migrants and the primitive communism of the Indians.

This conflict centered primarily around the question of land. Living in a hunting society, the indigenous Americans could not even conceive of private land ownership: "The very idea that ancestral lands from which they drew their sustenance could be taken from the people, become an article of commerce, and be bought and sold was inconceivable, fantastic and abhorrent to the Indian."

For the European settlers, on the other hand, "it was natural to convert everything into private property and thereby exclude the rest of humanity

from its use and enjoyment."

The outcome of the struggle was predetermined by the greater technology, organization, and numbers of the immigrants—by the fact that capitalism is a higher form of social development than primitive communism. Novack points out, however, that humanity has paid a high price for the attainment of this higher economic level: not only in the slaughter of millions of the original inhabitants of the Americas but also in the less well-known loss of the Indian social practices of equality, democracy, and concern for one's fellowman.

These ideals will become a reality

in human society once again, Novack concludes. This will be accomplished not by a return to the outmoded economic conditions of primitive communism, but by human society taking the next step in its evolution, abolishing capitalism and constructing a socialist order.

It is appropriate that a leading role in this transformation will be played by "the descendants of the red, black and brown peoples which were subjugated by the bourgeois property owners on their way to supreme power."

— ALLEN MYERS

## Trotsky on Stalin



Russia, 1917

*continued from page 17*

munist International to explain the acute hostility between Lenin and Stalin during the last year and a half of Lenin's life. In fact, all the articles and letters that Lenin dictated when he was ill represent perhaps the ripest fruits of his thought. The perspicacity of this "invalid" would have been more than enough for a dozen Stalins.

It can be said with certainty that had Lenin lived longer, the pressure of bureaucratic omnipotence would have been exerted—at least in the first years—more lightly. But in 1926 Krupskaya [Lenin's wife] said to a company of Left Oppositionists, "If Lenin were alive today he would now be in prison." The fears and alarming forebodings of Lenin were still fresh in her memory, and she had absolutely no illusions as to the personal omnipotence of Lenin, understanding, in her own words, the dependence of the best helmsman on the winds and on favorable or contrary currents.

Does that mean that Stalin's victory was inevitable? Does that mean that the struggle of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) was hopeless? Such a way of putting the question is abstract, schematic and fatalist. The development of the struggle has shown, without any doubt, that winning a complete victory in the USSR, that is to say, conquering power and cauterizing the ulcer of bureaucratism—that the Bolshevik-Leninists could not and would not have been able to do *without support from the world revolution*. But that in no way means that their struggle did not have results. Without the Opposition's bold criticism and without the bureaucracy's fear of the Opposition, the course of Stalin-Bukharin toward the kulak would have ended up in the revival of capitalism. Under the lash of the Opposition the bureaucracy was forced to make important borrowings from our platform. The Leninists could not save the Soviet regime from the process of degeneration and the difficulties of the personal regime. But it saved it from complete dissolution by barring the

road to capitalist restoration. The progressive reforms of the bureaucracy were the by-products of the Opposition's revolutionary struggle. For us it is far too insufficient. But it is still something.

On the arena of the world's workers movement, on which the Soviet bureaucracy depends only indirectly, the situation is immensely still more unfavorable to the USSR. Through the intermediacy of the Communist International, Stalinism has become the worst brake on the world revolution. Without Stalin there would have been no Hitler. At the present moment in France, Stalinism by the policy of prostration whose political name is the "Popular Front," is preparing a new defeat for the proletariat. But here too, the Left Opposition struggle has not been sterile. Throughout the whole world are growing and multiplying cadres of genuine proletarian revolutionaries, real Bolsheviks, who are joining not the Soviet bureaucracy in order to use its authority and treasury, but the program of Lenin and the banner of the October Revolution. Under the truly monstrous persecutions—also without precedent in history—by the joint forces of imperialism, reformism and Stalinism, the Bolshevik-Leninists are growing, strengthening themselves and gaining increasingly the confidence of the advanced workers. An infallible symptom of the crisis which is being produced is the magnificent evolution of the Socialist Youth of the Seine. The world revolution will go forward under the banner of the Fourth International. Its first successes will not leave standing one stone upon another of the omnipotence of the Stalinist clique, its legends, its slanders and hollow reputations. The Soviet republic, like the world proletarian vanguard, will finally liberate itself from the bureaucratic octopus. The historic collapse of Stalinism is predetermined and it will be a merited punishment for its numberless crimes against the world working class. We want and look forward to no other cleansing!

L. Trotsky

November 12, 1935

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# THE MILITANT

## Basque trial provokes massive opposition

By DAVID THORSTAD

The trial of the 15 Basque nationalists in Burgos, Spain, has become the hub of a wheel of mounting difficulties for the Franco regime. It provoked a crisis in which the regime could no longer even count on the full ideological support of three of its mainstays: the church, the military and the judicial apparatus.

The trial drew the Basque nation closer together and signaled a heightened combativity in its struggle.

It sparked a truly nationwide mobilization of the clandestine trade unions (Comisiones Obreras), a development which only months ago would have been both inconceivable and impossible.

It prompted the bishops of San Sebastian and Santander, in a pastoral letter read from every pulpit in their dioceses last month, to attack the Franco regime's "institutionalized violence." A full conference of Spanish bishops Dec. 2 called for clemency. Rome itself sent the papal secretary of state to express its anxiety and to request clemency.

The trial has provoked a vigorous opposition among students. At Madrid University, the police have been called in almost every day to disperse students.

Six of the defendants are charged with the August 1968 murder of Meliton Manzanas, head of the political police in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa. They deny the charge. The rest are accused on general charges of "banditry and terrorism."

All belong to the ETA, a clandestine commando-type organization whose initials stand for the words meaning "Freedom for the Basques." The ETA calls for the political independence of the Basque provinces and for socialism. All but two of the defendants are under 30 years of age.

The death sentence is being sought for the six charged with murder, and a combined total of 728 years and one day for the others. One, a priest, faces a prison term of 70 years, on charges that he acted as a chaplain for the young Basque nationalists.

Manzanas was one of the most hated men in Guipuzcoa. "He was said by persons with firsthand experience to

have taken an active interest in the forceful and painful interrogation of Basque nationalists suspected of crimes," reports the *New York Times* Dec. 3. "His interest was said to be especially marked when the suspect was a woman."

The week-long trial, which ended Dec. 9, was a criminal farce. It was a military, not a civilian, trial; there is no provision for an appeal of the sentence; it placed severe limitations on the defense; and it was conducted in Spanish, not Basque.

The main evidence in the prosecution's case consisted of "confessions" obtained through torture and recanted by those who had made them. The court repeatedly ruled "irrelevant" questions and testimony that would demonstrate that the confessions were obtained through coercion.

The trial was the culmination of a massive wave of repression launched in the spring of 1968 against the Basques. Since Manzanas was murdered in August of that year, at least 2,000 persons have been arrested and many tortured in attempts to secure "confessions."

The mass hostility to the trial provided dramatic proof of the failure of Franco's persistent efforts over the

years to eradicate the nationalist feeling of the Basques—efforts that have included banning the Basque language in the schools.

The trial of the ETA revolutionists set off protests all over Europe. Five thousand joined a demonstration in Paris Dec. 1. Of the many demonstrations held since May-June 1968, it was the first mass action by leftist forces not to be banned by the government.

On Dec. 12, the Associated Press reported demonstrations occurring in a number of European cities: 5,000 in Milan and West Berlin, 4,000 in Nice, 3,000 in Toulouse, 2,000 in Orleans, and 3,000 in Berne—where most of those who marched were Spanish workers employed in Switzerland.

Most significant of all, of course, were the protests all across Spain. These protests began weeks before the trial opened and they intensified as the date approached.

The Comisiones Obreras designated Nov. 3 National Amnesty Day. In Barcelona alone, 35,000 workers stayed away from work for the entire day and around 15,000 more participated in work stoppages. Police violently attacked a number of demon-

strations throughout the country.

Sit-ins at churches and petitions against the trial multiplied. One petition opposing the death penalty was signed by 2,000 prominent residents of Catalonia.

By the time the trial opened Dec. 3, there were 100,000 workers on strike in the Basque provinces of Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya. The ports and factories around San Sebastian were closed. The national highway was blocked by barricades in Tolosa. Armed ETA patrols were openly policing a number of towns.

"In Villabona," reports the *New York Times* Dec. 5, "villagers locked arms across the main highway and refused to budge when the civil guards jammed submachine guns into their stomachs. The guards fired into the air and prodded their guns once again into the line. The villagers held firm and broke only after civil guard reinforcements charged in with clubs."

That evening the government, in a Dec. 4 cabinet session presided over by Franco, decreed a three-month state of emergency in Guipuzcoa.

On Dec. 14, Franco gave the police power to detain anyone anywhere in the country up to six months without a hearing. Hundreds are expected to be arrested under this proclamation. More than 200 had already been arrested in Guipuzcoa alone since the state of emergency was declared there 10 days earlier.

One of the most dramatic protests began after the trial was over when 300 artists and intellectuals, including the famous painter Joan Miro, sat in in the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat near Barcelona. When a government official telephoned the abbot to term the action a "provocation," the abbot is said to have replied: "So was the Burgos court-martial."

The Franco regime is not accustomed to such a lack of respect for authority. But the widespread and militant indignation at the court-martial of the Basque freedom fighters indicates that the opposition has created the greatest crisis for his regime since he came to power in 1939. The verdict, whatever it is, may only serve to deepen it.

—Dec. 16, 1970

## Polish workers take to streets over price hikes

By DOUG JENNESS

DEC. 17 — Although only bits and pieces of news have filtered through about the three days of street fighting early this week in the Polish cities of Gdansk, Sopot and Gdynia, it appears that Poland's regime could be facing the biggest explosion of protest since the Poznan bread riots in 1956.

A Dec. 17 Associated Press dispatch from Warsaw indicated that "The official death toll in the fighting stood at six, but other sources said at least 12 were killed and more than 150 injured, including many police." Several public buildings including a floor of the Communist Party headquarters in Gdansk were burned and dozens of shops were looted.

The Warsaw government suspended all air, rail and auto traffic and cut off all telephone communication into Gdansk, Poland's third largest port.

From the reports, it is apparent that the demonstrations were in opposition to a government edict issued on Sunday Dec. 13 which substantially increased the prices on basic necessities—food, fuel and clothing.

The edict lowered prices on luxury goods such as televisions, automobiles, dishwashers and tape recorders, and raised them 25 to 33 percent on meat and meat products, 10 to 25 percent on shoes and clothing and 10 to 20 percent on coal. A decrease in luxury goods means little or nothing to most workers, especially when it is coupled with a gigantic and cruel boost in the cost of basic necessities.

When the news of the price changes reached Gdansk, one of Poland's most prosperous cities, a march was staged on Monday, Dec. 14. David Binder, *New York Times* reporter in Bonn, Germany, wrote on Dec. 16 that "Ac-

cording to a member of the Swedish consulate in Gdansk, the troubles started Monday when a group of about 500 workers and young people, some of them apparently students, staged a protest march that ended in a mass sit-down in the market.

"The report said that Gdansk firemen tried to break up the demonstration with water cannon. Apparently they succeeded for the moment, but then clashes broke out."

A report from AP's Warsaw correspondent, carried in the Dec. 17 *New York Post*, stated that according to a Western diplomat who was in Gdansk Monday, "Shipyard workers were marching peacefully in the city Monday afternoon to protest increases averaging 20 percent in the government price of food, fuel, clothing and other commodities.

"Police, seeing they were outnumbered

by the demonstrators, panicked and started shooting. This triggered demonstrations all over the city. An angry mob singing the Communist Internationale attacked the party headquarters and also tried to burn down the railway station."

Writing from Warsaw on Thursday morning, Dec. 17, the same correspondent reported that "the fighting between street crowds and police was dying down, but that a sit-in by workers in factories and shipyards was under way. Miners in Silesia, in southwest Poland, also reportedly struck in sympathy with the Gdansk workers."

What direction events will take is not clear. But it is obvious that the government's arbitrary price boosts are deepening the bitter opposition of the working class to Poland's privileged bureaucratic regime.