

# THE MILITANT

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

## Charged with aiding Nixon **Raza Unida leaders blast McGov smear**

— page 5



Antiwar demonstrators protest Nixon's visit to Atlanta, Oct. 12. Phoriness of Nixon's political spectacular was marked by the giant machines that shredded and blew tons of paper on the motorcade. Story on page 5.

## **Special feature, pages 13-16: Meaning of PRG 7-point program**

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Jenness defends Raza Unida parties
- Pulley backs struggle for student rights
- 4 Auto strikes provoked by speedup drive
- 5 Raza Unida leaders blast McGov smear
- 9 United action can defend right to abortion
- 10 Round-up of parties' ballot status
- 11 Ruling in Ft. Dix GI rights case to be appealed
- 12 CP defends political persecution in Czech.
- 13 PRG 7-point program
- 17 Young socialists enlist support for SWP campaign
- 18 Sub drive at half-way mark
- 19 U.S. moves toward trade warfare
- 21 Sara Rosenshine: 1907-1972
- 24 U.S. keeps up bloody attack on Indochina

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 American Way of Life
- National Picket Line
- 8 Great Society
- Women in Revolt
- By Any Means Necessary
- 18 Militant Gets Around
- 20 In Review

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Australian high school demonstrations
- 2 Political defeats for Catholics in N. Ireland
- 4 Left Caucus in Canadian NDP adopts program

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 36/NUMBER 39  
OCTOBER 27, 1972  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—OCT. 18, 1972

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: DOUG JENNESS  
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486.

Southwest Bureau: 11071/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone: (213) 463-1917.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: Domestic, \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**FOCUS ON ARGENTINE DICTATORSHIP:** The October-November issue of the *USLA Reporter*, the publication of the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), is now available. This issue focuses on the military dictatorship in Argentina, but there are also articles on political prisoners in Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Ecuador. The *USLA Reporter* can be obtained by sending 25 cents to USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N. Y. 10011.

**NEUTRAL ON THE SIDE OF ISRAEL:** An advertisement in the Oct. 12 *Village Voice* that appears in the form of an open letter to Nixon and McGovern calls on them to create a "new policy" in the Middle East. Signed by a variety of liberals, radicals, and pacifists, many of whom have been associated with the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, the open letter calls for the maintenance of a "free and independent Israel" along with "an arrangement which assures comparable freedom and independence for the Palestinian people."

The signers explain that they deplore the demands of the Palestinians for the abolition of Israel. They suggest instead that the Palestinians should be content with a state composed of the east and west banks of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip.

A comparable proposal would be for these people to urge U. S. to support a solution in South Africa in which the Bantustans set up by that government would have the status of independent countries, and the rest of South Africa, a country stolen from the majority of its population by European settlers, would be recognized as "a free and independent" state, "secure in its existence."

Signers of the open letter include Norma Becker, Barbara Bick, Douglas Dowd, Paul Jacobs, Dwight MacDonald, Dave McReynolds, Stewart Meacham, and Arthur Waskow.



Basis for the Israeli state was the expulsion of the majority of the native Palestinian inhabitants. Recognition of 'Israel's right to exist' means support for this injustice.

**JUSTICE FOR ALL:** Although the U. S. government has spared no effort or expense in the prosecution of such "conspirators" as Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, the Harrisburg defendants, and Angela Davis, it still refuses to convene a federal grand jury to investigate the shootings at Kent State in May 1970. The parents of the four martyred students have once again asked that the investigation of the massacre at Kent State be reopened. They brought suit in federal court on Oct. 14.

**FRENCH DEMOCRACY IN ACTION:** On Oct. 4 Tariq Ali, a leader of the world Trotskyist movement, was traveling by train from London to Brussels via Dunkirk. The Oct. 7 issue of *Rouge*, the newspaper of the French Communist League, reports that as the train passed through France, Ali was taken off the train by French police and held all day at Lille. All of his documents were taken and photocopied, and he was forbidden to call a lawyer. He was put back on the train to Brussels after receiving a notification from the French Minister of the Interior forbidding him to enter France because his presence "threatens public order."

**CIRCULATION OF THE RADICAL PRESS:** The average paid circulation of *The Militant* over the last year has been 24,605 papers per issue, an increase of 5,549 over 1971. The circulation of the *Daily World* increased by 1,049, to a total of 26,094. The *People's World*, the West Coast voice of the Communist Party, has a circulation of 7,215 an increase of 552. The *Guardian* increased its circulation by only 382, to 18,487.

**FARM WORKERS SUE LABOR DEPARTMENT:** On Oct. 6, agricultural workers, civil rights groups, and farm worker organizations filed suit against the U. S. Labor Department. Their charges against the department, according to the Oct. 7 *New York Times*, included "the assignment of migrants to growers who violated minimum wage laws, provided illegally substandard housing,

disregarded health and safety regulations and blacklisted workers who complained."

"The suit charged that the harvesters, mostly black or Mexican-American, were denied counseling and job training that the state employment services provide for whites, were arbitrarily restricted to low-paying field work, were assigned to racially segregated housing . . . and were referred to growers who failed to make Social Security payments to their accounts."

Although a 10-month study recently completed by the Labor Department admitted these practices, they have not been abolished and no funds have been withheld from local and state agencies guilty of them. One official quoted in the *Times* explained that "everything can't be done overnight."

**POSTAL WORKERS MARCH IN L.A.:** Ken Evenhuis writes from Los Angeles that about 800 postal workers staged a march and rally there on Oct. 9 to protest the deteriorating conditions they face under the reorganized postal service. The marchers demanded full union rights, including the right to strike, and the repeal of legislation curtailing their right to engage in political activity.

Initiated by Los Angeles carriers, the action was endorsed by the State Association of Letter Carriers-NALC, the State Association of the American Postal Workers Union, and the L. A. and Orange County Labor Councils.

**APATHY AND ANIMOSITY:** Those are the feelings of the Black community in Detroit toward the police department there, according to the Oct. 2 *Newsweek*. This is still the case, admits *Newsweek*, despite an intensive advertising campaign in the press and the plastering of Detroit's inner city with "Black-oriented recruiting posters." Both the ads and the posters are designed to change the image of the Detroit police and induce more Blacks to join the force.

Although *Newsweek* tries to portray the Detroit drive as a success, the figures it gives show that in the last 18 months only 26.5 percent of the police hired were Black. While this is up from the 1970 figure of 20.4 percent, it comes nowhere near the comparative percentage of Blacks in Detroit's population (45 percent). Nor will this level of recruitment soon be reflected in the overall composition of the police force, which is only 14 percent Black.

**PROOF POSITIVE:** The Oct. 11 *New York Times* ran a little squib designed to prove that not all American functionaries in Indochina are bad. Under the head of "Un-Ugly American Helps Tribesmen," the *Times* says: "He is loud, aggressive and gregarious. He slaps people on the back, gets noisily drunk and takes off his shirt in public when he's hot."

"By all rights he is the quintessential ugly American." But it's not so, says the *Times*. The proof? ". . . the fierce Meo mountain tribesmen of Laos call him 'Mister Pop' and their chiefs' wives wash his feet when he goes to bed at night."

## Special issue

Next week's *Militant* will be a special 32-page issue with expanded coverage of the Socialist Workers election campaign. Areas wanting to order extra copies to sell should fill out the coupon on page 18 or call the business office, (212) 929-3486.

### WHAT ABOUT WOMEN WHO WANT ABORTIONS?

On Oct. 16 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled 8 to 1, with Justice William O. Douglas dissenting, that the Connecticut anti-abortion law could stay in effect until the high court finally rules on the constitutionality of laws prohibiting abortion. The Connecticut law, which permits abortion only to save the life of a woman, was declared unconstitutional on Sept. 20 by a U. S. district court. Lawyers for the state of Connecticut argued that the state "should not be placed in a state of limbo while it seeks to have this ruling reviewed by the court."

**D.C. PRISONERS REBEL:** On Oct. 11, 182 men imprisoned in the Washington, D. C., jail seized 10 prison guards as hostages. They later took D. C. Corrections Director Kenneth L. Hardy hostage as well. The Oct. 13 *Washington Post* quotes the immediate reaction of Deputy Corrections Director Charles M. Rogers, who said, "If there's one shot, we're going in there and shoot all 182 of them."

However, officials agreed to set up a special hearing on prisoners' grievances before federal Judge William B. Bryant. That, together with promises to ease the overcrowding in the jail, the long delays between arrest and trial, poor conditions at the jail, and a pledge by Hardy that there would be no reprisals for the action, convinced the prisoners to release the hostages.

—DAVE FRANKEL



# Jenness defends La Raza Unida parties in Houston debate with Chicano Democrat

By PEGGY BRUNDY

HOUSTON, Oct. 15 — Leonel Castillo, Democratic city comptroller of Houston, debated Linda Jenness here today at the University of Houston.

The subject of the debate was "Is the Democratic Party the Way for Radical Change?" About one-third of the audience of 80 were Chicanos. Much of the discussion centered on the role of La Raza Unida Party in Texas.

"The formation and growth of La Raza Unida parties in the Southwest

that I speak to say, 'Boy, we really like the Raza Unida Party. They're going to help us.'"

This estimate of the RUP is like the national Democratic Party's policy toward any party or movement independent of them. Just this past week George McGovern accused the RUP of being in the pay of Nixon. And at campus meetings, McGovern supporters sometimes charge Jenness with helping to reelect Nixon.

"This is an old trick," Jenness ex-

lesser-evilism and working and voting for their own interests.

"I wonder what you would have done in 1840," Jenness asked Castillo, "when the Abolitionists ran against the proslavery parties. The Abolitionists got fewer votes proportionally than the SWP did in 1968. Would you have voted for the Abolitionist Party? Or would you have stuck with the two major parties and voted for one proslavery candidate or another proslavery candidate?"

The *Houston Chronicle* and local radio stations covering the debate pointed out that Castillo said he was going to "stick with the party slate" in the Texas gubernatorial race and support Democratic candidate Dolph Briscoe over La Raza Unida candidate Ramsey Muñiz.

At a Houston SWP campaign fundraising banquet held Oct. 14, Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for governor, reiterated the SWP position on the Raza Unida Party. "The SWP urges people to support La Raza Unida Party, and to vote Raza Unida for those posts for which the SWP is not running candidates."

About 90 campaign supporters from San Antonio, Houston, Austin, and other cities in Texas contributed \$237 at the banquet. Three GIs kicked off the collection with their donation of \$50.

Before coming to Houston, Jenness stopped in Austin, Texas, where she was greeted by some of the largest, most enthusiastic audiences of her campaign tour. More than 1,000 people came to hear her speak at various Austin meetings; 20 endorsed the SWP campaign; and five asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

At the University of Texas in Austin, the crowd of 200 interrupted her several times with applause and cheers. When the local SWP campaign manager asked for donations to help build the campaign, one person rushed out of the room and came back with

a \$20 bill. A total of \$67 was collected.

On Oct. 11, the day after McGovern's TV statement on his Vietnam policy, Jenness spoke to students at the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public

Continued on page 22



Militant/Derek Jeffers

Austin, Texas, SWP campaign supporters organized car caravans to meet presidential candidate Linda Jenness at the airport, Oct. 9.

is a very significant step," Jenness said. "The Chicano people are setting an example for other oppressed nationalities."

Castillo, who likes to refer to himself as "Houston's number-one Mexican American," made clear his opinion of the Chicano party in response to a question from the audience.

"I think," he said, "that the net result of it right now is to help President Nixon. Many of the Nixon people

plained. "It is based on the assumption that there is a basic difference between Nixon and McGovern, or at least that McGovern and the Democrats are a little bit better for the country."

"It has been used for many years to keep people from standing up and saying, 'We're going to vote for our own, we're going to fight for our own, and we're not going to build those parties that have been responsible for our oppression.' They are rejecting

## Pulley meets Black supporters

# Backs Detroit struggles for student rights

By DERRICK MORRISON

DETROIT, Oct. 17 — "Regardless of what Nixon or McGovern may promise us, there is no reason to believe what either of them say as it relates to the problems of the oppressed," Andrew Pulley told a campaign rally here tonight.

Pulley, the Socialist Workers vice-presidential nominee, cited the example of McGovern, who overnight abandons the positions he has taken the day before. "It is absolutely impossible for a capitalist politician to be honest speaking to working people, Blacks, Chicanos, women, Puerto Ricans, or any other section of the oppressed, or to be able to tell the truth about who profits from racial oppression, who profits from the oppression of women, who is the criminal and the real terrorist in the Middle East."

While Nixon orders the bombing of Indochina, Pulley pointed out, it is McGovern and the Democratic Congress that passes appropriations to assure the continuation of the barbaric war.

Pulley attacked both Nixon and McGovern for their opposition to the repeal of all anti-abortion laws. He extended his support to the Michigan Abortion Referendum, which calls for the legalization of abortions performed through the twentieth week of preg-

nancy. The referendum will be on the Nov. 7 ballot here.

Pulley told the rally that no meaningful "goods and services" will come to the Black community out of support for Nixon or McGovern. The fact that Dr. Charles Hurst of Malcolm X College gets a few crumbs from the Nixon administration and that D.C. Congressional Delegate Walter Fauntroy gets promises of crumbs from McGovern in no way solves the problems of Black people, Pulley stated. "It is impossible to serve the community through the Democratic or Republican parties."

More than \$500 was raised at the rally.

Pulley also met today with three supporters of the SWP campaign from the virtually all-Black Mumford High School. The three are involved in a campaign to win recognition for African-Americans for Jenness and Pulley at the school. The principal at Mumford turned down the AAJP's request for recognition in September, even though the group met all the formal requirements.

"We had a press conference Monday, Oct. 16," said Trudy Hawkins, "and the *Detroit News*, one of the major newspapers in the city, and the *South End*, the campus daily at Wayne State University, covered it. We turned

in [to the principal] 500 signatures on petitions which stated that students at Mumford supported the right of African-Americans for Jenness and Pulley to be recognized.

"We were again refused, and the principal said he was going to send the petitions to the board of education's lawyer," Hawkins continued.

"We collected the signatures in about two weeks," said Archie Matthews. The signature total represents more than one sixth of the entire student body.

The SWP candidate for Congress from Michigan's 1st C.D., Maceo Dixon, addressed more than 700 students at Mumford on Oct. 3. He helped obtain scores of signatures on the petitions and won new supporters for the Jenness-Pulley ticket. According to Dixon, "many students took petitions right there and started circulating them."

On the next day, the Student-Parent-Faculty Council (SPFC) endorsed the petition at the request of the AAJP. The principal, somewhat upset, sent a student emissary to the next SPFC meeting to overturn this decision. The attempt failed.

Representatives of the SPFC and the Association of Black Students (ABS) at Mumford joined the AAJP at the Oct. 16 news conference.

Although the Board of Education

issued a ruling in 1970 prohibiting political organizations in the schools, Black student groups have always been active. Last spring at predominately white Redford High School, students went to federal court and obtained a favorable ruling on their right to organize a chapter of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In view of this precedent, the Mumford AAJP is entering a suit in federal court.

Andrew Pulley flew to Detroit after touring Chicago, where he spoke to an outdoor rally at the Civic Center on Oct. 13. A federal court had just ruled Oct. 4 that the SWP has the right to hold public rallies at the center.

At an SWP campaign rally in Chicago the following evening, \$1,350 was donated by the more than 100 supporters who attended. Pulley also spoke to students at Malcolm X College, where his meeting was sponsored by Project Raise, an ex-prisoners' group.

During his tour of Ohio on Oct. 10 and 11, Pulley addressed more than 100 students at Kent State University. He also held a meeting at Shaker Heights High School, which was jointly organized by Students for Black Identity and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

## Jenness on TV

Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate, will appear on the "For Women Today" show on WBZ-TV, Channel 4, in Boston on Oct. 26 at 12:30 p.m.

Jenness will be interviewed on the CBS "Morning News with John Hart" TV show on Oct. 27. Eastern Time: 7 to 8 a.m. Viewers in other zones should check their local listings.

Another interview with Jenness will appear on KYW-TV "Eyewitness News" in Philadelphia at noon, Oct. 24.

She will also appear on WCAU-TV in Philadelphia at 9 a.m., Oct. 30.

## Mass. candidates on TV, radio

Oct. 23: SWP senatorial candidate Don Gurewitz will be heard on radio station WLLH in Lowell, Mass., at 9:15-9:30 p.m.

Oct. 24: SWP congressional candidate Jeanne Lafferty will confront her opponents in the 9th C.D. on WBZ-TV, Channel 4, in Boston at 8 p.m.

Oct. 25: Fred Halstead will represent Linda Jenness on WJIB radio in Boston following the 6 p.m. news.

Oct. 27: SWP candidates will appear on "Catch-44" show on WGBH-TV, Channel 2, in Boston at 8 p.m.

Nov. 1: Jeanne Lafferty will appear on "Tom Larson Show," Channel 38 in Boston, 12 noon-1 p.m.

# Auto strikes provoked by speedup drive

By FRANK LOVELL

OCT. 17—The current strikes in the auto industry which coincide with changes in production schedules for the new 1973 models, are provoked by the big corporations' drive to raise productivity, reduce the size of the work force, and lower unit labor costs.

The number of strikes and threats of strikes and the shifting strike pattern all reflect the hesitant, cautious response of the uneasy top leadership of the United Auto Workers.

On Oct. 13, the 8,500-member UAW Local 25 in St. Louis closed the giant General Motors assembly plant there. On the same day, UAW locals closed two other GM plants, the main Fisher Body stamping plant in Mansfield, Ohio, and the assembly plant in Doraville, Ga., a suburb of Atlanta.

Strike deadlines were set for more GM plants—the Buick division plant in Flint, Mich., (Oct. 16); the assembly plants in Fairfax, Kan., (Oct. 19); and those in Jamesville, Wis., and Arlington, Texas (Oct. 20). Strike notices were also served on GM plants in Baltimore, Md., and Wilmington, Del.

A strike was called Oct. 17 against the Ford Motor Company's axle plant in Sterling, Mich., near Detroit.

UAW officials said the Ford strike was independent of the others but announced that the strikes against GM were part of a defense strategy developed by the union's 350-member GM Council at an emergency session in Detroit, Sept. 29. At that meeting UAW Vice-President Irving Bluestone announced that action would be taken to force an early settlement of production schedules and speedup.

The strikes at the GM assembly plants in St. Louis and Doraville, and at the parts plant in Mansfield, were called off almost as soon as they began. These "weekenders," which started on Friday and ended Tuesday, were apparently intended as a show of strength.

The Flint strike was settled before the deadline.

Like all major strikes in the auto industry during the past two decades, these GM strikes are part of negotiations and are called on and off by agreement at the negotiating table, not by the strikers.

The walkout in St. Louis was scheduled for 9 a.m. so that workers could

pick up their pay checks before leaving, and the GM accounting department obliged by having the checks ready before the appointed hour.

The back-to-work moves were said to result from shifts at the bargaining table by local GM managements, although top UAW officials did not claim that any concessions had been granted, that any grievances had been settled, or that any previously laid-off workers had been rehired.

The Oct. 16 *Wall Street Journal* reported that UAW President Leonard Woodcock had said that locals might strike for a few days and then return to work, even if the issues leading to the strike were not resolved. Woodcock was quoted as saying, "we



UAW's Leonard Woodcock and Irving Bluestone. Their agreement 'in principle' to auto makers' drive for increased productivity cripples fight against speedup.

were not going to let any local almost bleed to death as GM tried to do at Norwood."

The 174-day strike at GM's Norwood, Ohio, plant ended Sept. 27 without settlement of grievances against speedup, the loss of 749 jobs, and other layoffs that provoked the strike. It reportedly cost the UAW about \$5-million for strike benefits, weakening the traditional defenses against a renewed company attack next year when the current contract expires.

Top UAW officials want to avoid a repeat performance of the Norwood experience. They think they can keep GM off balance during the present model changeover period by a series of short strikes at different locations and thereby force an overall settlement of the production issue for the coming year.

The Mansfield plant is the key to the UAW's strategic moves. It makes major components for every GM car except the Pontiac Firebird and the Chevrolet Camaro, including cars and trucks assembled in Mexico and Canada. Company officials admit the closing of this plant can effectively halt GM production within two weeks, idling more than half the 400,000 GM workers in the U.S. and others in foreign countries.

Instead of restraining the giant multinational corporation, this spurs it to push ahead with its policy of reorganization, job cutbacks, and increased productivity. The General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) was devised for this purpose, the result

of merging former Chevrolet assembly plants with Fisher Body plants that once operated at the same location but as separate divisions. GMAD now has 18 plants, builds about 15,000 cars and trucks daily, and employs 85,000 workers.

During the past year GMAD management at the St. Louis plant combined operations, eliminated jobs, and cut the total work force by about 1,400 while maintaining the same production schedule. None of these jobs were restored after the weekend strike, and GM negotiators are not discussing this possibility.

The old labor-management relationship in the auto industry has changed, scrapped by the corporations like last year's car model. GMAD set the new style when it began to disregard the specific terms of the UAW contract,

arbitrarily and unilaterally eliminating job classifications and increasing the work load.

The top UAW officials seek to restore the former "cooperative" relationship by making a show of union strength during the current round of new-model negotiations. Never before have such negotiations during the life of a contract been so intense, a fact reflecting the new, tough position of the corporations.

The auto barons feel confident of their drive for greater production with fewer workers because the UAW officialdom agrees "in principle" with corporate production goals. Irving Bluestone, director of the UAW's GM department, says the union supports increased productivity through technological changes and new production methods, but "we object to their drive to have workers produce more by more sweat."

This supine acceptance of greater productivity, which results in growing structural unemployment in the system of capitalist production, is what weakens the union most, disarming the auto workers of their justification for striking. The drive for greater productivity cannot be overcome by a slick-appearing strike-no-strike strategy designed to conserve the union's strike funds for next year's emergency.

The UAW can tie up the GM dynasty in a few days. But the strikers must be in command of their own actions. And a leadership that hopes to win jobs and better working conditions in the auto plants today will have to make these its central demands without regard for the cheaper production needs of the corporations.

These multinational corporations are competing for command of the world market, and they are determined to drive down the living standard of the workers in this country to maintain their competitive position against Japanese and European auto makers.

The only way auto workers can maintain their present standard of living is by digging into corporate profits. This is what the present struggle is all about. The auto workers can win only when they develop leaders who will fight for more jobs, shorter hours, and less speedup now. They cannot go on responding to the dictates of the corporations and postponing decisive union action.

## Lessons of the D.C. teachers strike

By ERICH MARTEL

OCT. 16—As school opened this fall in Washington, D.C., members of the Washington Teachers Union Local 6, American Federation of Teachers, found themselves confronted with the same problems facing teachers in many other school systems. Class sizes were larger because budget cutbacks had reduced the number of teachers. Approximately 500 teaching positions were eliminated since June of this year, and as many as 1,500 have been eliminated since June 1970.

Although policemen and firemen had just received 17 percent pay raises, teachers were being offered a 7 percent raise in two steps: 5 percent this year and 2 percent in September 1973.

Teachers were informed that a scarcity of supplies existed, and students in some classes were told they would have to buy their own books.

After a two-week strike by more than half the city's 7,000 teachers, the city government agreed to allocate funds to hire 182 more teachers and spend \$350,000 more for school supplies.

In the meantime, the District of Columbia Committee of the House of Representatives passed a teacher-salary bill providing for a 7 percent raise retroactive to Sept. 1 and 5 percent effective Sept. 1, 1973.

This new pay package resulted from the prodding of the mayor-commissioner and was a direct response to the strike.

At this writing, the bill has been passed by both houses of Congress. However, it must still be signed by the president and approved by the Pay Board.

The teacher strike in Washington, D.C., demonstrated that the power of mass, united action is necessary to achieve even meager victories.

Democratic and Republican party politicians opposed the strike, but support was expressed in various ways by segments of the community, including college and high school students, workers, welfare mothers, anti-war activists, and senior citizens.

Absent, however, was any political leadership accountable to the citizens of D.C. The city's elected and ap-

pointed leaders, both Democrats and Republicans, attempted to derail the mobilization of the teachers and head off the growing support of the Black community.

D.C.'s leading Black Democrats—Mayor-Commissioner Walter Washington, Congressional Delegate Walter Fauntroy, School Board President Marion Barry, and Human Resources Director Joseph Yeldell—either publicly opposed the strike or by their silence made their real positions clear.

The case of Marion Barry is worth examining. He was elected in November 1971 in a well-financed campaign whose central slogan was "Save the Children." Although school board elections are billed as "nonpartisan," it is public knowledge that Barry is a Democrat and has very close ties with Delegate Walter Fauntroy's Democratic Party apparatus. Barry is also director of Pride, Inc., a federally financed job training program located in Washington, D.C.

Most D.C. residents considered him a progressive alternative to the conservative incumbent, Anita Allen.

Many teachers had hope in his promise to "make this a board open to change." The Washington Teachers Union solidly endorsed him, and many teachers actively campaigned for his election.

Then in the early morning hours before the strike began on Sept. 19, Marion Barry went to the Superior Court of Washington, D.C., and obtained a temporary restraining order prohibiting the strike.

Many teachers were shocked and others were outraged at his overt attempt to break the strike. But it often takes a struggle such as a strike to force politicians to reveal which side they're really on. Here there can be no equivocation or sloganeering. Only two positions are open: for or against. The crucible of the teachers strike forced Barry's real politics to the surface.

Delegate Fauntroy's refusal to endorse the strike reflects the same political thinking. He gave verbal support to the teachers' demands but refused to support the strike.

Continued on page 22



## Republican financing charged

# Raza Unida leaders blast McGov smear

By HARRY RING

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—Leaders of La Raza Unida Party have condemned the smear attack George McGovern made on their party.

McGovern and campaign aides leveled smear charges—with ugly racist overtones—against La Raza Unida Party and unnamed Black "militants."

They charged that Chicano and Black activists who oppose both major parties are in the pay of the Republicans. They asserted that the Sept. 1-4 national convention of Raza Unida parties in El Paso, Texas, refused to support either of the major candidates as a means of helping Nixon and that they had done so in return for federal funding of a medical clinic in Crystal City, Texas, where there is a Raza Unida Party city administration.

Informed of the McGovern charges, Ramsey Muñoz, Raza Unida candidate for governor of Texas, told reporters that McGovern had taken "the low road" in his campaign and was "playing politics with the health needs of Chicanos."

Mario Compean, state chairman of La Raza Unida Party, declared "We still maintain our position that there is no difference between George McGovern and Richard Nixon."

"It really doesn't make any difference to us who gets elected," he added. "Sooner or later, either one of the two is going to have to face the fact that we are a powerful political force and that they will have to deal with us."

"Ever since he won the nomination, McGovern's campaign has gone downhill," Compean observed. "It's just one more proof of this when he resorts to attacking militant groups."

McGovern made his smear charges at an Oct. 6 meeting and news conference in Chicago. They were added to in a follow-up statement by his Illinois campaign manager.

McGovern told a meeting of Black ministers in Chicago that the Republicans were giving money to "militant" Black and Latino groups to oppose voter registration and turnout in heavily Democratic districts.

McGovern refused to disclose the source of this alleged information or even to name the other cities where this was supposed to be happening. At a news conference, the Democratic presidential nominee tried to justify his refusal to substantiate his charges with the assertion that to do so would endanger the lives of those who purportedly made this information available to him.

Resorting to a vicious racist argument, McGovern said that "the type of things that go on . . . in these militant groups is very rough stuff. They don't hesitate to take care of each other for talking out of school. You'll just have to take it on my word that we have information. . . ."

According to the account of this news conference in the Nov. 7 *Los Angeles Times*, one reporter asked McGovern if his refusal to offer facts to back his charges was not the same as the smear method used by the late witch-hunting Senator Joseph McCarthy.

McGovern replied: "The difference is that this is the truth. Joe McCarthy lied when he said that he had lists of known Communists in the State Department. He had no such lists."

Also without a shred of evidence

to point to, McGovern's Illinois campaign manager, Eugene Pokorny, attacked La Raza Unida Party.

Pokorny asserted that a Chicago doctor named Jorge Prieto had told him he had been informed of "an arrangement" between La Raza Unida Party and Republican officials that resulted in federal funds for a new \$1-million health clinic in Crystal City.

Pokorny claimed that Prieto learned of this "arrangement" when he was offered a job as director of the Crystal City clinic.

Escalating the smear charges, Pokorny asserted:

"As is known, La Raza Unida has urged Mexican-Americans to abstain from voting for either of the two major candidates for the Presidency. At their national convention just two weeks ago [The convention was held four weeks previous—H. R.], the party officially decided not to make an endorsement of either candidate. Abstention by Mexican-Americans would obviously hurt the Democratic ticket more than Mr. Nixon."

It is a fact that the Raza Unida convention voted overwhelming not to support either major candidate. But they did so not because of any Republican money floating around the convention but because bitter experience has taught them that both parties are thoroughly racist. They have concluded that the only way the Chicano people can advance their interests and begin to meet their pressing social and economic needs is to build their own political party in opposition to the twin parties of racism.

When McGovern asserts that those

who oppose him from the left are in the pay of the right, he is repeating the classic frame-up charge of every capitalist politician. And when he suggests that Chicanos will oppose Democrats only at the bidding of Republicans he is simply giving evidence that he reeks of racism. The ugliness of the charge is indicated by his use of the term "militants." He uses the word not to indicate uncompromising liberation fighters but as the racist code word for killers.

Embittered by the failures of his campaign, McGovern is now revealing more and more his true colors. At the beginning of the campaign he tried to trick the Chicano people into supporting him with big promises about representation in government. When he saw his offer of tokens failing to bring the expected results, he did not hesitate to hurl mud at La Raza Unida Party—the proudest political accomplishment of the Chicano people in the present historical period.

Richard Falcón, a delegate from Colorado traveling to the Raza Unida convention, was shot down by a New Mexico gas station operator. At that time hopeful of a favorable nod from the Chicano gathering, McGovern was quick to send a message condemning that racist killing. Shortly after the Raza Unida convention refused to buy either him or Nixon, McGovern retracted his condemnation of the killing.

His present scurrilous attack on La Raza Unida Party and his willingness to use the worst methods of McCarthyism and racism only confirm how correct La Raza Unida Party was in rejecting both capitalist candidates.

## Antiwar actions build toward Nov. 18

By DAN ROSENSHINE

OCT. 16—While the Nixon administration continues to bomb the people of Indochina at unprecedented levels, local groups across the country are mounting actions against the war. Antiwar activities this fall will culminate with two actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC)—Oct. 26 picket lines at federal buildings and Nov. 18 mass antiwar demonstrations. Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 actions are now set for 20 cities.

When President Nixon made a West Coast campaign swing on Sept. 27, he was picketed by 15,000 antiwar demonstrators in Los Angeles and more than 500 in San Francisco. On Oct. 12, Nixon was met by 500 Atlanta demonstrators organized by an emergency coalition that included the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition.

Vice-president Agnew was the target of 300 New York demonstrators when he appeared at an Oct. 13 Conservative Party banquet. The demonstration was called by New York NPAC and the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

An Oct. 14 demonstration in New York drew more than 2,000 people. The action was cosponsored by the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and the Oct. 14 Coalition. It was built around two demands: "Stop Nixon" and "Support the Seven-Point Program of the PRG." Oct. 14 actions also occurred in a number of other cities: 3,000 marched in San Francisco, 500 in Los Angeles, 500 in Seattle, and 300 in Portland.

A week-long series of protests occurred at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor over the Oct. 5 sus-

pension of Mark M. Green. Green, an assistant professor of chemistry, had shown his class an antiwar slide show depicting antipersonnel and chemical weapons used by the U.S. in Vietnam. Five hundred students marched to demand Green's reinstatement, and dozens of professors announced they would also show the slides to their classes. On Oct. 12, Green was temporarily reinstated, pending the findings of a committee established to review his case.

The University of Indiana campus in Bloomington provided another example of campus antiwar activity when 150 students launched a "ROTC off campus" campaign on Sept. 22 with a rally and demonstration. The organizations supporting the action included the Student Mobilization Committee and U of I student government.

A number of local antiwar groups are conducting educational activities that center on the U.S. air war and the destruction of Indochina.

The Northern California Peace Action Coalition held an Oct. 7 teach-in attended by 250 people. Featured speakers were E.W. Pfeiffer, coauthor of the *Scientific American* article on the craterization of Vietnam, and Fred Branfman, director of Project Air War.

The Minnesota PAC sponsored a Vietnamese cultural exhibit that was displayed at eight sites in the Twin Cities area and was viewed by more than 2,000 people. A Vietnamese dinner was held as part of the educational week.

The Minnesota PAC is planning an Oct. 21 conference featuring Anthony Russo, defendant in the Pentagon papers case; Katherine Sojourner, NPAC



Militant/Mark Satinoff

New York Peace Action Coalition picket against Vice-President Agnew, Oct. 13.

national coordinator; and Marianne Hamilton, a Minneapolis antiwar activist who recently returned from Hanoi with three released American prisoners of war.

The Chicago PAC has scheduled a Nov. 12 and 13 "Chicagoland Public Hearings on War Crimes in Indochina" as part of the build-up to the Nov. 18 demonstration.

The NPAC national office has issued material publicizing the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 actions, including posters, stickers, buttons, and fact sheets on the war and the economy and on

the air war.

The national Student Mobilization Committee has produced a poster and two issues of the *Student Mobilizer*, one of which is a special educational issue. This issue features a South Vietnamese student's description of political repression in his country, an interview with Daniel Ellsberg, and an article by Yves Lacoste, the French geographer who recently visited North Vietnam.

The address of both NPAC and the SMC is 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 439, New York, N. Y., 10011.

## 'Mau Mau' scare

In a preelection, publicity-catching move, Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan has launched a campaign of racist hysteria against Chicago's Black community.

Making the criminal look like the victim and the victim the criminal, Hanrahan held a news conference Oct. 15 to announce murder charges against eight Black Vietnam veterans, allegedly members of a terrorist gang called De Mau Mau. Later Hanrahan's office announced that the group had a plan to systematically kill white policemen and that it could well be responsible for many of Chicago's unsolved murders.

Reminiscent of the rabid, sensationalist way in which the capitalist-controlled media covered the Attica revolt, the Chicago papers came out with screaming headlines: "Murder Gang 3,000 Strong," and "Report Mass-Killer Gang Plotted to Slay Cops Here."

It can safely be assumed from the past record of the Daley administration that the charges against these Black veterans have been blown up out of all relation to reality in an attempt to place a smokescreen over the real crimes of the Daley administration.

Hanrahan—the chief administrator of "justice" in Chicago—is himself presently on trial for conspiracy to obstruct justice in relation to the Dec. 4, 1969, police raid on the Chicago Black Panther headquarters in which Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed. The Independent Commission of Inquiry that investigated this raid labeled it "slaughter and summary execution" of the Panther leaders.

In a preview of the current scare campaign, Hanrahan prepared for the 1969 raid on the Panthers by first announcing a police "war" on gangs, whipping up fear in the white community against Black youths.

As far as the unsolved murders in Chicago are concerned, a more likely place to look for the killers would be in the Chicago Police Department. A report released by Northwestern University in March revealed that the rate of killings of citizens by Chicago police is "dramatically higher" than in any other U.S. city, with Blacks being the victims of 75 percent of Chicago police killings. According to the study, "a black person was more than six times as likely to die at the hands of police as a white person" in 1970-71.

And Hanrahan, on trial for obstructing justice, is trying to make these professional killer cops out to be the victims.

The frame-up nature of the charges can be surmised from the fantastic statements of the police informer, allegedly a former member of De Mau Mau, who said, "you have to kill a whitey to get into the gang." Did he "kill a whitey" too to become a member? And if so, why isn't he facing charges?

Already the Chicago American Civil Liberties Union has protested that the Black veterans cannot get a fair trial in the context of the hysterical scare campaign concocted by the Daley administration. The Concerned Veterans From Vietnam, a predominantly Black group, has also intervened on behalf of the arrested men, raising a protest over the desperate conditions of unemployment and poverty that Black Vietnam veterans are condemned to.

This "Mau Mau" scare shows the true racist, corrupt face of the Daley-Hanrahan slate in the November elections—a slate that is endorsed wholeheartedly by Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern. Vote Nov. 7 for the party that has consistently opposed the racism of the Democratic Party. Vote for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for president and vice-president, and Norman Oliver for Hanrahan's office of Cook County state's attorney.

## Gov't of crooks

The latest revelations by the *Washington Post* and *Time* magazine, based on information in FBI and Justice Department files, confirms the suspicions long held by many Americans that the top government office-holders in this country are basically crooks. Former Attorney General John Mitchell, former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, and President Nixon have all been directly implicated in the plan to disrupt the Democratic Party campaign.

Nixon's top domestic adviser, John Ehrlichman, responded to these charges by saying that "such activities are the normal course of events in Washington" (as paraphrased in the Oct. 17 *New York Post*). The only thing we can add is that when the Democrats hold the strings of power, they are not known to have any more scruples.

### Atheism

The *Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call* published an article recently stating that in Moscow the Soviet news agency Pravda sharply attacked Communist Party members for taking part in religious ceremonies in widely separated parts of the Soviet Union. The last paragraph quoted Pravda as saying, "Each Communist must become a militant atheist."

I would like to know what is *The Militant's* view on the Pravda statement. Is it a true or false Marxist idea?

My own personal viewpoint is that the Pravda idea is discriminatory and that it is in fact a negative thought based on the function of weakening the masses. I truly believe Marx called for religious tolerance and equality so as to secure the proletariat solidly in nonreligious political action, and not in antireligious heresy.

Gary Yost  
Allentown, Pa.

*In reply*—There are two separate parts to your question. One is whether a workers state should guarantee religious freedom to all citizens. The answer is yes, because workers democracy implies freedom to express and hold any ideas, including religious ones.

The other question is whether a revolutionary Marxist party should make atheism a criteria for membership. The criteria for membership in the Socialist Workers Party is agreement with, and active support of, the political program of the party, since it is a political organization. The SWP would not exclude persons with religious beliefs who agree with its program. In fact, as the revolutionary party grows as the crises of society deepen, it will attract many working people who still have religious ideas but who are committed to fighting for revolutionary change.

The science of Marxism, however, fundamentally contradicts all religious dogmas. Marxism sees religion as similar to stories about ghosts—that is, theories with no confirmation whatsoever in the real world. In addition, Marxists see religion as an instrument of the ruling classes to help convince the masses of people to accept their oppression.

For these reasons, a workers state would encourage scientific thinking and humanist morality through its educational system, helping to free children from the fears and guilts used to instill religious beliefs.

### Social Security

The Social Security increase, as far as Texas residents are concerned, is a typical capitalist farce. A friend of mine just received a letter from the welfare department that said: "Your state assistance check for October will be lowered from \$29 to \$18 due to increased Social Security benefits. If you have had a recent change in your expenses or income, please contact your local worker immediately."

Of all the arrogant, blatant hogwash. "If you have had a recent change in your expenses. . . ! Central Power and Light is increasing the rates about 10 percent. Houston Natural Gas Company is demanding the authority to raise rates any time

they please. Food prices are constantly going up, and water rates are being increased too.

G.J. G.  
Kingsville, Texas

### Subs for prisoners

Enclosed are two subscriptions to your paper for prisoners. We met a representative of your paper while attending the La Causa Convention in El Paso, Texas, and he told us subscriptions could be sent to those subjected to concentration camps in this nation. Hope *The Militant* is allowed through.

A.M.  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

### 7 points vs. Out Now

Dan Rosenshine's expose of the "support the seven-points" campaign (*Militant*, Oct. 13) did much to clarify a dispute that has confused many sincere antiwar activists and is hopefully not the last article on this subject. Many other arguments could be brought to bear against abandoning the "Out Now!" demand.

For one thing, the seven-point peace plan is only the proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. It does not pretend to speak for the National United Front of Cambodia or the other liberation forces in Laos, Thailand, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. An agreement in Vietnam might mean intensified U.S. activity in those countries unless we continue to mount effective actions for total U.S. withdrawal from all of Southeast Asia.

Hypnotized by the PRG label, many young activists equate support for the seven points with support for the people of Indochina. Acting as if the U.S. were a third party to the conflict, they confuse being a "cheerleader" for the revolutionary forces with organizing effective, concrete actions to help those forces by uniting the great majority of Americans who oppose the war machine but are still confused about imperialism.

It would be interesting to see a listing of all the gimmicks and shortcuts (like the "People's Peace Treaty") that have been counterposed to the "One-Point Peace Plan: Out Now!" so often over the years. The seven-point program is only the most recent.

Steve Beck  
New York, N.Y.

### Supports McGovern

With the election period coming up I feel that it is time to respond to *The Militant's* election policy.

I agree with your position that in general the Democrats and Republicans are just plain old capitalists. But the issue in this campaign isn't capitalism vs. socialism, as nice as that would be. The real issue is Nixon or McGovern.

Just what would four years of Nixon mean? It would mean a continuation of four years of Vietnam, Phase II and other antilabor policies, and the whole bit. You say there is no difference between Nixon and McGovern. That just doesn't follow. If all that McGovern does (and it's all that I think he'll do) is end the war in Vietnam, that's enough.

But, you must be saying, McGovern isn't anti-imperialist. No doubt this is true. His Middle East policy proves this. But by pulling out of South Vietnam, what would happen to U.S. imperialism? Either the National





# The American Way of Life

Lee Smith

## What would Sam Adams say?

Liberation Front will take over, or there will be elections and the NLF will win. This would be a defeat for U.S. imperialism as a whole.

Furthermore, I see nothing pointing in the direction that McGovern will not end the war, as you evidently feel. You point out McGovern's senatorial record. This is really deceptive, what you do. Yes, he voted for all those huge appropriation bills. What about the ones he voted against? There were a lot of these.

Finally, you have objections (and correctly so) about McGovern's supporters. I am not proposing that we all work for McGovern, and then (if he won) sit back and let him pull a Johnson (there is nothing to point in this direction, but I guess this is what *The Militant* expects would happen) on us. Uh-uh. I am proposing that the leftist supporters of McGovern work and help his campaign, and if by some Truman-like quirk he gets elected, we should work to get him to keep some of his promises.

Andrew Schulman  
New York, N.Y.

### New reader

My brother and I just got back from visiting some friends (a couple) who are members of the Young Socialist Alliance. While we were there I read the latest issues of *The Militant*, and I was amazed at how badly misinformed I was (by the capitalist press) as to the state of the antiwar and socialist movement. Enclosed is a check for a year's subscription to *The Militant*.

K. E.  
S. E.  
Eugene, Ore.

### Never voted before

At the age of 48 I will be voting for the first time in my life. At the time of World War II, when I was drafted to fight at the age of 18 but was too young to vote, I vowed never to vote until this double standard was corrected, as it now has been.

I never did see any difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. Both are full of empty promises. Both feel threatened; this is evident from the opposition the Socialist Workers Party is getting in some states in getting on the ballot.

I sincerely hope Linda Jenness is our next (and first woman) president. I endorse the goals of the SWP. One reason is your belief in the right of young people and women to run for office. While the GOP and Dems have only a token number of women candidates, half the SWP candidates from president on down to local offices are women. This is no more than right, as 53 percent of the population is female.

N. W.  
Pontiac, Mich.

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.

A social revolution shook the 13 colonies when they threw off the British yoke. Colonial craftsmen and farmers, led by planters and merchants, destroyed feudal property laws, confiscated land and other property without compensation, partially rolled back chattel slavery, disestablished state religion, and adopted the Bill of Rights.

On the 200th anniversary of that social revolution, the decadent class that has inherited power from the revolutionaries of the eighteenth century would rather forget that it was a revolution at all.

The kind of birthday party Nixon and the quasi-public American Revolution Bicentennial Commission have in mind for the U.S. is described in an article by Jeremy Rifkin and Erwin Knoll in the September issue of *The Progressive* magazine (available as a reprint along with other material from The People's Bicentennial Commission, 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Room 1025, Washington, D.C. 20036).

Nixon actually opened the official Bicentennial Era more than a year ago on July 4, 1971, but the celebration will become more obvious to all of us as the climax—the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence—gets closer.

The official, five-pointed Bicentennial emblem is destined to become in the next three years one of the most ubiquitous symbols in advertising history. It will appear on TV, on cigarette lighters and cuff links, on books, balloons, bumper stickers and baseball bats, on pins, posters, pennants and shoulder patches, and in hundreds of other ways and places.

Use of the emblem must be authorized by the ARBC, however, and before giving its okay the commission checks with the Justice Department for "evidence of subversive activities."



## National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

## Suffering in Buffalo Creek

More than 4,000 workers' homes were destroyed and 125 lives were lost in the flash flood at Buffalo Creek, W. Va., last February. Many people are still missing, undoubtedly dead, buried under piles of rubble and mud.

But the death toll was not the only terrible result of that man-made raging torrent of mud, uprooted buildings, and water. Those who died left behind them families still suffering from the horrors of that awful morning.

The Oct. 9 issue of *Time* magazine carries a story about some of the survivors.

Christopher Hopson, 7, was a good first-grade student. He got all A's and B's. This year he stares into the distance, complains of dizziness, and gets D's.

Christopher's mother, Drema, is often in deep depression, becomes alarmed when it rains heavily, and has nightmares in which her two little dead daughters look at her as she sinks into the mud.

Chris was carried to high ground by his father, but Drema, with her two little girls in her arms, was swept down the stream. The babies were torn from her grasp and drowned. Today she suffers from what psychologists call "survival guilt."

One man who lost his wife and children cannot bear darkness. Another survivor who lost two of his family cannot eat.

The West Virginia department of mental health is sending aides into the valley. These aides can do little for the victims—just give them an ear so they can "ventilate their pent-up emotions."

The *Time* article has one drastic misstatement in what is otherwise a gripping story. It says, "seven months after the disaster, much of the physical havoc caused by the flood had been repaired." (Emphasis added.) *Time* magazine is a mouthpiece for the capitalist class, a friend of the coal operators.

Another side of the story is told very graphically in a four-page tabloid published by the Buffalo Creek Massacre Coalition. Subtitled "A Short Textbook in Recent American History," this tightly written paper tells the role of both the Pittston Coal Corporation and the Department of the Interior in settling claims of flood victims.

The Boy Scouts, Daughters of the American Revolution, and American Legion are planning special events and programs. So is Disney World amusement park in Florida.

Sara Lee will be putting out a bicentennial cake. Baskin-Robbins Ice Cream will bring forth a whole new range of patriotic flavors, such as "the Betsy Ross Twirl—red, white, and blue."

Thomas J. Lipton, Incorporated, has planned a \$35,000 tea party for some 200 distinguished guests in Boston. This tea party will not be linked to the 1773 affair in which the Sons of Liberty tossed tea into the harbor, but one where people sit around and drink the stuff poured from silver service.

Fashions, records, automobiles, banks, and insurance companies all have sales and promotional gimmicks to tie into the Bicentennial. And the ARBC is there to help them. As David J. Mahoney, its chairman, says: "We, the businessmen, have much to gain if we take a positive leadership role in the nation's 200th anniversary."

And Nixon, who holds a tight rein on the ARBC, sees patriotism as one of the Bicentennial's most important products. The ARBC plans to build 50 Bicentennial Parks—one in each state, each with a central Bicentennial Plaza topped by a red, white, and blue plastic bubble dome. By 1976, the \$90-million Eisenhower Sports and Convention Center will be completed in the capital to accommodate some of the flag-waving extravaganzas cooked up by the ARBC.

The commission understands its patriotic mission as well as its profit-making one. In a memo to Mahoney last Jan. 25, ARBC Director Jack LeVant stated bluntly that the Bicentennial "could be the greatest opportunity Nixon, the Party, and the Government has as a beacon of light for reunification and light within the nation and with the world."

Pittston has refused to pay Buffalo Creek miners put out of work by the flood, and is finagling to cheat the homeless victims out of their just reparations. In the first three months after the flood, Pittston settled only one \$4,000 claim. It has set up claims offices and asked people who lost everything they owned in the flood to come in "and talk things over," i.e., sign away any claims they have for a pittance, give up their rights to sue the company later, etc.

There are still 2,200 people living in trailer camps because they have no place else to go.

One of the most interesting chapters in the publication is the effect of strip mining on the region's ecology. Chapter three says that "Since the spread of stripmining, particularly in the past five years, the natural flow and control of floodwaters has been completely deranged. Now even a light drizzle erodes the skinned earth. Each heavy rain creates several new rivers in the defoliated hills—a process that used to take centuries."

The Buffalo Creek Massacre Coalition (an arm of the Miners for Democracy, which is an opposition group in the United Mine Workers) has a three-point program to fight these conditions:

"1. Full restitution to the survivors of the Buffalo Creek Massacre by the Pittston Company—not by the taxpayers.

"2. Force Pittston and the other coal companies—not the taxpayers—to spend some of their millions in profits to prevent these man-made disasters.

"3. Prosecution of the Pittston Company to the fullest extent of the law by the Secretary of Interior."

Space does not permit me to even summarize the rest of the contents of this booklet. But if any reader wishes to learn the whole story, copies can be obtained by writing The Buffalo Creek Massacre Coalition, c/o Mauro, Apt. 91, 610 W. 116 St., New York, N.Y. 10025.

In the face of this human havoc, the politicians in Washington have not only ignored the plight of the flood victims. They have cynically maneuvered to kill a bill now before Congress that would, at least to some degree, control strip mining, a partial cause of such disasters.



**Simply lost patience**—The Justice Department filed suit asking that Kansas City, Kan., be required to stop discharging raw sewage into the Missouri and Kansas rivers. Court action came on the heels of 15 years of negotiations.

**Sounds reasonable**—A Senate subcommittee assigned to investigate abuse of consumers issued a 466-page report on what business is doing to aid consumers. For instance Kellogg's, Quaker Oats, and other peddlers of empty calories were cited for their nutrition education programs.

**United Front**—Ford Motor Co. Chairman Henry Ford II joined with Edward Cole, president of GM, in co-chairing a \$1,000-a-plate Detroit dinner for The President.

**Now hear this**—New York City Councilman Michael DeMarco, a Bronx

Democrat, is concerned that a new antinoise ordinance may make Fun City too quiet. "One of the enjoyable things about New York," he said soberly, "is that it's alive, there's lots of noise."

**Dosage going up**—Coffin nail consumption will increase one percent this year. It increased slightly the year previous and is expected to do likewise next year. "The increases are small, but the tobacco industry is encouraged," reported U.S. News & World Report. We hear the morticians were also heartened.

**Creeping socialism**—The federal government picked up the tab for replacing the heating system in President Nixon's San Clemente home. The taxpayers were billed because the old heater was "in such a condition that it was a threat to the president's safety," a secret service spokesman explained. He couldn't take a bath?

**Carolina takes stiff stand**—That North Carolina mortician who has been holding a corpse 61 years because he only received a deposit on the burial may lose out. After careful research the attorney general of North

Carolina announced that English common law—which he contends is applicable in North Carolina—"appears to require a decent burial of all human bodies."

**A story we didn't get to cover**—The makers of Seagram's 7 Crown tossed a three-day, \$100,000 bash for their distributors and star salespeople. Whiskey flowed like money, but there was little excessive drinking reported. "Candy makers aren't necessarily fat," one blase dealer explained. "We're used to the stuff."

**Have a nice day**—Senator Edward Kennedy is proposing a Worker Alienation Research and Technical Assistance Act. It would seek the causes for worker discontent and suggest remedies. One remedy: it would authorize the Labor Department to "seek assurances that job happiness is considered by federal contractors."



"That's not a terrific satire of a political candidate—that is a political candidate!"

## Women In Revolt

### Cindy Jaquith



## Domestic workers organize

When 30 female domestic workers at Columbia University decided last year to challenge an attempt to fire them, national attention focused on their fight. This fall, strong student and faculty support for the women and the threat of a strike by campus workers forced the university to back down.

Domestic workers recently received more attention in the news when the National Committee on Household Employment (NCHE) held its convention in New York City Oct. 7-9. NCHE has 35 chapters nationally and a total membership of 10,000 domestic workers.

The convention centered on the need to organize the nation's 1.5 million household workers to win job rights.

Ninety-seven percent of these workers are women and two-thirds are Black. Their median age is 46, six years higher than the median age for women in other job categories.

These workers are covered by minimum wage laws in only four states. They are not covered by

the present federal minimum wage law. They earn a median annual income of \$2,072.

The benefits that most other employees receive—such as vacation pay, sick leave, unemployment insurance, and health benefits—do not usually go to household workers. They are eligible for Social Security benefits, but "their employers rarely pay the tax on their behalf, simply to avoid the paperwork," writes Michael Hanrahan in the Oct. 10 New York *Daily News*.

NCHE is planning to file suit soon in the case of a Washington, D.C., domestic worker. Her employer did deduct Social Security payments from her wages, but the payments were mysteriously never recorded with the government.

I talked to Edith Sloan, NCHE's executive director, on the phone recently. She explained that most domestic workers are not hired through agencies but find their jobs by word of mouth or through newspaper ads. The fact that they are divided from one another in different households makes it all the more difficult for them to win improvements in their working conditions.

"The only way they're ever going to be able to get [higher] wages and similar benefits is for them to stick together," Sloan said. She hopes NCHE will eventually become a union.

NCHE was a sponsor of the Aug. 26 activities in Washington, D.C., commemorating the winning of women's suffrage. NCHE members have also been active in support of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

Domestic workers, traditionally among the most downtrodden and ill-treated employees in this society, have clearly been influenced by the concepts of self-pride and militancy articulated by the women's liberation and Black liberation movements. One of the threads running through the NCHE convention was the demand of delegates that they be respected as human beings by their employers and by everyone else.

Edith Sloan summed up their fighting spirit when she told the final session, "This is the time to act, this is the time for our voices to become stronger, louder, and clearer."

## By Any Means Necessary

### John Hawkins



## Funds needed for Black schools

In a front-page article headlined "State Overhaul Proposed for Secondary Education," the Oct. 13 *New York Times* reported some of the findings and recommendations of the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education.

According to the *Times*, the commission, chaired by attorney Manly Fleischmann of Buffalo, N.Y., proposed a "fundamental reorganization of the state's secondary schools to end a system that leaves tens of thousands of graduates 'with neither the prospect of continued study nor a marketable skill' . . ."

Exactly how "fundamental" the proposed "reorganization" would be can be gathered from the Commission's major recommendations. For seventh through tenth grade students the commission proposed "a course of study built around a core curriculum of reading, English composition and mathematics." Eleventh grade students would be given the choice of vocational training, the current academic curriculum, or an intensified program of study in preparation for early college entrance.

The vocational curriculum would emphasize "professional and technical" skills in keeping with a projected 66 percent increase in demand for such

workers by 1980. The intensified program for early college entrance would be designed to accommodate only a small number of students.

It will take a great deal more than the Fleischmann Commission's proposed curriculum modifications to improve the quality of education in New York's Black community. While 60 percent of the city's student population is Black and Puerto Rican, only 9 percent of the 62,000 teachers and 37 of 969 principals are Black or Puerto Rican.

In many schools in the Black community students are forced to sit two-to-a-chair in class. Texts and classroom furniture ordered *two years ago* have not yet been delivered. School buildings themselves are in a state of advanced disrepair: in Brooklyn alone 26 buildings lack any or adequate fireproofing. And while the Fleischmann Commission piously bemoans the widespread use of drugs by New York secondary school students, school administrators in Brooklyn are drugging elementary school students with Ritalin because they are supposedly "hyperactive."

What is needed to secure quality education for New York's Black students is a massive program of federal funds for schools in the Black community

and Black community control over all aspects of school functioning. In order to implement Black community control of the schools, democratically elected community school boards will need to be created. Such community school boards should have the final power to decide school curriculum; the hiring and firing of teachers, administrators, and other school personnel; and the allocation of school funds.

The funds needed to rebuild the schools in the Black community, to expand the staff of the schools, and to provide free or inexpensive texts and other school materials can be obtained from a number of sources. What comes to mind immediately is the \$30-million wasted every day to devastate the countries of Southeast Asia.

While the state of New York was willing to pay the Fleischmann committee \$1-million simply to make its recommendations, such generosity will not be shown those who seek to win the Black community control of Black education. Black community control of the schools will be won through the self-organization of our community and through united action to force the implementation of our demand.



## N.Y. abortion-law debate sharpens

# United action can defend right to abortion

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK — Although the New York State legislature does not begin its next session until January 1973, both sides in the struggle over the N.Y. abortion law are already preparing for battle.

"We must challenge the new barbarians — these tigers at the gate — who deny the precious unborn their share of the blessings of tomorrow" screamed an ad by the Non-Sectarian Committee for Life, Inc. in the Oct. 8 *New York Times*.

This group is one of several involved in the reactionary campaign to make abortions illegal again in New York. The ad appeared during "Respect for Life Week," called by the Catholic Church hierarchy.

In defense of the right to abortion, the Women's National Abortion Ac-

tion Coalition (WONAAC) is sponsoring hearings on abortion in New York and other cities during the next two weeks. The hearings are aimed at exposing the laws and institutions that deny women the right to control their own bodies.

New York State's law allows abortions up through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. Last spring anti-abortion forces succeeded in forcing both the State Senate and the State Assembly to pass a bill calling for repeal of the liberalized law. Governor Nelson Rockefeller's veto of the bill preserved the right to abortion temporarily.

But the anti-abortion forces vowed at that time that they would mount an even bigger campaign for the next legislative session. Respect for Life Week was their opening gambit.

While the right wing prepares its next assault, there is a growing willingness to engage in actions defending the right to abortion. Endorsers of the New York abortion hearings, for example, include the Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board; Mary Lindsay; the National Professional Women's Caucus; Larry Lader of the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws; and the Council on Abortion Research and Education.

A new group, Citizens for Abortion Rights and Religious Liberty, has just been formed. Leaders of this organization include such prominent individuals as New York City Human Rights Commissioner Eleanor Holmes Norton; Reverend Howard Moody, the pastor of Judson Memorial Church; and New York Civil Liberties Union head Ira Glasser.

Norton has been attacked for serving as cochairwoman of the new group while holding a city office. She replied that no one "will silence me as a forceful advocate, particularly for the rights of Black and Puerto Rican and poor women who are the chief beneficiaries of the liberalized law."

These and other developments show the potential that exists for mobilizing large numbers of New Yorkers in defense of the right to abortion. The

question that remains is how to organize that potential into the most powerful force possible.

Several lessons can be drawn from the experience of last spring. As *Ms* editor Gloria Steinem pointed out at a recent WONAAC news conference, "I don't think we understood the force and strength of the 'Right-to-Lifers' until last year." It is now clear that the opponents of abortion are wealthy and powerful. The threat they pose cannot be lightly dismissed.

Second, the power of mass action was demonstrated by the April 16 march of 10,000 people against the liberalized law. This action probably had the single most important impact on the state legislature.

Supporters of the right to abortion held a march on May 6 that brought out 1,500 to 2,000 people. WONAAC was the chief organizer of this demonstration.

The modest size of the May 6 action, compared with the right wing's march, did not reflect lack of support for legal abortion. The main reason for the limited response to the anti-abortion movement's attack was the inability of abortion rights and women's liberation groups to unite in action.

The two largest women's groups, the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Women's Political Caucus, had thrown their energies into primary campaigns and did not mobilize their memberships to march on May 6. Some leaders in the women's movement, such as Betty Friedan, later expressed the belief that campaigning for legislators who "vote right" is the best way to win legal abortion.

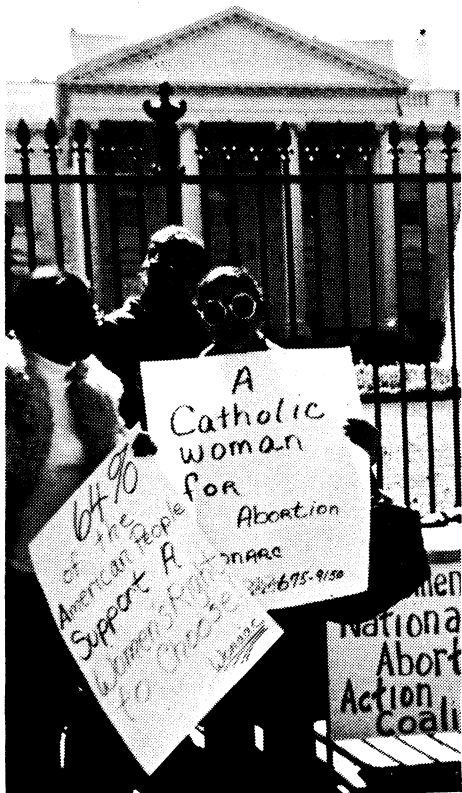
Since then, the rejection of abortion rights planks at both the Democratic and Republican conventions has helped convince a number of abortion activists that independent political action is necessary.

The abortion rights movement must begin preparing now for a show of strength as soon as the New York State legislature opens. The right wing will be prepared with its bills, lobbyists, and demonstrators; supporters of

the right to abortion must be visible in even larger numbers.

No one abortion rights group or feminist organization has the strength at this time to singlehandedly bring thousands of New Yorkers into action. But if all these organizations were united around a common plan of action, they could carry out an aggressive campaign of picket lines, mass demonstrations, news conferences, and other actions that would show where the majority of New Yorkers stand.

Such a united response to the right wing's threat is essential not only to defend abortion rights in New York but on a national scale as well. The eyes of the whole country will focus on New York next January, when the abortion law debate begins in earnest. Building a strong abortion rights movement in New York will be a big step forward for the struggle against anti-abortion laws everywhere.



Militant/Betsey Whittaker

Abortion rights activists picketed the White House Oct. 11 during U.S. Supreme Court session that heard challenges to the anti-abortion laws in Texas and Georgia. The picket line was organized by WONAAC.

## Abortion rights victory in France

The French abortion rights movement won a victory Oct. 11 when a juvenile court in Bobigny, a suburb north of Paris, freed a 17-year-old woman charged with having had an illegal abortion. A demonstration for free and legal abortion drew 250 people outside the courthouse.

According to Gisèle Halimi, a leader of the abortion rights movement in France, between 500 and 600 women are convicted every year for having illegal abortions.

The overwhelming majority of these cases involve working-class women. The Oct. 12 *New York Times* said that according to Halimi, "of 100 women brought to trial for abortion, 26 are housewives without employment, 35 are stenographers or typists, 15 are salesgirls, 16 are employed in teaching or in laboratories, 5 are factory workers and 3 are students."

# Funds needed to aid Lawton defense case

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — An all-white jury was selected Oct. 13 in the frame-up murder trial of Black activist Gary Lawton and two codefendants.

The prosecution was expected to begin presenting its testimony within a few days. Meanwhile, defense efforts are seriously jeopardized by a lack of money.

A leader in the Black community in Riverside, Lawton was charged with the ambush shooting of two policemen in April 1971. Two youths, Nehemiah Jackson, 21, and Larrie Gardner, 20, were later indicted as being involved with Lawton. The evidence is completely circumstantial and is supported only by the conflicting allegations of several police witnesses of the most dubious character.

The trial was transferred to the desert town of Indio on alleged grounds of security. Indio is about 25 percent Chicano and only about 1 percent Black. On a jury panel of about 300, there were only two Blacks. Both were eliminated by preemptory prosecution challenge. Some 10 percent of the panel is Chicano, but all prospective Chicano jurors have been excluded by prosecution challenges.

The defense is being conducted with

the most meager sums of money in a situation where the nature of the case requires significant amounts if there is to be an adequate defense. Kenneth Thomas, Henry Nelson, David Epstein, and John Mitchell are the defense attorneys.

Much of the prosecution case must be refuted by expert testimony. Fees and travel expenses for expert witnesses amount to a great deal. Simply to refute police claims as to the alleged result of ballistics tests would cost sev-

eral thousand dollars.

One example of what the defense is up against came when two expert witnesses were brought to Indio to testify as to the validity of the police lie-detector test administered to Gary Lawton. (Lawton passed three such tests.) Even though the presiding judge, Warren Slaughter, knew the polygraph experts were being brought to court that day, he announced, after they were there, that he would consider the matter at a later date. This cost the defense \$1,000.

The fact that individuals who can usually be looked to for financial aid in such frame-up cases as this one are involved in the election campaigns has made the financial crisis of the defense particularly acute.

"People are involved in the elections at a crucial period for us," explained Barbara Zahm of the defense committee staff. "We might have to drop our motion to admit the polygraph results as evidence because we may not have the money to bring the experts back a second time."

Other parts of the defense case may have to be dropped too. "They've got us against the wall," Zahm said. "The case is so constructed that you've got

to spend all kinds of money to disprove the bogus evidence that they're just free to throw into the case.

"It will really be a terrible thing," she said, "if we have to sacrifice key things in exposing this frame-up because we don't have the money."

In a society where injustice and oppression is so rampant, there are many causes worthy of support. In this writer's view, the defense of Gary Lawton and his codefendants stand out among them.

Lawton has been in jail, without bail, for more than a year. He has remained steadfast under heavy pressure. Similarly, his wife, Chukia, has played an active, central role in building the defense committee despite the responsibility of caring for her children.

Many young people, Black, Chicano, and Anglo, from the Riverside area and elsewhere have joined in the defense effort without regard to their various and sometimes conflicting political views.

They should have every bit of help possible. Contributions should be sent as soon as possible to: Political Prisoners Defense Committee, 3859 Main Street, Room 22, Riverside, Calif. 92507.



Chukia Lawton

Militant/Harry Ring

# Roundup of parties' ballot status

This chart indicates where the following parties are on the statewide ballot: Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Communist Party (CP), Socialist Labor Party (SLP), and People's Party (PP). The People's Party in some states is known as the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), Liberty Union Party (LUP), or Human Rights Party (HRP).

Arizona	SWP			
California				PFP
Colorado	SWP	CP	SLP	PP
D. C.	SWP*			
Georgia	SWP*			
Idaho	SWP			PFP
Illinois		CP	SLP	
Indiana	SWP		SLP	PP
Iowa	SWP	CP	SLP	PP
Kentucky	SWP	CP		
Louisiana	SWP			
Massachusetts	SWP			
Michigan	SWP	CP	SLP	HRP*
Minnesota	SWP	CP	SLP	PP
Mississippi	SWP			
New Hampshire	SWP			
New Jersey	SWP	CP	SLP	PP
New Mexico	SWP			
New York	SWP	CP	SLP	
North Dakota	SWP	CP		
Ohio		CP	SLP	
Pennsylvania	SWP	CP		
Rhode Island	SWP			
South Dakota	SWP			
Texas	SWP			
Vermont	SWP			LUP
Virginia			SLP	
Washington	SWP	CP	SLP	PP
Wisconsin	SWP	CP	SLP	PP
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>

La Raza Unida Party is running statewide slates of candidates in Colorado and Texas.

The ultraconservative American (Independent) Party has statewide candidates on the ballot in 33 states. The AIP petitioned or met other requirements in eight states. In the other 25, ballot status was the result of the number of votes cast for the AIP in previous elections.

\*The presidential ticket is not certified, but voters in the state will have the opportunity to vote for the party because at least one statewide candidate of the party is on the ballot.

## Seattle Chicanos fight for community center

By ROBIN DAVID

SEATTLE, Oct. 12—The Chicano Community Ad Hoc Committee began its second day of "work-oriented usage" of the abandoned Beacon Hill Elementary School.

Chicanos and their supporters entered the building at 9 a.m. yesterday and stayed overnight to dramatize their demand that the building be turned over to the Chicano com-

munity for a service center. The committee made clear that they want a peaceful demonstration, avoiding any confrontation with the authorities.

According to the group, the center would deal with bilingual and basic adult education, Chicano and Latino health needs, employment, child care, and community relations. The action follows an attempt by the Chicano community to explore the possibility of acquiring the building, which has been vacant for several years. The authorities have shown no particular interest in the project, according to Roberto Maestas, director of the English as a second language program at South Seattle Community College.

So far the board of education has passed the buck to the city government. Both the city council and the

mayor's office have sounded friendly but continue to "investigate" the possibilities of this and other buildings. The real state of affairs became clear at a meeting in the building last night. More than 150 Chicanos and supporters listened to Councilman John Miller and Ed Wood from the mayor's office. After pledging to work for a "Chicano Ethnic Service Center," Miller qualified himself by calling attention to the building's limits: bad plumbing and no central heating. He then said that he would continue to investigate the possibilities. Wood seconded this approach.

Maestas immediately countered with the central question. The Chicano community, not city authorities, must decide on the building. Wood then revealed the city's real attitude, stating, "If you look to the city for support, then the city does have an interest."

Following these and other exchanges a quick discussion was held in Spanish and the decision to stay the night was made.

The ad hoc committee is a broad-based group. It is composed of students and instructors from at least two colleges, people from the community, and members of the Washington State Mexican-American Commission. There was also a cross section of Black, Asian-American, and white supporters present.

This reporter spent part of the day and night in the building to express the SWP's solidarity.

## Suits filed in federal court

# Jenness's ballot right wins broad support

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 18—The National Student Association, the National Student Lobby, the student body president of Howard University, and representatives of the D. C. Statehood Party and the People's Party joined today in protesting the denial of ballot status and equal time to Linda Jenness on the basis of her age.

The protests were registered at a Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) news conference held here to release statements of support for Jenness. The filing of a federal court suit against the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was also announced.

Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, is 31. Ohio and Illinois have ruled that since she does not meet the minimum age of 35 set in the U. S. Constitution for holding the office of president, she is not entitled to a place on the ballot.

The FCC ruled last week that networks do not have to grant Jenness "equal time." This ruling also claims she is not a legally qualified candidate because of her age. The suit filed today challenges that ruling. The Ohio and Illinois decisions are already being challenged in the courts.

"The Democrats and Republicans haven't done anything to meet the demands and needs of youth," Jenness explained to the media. "The presidents elected in my lifetime have all been over 35, but this 'qualification' hasn't prevented them from recklessly endangering the peace of the world through foreign aggression."

CoDEL National Secretary Judy Baumann released some of the hundreds of letters received in support of Jenness's ballot rights, including letters from five members of Congress: Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.), William Clay (D-Mo.), John Conyers (D-Mich.), Charles Rangel (D-N. Y.), and Louis Stokes (D-Ohio).

Charles Hill, Howard University student body president, commented that "it is already difficult for a young Black to choose from among the candidates now in front in most elections." He said Jenness had "unquestionable credentials" and ought to be placed on the ballot. Referring to the constitutional age limit for serving as president, Hill said, "Young Blacks, and indeed young Americans, cannot accept such archaic laws and conditions."

Hill's sentiments were echoed by representatives of the National Student Association and the National Student Lobby. Bob Simmons, speaking for the student lobby group, said that in at least 25 communities in the country youth are the majority. "These youth have the right to elect their peers to represent them," he said.

"As a member of a minority party and a citizen of a city whose residents have virtually no rights, I fully support Linda Jenness's ballot rights," said Charles Cassell, D. C. school board member. He is also the D. C. Statehood Party candidate for non-voting delegate to U. S. Congress.

Cassell said it was time to change a system where "older members of established parties make the laws regarding qualifications of candidates and then decide who is qualified and who is not."

"Young people are the most vital and energetic force in American politics," emphasized Toba Singer, speaking for the Young Socialist Alliance. "Jenness and Pulley stand for the rights of youth."

Chuck Avery, People's Party national secretary, cited a number of examples of young people who have been elected to office recently. Avery defended the right of Jenness and all young people to be candidates. He predicted that if more youth held office, laws would be changed to reflect the concerns of youth.

Frank Somylo, financial secretary and business agent of the D. C. Cooks union, was also present at the news conference in support of Jenness.

Ted Pearson, Communist Party candidate for Illinois lieutenant governor, sent a message to the gathering. "Young people who are being forced to die against their will in Vietnam should certainly have the right to seek election to offices that sign orders sending them there," he wrote. Pearson sharply condemned the Ohio and Illinois rulings.

Other support for Jenness has been received recently from Luis Fuentes, superintendent of schools in New York City's District One; Salvador Luria, Nobel prize winner; Robert Turner, president, California State University Associated Students; the Case Western Reserve undergraduate student organization; and Leland Rayson, Illinois state representative.



Militant/Peggy Brundy

Washington, D.C. school board member Charles Cassell speaks in support of Linda Jenness's ballot rights at Oct. 18 news conference in the nation's capital. Seated behind Cassell are Charles Ehrenreich (l) of the National Student Association, Jenness, and Frank Somylo of the D. C. Cooks union.



# SWP, People's Party, to appeal ruling in Ft. Dix GI rights case

By LARRY SEIGLE

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 13 — Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, held a news conference here this morning in response to yesterday's federal court ruling upholding the Army's right to bar SWP and People's Party candidates from campaigning at Fort Dix in New Jersey.

The case stems from the Army's refusal on Sept. 23 to allow Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, and Dr. Benjamin Spock, People's Party presidential candidate, to enter Fort Dix to campaign on the base.

Jenness announced that her attorney, David Kairys of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, had already prepared the appeal. She said the case would be taken immediately into the Third Circuit Court of Appeals here in Philadelphia.

The socialist candidate called the lower-court ruling a "complete capitulation to the doctrine that the military brass has the right to exercise thought control over citizens in uniform." She told reporters she was "surprised at the extent to which a federal judge allowed himself to be swayed by the Army. It is a chilling example of the power of the Army to circumvent the U. S. Constitution."

Jenness was joined at the news conference by Kairys, and by representatives of Philadelphia Resistance and the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, who are also plaintiffs in the suit.

The lower-court decision is a startling example of the class "justice" being meted out by the federal courts.

Last June, the U. S. Supreme Court in *Flower v. U. S.* ruled that First Amendment rights of free speech (including the right to pass out literature) could not be abridged on portions of Army posts generally open to the public. This decision was then applied by a federal judge in Rhode Island who granted Spock and Jenness the right to campaign on part of the Quonset Point Naval Air Station in that state.

Fort Dix is virtually "open," and the legal precedents are crystal clear in this case. However, the Army is fighting frantically to prevent the application of the ruling, which would allow socialists and other antiwar activists to talk to GIs and distribute literature on bases throughout the country.

A hearing was held in Newark on Oct. 6 before federal Judge Clarkson Fisher, a "liberal" judge. The Army

did its best to convince the judge of the disastrous consequences to "the military mission" if the Supreme Court ruling were upheld.

Colonel Jasper R. Johnson, testifying on behalf of the commander at Fort Dix, offered the following under questioning by Kairys:

"Q. The only thoughts and ideas heard or allowed expressed on the base are ones that are approved by the military, isn't that right?"

A. That is rather broad.

"Q. Tell me why it is too broad."

A. That could lead to a Pandora's box as far as I can see. [Read: To say that might be too clearly unconstitutional—L. S.] What I think I have



Militant/Ellen Lemisch  
GI flashes 'V' sign at supporters of Andrew Pulley and Benjamin Spock when the two candidates attempted to campaign at Ft. Dix on Sept. 23.

tried—what I hope I have said is that if there is a speaker who can further the mission of the base . . . then they are invited down and it deals with something pertaining to our mission and training.

Q. I see. Well, doesn't the war with Vietnam deal with your mission?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Well, what I guess I am trying to get at is isn't it true that the content of what a proposed visitor intends to say is the basis for whether he is allowed to come on or not? If, for instance, he says, 'I intend to urge the soldiers not to use drugs,' that, from what you have said, would be something that the base might favorably look on. . . .

A. That would further our mission, yes.

Q. But if they are to speak against the war in Vietnam . . .

A. That certainly wouldn't forward our mission, would it?

Q. So the content of what they are to say, that is the basis of whether or not they are approved?

A. Yes, to a greater extent."

Later, Kairys asked the base provost marshal what kind of literature was allowed:

"Q. Assume someone wanted to distribute copies of *The Militant*, which is a newspaper that is very much opposed to the war in Vietnam. Can they set down their piles of *The Militant* next to the piles of the *New York Times* for sale?"

A. No, because there is a certain procedure. . . .

Q. And does that involve approval as to the content of the publication?

A. That I could not say. I know that there is a procedure; you must go through the adjutant general.

Q. Do you know the procedure? Do you have to submit copies?

A. No, I think it's just a written request. That's providing *The Militant* is a recognized newspaper.

Q. Recognized by whom?

A. Well, isn't there an association of the press, United Press or all of them together that newspaper publishers, etc.?

Q. An underground newspaper would not qualify?

A. I think in that case they may ask you to submit a copy of it.

Q. I see. But if it's not on this approved list, then you have to submit copies, and the content would be observed? . . . If they are not on this approved association list, then they ask for a copy?

A. I would think so. In fact, I would hope so.

Q. Why would you hope so?

A. Because if it's wrong, then I have to enforce it.

Q. If what's wrong?

A. If the paper is wrong. If it's a paper that is wrong.

Q. What makes a paper wrong?

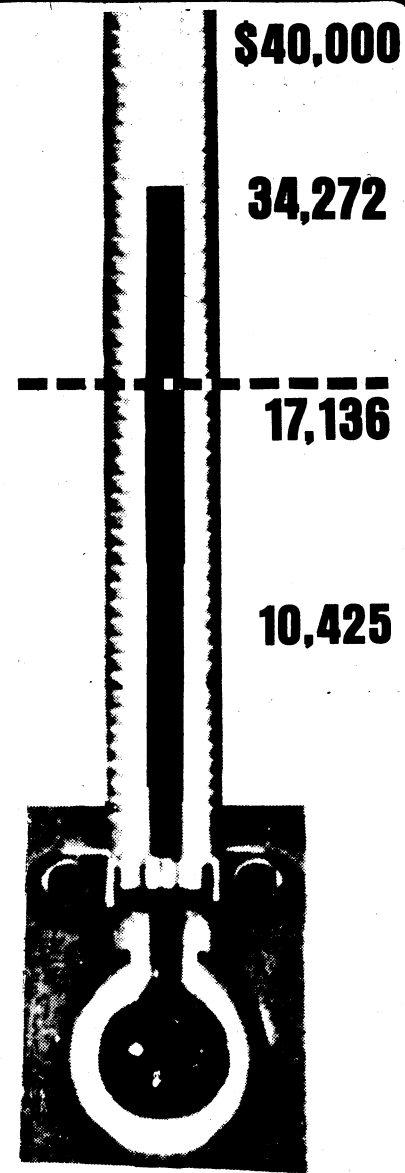
A. I don't know. I would say papers . . .

OBJECTION: Your Honor . . .

THE COURT: He's told us that's not his job.

KAIRYS: Nothing further, your Honor."

The Court of Appeals has granted the plaintiff's motion for an expedited consideration of the case, so that a decision can be made before the elections. A ruling is expected before the end of the month.



## Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund

# Two weeks to go! \$\$\$ needed

Last week four Black campaign supporters traveling through North Carolina obtained 204 new Afro-American endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

Matching Fund dollars sent these campaign supporters to Fayetteville. And Durham. And Raleigh. More dollars are still needed to keep this team, and the 16 others like it that are traveling all over the country, on the road.

Contributions to the Matching Fund this week totaled \$417. Forty percent of collections taken in Houston, Chicago, and Cleveland totaled \$774. This money will be sent to the national campaign office to be credited toward the Matching Fund goal.

Remember, your contribution means twice as much to us as a result of the Matching Fund. The intensive activity of these last two weeks means even greater financial demands on the Jenness-Pulley campaign. Please send us your contribution today.

( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the \$40,000 Matching Fund.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

# High school students demand right to distribute newspaper

By DAVE HAMMERSTEIN

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 13 — University High School students here have filed suit against the Los Angeles Unified School District, the superintendent of schools, and their principal for the right to distribute the student underground newspaper, *The Red Tide*, on campus.

"The school board wants to suppress *The Red Tide* because *The Red Tide* is trying to bring about a truthful education about what America is all about to high school students," said Mike Letwin, staff member of *The Red Tide*.

First published last fall, *The Red Tide* has addressed itself to the real problems and concerns of students at

University High and the surrounding schools. The latest issue of *The Red Tide* includes articles on *The Red Tide* case, birth control, Black history, ecology, an introduction to socialism, gay liberation, a review of the movie *The Godfather*, and much more. Each issue of the 12-page paper, which has a circulation of between 2,000 and 3,000 costs over \$200 to print. It is published monthly.

Although several issues of the paper were distributed last school year, students were required to submit each issue to the principal for prior approval. They were restricted to specific times for distribution and were prohibited from selling the paper.

The suit charges that these restrictions violate both state law and the state and federal constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

"We feel that if we win here in Los Angeles it will make it easier for people to distribute newspapers and literature on high school campuses all across this country," Letwin said.

The case is scheduled to begin Oct. 20 in Department 65 of Los Angeles Superior Court.

People who want more information on the case or would like a copy of *The Red Tide* (20 cents each) can write to: *The Red Tide*, 715 S. Parkview Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057.

## Daily World attacks 'The Militant'

# CP defends political persecution in Czech.

By CAROLINE LUND

In its Sept. 8 issue *The Militant* reprinted an open letter to Angela Davis from Jiri Pelikan, a Czech Communist expelled from the party for his role in the 1968 reform movement in Czechoslovakia. The letter appealed to Davis for support to Czech political prisoners. Previously, *The Militant* had reported on, and condemned, the series of frame-up trials of 46 dissidents held in Prague and Brno,

which was held secretly in a factory only hours after the Soviet invasion in 1968. Only the most cynical Stalinists will believe the accusation that this longtime Communist is involved in "anti-socialist" activities.

Actually, the *Daily World* is not concerned about any "anti-socialist" activities. Rather they fear Pelikan's activities as a communist attempting to make known the real views of dissident communists inside Czech-

also protested that the elections were being used to legitimize the loss of liberties following the Soviet invasion in 1968.

After his feeble attempt to deny that the trials amounted to political persecution, Erik Bert pushes aside the "formalities" and gets down to the CP's real view on political persecution and political prisoners. Bert writes:

"Pelikan's un-class, anti-class approach disguises itself in liberal concern for 'political prisoners.'"

"Thus, he wants the 'release of all political prisoners in the world, in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Iran, the United States, and also in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.'"

"For him a 'political prisoner' is a 'political prisoner.' A 'political prisoner' of a socialist country is just as worthy of support as a 'political prisoner' of a capitalist country."

For Erik Bert it is "liberal" to be concerned about political freedom. He implies that under socialism there will be no need for such notions. This cynical dismissal of human aspirations for freedom of thought and expression stems from the politics of Stalinism. It is Stalin and his present-day heirs in the Kremlin who have demonstrated the logic of Bert's attitude.

The Stalinist bureaucrats who usurped power in the Soviet Union have made socialism synonymous with dictatorship in the minds of masses of people. Socialism has been associated with forced labor camps, forced confessions, secret police used against the population, use of torture and confinement in mental hospitals, no rights to protest, no rights for oppressed nationalities, and no political, artistic, or even scientific freedom.

Before the rise of Stalinism, socialism was associated with freedom and equality. The Kremlin bureaucrats and their slavish supporters like Erik Bert have totally distorted the views of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the question of political freedoms after a socialist revolution.

Socialism does not only imply state ownership of the productive forces;

that is only a prerequisite for building socialism. Socialism also means that the working class must democratically control the state.

As Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy."

And workers democracy does not mean that a bureaucratic clique can usurp control and claim to run the state in the interests of the workers—as is the case in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Workers democracy means that the majority of the people actually manage the government—electing their representatives at every work place and participating in discussion and debate on all views concerning how best to build socialism. This requires freedom to criticize, freedom to pass out leaflets, freedom to publish political journals.

In *State and Revolution*, Lenin elaborated on the Marxist view of workers democracy. He said that government posts would be stripped "of every shadow of privilege, of every appearance of 'official grandeur.'" He stated that "all officials, without exception," should be "elected and subject to recall at any time, their salaries reduced to 'workingmen's wages.'" (Emphasis in original.) And this was the basis on which the first workers state, the Soviet Union, functioned in its revolutionary years.

It is this vision—of political freedom for all supporters of socialism and real participation by the masses in politics—that many of the Czech dissidents are fighting for. It is this vision—which the Czechs call "socialism with a human face"—that Erik Bert condemns as "counterrevolutionary." The bureaucrats of the Husak regime in Czechoslovakia and the Brezhnev regime in the Soviet Union fear that such workers democracy would spell doom for their position as privileged parasites on the revolution. And they are correct.

A future article will deal with other distortions in the *Daily World* articles.



Slogan written by Czechoslovak youths following Soviet invasion: 'Lenin, wake up, they've gone crazy.' Lack of democratic rights in Czechoslovakia is a mockery of Leninist norms of workers democracy.

Czechoslovakia, this summer.

In response to *The Militant's* championing of the democratic rights of these dissidents, the U.S. Communist Party has let loose with a series of three articles in its paper, the *Daily World*. One of the articles tries to defend the trials held this summer, and the other two—entitled "Czechoslovak emigre cuddles Trotskyists," and "Czechoslovak revisionism and Trotskyism"—are direct attacks on *The Militant* and the Jiri Pelikan letter.

Accusing *The Militant* of falling "into bed" with "Czechoslovak revisionists" "in the anti-Soviet brothel," the series comes complete with a cartoon of a CIA agent—supposedly representing the politics behind Trotskyists and Czech "revisionists" like Pelikan.

These articles—which come from one of the few Communist parties in the world that uncritically supported the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia—contain the crudest distortions and lies about the views of Trotskyism, the views of the Czech dissidents, and the character of the 1968 "Prague spring."

First of all, *Daily World* writer Erik Bert, accuses Jiri Pelikan—now living outside Czechoslovakia because of political persecution—of being part of "an anti-socialist espionage network." The evidence? Pelikan apparently continued to maintain communication with Communists in Czechoslovakia after leaving the country in 1969 and was able to get some material from them published in the West.

Pelikan had been a member of the Czech Communist Party from 1939 until his expulsion in 1969 for supporting the 1968 reform movement. He was elected to the CP central committee by the 14th party congress,

oslovakia.

The same is true of the 46 dissidents tried this summer in Czechoslovakia. All of the leading defendants are Communists—not "anti-socialists"—and many of them were leading party functionaries.

The *Daily World* tries to say that these trials were not political trials—that the defendants are simply criminals who carried out acts in violation of Czech laws. But let's look at what those acts supposedly were.

The charges, as summarized in the *New York Times* and *New York Post*, included "preparing, circulating and mailing abroad illegal printed matter," mimeographing and spreading "inflammatory and subversive material," helping to produce a clandestine journal called a "chronicle of current events" (the same name as the most prominent dissident journal published in the Soviet Union since 1968), and forming an illegal group "to overthrow the socialist state system."

The latter charge is belied by the fact that all those defendants accused of leading these so-called subversive activities are Communist Party members. Some of the defendants may well have favored the replacement of the present bureaucratic regime in Czechoslovakia with a more democratic government, but this is totally different from supporting the overthrow of state ownership of the means of production and a return to capitalism. And it has nothing to do with conspiring with the CIA.

The rest of the charges—passing out leaflets and publishing journals—amount to simple expression of political views. In fact, one of the leaflets in question merely reminded voters of their rights to vote for whom they pleased, or not to vote at all, in elections last November. They

## Angela Davis's priorities

By DOUG JENNESS

Shortly before Angela Davis left on her recent six-week tour of the Soviet Union and five other countries, a *Militant* reporter went to a news conference she held in Atlanta. He asked her whether she had received the appeals directed to her from Ukrainian and Czechoslovak Communists on behalf of political prisoners in the Ukraine and Czechoslovakia, and if so what her reply would be. Her answer went as follows:

"I'm concerning myself with the liberation of my people in this country. We have a long struggle ahead. We've come a long way, but we still have a long way to go. I've seen with my own eyes the thousands and thousands of my sisters and brothers in the jails and prisons in this country, and that is where my priorities lie."

Six days later Davis was in Moscow. She told reporters it felt "wonderful to be on the soil of the Soviet Union." She was honored with the Lenin Jubilee Medal. She was given the keys to Samarkand. She was awarded honorary degrees from the University of Moscow and the University of Tashkent. She

praised Soviet policies with such enthusiasm that one *New York Times* correspondent wrote that it was enough "to arouse skepticism even among loyal Russians more familiar with the realities of life." She gave particular praise to Soviet policy toward national minorities.

From the USSR she went to East Germany, where government chief Walter Ulbricht honored her with the Gold Star of Friendship. From there she went to Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

Now what must the political prisoners in the Ukraine and Czechoslovakia think about Angela Davis's priorities? While she visited their countries and accepted awards from their jailers, she did not have even one word of solidarity for Communist men and women who are behind bars because they tried to express their opinions.

Everywhere Davis went she spoke on behalf of political prisoners in the United States. But how can someone who refuses to oppose the jailing of freedom fighters in Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine be an uncompromising champion for political prisoners here? There's no way.



# World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

OCTOBER 27, 1972

## Australia

### High school students demonstrate for better education

By Greg Adamson

Sydney

Some 3,000 secondary school students participated September 20 in demonstrations in Australia's six main cities against bad conditions in the educational system, and in support of civil rights for students. Demonstrations in other areas involved another 2,000 students, with some estimates putting the figure much higher.

The demands generally were as follows: freedom of appearance for all students, freedom of expression, abolition of corporal punishment, complete listing of all school rules, an end to segregation in schools, more money for state education, more teachers, equalization of educational opportunities.

For most of the demonstrators, this

was their first organized political action. This was not because of any sudden radicalization over the last two months, but because radicalism in the schools has been unorganized.

The organizers of the campaign were the target of red-baiting attacks. Minister for Education Willis charged that the student strike in Sydney was "a move by only a handful of lads manipulated by communist organisers."

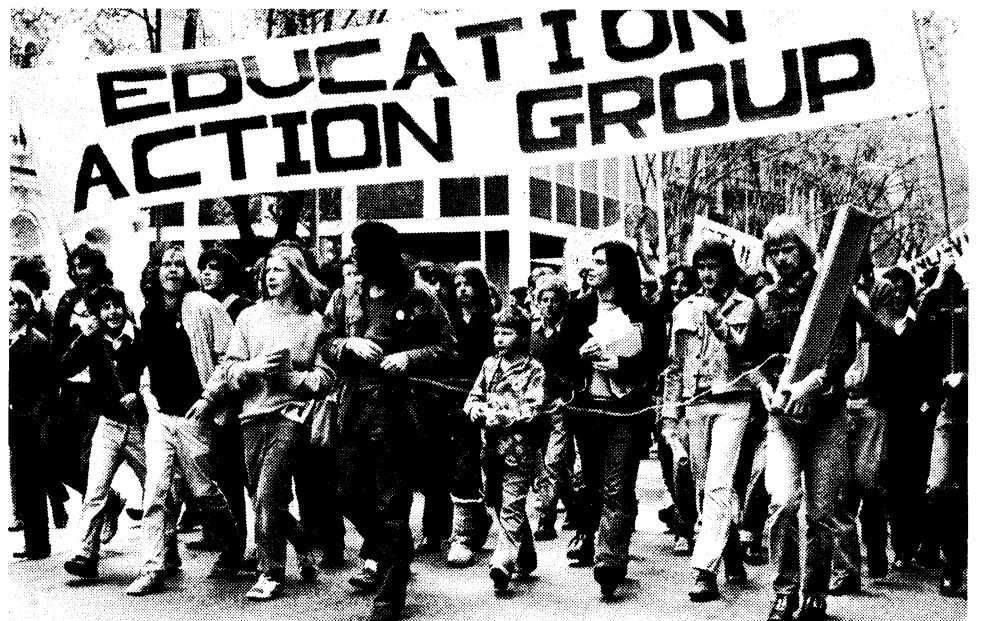
The Sydney *Sunday Telegraph* said in an editorial September 17:

"If this so-called 'strike' were a spontaneous demonstration in support of better schools, more teachers, or improved teaching methods it might be possible to laugh it off—silly and disruptive though it is—as one more high-spirited prank by impressionable teenagers.

"But of course it is not. What these militant Billy Bunters and playground radicals don't seem to grasp is that they are being led by the nose by a handful of extreme political groups, Trotskyite troublemakers and half-baked revolutionary agitators."

The red-baiting encouraged intimidation of students by parents and school administrations. This was shown most clearly in Sydney where out of more than 100 schools, only 800 students joined in the public action. Threats of suspension or expulsion held participation down to only a few strongly committed supporters.

Nevertheless in all areas the tone of the demonstrations was very militant, a popular chant being, "What do we want? Student rights! When do we want



Striking high school students in Melbourne march September 20 for students' rights, better schools.

them? NOW!"

While a number of groups and individuals of the far right were attacking the campaign as "Communist inspired," members of the Young Communist Movement and the Communist Party of Australia condemned it as a "Socialist Youth Alliance front," sagely predicting its failure. The CPA hardly gave token support, publicizing the action in the *Tribune* only marginally and at a late date.

The only group that gave consistent support to the campaign of students fighting for their rights was the Socialist Youth Alliance. There was nothing secret or manipulative about

this. SYA members openly participated in organizations formed to build the campaign and took an active part in campaign activities.

Despite right-wing red-baiting, left-wing death-wishing, and some senior student skepticism, thousands of students recognized the campaign as their own and participated in it, while tens of thousands more looked on in watchful support.

One teacher reported that at a country school near Sydney, although students took no strike action, in one class everybody's mind was on the strike, and normal school work was impossible. □

## Argentina

### 15 to go on trial for Sallustro kidnapping

Trial has been set for fifteen persons in Argentina accused of responsibility for the death of Oberdan Sallustro, the manager of a FIAT factory in Buenos Aires, who was kidnapped by guerrillas on March 21 and held for ransom under threat of execution.

The Argentine dictatorship blames his death on the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army] but the blame rests primarily on the government which broke up the negotiations between the ERP and FIAT. The police broke into the house where the guerrillas were holding Sallustro. During the shootout the FIAT executive was killed. It is uncertain whether the bullets that killed Sallustro were fired by the police or his captors.

Well-informed circles in Argentina are of the opinion that the tribunal that is sitting on the Sallustro case may hand down at least three death sentences.

The Comité de Defensa de los Presos Políticos Argentinos [Committee to Defend the Argentine Political Prisoners] issued a statement in Paris October 3 bringing out the following facts:

1. The judges sitting on the Camara Federal en lo Penal [Federal Criminal Court] trying the Sallustro case were all appointed by the dictatorship. This

body thus constitutes a special tribunal, expressly forbidden by the Argentine constitution of 1853, which has not been repealed by the military government and thus remains in force.

2. Article 18 of the constitution says categorically: "The death penalty is banned henceforth for political crimes." The laws under which the defendants in this case are being tried were decreed by the dictatorship; they were not passed by the congress, which alone has the power to legislate.

3. The military government and the special tribunals created by it have violated the prisoners' right of legal defense by shipping them to a jail 1,500 kilometers from the site of the hearings, thus making it difficult for them to communicate with their lawyers, who will get to see the brief of the prosecution (fifteen volumes containing almost 5,000 pages) just five days before the trial begins.

4. Seven of the prisoners were arrested a day before Sallustro was killed, and it is obvious that they

could not have been involved in the decisions that led to his death. One of these, however, the youth Osvaldo de Benedetti, is being mentioned as the most likely candidate for a death sentence.

5. All of the accused have been savagely tortured. One of those who may receive the death penalty, José Beristain, is suffering from constant hallucinations, but has gotten no medical attention.

6. One of the accused, the young journalist Andrés Alsina, denies being a member of the ERP or taking any part in the kidnapping. He is known throughout Latin America for his investigation of torture and murder practiced by the police and army.

7. The other defendants are Giomar de Klachko (facing a death sentence), Carlos Ponce de Leon, Angel Averame, Elena da Silva, José Luis da Silva, Mirta Mitidier de da Silva, Liliana Montenegro, Marta Brego, Silvia Urdampilleta, Mirta de Menajovsky, Eduardo Menajovsky, and Lucrecia Cuesta de Beristain. □

## Northern Ireland

# Struggle of Catholic community suffers major political defeats

By Gerry Foley

"The shooting of two men in the Donegall Road area of Belfast early yesterday has brought renewed allegations from the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association that an 'Army plain-clothes murder squad' is operating in the district," the *Irish Times* reported September 28.

Daniel Rooney, eighteen years old, was shot and killed, as a growing number of Catholics have been since the early summer, by gunmen firing from a car. His companion, Brendan Brennan, aged nineteen, was badly wounded. Such regular terror killings have become part of the pattern of Northern Irish life since about May, when a decline began in the mass struggles against the repressive caste system of the British imperialist enclave.

In July alone there were thirty-one "motiveless" murders. Seventeen of the victims were Catholics, thirteen were Protestants. Several of the latter were apparently killed because they maintained social relations with members of the oppressed community.

"Apart from the list of murders," Renagh Holohan noted in the July 29 *Irish Times*, "there have been numerous undocumented attempted murders. It is a frequent occurrence in many areas of Belfast, especially around the Crumlin Road, for shots to be fired from passing cars at pedestrians."

On August 29, a Catholic neighborhood defense squad in Newtownabbey, just outside Belfast, captured a British soldier who, they claimed, described himself as a member of a secret "counterinsurgency" unit similar to the U.S. Green Berets, the Special Air Services (SAS).

"The vigilantes pulled the man in the back seat out of the car and found him carrying an Army issue Browning automatic in a shoulder holster," the *Irish Times* reported August 31, summarizing a statement by the NICRA [Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association]. "An attempt to get the other men out of the car failed and they fired a shot at the vigilantes as they drove off."

The NICRA statement said: "The man taken from the car immediately sat down, put his hands on his head and said he was Peter Holmes, S.A.S., Palace Barracks, Holywood."

The NICRA issued a separate statement listing a number of incidents that it believed could be linked to undercover operations of the British army. The *Irish Times* summarized:

"Last May, Patrick Joseph McVeigh was shot dead at a civilian road check in Andersonstown and . . . Army reports of what happened conflicted. Later in the month two men, Adrian Barton and James Teer, were shot dead while walking on the Springfield Road and White Rock Road respectively. In April two brothers, Gerard and

John Conway, were shot in the White Rock Road area and in June, Patrick McCullough was shot dead from a car on the Antrim Road."

Unlike the murder of thirteen civil rights marchers by British troops during the mass rally in Derry January 30, the assassination one by one of dozens of Catholics since April has gone almost unnoticed by world public opinion. These murders have evoked little protest even in the formally independent part of Ireland. In contrast to the Derry massacre, in these cases neither the political responsibility nor the political meaning has been clear.

In the case of Rooney and his young friend, at least, the identity of their assailants is known.

"The Army claimed that the two men had fired five shots at a 'routine surveillance patrol,' in St. James' Park, off the Falls Road, and had been hit when the patrol returned fire. Residents of the St. James' area said the two men were shot from the Army's patrol car as they came out of a community centre. They were unarmed and did nothing to provoke the attack . . ."

NICRA argued that the pattern of apparently random, chronic violence that has been developing over the past months is being deliberately fostered by the British government:

"The incident clearly reveals the hand of a British Army plain-clothes murder squad which have been operating in the Lower Falls, Broadway and St. James' area over the last few weeks. It also bears out earlier evidence offered by N.I.C.R.A. about S.A.S.-type activity in the Bawnmore area of Belfast. When we warned the people of Northern Ireland some time ago about this possibility, the British Army scoffed at the idea. Who is scoffing now?"

The seemingly random killings and outbreaks of the last months certainly seem well calculated to serve the purposes of the British authorities by maintaining the atmosphere of terror and hopelessness among the oppressed nationalist population without providing any focus for political pressure against the regime.

In a speech to the London Press Club on September 26, British Prime Minister Heath clearly laid out a policy of wearing down the nationalist population.

"On the one hand we were urged to take immediate military action against the 'no-go' areas. On the other hand, we were told that only by ending internment at once and for ever could the 'no-go areas' be opened up.

"We took the view that the 'no-go' areas were indeed intolerable—but that the timing of an operation against them was a matter of very difficult judgment for us and for the security forces.

"We knew that it was one of the aims of the I.R.A. to provoke our forces into action which would simply renew

the support of part of the Catholic community for extremist policies. In July, Operation 'Motorman' was successfully carried out with hardly any casualties and the 'no-go' areas were brought to an end.

"It is fair to say that if we had shirked this action, or if we had taken it prematurely, many more lives would have been lost. Our hopes of a political settlement would have been frustrated.

"Now our security forces are pursuing with determination and success their campaign against terrorism."

By occupying the "no-go" areas on July 31, in particular Free Derry, the one place in Northern Ireland where open political activity could still be carried on more or less uninhibitedly and the one place in all of Ireland where militant republicans were secure from arrest, the British troops succeeded in removing an important focus of resistance to the imperialist system in Ireland. The barricaded areas of Northern Ireland's second largest city not only provided a unique political refuge and laboratory, the only liberated part of Ireland, but they were the symbol of the nationalist minority's determination to decide its own fate.

The "timing" of "Operation Motorman" was quite precise, and was determined essentially by the political trend both nationally and internationally. In this, the British forces were able to take advantage of the weaknesses in the strategy of the largest militant nationalist group, the Provisional IRA.

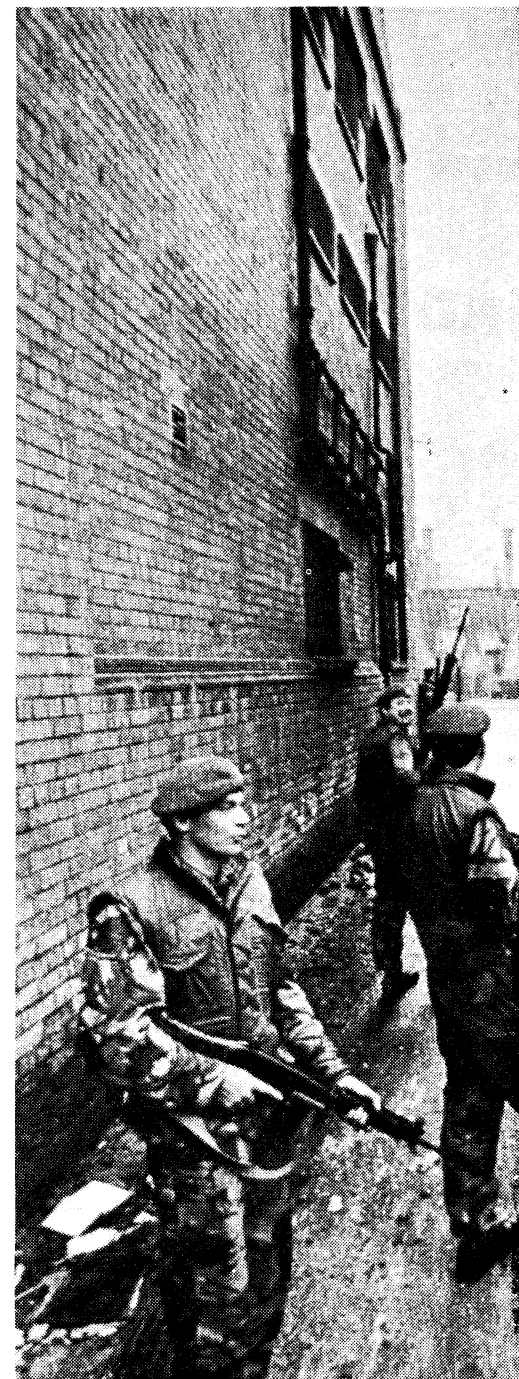
On June 26, the Provisionals declared a truce. The organization had clearly suffered a political defeat. The "peace" movement was gathering steam in the Catholic community, and the moderates were regaining their position as the representatives of the oppressed population.

But then, unexpectedly, the Provisionals resumed hostilities on July 9 throughout the British enclave and on an even larger scale than before. The scope of the Provisionals' action, however, seemed to indicate that the new offensive had been planned for some time.

The objective of the Provisional leadership seems, in fact, to have been to try to save a deteriorating political situation by engaging in guerrilla action and by this means establishing themselves as the negotiators for the Catholic community. These calculations were laid out rather clearly in an unsigned front-page article in the August 12 issue of the *Irish People*, the weekly paper of the American support group of the Provisional IRA:

"There are three reasons why the IRA decided to renew their campaign with added ferocity:

"The Whitelaw and Wilson talks had established that no real concessions would be made on the constitutional position. Courtesy and consideration



British patrol in Belfast

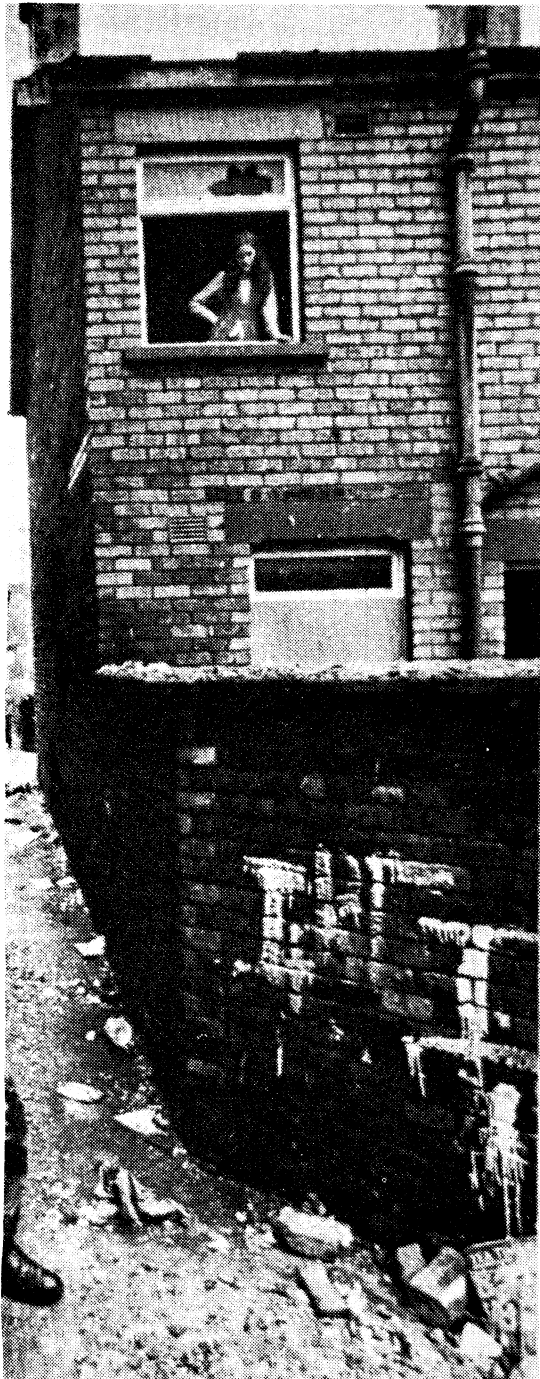
could be had on most other issues, but on the vital issue of a declaration for a united Ireland there was no give. Both Mr. Whitelaw and Mr. Heath affirmed the constitutional position last Wednesday and Thursday. The IRA gave their answer on Friday [July 21].

"The second reason why the Provos have opted to fiercely fight on is that they believe that the longer the military campaign goes on the more elevated will become their own status. For an organisation formed only two years ago, they have come a long way—two meetings with Mr. Wilson and a third with Mr. Whitelaw. Such would have been inconceivable six months ago.

"It was a military campaign which got them to those conference tables. They believe it can get them further. This reasoning is coupled with the realisation that any settlement now would not leave them in a particularly strong position. It would still be 'Jack Lynch's and Gerry Fitt's [a prominent moderate nationalist leader] Ireland.' This the Provos will not settle for.

"Finally, the Provos are convinced they can maintain their campaign against whatever the authorities unloose against them or even against the combination of the military and UDA. They are banking on retaliatory measures by the authorities strengthening, rather than weakening, their base and support from the Catholic community."

At first the Provisionals seemed to have worked out the correct tactic.



Der Spiegel

For a time, the attention of all the media was focused on them. Since the hostilities had been resumed on their orders, presumably only they could end the shooting and bombing in Northern Ireland.

But since the period of the Orange marches, which came to a close without touching off any massive communal confrontations, the British authorities have expressed less and less interest in negotiating with the Provisionals. Moreover, repression aimed against the supporters of the organization in the formally independent part of the country has been on the rise.

The turning point was marked by the Provisional actions on July 21, when twenty-two explosions occurred in Belfast within an hour and a half, starting at 2:09 in the afternoon. The bombs were all placed in easily accessible public places, on a footpath leading to a football field, on highways, in a seed merchant's shop, etc. A shopping center and a bus station were bombed. Nine civilians were killed, including a child; dozens of persons were badly injured, many horribly mutilated.

That night four Catholics were assassinated. They included the father of Tony Rosato, a well-known student supporter of the Official republican movement.

These assassinations, however, were almost completely overshadowed by the hue and cry over the wave of explosions. The capitalist press played up statements of sympathy for the innocent victims of the "Provisional

blitz," portraying defenders of the reactionary established order as tender-hearted humanitarians.

The explanation of the Belfast command of the Provisional IRA that they had warned the authorities where and when the bombs would go off was drowned out by story after story on the horrible sufferings of the victims and the grief of their families.

The basic fallacies of the Provisional strategy were starkly revealed by the "Bloody Friday" disaster. Faced with the violent opposition of the majority of the population in Northern Ireland, up against 14,000 British troops and the indifference or hostility even of sections of the Catholic minority, the Provisionals have been placed in an impossible position militarily. Occasional sniping has done no harm to the British army. At the same time, it has apparently proved impossible to bomb major military or economic targets.

But there is a devoted and rather large republican minority in the Catholic population, perhaps 25 percent in some areas. Also, many youths have been infuriated by constant British brutality and the hopelessness of ghetto life and are apparently prepared to take any risk. There is, likewise, substantial sympathy among Catholics for acts of violence as a means of protesting against the system.

As long as it retains an important degree of support among the nationalist minority, the Provisional IRA can continue to plant bombs in public places. There is virtually no way the British and Orange authorities can prevent this. Thus, the purpose of these operations seems to be essentially political.

Unfortunately, this policy has two basic political flaws. The first is the assumption that the British army is concerned about the threat of civilian casualties. The second is the failure to realize that, given the nature of bourgeois political dominance and control of the media, the responsibility for civilian casualties in violent actions can easily be put on the opponents of the established order.

A third flaw is that once an unfavorable reaction develops to a guerrilla action, the capitalist authorities themselves can stage simulated terrorist acts designed to deepen the isolation of the commandos. It can be very difficult to establish the responsibility for bombings in particular.

It is ironic that a British atrocity, the massacre of thirteen civil-rights marchers in Derry on January 30, resulted in the greatest political victory of the nationalist people since the start of the crisis in Northern Ireland. The reaction in the formally independent part of Ireland, in Britain, and internationally forced the British authorities to withdraw their troops for a period even from the central Belfast ghettos, which they had succeeded in controlling and intimidating.

On the other hand, the result of "Bloody Friday," a spectacular offensive operation on behalf of the Catholic population, was probably the worst political defeat the nationalist population has suffered in the last four years.

"Since the awful Provisional I. R. A. blitz on Friday, there has been a numbness in Catholic areas, even in some hitherto 'hard' areas in Belfast," the *Irish Times* reported July 24. "For example, there was little or no public hostility to the British Army searches which followed Mr. Whitelaw's tough

words on Saturday in which he pledged the security forces to a path of seeking out bombers and gunmen and the 'fanatics who mastermind them.'"

After a week of probing by the British army, on July 30 at 9:30 p.m., Whitelaw announced the start of massive operations to restore the "rule of law" in all parts of the imperialist enclave. Psychological pressure was built up on the inhabitants of the barricaded ghetto areas by continual news reports of overwhelming military forces slowly closing in on these small, impoverished communities.

In the wake of the military invasion, the numbed and terrified inhabitants of the Catholic ghettos were demoralized further by another apparent guerrilla disaster. A few hours after the troops moved into the former "no-go" areas, three powerful bombs exploded in cars on the main street of the little village of Claudy in County Derry. Hugh Logue of the Derry Civil Rights Association described the effect: "A village was ripped apart and stripped of its early morning face. If there is an absolute in innocence, then those killed and injured today were the absolute. Two surface men were going around in the early morning, street sweeping. A nine-year-old girl, a milkman's helper, and a former nurse who had been present at nearly every birth and death, both Protestant and Catholic, in the village over many years."

The focus of attention was the "no-go" area of Derry, the symbol of the victorious resistance of the nationalist population to imperialist repression. It fell to the advancing troops almost without incident. Both Provisional and Official IRA had evacuated the area

before the invasion. Singly or together, they represented a tiny, almost insignificant, force in comparison to the 4,000 British troops that were moving in.

"Free Derry," for so long the most symbolic and renowned of Northern Ireland no-go areas, last night lay apparently resigned within the iron grip which, in the space of a few hours, the British Army had established early yesterday morning," *Irish Times* correspondent Dermot Mullane wrote.

"In the Creggan, Bogside and Brandywell, the bulldozers made short work of the barricades, which had been the most evident example of the area's lengthy defiance of the Army and RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary].

In contrast to the reaction when the British forces invaded the nationalist ghettos on August 9, 1971, when the people rebuilt the barricades faster than the bulldozers could knock them down and forced the troops to retreat by mass psychological pressure, the population was almost passive on July 31.

"For the first 1 1/2 hours or so of the operation the people in the area remained silently in their homes," Mullane wrote. "They could be seen in the gloom of the first light standing at windows and doorways watching but not, for the moment, venturing out."

Scattered incidents occurred during the next day, showing that the combativity of the people had not been broken, but no mass action took place. For a year political barriers, not the steel and concrete barricades, had held off the repressive forces. When Bloody Friday broke down the political obstacles to reoccupying the ghettos, the strongest material defenses of the people were swept away like cobwebs.



Red Mole

Danish revolutionary socialists of the Socialistisk Ungdoms Forbund (Revolutionary Youth League) organized this picket line outside British Embassy in Copenhagen to protest invasion by British troops of the barricaded Catholic areas of Northern Ireland on July 31. The protest, which was organized within hours of the invasion, was also supported by the Copenhagen district of the DSU (Labor Youth Organization), the VS (Left Socialists), and the Danish Vietnam Committees. A resolution was handed to Embassy officials expressing the demonstrators' 'deepest contempt of the brutal suppression of the Irish population committed by British imperialism' and 'full solidarity with the continued struggle for national and social emancipation of the Irish people.'



## Canada

# Left Caucus in NDP adopts program for socialism, Quebec self-determination

[The following article is reprinted from the Oct. 9 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly published by revolutionary socialists in Canada.]

By Mark Gans

More than 150 supporters of the Left Caucus—almost double what caucus organizers expected—gathered in Toronto Sept. 22-23 to hammer out a socialist platform for the NDP [New Democratic Party—Canada's labor party] as an alternative to the party's current liberal-reformist program.

Most of the delegates came from Toronto, but Windsor, Peterborough, St. Catharines, Ottawa, Sudbury, Thunder Bay, Oshawa, Hamilton, and other Ontario centers were also represented.

When the conference disbanded, the caucus had a platform, plans for a steering committee and a newsletter, and a strategy for taking its platform to the party ranks.

It was the first meeting of the Ontario Left Caucus since its founding

refuses to accord Québec the elementary democratic right of self-determination, consciously avoided extending solidarity to striking Québec workers last spring, and bureaucratically blocked the Québec NDP's attempts to bring the NDP program into conformity with the national aspirations of the Québécois people.

- Public ownership of the primary sectors of the economy: The right wing believes in the utopian notion that capitalists can be "regulated" and "controlled" and made to serve the community while the real basis of their power—their ownership of property—goes unchallenged.

- Support for international revolutionary struggles: The party accepts the myth, fostered by the ruling class, that Canada can play a "neutral role" in the worldwide conflict between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. The caucus says Canadian and United Nations alleged "peace-keeping" efforts are maneuvers to maintain the status quo for the world imperialist powers, including Canada. The caucus calls upon the NDP to, among other things, express solidarity with oppressed people everywhere, call for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces and an end to Canada's complicity in Vietnam, break with imperialist alliances like NATO, NORAD, and the OAS, and support socialist dissidents in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

- Support for women's liberation: The caucus wants the party to implement its generally solid Waffle-inspired program on women, and to identify with and support all women's liberation struggles around abortion, daycare, equal pay for equal work, and other issues.

- Defense of working class rights and support for workers' struggles. The caucus labor program calls on the NDP to oppose all forms of wage restraints and controls and to protect unions from any kind of state interference. It wants the NDP to promote a legislated cost-of-living bonus for all wage workers and pensioners, as well as a legislated 32-hour work week at the same takehome pay. It demands that the party support the day-to-day struggles of workers against their employers.

The labor plank, in particular, is a reflection of the caucus' concern that the party leadership wants to abandon the NDP's traditional identification with the labor movement. On several occasions, caucus supporters angrily noted the party bureaucracy's support for federal legislation breaking the B.C. dock strike, the refusal to extend solidarity to the Québec general strikers last spring, and the limited character of the labor reforms of the Manitoba and B.C. NDP governments.

"Equivocating on the rights of the working class can undermine the NDP's working class base," Stu Sinclair, a trade unionist from Douglas Aircraft UAW local 1967, warned the conference.

"The party is trying to buy sham respectability by 'hiding' its working class base," Sinclair said. "It can't be done and, more important, it shouldn't be done. A party which claims roots among the poor and working people has to clearly and unhesitatingly identify with them by developing politics and campaigns which appeal to them if it hopes to go anywhere."

To dramatize its concerns, the caucus will press for NDP mass action campaigns against strikebreaking and against plant layoffs and shutdowns at the December ONDP convention. If the party brass still refuses to move, caucus organizers say they will mobilize support among party members for riding-sponsored conferences and demonstrations independent of the bureaucracy.

Though largely composed of former Wafflers, and though it raises many of the same issues as did the Waffle, the Left Caucus differs in several significant ways from its predecessor.

Unlike the Waffle, for example, it stresses the struggle for socialism rather than for independence [Canadian independence from U.S. imperialism], and it talks about class struggle rather than nationalism. When caucus supporters refer to Canada, it is most often in relation to its ruling class's imperialist connections and overseas investments. Where Wafflers used to bemoan the fate of Canada as a "colony" of the U.S., many caucus supporters condemn it rather as a "junior partner" of U.S. imperialism.

Where the Waffle had its focus outside the party and tended to operate in its own name, Left Caucus strategy calls for mass work through the NDP at the riding and trade union level. Finally, the caucus is organized more loosely and is less publicly defined than the old Waffle. The Toronto conference decided to organize the provincial caucus around little more than a steering committee elected by local caucuses, themselves based on the ridings, and a newsletter intended for distribution within the party.

The future for the Left Caucus appears promising. Interest in its development to date, reflected in unexpectedly large turnouts at its two initial meetings, would seem to indicate that the sentiment which produced the Waffle remains in the NDP, waiting to be tapped.

The extent to which the caucus taps that sentiment and organizes it depends on the extent to which its supporters sink roots into the ridings during the current election campaign, how carefully they prepare for the ONDP convention in December, and how effectively they reweave their connections with sympathetic ex-Wafflers and party members across the province and, ultimately, across the country.

## Chou Greet Queen of Iran

"As the distinguished Iranian guests walked around to meet the welcoming crowds, the airport was a scene of jubilation, with people beating drums, singing and dancing, and shouting 'A warm welcome to Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi, the Shabanou of Iran!' and 'Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and Iran.'"

This is how the Chinese government's official English-language weekly described the welcome given to a representative of the Persian monarchy, whose absolute powers were restored by a CIA-sponsored coup in 1953.

In his welcoming speech, according to the September 21 issue of the Karachi daily *Dawn*, foreign minister Chou En-lai said:

"Under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran, the Government and people of Iran have made continuous efforts and achieved successes in safeguarding state sovereignty, protecting national resources, developing national culture and building their country. The Chinese government and people sincerely wish you continuous new victories on your road of advance."

## Intercontinental Press

*Afrique*, Paris; *Abol*, Santo Domingo; *Avanzada Socialista*, Buenos Aires; *Bandera Roja*, Mexico City; *Bandiera Rossa*, Rome; *Bohemia*, Havana; *La Breche*, Lausanne; *Chronicle of Current Events*, USSR; *Direct Action*, Sydney; *Ettalaat*, Tehran; *La Gauche*, Brussels; *Hsinhua*, Hong Kong; *Inprekorr*, Stuttgart; *Izvestia*, Moscow; *Klasskampen*, Aarhus, Denmark; *Klassenkampf*, Luxembourg; *Labor Challenge*, Toronto; *La Rai*, Calcutta; *Liberation*, Montreal; *Marcha*, Montevideo; *Mayoria*, Santiago de Chile; *Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile; *The Militant*, New York; *Le Monde*, Paris; *La Nacion*, Buenos Aires; *The New York Times*; *Peking Review*; *Permanente Revolution*, Berlin, German Federal Republic; *Pravda*, Moscow; *Proto Final*, Santiago de Chile; *Quatrième Internationale*, Paris; *El Rebelde*, Santiago de Chile; *The Red Mole*, London; *Rood*, Ghent, Belgium; *Rouge*, Paris; *Revolucion Peruana*, Lima; *Revolucion Socialista*, New York; *Rude Pravo*, Prague; *Sekai Kukumi*, Tokyo; *Socialist Action*, Wellington, New Zealand; *Voz Marxista*, Caracas; *Vrij Nederland*, Amsterdam; *Was Tim*, Mannheim, Germany.

There is only one way to get the news of the world without having a subscription to **Intercontinental Press**—read each of the above newspapers, and more.

But, even if you had the money and the language skill, you would still miss the special quality that makes **Intercontinental Press** stand out from other weeklies—analyses of events by our staff of experienced political writers.

You would also miss the documents and interview that appear in **Intercontinental Press**. Most of these are not easily obtainable elsewhere.

If you want accurate information, if you want eyewitness accounts, you need a subscription to **Intercontinental Press**.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

( ) Enclosed is \$7.50 for six months.

( ) Enclosed is \$15 for one year.

**Intercontinental Press**

P. O. Box 116, Village Station  
New York, N.Y. 10014



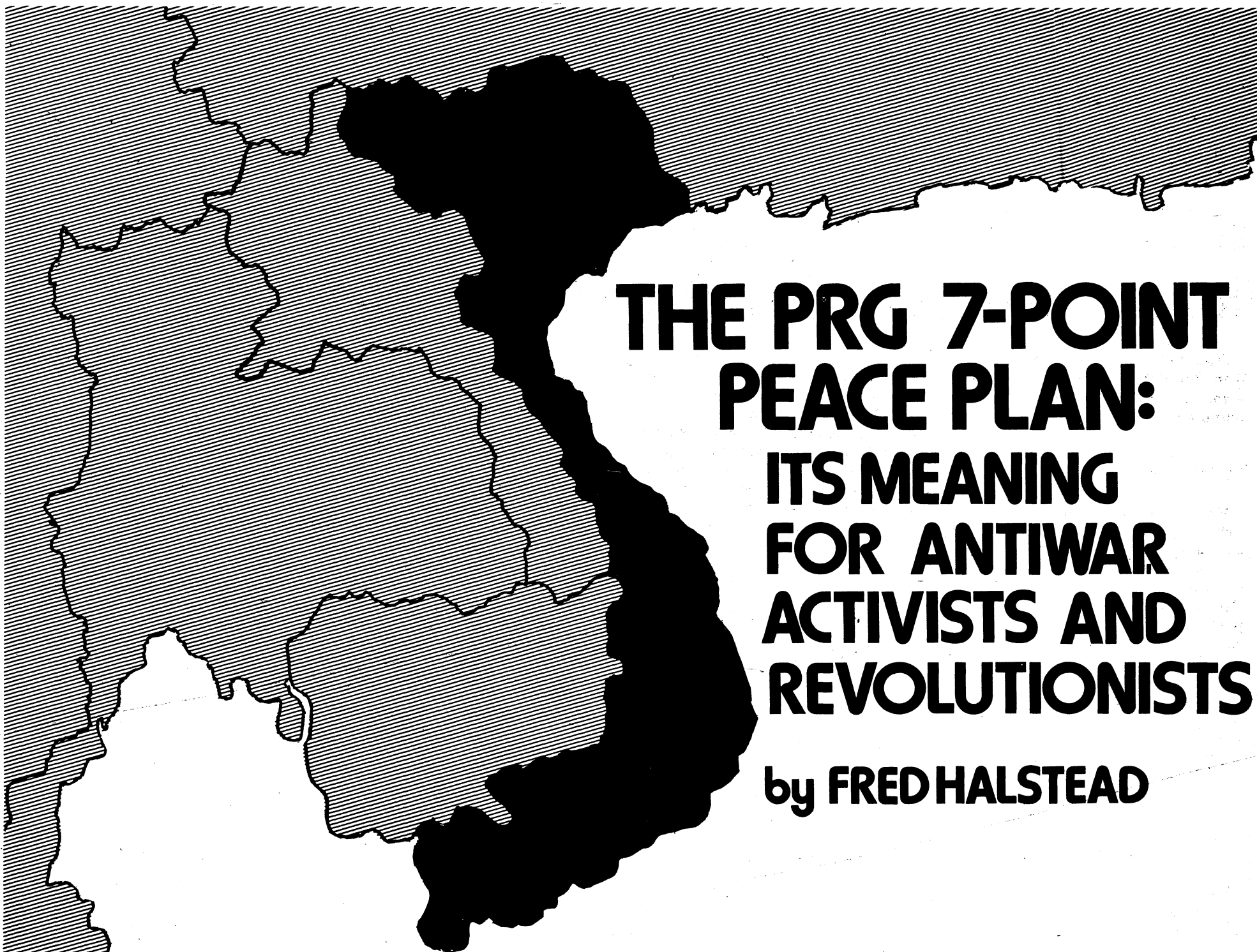
Labor Challenge

David Lewis. Left Caucus aims to provide a consistent, pro-working-class alternative to reformist NDP leadership represented by Lewis.

at the final Waffle conference [the Waffle was previously the left-wing caucus within the NDP] in London [Ontario] last August. It was started by Wafflers determined to "stay and fight" the Lewis leadership [David Lewis—federal NDP leader] on a class-struggle program rather than follow former Waffle leaders Jim Laxer and Mel Watkins out of the party and into the nationalist [Canadian nationalist] Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada.

Some of the issues upon which Left Caucus supporters resolved to stay and fight include:

- The right of Québec to self-determination: The right wing leadership



## THE PRG 7-POINT PEACE PLAN: ITS MEANING FOR ANTIWAR ACTIVISTS AND REVOLUTIONISTS

by FRED HALSTEAD

The following is the major part of a talk by Fred Halstead on the seven-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam. Halstead is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from Illinois and has been a prominent leader of the antiwar movement since 1965.

The talk was the second in a two-part series on the struggle in Indochina that Halstead delivered at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, this summer.

Quotes from the seven-point program are from a Reuters dispatch published in the July 2, 1971, New York Times. They are in italics.

Let me recapitulate very briefly the subject matter of yesterday's discussion. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which now has its capital in Hanoi, came into existence in August 1945, shortly after the Japanese surrendered at the end of World War II.

The Vietminh, as the nationalist movement was then called, was able to take over the entire country, both North and South, at that time because they had been fighting since 1941 against the Japanese occupation and the pro-Axis French colonial administration.

The French administration in Indochina was pro-Axis—that is, allied with Germany and Japan—because it adhered to Vichy, which after the fall of France in 1940 was the German puppet government in the southern part of France.

When Germany surrendered in the spring of 1945, Japan was not yet out of the war. The Vichy regime had, of course, been overthrown in France as the Nazi armies were driven from the country. Therefore the Japanese, who had occupied Indochina but had left the pro-Vichy colonial administration intact until 1945, made a coup against it, threw it out of power, and declared Indochina independent under a Japanese puppet named Bao Dai.

Japan still occupied Indochina but had no effective administration. So, between March and August of 1945 the Vietminh took over the countryside. In August, when Japan surrendered, the Vietminh entered the cities and declared the independence of Vietnam and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).

Bao Dai abdicated in favor of the new regime, and that was about as legal a revolution as has ever occurred. But Vietminh control of the cities didn't last long—less than a month in Saigon and a year and three months in Hanoi.

In Saigon, the leadership of the Vietminh government welcomed the British troops into the city—because they were allies in the world war. When the British got established in Saigon they rounded up all the French colonial soldiers they could find, adding to these some French units the British had brought with them.

These French colonials, backed by British power, made a coup against the Vietminh government in Saigon. The Vietminh in the South had to retreat to the countryside and carry out resistance along guerrilla lines.

The Trotskyists in Saigon, and in the Vietminh, opposed the agreement to allow British troops to come into Saigon, and for this, some of them were murdered by the Stalinists in the Vietminh.

The French were not yet in Hanoi, but the Vietminh negotiated with the

French and eventually signed an accord on March 6, 1946—the famous March 6 Accord—in which they agreed to let the French army come into Hanoi. (The Vietnamese Trotskyists also opposed this accord.)

There followed a number of incidents, clashes between the French troops and the people. In November 1946 the French delivered a punitive naval shelling against Haiphong, killing several thousand Vietnamese. By December the French took Hanoi and the Vietminh were forced to take to the countryside for guerrilla resistance. That was the beginning of what has come to be known as the First Indochina War.

It lasted until the battle of Dienbienphu in May 1954, when the French were decisively defeated. Negotiations were held in Geneva for a settlement. Thus, the famous Geneva Accords.

Although the Vietminh controlled the major part of the country, even in the South, the country was temporarily divided at the 17th parallel. The French were given time to get out of the southern part and an election was promised within two years to unify the country. By all objective accounts, including an admission by then President Eisenhower, the DRV would have won this election.

During that two-year period the United States moved to replace the French in the South and put an American puppet, Ngo Dinh Diem, in power. Diem had lived in New Jersey and no doubt met a few Godfathers there. With U. S. advice he refused the promised elections and proceeded to attempt to impose the old class relations in the countryside.

These relations had been shattered during the eight years of the First Indochina War. For example, in areas where the Vietminh operated, the land-

lords—who were by and large collaborators with the French—sought the safety of the cities under French control and the peasants took the land.

When Diem attempted to give the land back to the landlords there was resistance. After it was clear the promised elections would not be held, the peasants began guerrilla war against Diem and his enforcers. This was the start of the Second Indochina War.

That civil war—which continues to this day—raged in South Vietnam without aid from the North until 1960, when the National Liberation Front was formed. Even then there were no North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam until Johnson began the massive intrusion of U. S. troops and the bombing of North Vietnam in the winter of 1964-65. The rest of the story is well known.

Let me just recount. On three occasions since the 1945 August Revolution and the founding of the DRV—that is, since the nationalist revolution took control of the entire country—the imperialists managed to get back in and carry on a counterrevolutionary war. On each of these three occasions the imperialists used the cover of an agreement they had wrested from the leadership of the revolution. These three agreements were: to allow the British "allies" into Saigon in 1945; the March 6 Accord in 1946; and the Geneva Accords in 1954.

On each of these occasions the leadership of the revolution acceded to these agreements under severe pressure from the military might of the imperialists and from the diplomatic considerations of the Kremlin, and in the case of the Geneva Accords, from the Mao regime as well.

Now let's go on to analyze the seven-point peace proposal presented by the PRG in July 1971 at the negotiations in Paris.

Any negotiations imply the possibility of compromise or of making concessions, but no one can fault the Vietnamese for seeking an end to U. S. aggression through negotiations. It is they, after all, who are under the gun. The Vietnamese have every right to make whatever proposals they feel are best because it is they alone who can judge for themselves the relationship of forces, the nature, source, and severity of the pressures they are under, and whether concessions are necessary.

But the United States has no right to demand any concessions whatsoever from the Vietnamese, and it would be incorrect for the American antiwar movement—not to mention revolutionists outside Vietnam—to approve of any concessions wrested by U. S. imperialism from the Vietnamese.

The Bolshevik government, for example, was forced to concede huge areas of Soviet territory to the Germans in the negotiations that took the new workers republic out of World War I. But when the German Social Democrats in the German parliament voted to ratify the very treaty that the Bolsheviks had signed, Lenin called them "swine."

The victim of a holdup has a right to hand over his money to save his life. But the victim's friends have no right to ratify or approve the results of the crime, much less add their own pressure on the victim to give up more than the relationship of forces requires.

With this in mind we can look at the seven-point proposal in two ways: 1) from the point of view of the American antiwar movement, and 2) from the point of view of international socialist revolutionaries, Trotskyists. The second is not in contradiction to the first, but it is a point of view based on a deeper understanding.

We'll start with the heading and the first sentence of the first point of the program:

*Regarding the deadline for the total withdrawal of U. S. forces.*

*The U. S. Government must put an end to its war of aggression in Vietnam, stop the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war, withdraw from South Vietnam all troops, military personnel, weapons, and war materials of the United States and of the other foreign countries in the U. S. camp, and dismantle all U. S. bases in South Vietnam, without posing any condition whatsoever.*

Except for the very first phrase, I find nothing to question in that paragraph, either from the point of view of the antiwar movement or of revolutionary socialism. But the first phrase hints at setting a future date for withdrawal rather than immediate withdrawal. And that's the subject of the second paragraph:

*The U. S. Government must set a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vietnam of the totality of U. S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U. S. camp.*

That's a concession. It is a concession the Vietnamese may feel they have to make given the relationship of forces, and it is their right to make it—but it is a concession.

Where is the concession? It lies simply in the period of time between immediate and whatever date is set. Two days from now, six months from now, a year from now, whatever. The U. S. has no right to be in Vietnam for any length of time.

Now, from the socialist viewpoint, we also recognize this as a concession.

But we can understand that it might take a certain period of time for the U. S. forces to physically leave, and that the Vietnamese might be wise to make an agreement to refrain from shooting at the departing forces while they are leaving.

But this is not simply a technical matter. It is important to keep one's eyes open as to the risks involved in this set-the-date concession.

According to such an agreement, the U. S. has a right to be there for a certain period of time. Anything might

*ing American pilots captured in North Vietnam), so that they may all rapidly return to their homes.*

Nothing wrong with that.  
The next paragraph:

*These two operations will begin on the same date and will end on the same date.*

Here the problem is the same as the general proposition of "set-the-date." It opens up the possibility of

*ple's right to self-determination, put an end to its interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, cease backing the bellicose group headed by Nguyen Van Thieu, at present in office in Saigon, and stop all maneuvers, including tricks on elections, aimed at maintaining the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu.*

*The political, social and religious forces in South Vietnam aspiring to peace and national concord will use various means to form in Saigon a new administration favoring peace, in-*

## 'The antiwar movement's demand Out Now! is the only demand that fully recognizes the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination'

happen during that period of time, and in the past, things have happened.

For example, when the Vietminh let the British in at the end of August 1945, they didn't say: "OK, British, come in, bring the French in, make a coup against us, force us into a long civil war." That was not the agreement. All the British were supposed to do was to take the surrendering Japanese back home.

But once the British were in, the situation was different. When you are dealing with armies, questions of state power are involved—who has the power, who has the land, how many armed men are where and at what time, under whose command. Those little "technical" problems can grow into much bigger problems.

The concessions in violation of Vietnamese sovereignty contained in the March 6 Accord and the Geneva Accords similarly resulted in grave setbacks to the national liberation movement.

I say this not to criticize the Vietnamese for asking the U. S. to set a withdrawal date, but so that we might be aware of the tricks the U. S. warmakers will be looking to play with it, if they were to accept it.

The next paragraph:

*If the U. S. Government sets a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vietnam in 1971 of the totality of U. S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U. S. camp, the parties will at the same time agree on the modalities:*

In that paragraph there is only one point that needs comment. It says, "in 1971." The proposed time period is already past.

Now to the modalities:

*A. Of the withdrawal in safety from South Vietnam of the totality of U. S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U. S. camp.*

I can see no objection to that. The key phrase is "in safety." If people are getting out, it makes sense to agree not to shoot at them as they walk onto the boats.

This is an effective point for the antiwar movement to publicize because it cuts the ground out from under Nixon's argument that he has to keep forces there to "protect" the forces that are leaving. This is a piece of ridiculous circular reasoning, but one which Nixon persists in as an excuse to leave forces he has no intention of pulling out.

*B. Of the release of the totality of military men of all parties and the civilians captured in the war (includ-*

all sorts of games being played by the U. S. rulers. For example, the United States government has been known to launch entire invasions of foreign countries in order to release a prisoner or two—even when the prisoners are nonexistent, as was the case in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

All the Americans in Santo Domingo were supposed to be facing some kind of horrible fate. Actually, they had not been molested in any way. Most of them were sitting in resort hotels, living it up on the booze in the basement, hoping the American Marines didn't open fire on the hotel.

Yet the "safety" of Americans there was the justification the U. S. government used for an invasion of the country. And of course, when they had an army there, they launched the counter-revolution, rounded up enough crooks to patch together a reactionary regime, and imposed it on the people there. Those are the kinds of games they are always looking to play, if they can.

The next paragraph:

*A cease-fire will be observed between the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the armed forces of the United States and of the other foreign countries in the United States camp, as soon as the parties reach agreement on the withdrawal from South Vietnam of the totality of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp.*

That could be another way of saying they won't shoot them as they get on the boat, and in that sense there is nothing wrong with it. Note that it says the cease-fire will be between the People's Liberation Armed Forces and the Americans and other foreigners. It makes no mention here of the ARVN. That is also correct. We'll get back to that question under another point.

Now the second of the seven points:

*Regarding the question of power in South Vietnam.*

The very title of this point in my view is a major concession. When raised in negotiations, it is an absolutely fundamental concession of principle. The question of power in South Vietnam is no damn business of the United States of America. This point gives credence to the idea that the U. S. does have some right to say what the government of South Vietnam will be.

To continue:

*The United States Government must really respect the South Vietnam peo-*

*dependence, neutrality and democracy.*

This is a proposal for the character of the next government of South Vietnam. Once again, only the Vietnamese have the right to decide such a thing. Why then is this a point in negotiations with the U. S.?

The word "neutrality" is used. The interim government of South Vietnam is to be "neutral." That is, its foreign policy is to be determined by negotiations between the U. S. and the PRG, not by the government itself.

But the U. S. doesn't have any right to be involved in determining what the foreign policy of another government shall be.

Just turn it around and see how it sounds: "The government of the United States shall be neutral." If anyone ever proposed any such thing in international negotiations, the outraged cries in Washington would lift the capitol dome. Or how about a proposal for a neutral Britain, or USSR, or China. No, none of the so-called great powers would countenance any such nonsense.

Perhaps the PRG puts this point in because they want to assure the people of the world that a new government in South Vietnam will not heat up the cold war. Perhaps it is a declaration of intent, rather than a negotiating point.

As a point of information, a declaration of what the Vietnamese intend to do after American withdrawal, it is not a concession of Vietnamese sovereignty. But then it doesn't belong in negotiations and could be made more effectively elsewhere.

But from the point of view of revolutionary socialists, it would be a highly questionable proposition even as a simple declaration of intent.

In the first place it is a fiction. A new South Vietnamese government might stay out of military involvements, or pacts, but it wouldn't be neutral, and no one would believe it if it said it was. It's like the so-called neutral government in Laos. It's a fiction.

The only way such a government could even pretend to be neutral would be if it contained within it forces from each side. And then one would have to prevail over the other because the class nature of the power in the country is posed. That is, which side is the government on—as, for example, between the peasants who have taken the land they work and the landlords who are trying to take it back?

I have heard some people in the antiwar movement argue that this point is just a face-saving device offered to the U. S. imperialists, or that it is intended to fool them. People who believe that exhibit a naivete not shared by the American ruling class.



To continue:

*The Provisional Revolutionary Government . . . will immediately enter into talks with that administration in order to settle the following questions:*

*A. To form a broad three-segment government of national concord that will assume its functioning during the period between the restoration of peace and the holding of general elections and organize general elections in South Vietnam.*

*A cease-fire will be observed between the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the armed forces of the Saigon administration as soon as the government of national concord is formed.*

That's a tricky one to analyze. All sorts of variants are possible with such a government if it actually came into existence. What happens, for example, to the relations of production during that interim period of preparation for the elections? Do the peasants keep the land they have occupied or do they have to pay the taxes to the landlords, etc.?

We can assume in a situation like this that the balance of real forces would heavily favor the PRG since the People's Liberation Armed Forces are the real power on the scene if the Americans get out and stop backing the ARVN with firepower, bombers, etc.

According to this wording there would be a cease-fire with the ARVN. That would mean that the areas occupied by the Saigon army remain occupied by the Saigon army, the relations of production there remain capitalist with all sorts of ties to imperialism, and the other areas, under the PRG and its armed forces, are quite different.

This is so, not because of the stated program of the PRG—which does not specifically say that it is overturning the class relations—but because the civil war that has raged across those areas for many years has probably already accomplished that. There are no capitalists left in those areas and very few landlords. These areas are subject to heavy bombing by the American forces and the privileged classes have no doubt long since left.

So a situation of dual power would continue to exist in the country as it does now. And these opposite forces are going to come into the same government and come to some peaceful agreement on what the economy is going to be in each of those areas? That's a tough problem to resolve without civil war. Indeed, it has never been resolved in history without civil war.

If all this is supposed to be solved by the elections, then the struggle would break out over the election procedures—over who would watch the polls and so on—and it would no doubt involve force. Privileged classes just don't hand their fate over to an honest vote by the majority of the people, not when the very existence of their class position is fundamentally at stake. So the seeds of a new civil war are very much present in this arrangement.

It is, however, true that if the U. S. did get out and stay out, and didn't use the excuse of this new struggle to come back in, there is little doubt that the PRG would win that struggle. But that is a big "if."

To continue:

*B. To take concrete measures with the required guarantees so as to prohibit all acts of terror, reprisal and discrimination against persons having collaborated with one or the other party, to ensure every democratic liberty to the South Vietnam people, to*



Militant/John Gray

*release all persons jailed for political reasons, to dissolve all concentration camps and to liquidate all forms of constraint and coercion so as to permit the people to return to their native places in complete freedom and to freely engage in their occupations.*

That's fine.

*C. To see that the people's conditions of living are stabilized and gradually improved, to create conditions allowing everyone to contribute his talents and efforts to heal the war wounds and rebuild the country.*

That's fine too, except that none of this has anything to do with the United States and the U. S. has no right to negotiate this.

*D. To agree on measures to be taken to ensure the holding of genuinely free, democratic, and fair general elections in South Vietnam.*

Once again, this is not the business of the United States. It is prerogative only of the people in a particular country to decide how their governments shall be chosen.

Try it on for size someplace else: How would it be, for example, if in some international negotiations the proposal was made that the United States have "free, democratic, and fair general elections," in all of its states and subdivisions, including Cook County, Ill.?

I rather suspect that Mayor Daley, Illinois Secretary of State John Lewis, and other similar types would suddenly start screaming about violations of sovereignty. And they would be right. It is not the business of other governments to have any say at all in determining those matters. That is our problem, and we have to work it out among Americans, right here, for better or for worse. Right now, mostly for the worse.

To continue. This is point three:

*Regarding the question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam.*

*The Vietnamese parties will together settle the question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam in a spirit of national concord, equality,*

*and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the postwar situation and with a view to making lighter the people's contributions.*

Well, if it is without foreign interference, then why is it the subject of negotiations with a foreign power?

Particularly from the point of view of the American antiwar movement and also from the point of view of revolutionary socialists this is an important point regarding the atmosphere in the United States.

Until the American people insist on respect for the sovereignty of other nations, particularly small ones, there will be no peace in this world. The antiwar movement has gone a long way in teaching this lesson, and most Americans are now very receptive to it. Anything that makes it clear and sharp is good. Anything that confuses or obscures it is no good.

That's an important advantage of the antiwar movement's slogan for total, immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia, in short: Out Now! It makes it clear the U. S. has no right to be there.

To analyze this sentence more deeply—that is, from the point of view of revolutionary socialists—the statement is vague and raises more questions than it answers about what will actually happen with the armed forces, and therefore with the state power. Not that the PRG is under any obligation to be specific about this matter in negotiations with the U. S. They certainly are not.

Theoretically, it is a complex question, and dangerous, because to leave open the question of what will be the disposition of the counterrevolutionary armed forces leaves open the question of the state power and of the class nature of the state.

In modern times, these counterrevolutionary armed forces in colonial or semicolonial areas have never operated without aid from the imperialists. If the Americans stayed out, of course, the PRG would be so strong that the members of ARVN would simply find it wise to go into another line of work—those who had not already flown off to live elsewhere on the loot they've been depositing in foreign banks. But once again, that's

a big "if."

Point four:

*Regarding the peaceful reunification of Vietnam and the relations between the North and South zones.*

Once again, it is not the legitimate business of the United States to be involved in determining how North and South Vietnam are going to be reunified. The imperialists—French, British, U. S.—have in fact always made it their business to try to divide Vietnam. The World War II allies did it with the Potsdam agreement in 1945, appointing the British to occupy the southern half of the country to take the Japanese surrender, and the Chinese the northern half.

That's the excuse the British and French used to get their troops into Saigon in 1945. The French repeatedly divided Vietnam after 1945, though they too promised reunification elections in the March 6 Accord.

The Americans did it again when they moved into the South with Diem after the Geneva Accords in 1954. Elections were included in the Geneva Accords. But the promises of both the March 6 Accord and of the Geneva Accords were never realized. Imperialists are not noted for keeping their word with colonial peoples.

The imperialists have no right to be involved in this question at all. Based on the record, any such involvement whatsoever will be used as a wedge to continue the division.

To continue:

*A. The reunification of Vietnam will be achieved step by step by peaceful means, on the basis of discussions and agreements between the two zones, without constraint and annexation from either party, without foreign interference.*

*Pending the reunification of the country, the North and the South zones will reestablish normal relations, guarantee free movement, free correspondence, free choice of residence, and maintain economic and cultural relations on the principle of mutual interests and mutual assistance.*

*All questions concerning the two zones will be settled by qualified representatives of the Vietnamese people*

in the two zones on the basis of negotiations, without foreign interference.

This is fine as a declaration of intent, or as a point of information. But the U.S. just doesn't have any right to negotiate over this matter.

The next part of the text refers back to the 1954 Geneva Accords:

*B. In keeping with the provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, in the present temporary partition of the country into two zones, the North and the South zones of Vietnam will refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, from allowing any foreign country to have military bases, troops, and military personnel on their soil, and from recognizing the protection of any country, of any military alliance or bloc.*

That, of course, was part of the Geneva Accords. It was simply disregarded by the United States. But aside from that, there is a concession involved here. If a country is truly sovereign, whether it makes alliances or not is its own affair.

But it is a concession that, due to the relation of forces, the Vietnamese, both the PRG and the DRV, may feel they have to make. There is nothing unprincipled about making such a concession if that's tactically what seems best.

But it is a different matter for the American antiwar movement to lend any credence to the idea that the U.S. has a right to demand such a concession. As far as the American antiwar movement is concerned the foreign policy of the Vietnamese is the sole prerogative of the Vietnamese, and the U.S. government has no right to meddle in it.

The antiwar movement says to the U.S. government: Out Now! It says to the Vietnamese: We will do our best to get our government off your backs so you can run your own affairs as you see fit, period.

As revolutionary socialists we might say more. We might say that if it could be achieved, a Vietnamese alliance with China or the Soviet Union—committing these noncapitalist powers to immediate military action if the United States moved back into Vietnam militarily—would be an effective deterrent to U.S. aggression. It would be worth more than all the signatures of all the imperialist statesmen on the finest parchment ever made.

Now point five:

*Regarding the foreign policy of peace and neutrality of South Vietnam.*

*South Vietnam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, establish relations with all countries regardless of their political and social regime, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, maintain economic and cultural relations with all countries, accept the cooperation of foreign countries in the exportation of the resources of South Vietnam, accept from any country economic and technical aid without any political conditions attached, and participate in regional plans of economic cooperation.*

*On the basis of these principles, after the end of the war, South Vietnam and the United States will establish relations in the political, economic and cultural fields.*

Now all of this, as a statement of intent by the PRG, is their business. The Vietnamese have the right to do whatever they want on these matters.

But as a subject for negotiations we must repeat again: The United States doesn't have any right to be a party to negotiations to determine the foreign policy, trade policy, or any other policy of a government of Vietnam. If the governments of Vietnam and the U.S. want to negotiate a trade pact, that's different.

But that's not what is involved here. What is involved here is setting policy of a government of Vietnam, and that is not the right of the United States.

Now what about these elections? What kind of an election would it be if the foreign policy, trade policy, etc., of the government is already determined before the election?

A certain set of politicians run on a certain platform that includes, let us say, planks that the government shouldn't trade with South Africa, or Israel, or what have you, and they are told, 'no,' you can't do that because your trade policy and foreign policy has already been determined in negotiations with the United States.



At the Geneva conference in May 1954, diplomats from nine nations—including the U.S., Britain, France, China, and the USSR—sat around a table and decided what should happen to Vietnam.

That wouldn't be a "free, democratic, and fair" election, now, would it?

Take the part that says: "accept the cooperation of foreign countries in the exportation of the resources of South Vietnam." Now that might be interpreted simply to mean normal trade relations, the hiring of foreign technicians where appropriate, etc. On the other hand it might be interpreted differently, and considering the record of the United States in exploiting the resources of Southeast Asia, it certainly raises questions.

Try it the other way around—"The government of the United States shall accept the cooperation of foreign countries in exporting the resources of the United States." Or China, or the USSR. How does it sound?

I can assure you that if any such suggestion were made in any international negotiations, the U.S. or China or the USSR would insist on being exceedingly specific as to what that did or did not mean with regard to their own countries, if they didn't simply start preparing for war at the mere mention of the proposition.

Point six:

*Regarding the damages caused by the United States to the Vietnamese peoples in the two zones.*

*The U.S. Government must bear full responsibility for the losses and the destruction it has caused to the Vietnamese people in the two zones.*

Nothing wrong with that. It is the minimum of simple justice.

Point seven:

*Regarding the respect and the international guarantee of the accords that will be concluded.*

*The parties will find agreement on the forms of respect and international guarantee of the accords that will be concluded.*

This point is very vague, obviously. However, when you talk about international guarantees you are on dangerous ground. In Indochina, every international guarantee that has been made has been violated by the imperialists and used by them to reenter the scene.

We could only wish that real international guarantees would be provided by China and the Soviet Union, to the effect that if the U.S. moves back into Vietnam it would evoke the same reaction as if it had moved into China

or the Soviet Union. That would be an effective international guarantee. But indications are that that is not what is referred to here. So this point seven raises more problems than it answers.

In conclusion, as revolutionary socialists in the United States, it is our duty to defend the Vietnamese revolution against our own government. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have devoted a great deal of time and resources to defense of the Vietnamese, and, despite our severe limitations, we have had some effect.

But we don't do it because the leadership of the PRG or the DRV agree with us on everything. We know very well they don't. We don't require that as a condition for our staunch defense of that revolution.

The American antiwar movement is based on the demand for immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. This demand makes it clear it is the U.S. that is the aggressor, and puts maximum pressure on the U.S. government to cease its aggression.

The antiwar movement should not retreat from the demand for "Out Now!" because it is the only demand that fully recognizes Vietnamese self-determination, and it is has proven to be the demand around which the greatest number of Americans can be mobilized.

# Halstead debates elections, 7-point plan

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK—More than 250 people crowded into New York University's Loeb Student Center Oct. 13 to hear a debate between Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party and Nat Hentoff, a columnist for the *Village Voice* and a member of the board of directors of the New York Civil Liberties Union. The topic of the debate was which course people should follow in the 1972 elections.

Hentoff urged that people vote for McGovern. He agreed with many of the criticisms directed against McGovern, however, explaining, "I'm not speaking for McGovern—I'm speaking against Nixon." He stressed the Nixon administration's stand against civil liberties and the issue of the war in Indochina. "If you can save one life," he declared, "that's enough reason to vote for McGovern."

Halstead, the SWP's 1968 presidential candidate and the party's current candidate for U.S. senator in Illinois, said the issue was not whether we wanted to save lives but how this could best be done. "Do we save a life by staying trapped in the party of the oppressor, or do we save it by continuing to build the independent power of the oppressed?" Halstead asked.

Both speakers supported the right of the Black and Puerto Rican communities to control their own schools. In response to an attack on this right from a person in the audience, Hentoff characterized American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker's campaign against community control as racist. He also expressed his support for Luis Fuentes, who is under attack by opponents of Black and Puerto Rican control of the schools.

While in New York, Halstead also participated in a panel discussion on the war in Vietnam and the antiwar movement with antiwar activist Dave McReynolds. The panel, which was held Oct. 12 at Cooper Union College in New York, drew 50 people.

On Oct. 16 at Brooklyn College, Halstead debated Bart Meyers and Irwin Silber on the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam's seven-point program for peace.

Both Meyers, who is the New York coordinator for Medical Aid for Indochina and the Indochina Peace Campaign, and Silber, who is executive editor of the *Guardian*, called on the U.S. antiwar movement to adopt the seven-point program as its own.

Halstead drew a distinction between the negotiating position of the Vietnamese, which might incorporate concessions made on the basis of U.S. power, and the demand of the antiwar movement, which should seek to force the U.S. to get out of Vietnam without exacting any concessions from the Vietnamese. About 65 people heard the debate, in which both Halstead and Silber stressed the need for mass actions after the elections.

Halstead is currently on a national speaking tour. To set up speaking engagements, contact the SWP National Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676.



# Young Socialists enlist support for SWP campaign in Conn.

By LAURA MILLER

Four members of a traveling team of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, one of 17 such teams around the country, spent five days recently at

Laura Miller is the YSA's national organizational secretary.

the University of Connecticut in Storrs. Their aim was to enlist student support for the Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign and to publicize the upcoming Young Socialist national convention in Cleveland, Nov. 23-26. How did things go?

"Great!" said Susan Winsten, the 22-year-old team captain who campaigns for Congress in New York's 16th C. D. (Brooklyn) when she isn't on the road. "There's a lot of interest in socialist politics here. Many students told us they saw Linda Jenness on ABC-TV's 'Issues and Answers' and were very favorably impressed. Several students signed up to work in the YSJP group here on campus."

Winsten and the other members of the team—Karen Bancroft, Jeff Feather, and Steve Halpern, all of New York City—sold 220 individual copies of *The Militant* and 86 subscrip-

tions in the five days they spent on campus.

These were sold from a socialist literature table they set up during the day and by canvassing the dormitories in the evenings. In addition, they sold quite a few subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review*, a revolutionary socialist theoretical magazine.

The YSJP team's short stay at the school attracted considerable attention. An article printed on page two of *The Hartford Courant* noted:

"... some of the traditional election paraphernalia has found its way into the Socialist Workers campaign as posters, leaflets and buttons lined a Socialist Workers table in UConn's student union lobby."

"Members of the UConn chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) with Ms. Winsten are busy buttonholing potential voters asking them to vote for their national candidates."

A debate between Winsten and a campus McGovern supporter also netted the team news coverage, this time in the student newspaper:

"Mike Winkler, a McGovern worker, told 30 people at the Socialist Versus McGovern debate Monday to 'work for Jenness but vote for McGovern'

if they accept the Socialist platform. . . ."

"According to Winsten, voting for McGovern would only 'maintain capitalist oppression'. . . ."

"We had many good discussions with students who supported McGovern," Winsten told me. "Most of them liked the SWP campaign and many are seriously considering supporting Jenness and Pulley because of McGovern's shift to the right on many issues. We got out a large quantity of Socialist Workers Party platforms and wallposters about the Young Socialist convention to McGovern supporters."

The team also met up with supporters of Richard Nixon on the campus. One evening, as Winsten was selling subscriptions to *The Militant* in a dorm, she came upon a Nixon canvasser and a young woman discussing the elections. As Winsten approached the pair, the young woman pointed to a picture of Linda Jenness in a *Militant* that Winsten was carrying. "Oh look," she exclaimed, "there's that woman I was telling you I'm thinking of voting for!"

Before the team packed up to head for their next stop at Yale University, three UConn students expressed an interest in joining the YSA.

## Young Socialist Nat'l Convention Countdown

Calling for open admissions for all Black and Raza students, abolition of tuition, and university support to the antiwar and women's liberation movements, two Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley were recently elected to the All-University Assembly of the University of Massachusetts in Boston.

Larry Fitch and Marilyn Levin have announced that they will seek the student government's endorsement of the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 antiwar demonstrations supported by the Student Mobilization Committee. They will also call for endorsement of the Oct. 21 Women's Tribunal on Abortion, which women on the campus are organizing in conjunction with the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. In addition, they are seeking Assembly support for the national lettuce boycott organized by the United Farm Workers.

Boston isn't the only place where young socialists are winning elections. The University of Texas YSJP just completed its third successful campaign for the Student Senate. Frank Stovall, the first gay activist ever elected to the UT student government, joins Rich Stuart and Shayne Vitemb, Young Socialist Alliance members who were elected to the Student Senate earlier this year.

Agnes Chapa, a 16-year-old Chicana activist who campaigned as a supporter of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley and in defense of high school rights, was elected to the Lanier High School student government. Chapa is a member of the Austin, Texas, YSA.

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, told a student audience at Lyndon Baines Johnson's alma mater that the best thing a young person could do to change

society is to become a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. The result: five people at Southwest Texas State University in San Marcos joined the YSA.

Sam Manuel, a Black liberation activist and YSA national committee member, gave a talk on "Nixon, McGovern, or Jenness and Pulley" to an enthusiastic group of 60 students at all-Black Huston-Tillotson College in Au-



Sam Manuel

stin, Texas. After the talk 10 people signed up to work for Jenness and Pulley, one of whom rushed up to Manuel and exclaimed, "I'm really glad you came. Now I have somebody to vote for!"

Delfine Welch, a member of the YSA national executive committee who is on an East Coast speaking tour to publicize the Young Socialist convention, reports:

"A lot of people who come to hear me speak are disillusioned McGovern supporters looking for an alternative. When I point out that the Young Socialist convention will be discussing

ways that young people can fight effectively for the issues McGovern is selling out on, like abortion law repeal, I get a very, very good response."

"Dynamics of the Youth Radicalization and Perspectives for the Young Socialist Alliance" is the title of a draft political resolution that has been presented for discussion to YSAers and YSJPers by the YSA national execu-



Delfine Welch

tive committee. The document takes up the relationship of Vietnam to the world revolution, the development of the student movement, and other questions, and projects an action strategy for the YSA in the year ahead.

This and other resolutions will be voted on at the YSA national convention at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel in Cleveland, Nov. 23-26.

Copies of the document (50 cents each), as well as information on the YSA and the convention, are available from the Young Socialist Alliance National Office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y., 10003.

— LAURA MILLER

## Fla. vote backs YSA campus rights

By SARAH RYAN

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Oct. 18—The Young Socialist Alliance won an important victory here today when Florida State University students backed the YSA's right to campus recognition by a vote of 1,806 to 856.

(It is interesting to note that in a presidential poll conducted along with the student referendum, Richard Nixon came in first with 1,050.)

The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC), which had campaigned for a large "yes" vote on the referendum, has called a news conference for tomorrow at the capitol to announce the referendum victory. The committee will also announce plans for a statewide endorser and petition drive in support of the YSA's rights.

The YSA has been banned from state university campuses in Florida since the spring of 1970. At that time Burke Kibler, chairman of the Florida Board of Regents, issued a personal letter declaring that the YSA should not be given campus recognition. This soon became statewide policy. The ban was initiated on the false claim that the YSA represents a "clear and present danger" to the Florida educational system.

FAPEC and the YSA have fought the Regent's ban in federal court and are waging a vigorous campaign to publicize this blatant denial of basic democratic rights.

On Oct. 11, FAPEC held a public meeting at FSU to outline its perspectives for stepping up the publicity campaign and launching an endorser drive to win the YSA's rights.

David Bouffard, secretary of FAPEC, described the committee's projected campaign as a "major drive by FAPEC on a statewide level, going to as many state colleges and universities as possible to win endorsers and supporters of the right of the YSA to be a recognized student organization."

Other speakers at the meeting included Dr. Roy Odum, chairman of FAPEC; Dr. Thomas Lockridge, FAPEC treasurer; Mr. Baumgarten, chairman of the FSU American Civil Liberties Union; and Sam Manuel, a member of the YSA national committee.

The FSU referendum was held during the student government election runoffs and had received wide university support. This included more than 30 FSU professors, community groups such as the Tallahassee Gay Liberation Front and the Malcolm X Liberation Front, and the editor of the *Flambeau*, the FSU student newspaper.

More than 1,000 signatures have already been solicited at FSU. This, coupled with the victory on the referendum, has given a tremendous boost to the statewide endorser and petition drive.

Letters of protest from individuals, student governments, and campus organizations can be sent to Burke Kibler, Chairman, Board of Regents, 210 Collins Building, 107 North Gaines St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304 (send copies to FAPEC). Statements of support, contributions, and requests for more information can be sent to FAPEC, P.O. Box 6693, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla., 32306.



Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Champaign, Ill.	10	10	100.0
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	24	96.0
Edinboro, Pa.	60	54	90.0
Oxford, Ohio	40	33	82.5
Augusta, Me.	10	8	80.0
Storrs, Conn.	25	19	76.0
Boulder, Colo.	175	122	69.7
Madison, Wis.	200	137	68.5
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	10	66.7
Nashville, Tenn.	20	13	65.0
Portland, Ore.	700	445	63.6
Seattle, Wash.	950	562	59.2
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,900	1,071	56.4
Cleveland, Ohio	1,300	716	55.1
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	650	52.0
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	635	50.8
Oakland/Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	1,040	47.3
Cedar Falls, Iowa	30	14	46.7
Hartford, Conn.	125	58	46.4
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,700	769	45.2
San Francisco, Calif.	2,050	923	45.0
Denver, Colo.	1,250	512	41.0
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	506	40.5
Burlington, Vt.	25	10	40.0
Lexington, Ky.	25	10	40.0
Saranac Lake, N.Y.	25	10	40.0
Chicago, Ill.	2,500	992	39.7
Detroit, Mich.	1,500	593	39.5
Atlanta, Ga.	1,250	492	39.3
Providence, R.I.	125	47	37.6
Boston, Mass.	2,500	919	36.7
Bloomington, Ind.	350	125	35.7
San Diego, Calif.	400	145	35.3
Youngstown, Ohio	20	7	35.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050	366	34.8
Tallahassee, Fla.	150	52	34.7
San Antonio, Texas	50	17	34.0
Washington, D.C.	900	273	30.4
Celina, Ohio	10	3	30.0
Corvallis, Ore.	33	9	27.3
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	54	27.0
Austin, Texas	550	142	25.8
St. Louis, Mo.	120	29	24.2
Bethlehem, Pa.	10	2	20.0
College Park, Md.	175	35	20.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	30	6	20.0
Sarasota, Fla.	25	5	20.0
Houston, Texas	1,050	203	19.3
Cincinnati, Ohio	100	18	18.0
Huntington, W.Va.	40	7	17.5
New Haven, Conn.	25	4	16.0
Binghamton, N.Y.	200	29	14.5
Durham, N.H.	50	6	12.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	6	12.0
Carbondale, Ill.	35	4	11.4
Bowling Green, Ky.	10	1	10.0
Long Island, N.Y.	100	10	10.0
New Brunswick, N.J.	20	2	10.0
Kansas City, Mo.	150	13	8.7
Allentown, Pa.	50	2	4.0
University, Ala.	100	4	4.0
Worcester, Mass.	175	5	2.9
Santa Barbara, Calif.	75	2	2.7
Amherst, Mass.	150	3	2.0
Gary, Ind.	100	2	2.0
Red Bank, N.J.	50	1	2.0
Buffalo, N.Y.	20	0	0
Alfred, N.Y.	10	0	0
Sacramento, Calif.	10	0	0
Wilson, N.C.	5	0	0
National Teams	1,500	620	41.3
General	500	107	21.2
TOTAL TO DATE		13,723	41.6
SHOULD BE		15,588	47.2
GOAL		33,000	100.0

TEAM	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Seattle/Portland	700	390	55.7
Cleveland	800	434	54.2
National Midwest	800	385	48.1
Denver	560	238	42.5
Detroit	700	277	39.6
New York #1	700	258	36.9
Boston	700	251	35.9
Oakland/Berkeley	700	241	34.5
Chicago	700	237	33.9
National South	700	235	33.6
San Francisco	700	228	32.6
Atlanta	700	219	31.3
Philadelphia/Washington, D.C.	700	217	31.0
Twin Cities	700	167	23.9
Los Angeles	700	155	22.1
New York #2	700	142	20.3
Texas	700	2	.3
TOTAL TO DATE		4,076	33.9
SHOULD BE		5,233	43.2
GOAL		12,000	100.0

With drive at half-way mark some areas ahead on sales

By NANCY COLE  
OCT. 18 — With the subscription drive almost half over, some areas with large quotas have been successful in their plans to complete two-thirds of their quotas by the halfway point. One of these areas is Lower Manhattan, N.Y., which now has a total of 500 of their 750 quota (the total quota is 1250, 550 of which are to come from the two New York YSJP teams).  
Of these 500 subscriptions, 300 are from New York campuses — Hunter College, Queens College, New York University, Cooper Union, and Wagner College on Staten Island. In order to finish the drive on schedule, they have set aside two nights a week for subscription teams and plan to try a couple of new locations, such as a Manhattan supermarket that stays open until midnight and an artists' project.  
The YSJP teams sent in more than enough this week to be on schedule and are slowly catching up to where they should be. The national Midwest team has answered the Seattle/Portland team's pledge to be the top subscription sellers with a challenge of their own: "We challenge any team in the country to a *Militant* showdown!" And to back it up they increased their team quota from 700 to 800. So far the Cleveland team has the most subscriptions.  
During four hours of canvassing the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, the national South team signed up 98 endorsers for the SWP campaign. This team of four Afro-Americans has been touring Black colleges in the South. To date it has signed up a total of 218 endorsers, the

highest number of any team so far.  
According to team captain Baxter Smith, when students are presented with an alternative to Nixon and McGovern — an alternative that supports Black control of the Black community, immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, and freedom for all political prisoners — it's not hard to convince them to endorse the SWP campaign.  
Smith, who toured Southern campuses last spring as part of a YSJP team, offered another comment on the team's findings. "There seems to be more interest in Black women's liberation than last spring. The best-selling pamphlet has been 'Black Women's Liberation' (Pathfinder Press), and since we've been on the road I've only heard one attack on the women's liberation movement as not relevant to Black women."

The drive for 3,300 new subscribers to the *International Socialist Review* is behind schedule, with a total of 920 received so far. Many areas report that they plan to make *ISR* subscriptions a priority in the second half of the drive.  
The YSJP teams are also behind in their *ISR* quotas, but a few have taken steps to catch up. The Cleveland team sent in 15 *ISR* subscriptions last week, seven of those sold in just one and a half hours at Marietta College in Ohio. They did this by approaching people right from the beginning with a combined offer of *The Militant* and the *ISR* for \$2. And Steve Halpern from New York team #2 approached professors and in a short time sold four *ISR* subscriptions.



New England Young Socialists sell subs at University of Maine, Orono, Me.

Militant Gets Around

Nancy Cole



The scoreboard is one way of judging the subscription drive's progress, but there are others. If you've ever sold subscriptions, you know it can be exciting, especially when you run into those people who were "just waiting for a paper like *The Militant* to come along." This year selling subscriptions seems to be an even more gratifying experience because of *The Militant's* support for the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign.  
Here are a few of the stories we've received indicating the kind of response *The Militant* and the Jenness/Pulley campaign are getting this fall.  
● The Detroit YSJP team reports that team member Barry Sell inadvertently walked into the room of a dormitory resident assistant. After an hour and a half he had not only sold a subscription to the resident assistant but also to four other people in the room. In addition, he collected a list of other prospective subscribers.  
● According to the Chicago YSJP team, one student in Wisconsin wanted a subscription bad enough to count out 100 pennies for it.  
● A supporter in Detroit who works for a survey company called a student in Potsdam, N.Y., to ask him who he would be voting for — Nixon, McGovern, or "other." He answered that he might vote for Jenness and Pulley. After a 25-minute conversation, he agreed to buy a *Militant* subscription and to get in touch with the SWP campaign office in his area.  
● A student at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pa., who interviewed the Cleveland YSJP team for the campus radio station bought a Mc-

Govern truth kit to use as the basis for an interview he had set up with Sargent Shriver.  
● In Los Angeles, Judi Shane was cashing a check from the Socialist Workers Party when the bank teller recognized the name. "Oh, I know them (*SWP*)," she said, "You've got that woman . . ."  
Judi answered that not only did they have Linda Jenness, but they were selling special subscriptions to *The Militant*. With everyone in the bank listening by this time, the teller said she couldn't buy a sub right then, but she did buy a single copy.  
● YSJPers in San Antonio, Texas, approached a student at Trinity University who exclaimed, "I can't believe it! For years I thought I must be the only socialist in this whole city." This student is now helping to form a YSJP on campus.  
● One new subscriber from Yakima, Wash., told the Portland/Seattle YSJP team, "I was going to subscribe to *Newsweek*, but now since I've got *The Militant*, I don't need to."

- \_\_\_\_\_
- ( ) \$1 for a 20-week introductory subscription.
- ( ) \$2.50 for a six-month subscription.
- ( ) \$1.50 for GIs for six months.
- ( ) \$5 for a one-year subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 13—An amendment attached to the war appropriations bill recently passed by the House of Representatives forbids the Pentagon to buy armaments containing imported specialty steels. This protectionist measure caused alarm in certain ruling-class circles.

"International economic relations are at a low ebb and in danger of further erosion," wrote Thomas Mulaney, the financial editor of the *New York Times*, Sept. 24. "The happy rapprochement of the nineteen-sixties on trade and tariff issues is withering fast without, unfortunately, much recognition and concern. . . .

"... the world seems to have lost its spirit of cooperation on trade matters and has become highly nationalistic once more on economic problems."

Just two days after this article was written, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz proposed a program for reforming world finance at the International Monetary Fund conference in Washington, D. C. The U. S. proposal was heralded as a first step in overcoming the drift toward open warfare in world trade and finance.

At first glance it appears that Washington did make concessions to its European and Japanese competitors. Secretary Shultz held that monetary-reform talks do not have to depend on the results of pending trade negotiations between the capitalist powers, a position that has been advocated abroad.

Shultz also proposed a system that would displace the dollar as the centerpiece of international currency transactions. The exchange rate of the dollar will be flexible along with other world currencies. There is widespread hope among world bankers that this can be brought about.

Finally, Shultz promised that when U. S. balance of payments deficits are transformed into surpluses, Washington will restore convertibility of the dollar.

The New Economic Policy launched by Nixon in August 1971 made dollars inconvertible into U. S. reserve currencies or gold. This is one of the main issues in world finance. Foreign central banks have accumulated \$70-billion, much of it in the stormy financial crises of the last several years.

The value of these dollars is continuously eroded by inflation in the United States. But under the terms of the NEP, foreign banks cannot trade the inflated dollars for stronger world currencies or gold.

Closer examination shows that Shultz did not make any significant concessions. Although he promised future dollar convertibility, he indicated that Washington will still refuse to exchange gold for overseas dollars. The proposals continue to press for a resolution of U. S. problems in world finance at the expense of other nations. They have dangerous implications for workers, abroad as well as in the United States.

## World trade

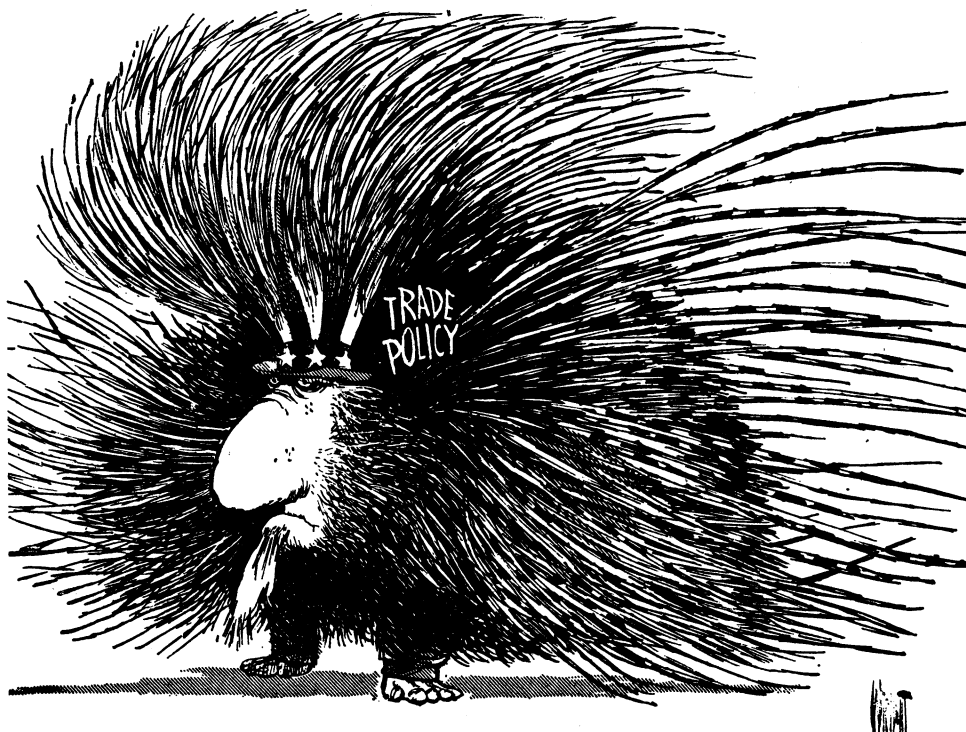
The separation of negotiations on world trade from monetary reforms can only be formal. In the real give and take of international competition, imbalances in the monetary system result from imbalances in trade and investment.

Leaving military deficits aside, U. S. dollars pile up in Europe and Japan because of the competitive advantages of manufacturing goods there. This is the result of a long historical process, and it cannot be reversed without convulsive struggles.

Capital is attracted to Europe and Japan by their relatively lower wage scales, combined with technology that is frequently as good as or better than the technology of U. S. industry.

# Int'l monetary crisis

## U.S. moves toward trade warfare



It is profitable for the U. S. multinational corporations to manufacture and sell goods abroad. It is profitable for these same corporations to manufacture goods abroad and sell them in the United States. And, of course, it is profitable for foreign monopoly to manufacture goods abroad and sell them in the United States. These processes result in the accumulation of dollars abroad.

Shultz proposed that the convertibility of the dollar be restored *only when the United States returns to a balance of payments surplus*.

This requires a major reversal of trade and investment trends. Shultz proposed a plan for bringing it about. On one hand, nations presently piling up a surplus of foreign currencies from trade advantages would be penalized. They would be expected to lower tariff and quota barriers to foreign goods, revalue their currencies in order to make their exports less competitive, and loosen monetary policy in order to halt the inflow of foreign currencies. If they didn't do this, the International Monetary Fund could impose surcharges on their exports, again making them less competitive.

In return, nations presently incurring deficits would undertake deflationary policies in order to halt the outflow of money. If they failed to do this, the IMF could forbid them to borrow or draw reserves, making it impossible for them to balance international transactions.

Both aspects of the Shultz reforms boil down to attacking workers in the interests of U. S. monopoly. In order to cut down the flow of dollars into Europe and Japan, these nations would have to cut back their own export industry, even if this risked creating a recession. This would lead to unemployment as foreign jobs were cut down by U. S. exports.

In turn, Washington would promise to pursue recessionary policies, as the Nixon administration did in 1969-1970. Jobs would be slashed and interest rates driven up to make the dollar more stable—to preserve the

ability of U. S. banks and industry to carry on their international financial operations.

Far from getting away from trade warfare, the Shultz plan points further in this direction. *Business Week* explained Sept. 30, "If the U. S., for instance, decides it simply cannot push surplus nations back toward balance through reform of the monetary system, it will enter the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] sessions in a more conservative, protectionist state of mind."

If U. S. goods cannot break into foreign markets, U. S. markets will be closed to foreign goods. That is the kind of protectionist spiral that hastened along the economic collapse of the 1930s.

## Role of dollar

What about the billions of inflated dollars already in foreign central banks? Shultz attempted to sidestep this question. The idea of gradually replacing the dollar as the major reserve currency with Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), the "currency" of the International Monetary Fund, is music of the distant future.

In the first place, dollars will continue to dominate world trade and finance, whether or not they float in money markets. This is because the U. S. market is by far the biggest among capitalist nations, and U. S. investments far outweigh those of the other capitalist powers.

The problem of replacing dollars by SDRs is all the more compounded by the fact of world inflation. For SDRs do not escape the impact of inflation. They are a form of credit issued by the IMF to balance payments between central banks and are convertible into national currencies.

But like all forms of credit, they can end up increasing the world monetary supply without increasing production, and consequently end up fanning the fires of world inflation instead of putting them out.

(The Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel foresaw this possibility as early as December 1968. Mandel's

analysis appeared in the "The Crisis of the International Monetary System," March-April 1969 *International Socialist Review*. It has been reprinted by Monad Press in a volume by Mandel entitled *Decline of the Dollar*.)

Most interesting in the IMF meeting last month was German economics minister Helmut Schmidt's objection to issuing any new SDRs next year. Schmidt pointed to the explosion of international reserves—an increase of 61 percent in two years—as a factor nourishing world inflation.

In fact, SDRs help Washington continue deficits, and this is probably Schmidt's main objection to them. Theoretically, the U. S. Treasury can use its quota of SDRs to purchase foreign-held dollars, as Shultz suggested. In this case the U. S. would be using the SDR credit extended to it by the IMF to balance its deficits. This would not prevent U. S. imperialism from carrying out inflationary deficit-producing policies but would instead encourage this process.

If SDRs are issued in excessive quantities, the long-term danger is that Washington will more and more resort to SDRs to balance its deficits, and the SDR will suffer the same fate as the dollar. Europe and Japan don't want to hold any more depreciating dollars. But they are equally unhappy with the prospect of piling up large quantities of SDRs that are subject to the same inexorable depreciation as the national currencies on which they are based.

It is nevertheless likely that the IMF will continue to issue SDRs. The important point is that the fundamental economic problems facing world imperialism cannot be alleviated by extending more credit, even the esteemed credit of the International Monetary Fund. This only creates further inflation.

Meanwhile there are billions of inflated dollars in world money markets. Periodic eruptions of the monetary system are inevitable when any pending change in currency value leads to the dumping of these "hot" dollars for stronger currencies. And changes in currency values—that is, devaluations or revaluations of currencies—are the inevitable consequence of uneven economic growth among nations, differing rates of inflation, and differing wage rates—in other words, consequences of the actual anarchic conditions of the capitalist world market.

The upward curve of this process is remarkable. The British financial magazine *The Economist* described it Sept. 30: "In March, 1961, as funds moved out of sterling in order to try to find the next uprating currency after the first revaluation of the [West German] D-mark, it was possible for a responsible financial observer to write with horror of the day when 'on March 6th alone, \$180m poured into Switzerland'. . . . By 1962 \$900m flowed out of Canadian dollars in four days."

"By this summer it was possible to see \$2.6 billion move out of sterling

Continued on page 22



George Shultz

# In Review

## Books History of Quebec

*The History of Quebec: A Patriote's Handbook* by Leandre Bergeron. New Canada Publications. Toronto, 1971. 234 pp., \$1.50 paper.

"We Québécois are an imprisoned people subjected to colonialism. To change our situation we must first understand it. To understand it well, we must analyze the historical forces that brought it about. Once we have defined the forces that reduced us to colonial status, and those that keep us there today, we can identify our enemies correctly, study the relationships of forces carefully and engage in struggle more effectively."

Thus Léandre Bergeron outlines his reasons for writing this brief history of Québec, a history that clearly documents the oppression of Québec as a nation for more than 200 years. No wonder the French edition of this book was a number one best



Quebec nationalism fueled 1837 crosscountry revolt against British rule.

seller for 24 weeks. With today's growing movement for an independent and French Québec, any book that speaks so clearly of topics that young radicalizing nationalists want to hear is bound to be popular. Especially since the history of struggle of the Québécois has for so long been buried under the topsoil of the official, academic studies that pour out of the pens of the hired "historians."

In a clear, straightforward style, Bergeron takes us back to the initial conquest of the Indians by the first French settlers and merchants. He describes the gradual growth of trade and colonial life and the stratification into different classes: the artisans, the *coureur-de-bois* or fur hunters, the company men, and the bonded servants.

As a result of the War of the Austrian Succession in Europe, Acadia (presently Newfoundland and Nova Scotia) fell to the English in 1748, who then forcibly deported thousands of French-speaking Acadians and dropped them off along the coasts of America. As the English colonial drive continued westward they finally overran New France (Québec) in 1760. Thus began the 200-year subjugation of the Québécois and the grafting of an English-speaking ruling class onto Québec.

The powerful Catholic Church immediately bowed down and kissed the robes of the new rulers, telling their people to now give their loyalty to the British crown, by God—even during the years of the French and American revolutions. But even the Church couldn't keep things quiet forever.

By the 1830s, the few French merchants and the petty bourgeoisie began to mobilize the Québécois

in nationalist assemblies and demonstrations, with an eye toward making their own bourgeois-democratic revolution. The colonial administration soon attacked the Québec Patriotes. This sparked the Revolution of 1837, which the English crushed only with great difficulty. Twelve Patriotes were publicly executed and others were deported and imprisoned. A similar attempted bourgeois-democratic revolution in English Canada also failed.

With a growing economy and trade and the gradual weakening of the colonial institutions, the capitalists reasoned, Canada sooner or later had to become a "unified" country so that they, the capitalists, could build a railroad from the East Coast to the West. Their solution—Confederation, the "unification" of Canada—was made official in 1867 against the wishes of the Québécois, who rightfully regarded this as another defeat.

In 1869-70, an uprising of various Indian tribes, the Métis (a mixture of French Canadians and Indians), and French Canadian settlers in Manitoba established a Provisional Government. Ontario was forced to officially recognize this government. But not wishing to see another French-speaking province in Canada, Ontario violated the agreements, began killing off the Métis, and flooded the province with English-speaking colonists to anglicize it.

Louis Riel, the leader of the rebellion, fled only to return in 1884 to lead another uprising in Saskatchewan and Alberta. This one was also crushed and resulted in the execution of Riel and the end of the French "threat" to the West.

Although Ontario had managed to tame the West, Québec was still seething. Not identifying with the Canadian government and not willing to fight in its capitalist wars, the Québécois opposed conscription during World War I. They mounted mass demonstrations in Montréal and the city of Québec and fought the police and military. Similarly, during World War II a referendum showed 85 percent of the Québécois opposed to the draft. When it was instituted anyway, they once more poured out into the streets.



Quebecois workers opposed the draft during World War II.

Bergeron also does a decent job of showing with simple charts and statistics the penetration of U.S. capital into Québec since the end of World War I and its disastrous effects on the Québec economy.

The more familiar events of the radicalization of the 1960s Bergeron deals with briefly: the formation of various nationalist groups, the student demonstrations, the growth of the movement for an independent and French Québec, the gradual politization of the trade unions, culminating with the imposition of the War Measures Act in October 1970.

But the history of Québec, of course, didn't stop there. It continues to be written in the streets—in the ongoing demonstrations, in the massive workers' upsurge of May 1972, and in the events yet to come.

—ERNEST HARSCH

## Pamphlets Corona Speaks

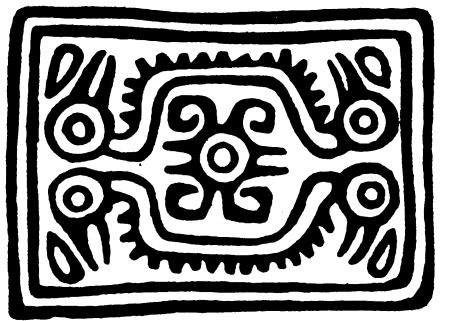
Bert Corona Speaks on La Raza Unida Party and the 'Illegal Alien' Scare. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 24 pp. Thirty-five cents.

In this speech Bert Corona, a longtime activist in the labor and Chicano movements, tackles two of the most controversial questions facing La Raza today.

Corona attacks the concept that it is possible for Chicanos and labor to gain anything by working within the Democratic Party and speaks in defense of the so-called illegal aliens.

He points to the creation of the anti-labor Pay Board, for example, as having been supported by Democrats and Republicans alike.

"It is very important that we know exactly what system controls these two political parties," he states. Behind the Chicano puppets representing Muskie, Kennedy, and the others stand Morgan, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Vanderbilt, the Chase Manhattan Bank, and the Bank of America. "And this situation is repeated in Central and South America, in the countries of the Caribbean, in Africa, and in all the underdeveloped nations controlled by these world capitalists."



The oppression of Chicanos is actually created by these people and their system, so how can we expect them to solve our problems?

To underscore his point Corona cites the negative example of the Black movement's experience within the Democratic Party. "Despite the fact that they have many elected officials, the mass of the Black people remain as poor as ever."

He concludes that "on the basis that these two parties have been nothing but promises . . . there is only one way out, and that is to form our own party. And that is why La Raza Unida Party has been receiving the support of the people."

Corona goes on to explain that these same politicians have succeeded in making undocumented Raza workers in this country scapegoats for unemployment and low wages in the eyes of workers here. ". . . all of us should know that it is the economic system that is to blame for the fact that there aren't enough jobs!"

As a leader of CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo—Autonomous Social Action Center), a mass organization of undocumented Raza workers in Los Angeles, Corona speaks with some authority on this subject.

He criticizes the AFL-CIO officialdom, as well as Farm Workers Union President César Chávez, for not coming to the defense of the working class.

The new Chicano party must seek to forge a unity of all Raza, he says, including "those people who are called *mojados* [wetbacks] or 'illegals.' We don't accept these terms, because for us the only thing that is illegal is the Immigration Service.

—MIGUEL PENDAS



# Sara Rosenshine: 1907-1972

By SARAH LOVELL

Sara Rosenshine died of cancer Oct. 8 at the age of 64, after undergoing brain surgery last May. Until the time of the operation, she was an active member of the Socialist Workers Party in Detroit, where she had joined the organization almost 10 years before.

It is unusual for a woman who lived in comfortable circumstances and had family ties to decide to join a small revolutionary party at the age of 55. For Sara Rosenshine this decision, which she considered one of the most important of her life, was completely in keeping with her experiences, her aspirations, and her character.

Sara Rosenshine was an unusual woman. Entirely free from prejudice, she approached all people and ideas with interest and sympathy. Rejecting the values of this society, appalled at its evils and injustice, she identified with the poor, the oppressed, and the vulnerable. She felt a special affinity for young people.

During her lifetime, Sara witnessed the human anguish and struggles of the twentieth century, some of it at close range.

She was born in an immigrant home in Toronto, Canada. Shortly before the outbreak of World War I, her mother took the family to Poland. They were caught in the war upheaval there. Her mother died, and the family was dispersed. Sara never forgot the fighting and the turmoil of those years.

After the war Sara came to the United States, settling in Detroit when still in her teens. One would never guess that she had been denied formal schooling as a child. Her English was spoken with perfect diction. This had been totally self-taught; she did not know the language when she came to this country.

The public schools had offered the teenage woman a seat in the first grade. Sara refused this, educated herself, and was self-supporting during the depression years.

Her first introduction to radical political ideas came in the forties, through her second husband, Nathan Rosenshine. In those years she worked in the cause of civil rights and civil liberties. Her most active political involvement, prior to joining the Socialist Workers Party, was in the 1948 Henry Wallace campaign for president.

During the difficult decade of the 1950's Sara found purposeful activity

as a volunteer teacher for retarded children. She also taught English classes for immigrants.

The sixties, a turning point in the life of the country, was also a turning point in Sara's life. She especially responded to the Black liberation struggle and to the new awakening of the youth. She was introduced to the party by her son Dan, who had joined the Young Socialist Alliance. Unlike many others, it was typical of Sara not to reject the ideas of the young generation but to hear them out.

She studied the socialist literature,



became convinced, and, as was natural to her, acted on her conviction and joined the SWP in 1963. It was a decision that was not made lightly. After joining she paused to reconsider it, questioning how she would fit into a movement that was then primarily attracting youth.

It seemed to us that the question need not have been asked. Sara was very soon at home in the work of the party, involving herself in all its activities. The task at the moment was the petition campaign to put the SWP on the ballot in the 1964 elections, and Sara was right out on that campaign, petitioning and propagandizing at the same time.

So it was with all the tasks of the party: selling *The Militant*, keeping the headquarters clean and decorated,

organizing a meeting, or running a social affair. She did everything with energy and zest. Unknowingly, she was an example for all her comrades, including the young members. And for the older members, working with her on jobs that had become tiresome and routine made them much easier.

In addition, Sara took on the responsibility of financial secretary for three years straight. She carried it out with the attention to detail that it required, and with a consideration toward everyone she had to deal with that is not always thought to be required.

Sara also had personal responsibilities that demanded her time and attention, but she seldom missed the Friday Night Socialist Forum. There, she thought, there was something to learn and something to teach. She often remained long after the formalities were over for individual discussion and debate.

As the movement against the war in Vietnam developed, Sara became an activist in it. She was a volunteer in the office of the Detroit Coalition to End the War from its inception and helped to organize antiwar demonstrations in Detroit and bus transportation for national actions in other cities.

Early in 1970 she was one of the organizers of the Women's Speak-out Against the War at Marygrove College, which had a thousand people in attendance. And in 1971 she helped assemble the women's contingent from Detroit for the April 24 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Sara was interested in all aspects of the emerging women's liberation movement. She was a longtime advocate of a woman's right to have an abortion, and she joined in the efforts to repeal the restrictive laws. She raised money for and publicized the repeal campaign and was a plaintiff in the class-action suit against the Michigan state abortion laws in 1971.

Sara was a great asset to the Socialist Workers Party, and to all the movements in which she participated.

In addition to her many organizational responsibilities, she never ceased her involvement with individuals inside and outside the movement. One never knew exactly who she was helping at any given time. But there was always someone—either a foreign student learning English or friends or comrades of all ages who came to her for counsel on personal matters.

## Iranian students protest West German deportations

By TONY THOMAS

OCT. 17—The West German government's Oct. 4 decision to ban the General Union of Palestinian Students, its continued deportation of Arabs, and the threat of repressive action by the U.S. government have prompted protest actions against both governments in several U.S. cities.

On Oct. 10 the Iranian Students Association (ISA) in New York announced that protest demonstrations were taking place in West Germany and other European countries, that a hunger strike was in progress in Paris, and that actions were being projected in San Francisco; Chicago; Washington, D.C.; and New York.

On Oct. 12, 150 people joined a ISA demonstration in front of the West German consulate in New York to demand an end to the wave of racist persecution sweeping West Germany. Most of the demonstrators were Iranian, Arab, and other third-world students. They wore masks to indicate they did not consider the U.S. government to be any more democratic than its West German ally.

In Chicago, Arab students and supporters held a 36-hour vigil at the West German consulate starting at 7 a.m. Oct. 12. Members of the Chicago Socialist Workers Party and the Chicago Young Socialist Alliance, including Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for Cook County state's attorney, participated in the action.

Protests were planned for Los Angeles Oct. 18 and 19.

## Harvard tries to justify ties with Portugal

Supporters of independence for the Portuguese colonies in Africa have been protesting against the Gulf Oil Corporation. Gulf has extensive holdings in Angola and has paid millions of dollars in subsidies to the Portuguese government to finance Portugal's wars against the peoples of her African colonies.

One of the main targets of this protest has been Harvard University, which owns more than 700,000 shares in Gulf. Black students demanding that Harvard sell its shares in Gulf have held strikes, sit-ins, and other actions in the Boston area.

However, according to the Oct. 6 *New York Times*, Stephen Farber, an assistant to Harvard President Derek Bok, will issue a 11,000-word report stating that the sale of Harvard's Gulf stock "would have 'no practical effect in advancing the independence of black Angolans.'"

This summer, Farber visited Cabinda Province, the center of Gulf's Angola operation. He claims that the Harvard "corporation will make 'representations' to Gulf on a number of issues concerning Angola," but no specific recommendations were proposed. Farber claimed that the Cabinda works were of little consequence during the period Portugal decided to hold on to its African territories and thus Harvard could not change that course by selling its shares. However, he did not explain what that had to do with Gulf's current policy of subsidizing the Portuguese war effort.

## Poison dyes added to food boost sales

By LEE SMITH

The Select Committee on Nutrition of the U.S. Senate heard testimony from scientific experts Sept. 21 about the dangers of commercially-used food dyes.

The hearings are an example of the urgency with which the government acts to halt food industry practices that endanger the public's health. For instance, one of the witnesses who testified Sept. 21 was Dr. William Lijinsky, a researcher at Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee. Dr. Lijinsky testified about the cancer-causing properties of the widely used additive, sodium nitrite. This is exactly the same thing Dr. Lijinsky said in March 1971 when he was still at the University of Nebraska. The April 2, 1971, *Militant* called attention to

Lijinsky's warning and the brush-off he got from the Food and Drug Administration.

In the year-and-a-half interval between Lijinsky's warning and the hearings last month, Ralph Nader's Health Research Group directed the attention of the FDA to two Soviet animal studies that confirmed Lijinsky's warning about sodium nitrite and other red-dye additives used in meat. The Nader group's warning was reported in the Nov. 26, 1971, *Militant*.

At that time, the FDA's response was that it was already taking action—that is, it was asking for reports from companies on the amounts of dangerous additives used, with a deadline on such reports of December 1971.

Now it is October 1972. And the

Senate's committee on nutrition has heard Lijinsky, Anita Johnson of the Nader group, and Michael F. Jacobsen of the Center for Science in the Public Interest tell them what has been known for at least a year and a half: that sodium nitrite and red dyes in the amounts they are now used by the food industry pose a threat to consumers' health.

It remains to be seen how many more branches of government will sit around contemplating the evidence before these poisons are banned from foods. Anita Johnson charged at the hearings that the FDA has not used its authority to halt use of the additives because the food industry wants to keep using them. Red meat sells better than gray meat does.

# Calendar

BOSTON

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS.** Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

**MARXISM AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION.** Speaker Delfine Welch, founder of Boston Female Liberation and member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A & S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

**THE DESTRUCTION OF VIETNAM.** Slide show of air destruction in Vietnam. Speakers: Duncan Williams, coordinator of Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition; and a Vietnam veteran. Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES

**'72 ELECTIONS.** Speakers from the Socialist Workers Party, McGovern campaign, People's Party, and the New American Movement. Fri., Oct. 27, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

**GRAND OPENING CELEBRATION** for the expanded facilities of the Militant Book Store (formerly the Modern Book Shop). Sat. and Sun., Nov. 4 and 5, noon to 6 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Books on women's liberation, Chicano history, the Black struggle, Africa, the Arab revolution, the antiwar movement, the labor movement, and the classic works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. The celebration features a special sale, including 25 percent off on Trotsky Speaks; Feminism and Socialism, edited by Linda Jenness; and Their Morals and Ours, a debate between Marxist and liberal conceptions of ethics. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL IN SCHOOL DISTRICT ONE.** Speaker: Luis Fuentes, school board superintendent, District One. Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m., at 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**PATHFINDER BOOKSTORE BOOK SALE.** Sat. and Sun., Oct. 28 and 29, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Wide selection of new and used books. 274 Broadway (106th. St.) For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA

**LINDA JENNESS**, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak at the University of Pennsylvania, Fine Arts Auditorium, Tues., Oct. 24, 8 p.m.

**CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** Featuring Linda Jenness. Wed., Oct. 25. Dinner, 7 p.m. Rally, 8:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$4. Rally only, \$1.50. Half-price for h.s. students. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

**MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY.** Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

**FEMINISM AND THE '72 ELECTIONS.** Speaker: Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist and member of the SWP '72 National Campaign Committee. Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by the Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## ...Jenness

Continued from page 3

Affairs. This is a small, prestigious, and plush graduate school endowed by LBJ to produce political theorists and party hacks for the Democratic and Republican parties.

These students were still trying to analyze McGovern's statement and asked Jenness her opinion. After the discussion, a young woman said to Jenness, "My husband is missing in action in Vietnam and I hope you keep on hitting at McGovern. I don't think either Nixon or McGovern is going to get the prisoners of war or missing persons back alive because it's not fair to ask the Vietnamese to return them before the war is ended."

While in Texas, Jenness campaigned in support of the class-action suits challenging the constitutionality of the anti-abortion laws in Texas and Georgia. The cases were heard by the U.S. Supreme Court on Oct. 11.

## ...D.C.

Continued from page 4

After four days of the strike Mayor-Commissioner Walter Washington, a Nixon appointee, entered negotiations with the union, and the school board took a back seat. It was clear that the appointed office of mayor-commissioner was the only public body in the city that had any power to deal with the demands of the strike. By highlighting the powerlessness of the school board, which is the only elected body in D.C., the strike very clearly

raised the need for home rule.

Even in the District Committee of the House of Representatives there was talk among both Republicans and Democrats for the first time of giving the school board power to set teachers' salaries and the city government power to collect revenue.

In addition to the official strike placards carried by striking teachers, many chose to make their own signs. One of the most consistent themes of these signs was the connection between money spent on the war and the lack of funds for education.

One way for teachers to continue the struggle for better education and for an equitable 17 percent pay raise is to participate actively in the antiwar movement by turning out for the picket line in front of the White House on Oct. 26 and the antiwar rally in Lafayette Park on Nov. 18.

On both dates, people will be demanding the immediate withdrawal of all American troops and materiel from Southeast Asia and an immediate halt to the bombing. Teachers should bring signs with them linking the continued high inflation and the lack of funds for education and pay raises with the government's continued waste of money in Southeast Asia on the most unpopular war in U.S. history.

One of the most positive features of the strike was the key role rank-and-file teachers played in many aspects of the strike. They set up an effective system to coordinate picketing and the dispersal of information to picket lines; they established contact with community groups; they helped in the publication of three special strike editions of the *Washington Teacher*; and they were working on the establishment of freedom schools as the strike was settled.

This is testimony to the democracy within the WTU, which will be a key factor in the union's remaining a dynamic and viable force in D.C.

Perhaps the greatest gain from the strike is the new feeling of solidarity among members of Local 6. This will be helpful in dealing with school administrators on a day-to-day basis.

The strike also proved the old organizing rule of thumb that the best way to build an organization is for it to be engaged in activity visible and

important to all. During the strike, more than 500 teachers joined the union!

## ...money

Continued from page 19

in six days (the bulk of it in just three days) and then \$6 billion out of dollars in just over 13 days (at least half of the total moving in one hour on June 23rd and in two days before the meetings of the EEC [Common Market] finance ministers in London). Anyone like to take a bet on next time?"

These geometrically increasing flows of hot money mirror international capital's frantic search for profitable investments under the conditions of threatened world overproduction. The proposals U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Shultz put forward do not resolve these problems because they do not bridge the gap between the needs of U.S. imperialism and the conflicting needs of the world market. It is the insurmountable problem of world capitalism.

## Next week

## Trotsky film reviewed

The next issue of *The Militant* will carry a review by Joseph Hansen of Joseph Losey's film *The Assassination of Trotsky*. Hansen was a secretary to Trotsky at the time of the assassination in 1940.

The film stars Richard Burton as Leon Trotsky and Alain Delon as the assassin.

The film was shown Oct. 13 at the New York Film Festival, and is now playing at commercial theaters in New York and several other cities. It is scheduled to open Oct. 27 in Baltimore at the Randallstone on Nov. 10 in Los Angeles at the Bruin and in San Francisco at the Bridge, and on Nov. 15 in Denver at the Crest and in Salt Lake City at the Trolley Square.

# Socialist Directory

**ALABAMA:** Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathens, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, 9 E. 13 St., Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

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

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.

San Diego: SWP and YSA, 4309 1/2 51 St., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 287-0787.

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

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-8354.

**COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon. - Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 427 Main St. #206, Hartford, Conn. 06103. Tel: (203) 246-6797.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, c/o David Bouffard, 308 S. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72, c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana Uni-

versity, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

**LOUISIANA:** Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, 10975 Sheraton Dr., Baton Rouge, La. 70815.

**MARYLAND:** College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, c/o Rich Ropers, 903 Northwest Apts., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

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

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE:** Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

**NEW JERSEY:** Red Bank: YSA, P.O. Box 222, Rumson, N.J. 07760.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 503 Carlisle S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87106.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

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

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, 1612 Summit St. (side entrance), Columbus, Ohio 43201. Tel: (614) 299-2942.

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

**OREGON:** Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA 5-4316.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

**TENNESSEE:** Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA and SWP, P.O. Box 7753, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

Lubbock: YSA, c/o Tim McGovern, P.O. Box 5090, Tech. Station, Lubbock, Texas 79409.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

**VERMONT:** Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, c/o James Leviitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

# 1972 Socialist Campaign Literature



## BROCHURES

\$1/100: SWP 1972 Platform; Out Now; Women's Liberation and the Socialist Workers Campaign; Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; The fight against wage controls and inflation; An open letter to McGovern supporters from Linda Jenness. \$2/100: The Black Community and the '72 Elections.

## TRUTH KITS

25c each: 15c each on orders of 20 or more: "Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern"—his votes in the Senate on the war, the draft, civil liberties, and labor; his real objectives in the Democratic Party.

"Making Richard Nixon perfectly clear"—Nixon's political biography, from the witch-hunting congressman from California to the "Mad Bomber" in the White House.

"The Truth about the 1972 Communist Party Election Campaign"—documents the CP's long record of supporting the Democratic Party.

## BUTTONS

30c each: Linda Jenness picture; Andrew Pulley picture; Vote Socialist Workers in '72; Capitalism Fouls Things Up; Raza Si, Guerra No.

## POSTERS

10c each: Linda Jenness for President; Andrew Pulley for Vice-President; Stop the Bombing Now; Black Control of the Black Community; Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano; Repeal All Anti-Abortion Laws; Eugene V. Debs; Vote Socialist Workers in '72.

## STICKERS

\$1.50/1,000: Vote Socialist Workers in '72; Stop the Bombing; Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano; Repeal All Anti-Abortion Laws.

(Reduced rates for bulk orders.)

- ☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ for the socialist campaign.  
☐ I would like more information.  
☐ I endorse the Jenness-Pulley ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.  
☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a 20-week subscription to *The Militant*.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

SWP '72 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

LOS ANGELES

## BANQUET ANDREW PULLEY

Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29

Refreshments, 5 p.m.; International Buffet, 6 p.m.; Rally, 7:30 p.m. Baces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont. Tickets \$5, h.s. students \$3. Campaign meetings every Friday night at 7 p.m. at SWP Campaign Headquarters, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles 90029. Telephone: (213) 461-8131.

PHILADELPHIA

## Campaign Rally and Banquet

Featuring LINDA JENNESS, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Wed., Oct. 25. Dinner, 7 p.m.; Rally, 8:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$4, \$1.50 rally only. Half-price for h.s. students. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

# Classified

**SPLENDID VICTORY** by Milton Genecin. A full-length play about political life of Leon Trotsky. Copies of typed manuscript \$5 each (includes binding and mailing). Calif \$5.25. Order prepaid from Militant Bookstore, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles 90029.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

IN THE OCTOBER INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

# FEMINISM and the MARXIST MOVEMENT

by Mary-Alice Waters

**PROSPECTS FOR A BLACK PARTY** by Derrick Morrison  
**THE ROAD TO FREEDOM** by George Novack

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.  
☐ Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
 International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014



## FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM

Edited with an introduction by Linda Jenness

An anthology of articles by feminists on the most hotly debated issues in the women's liberation movement. 160 pp., \$5.95, paper \$1.95

## THE MOD DONNA AND SCYKLON Z

Plays of Women's Liberation by Myrna Lamb  
 200 pp., \$5.95, paper \$2.25

## THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY, AND THE STATE

by Frederick Engels, introduction by Evelyn Reed

A new edition of Engels's classic work featuring important commentary by noted feminist and Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed. Index. 192 pp., \$2.25 (paper only)

## PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by Evelyn Reed (Fifth Edition)

"Her anthropological studies are especially acute and knowledgeable."  
 ... — Guardian

96 pp., \$3.95, paper \$1.45

Write for our free women's studies flyer:

PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014  
 Tel. (212) 741-0690



# THE MILITANT

## Secret talks in Paris continue

# U.S. keeps up bloody attack on Indochina

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 17 — For the first time Hanoi has officially indicated that the secret negotiations with Washington are serious. This was the unmistakable meaning of North Vietnamese chief negotiator Le Duc Tho's remark before leaving Paris, Oct. 13, that "there are many difficult things to be settled" in the negotiations. The White House stated that it would not challenge this statement.

But two days earlier than this U.S. bombs rained down on the French mission in Hanoi, wrecking it and killing five persons. On Oct. 16 Washington ordered the second heaviest bombing raid of the year against North Vietnam. "... Nearly 400 American fighter-bombers struck North Vietnam ... while B-52's bombed in all four countries of Indochina," Associated Press reported.

There is no way of knowing the actual substance of the secret talks. However, the opening of serious negotiations would not necessarily be contradicted by Washington's stepping up of the war. For the decisive question under negotiation is control of South Vietnam. This question will be settled on the battlefield as well as at the conference table.

It is well to remember that long after the negotiations opened to settle the Korean war, Washington continued to press its bloody attack on North Korea. This occurred despite initial promises from the Truman administration of a Korean cease-fire.

Max Frankel, the head of the *New York Times* Washington bureau, wrote on Oct. 15, "The men in Hanoi have been under some pressure from the Russians to give the United States yet another thorough hearing at the conference table. Nonetheless the depth of their interest must have been prompted by the promise they saw in Mr. Kissinger's portfolio."

Frankel believes that the terms under discussion "would be the exchange of a Saigon coalition for a total military disengagement by both sides, with effective guarantees that neither process would soon be subverted or sabo-

tagged. . . ."

But these terms will be "extremely difficult to work out," he explained. "Hanoi could always resume military operations in South Vietnam and Washington could always resume bombing the North, but neither side would have anything to defend if the political arrangements in Saigon resulted in the collapse or slaughter of either wing of a coalition."

Despite the jargon, the fundamentals of the war remain the same. Washington insists on maintaining the pro-imperialist military clique in Saigon and will continue to bomb until it gets guarantees. It was around this issue that the U.S. "police action" in Vietnam started in 1961.

The war continues to this day because only military repression can stabilize the hold of the U.S. puppets in Saigon. Whether through "search and destroy" campaigns on the ground or massive aerial bombardment, Washington's strategy is to terrorize the Vietnamese people into capitulating. "Scorched earth" is what the imperialists used to call it.

Senator Mike Mansfield, the Democratic majority leader, tallied the gruesome toll Oct. 9. "... up to the 30th of September, 303,404 Americans have been wounded in this misbegotten conflict; ... 45,861 Americans have died in combat; ... 10,279 Americans have died from noncombat activities. So that from January 1, 1961, to September 30, 1972, the total U.S. dead amount to 56,140 and the total casualties, 359,544. In addition, there are listed 183,172 South Vietnamese dead and 5,186 free world dead; for a total of 188,358 dead.

"Also, according to the figures for the other side, as of September 30, 1972, 897,111 have died. This is a grand total—exclusive of U.S. deaths—of South Vietnamese forces, free world forces, and forces representing the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, of 1,085,469 who have died." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 17209.)

Mansfield's figures do not include the hundreds of thousands of civilians

who have been murdered.

And this is what is most noteworthy about the U.S. bombing of the French mission in Hanoi, Oct. 11. *Washington deliberately bombed civilian quarters of Hanoi.*

U.S. officials arrogantly pretend that such "accidents" happen in war. Here



is the account of an eyewitness, Canadian reporter Michael Maclear.

"HANOI, North Vietnam, Oct. 11 — I witnessed the attack that destroyed the French diplomatic residence.

"We were filming one mile away today when at least three jets swooped repeatedly over the heart of the capital. . . .

"The planes were attacking very low

over the center of the capital. The area hit is the diplomatic quarter and there are no North Vietnamese ministries or factories anywhere near.

"I witnessed and filmed bodies taken from rubble of the French residence, which was shorn in half." (*New York Times*, Oct. 12.)

The Pentagon papers showed that more than 80 percent of the casualties from U.S. bombing in North Vietnam were civilians.

The guerilla warfare that has broken out near Saigon illustrates the other side of the coin of "scorched earth." When occupying military forces are absent, the land returns to the revolutionary forces.

The Oct. 9 *Los Angeles Times* carried a Reuters description of the fighting near Saigon. "Although Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Minh, commander of the Saigon region, says the enemy can do nothing except 'make noise,' the fighting has moved swiftly to within miles of the capital.

"At the village of Tuong Binh Hiep on Highway 13, a North Vietnamese soldier lies face down, dead, in a bean field. . . .

"There was a platoon of them, maybe 20. This was the only one we killed," says a South Vietnamese officer.

"As he speaks, small-arms fire erupts from a wooded area half a mile to the west, where a search continues for the dead man's comrades.

"All through this heavily populated and prosperous farm area just north of Saigon, similar small bands of enemy soldiers have invaded hamlets and villages in recent days. Some have been driven out, but as of Sunday [Oct. 8] at least four hamlets were still under enemy control."

U.S. B-52s were pouring bombs on the region. *Times* reporter Craig Whitney wrote from Saigon, Oct. 7: "The B-52 raids were making noise in Saigon yesterday morning, rattling windows and shaking buildings with low, rumbling detonations in groups of three—as the B-52 missions usually come in groups of three planes, each dropping 24 to 30 tons of bombs."

## British exploit Micronesian island of Banaba

By TONY THOMAS

There is a myth that life on South Pacific islands entails the simple pleasures of enjoying an unspoiled ecology in beautiful islands spared from the economic hardship of modern society. However, this myth is untrue. The Oct. 10 *New York Times* describes the economic and ecological ravages imperialism has brought to the South Pacific island of Banaba.

The island, called Ocean Island by the British, is part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, a British colony. It is the site of large phosphate deposits and was annexed by Britain for that reason in 1915.

According to *Times* writer Robert Trumbull, "phosphate miners leased land on the island for a few dollars an acre. The profits were so immense

that the propriety of the leases was questioned in the British Parliament. A later agreement gave the Banabans royalties of about 1 percent. However, the Banabans say that the phosphate company [owned and controlled by the British, Australian, and New Zealand governments] sold the product at substantially below the going world price."

Furthermore, after the island became part of the Gilbert and Ellice colony, the funds from the phosphates were used to finance the British administration of the colony. Only \$500,000 was given to the Banaban people.

Not only did the British government rob the Banabans of most of the money from the phosphate industry but the continued strip mining destroyed the island. Trumbull describes

the island as resembling "a moonscape of gullies and coral pinnacles."

British authorities came to understand that the island would eventually become uninhabitable. So after World War II they took another \$100,000 of the Banabans' money and bought Rambi Island in the Fiji group, then also a British colony.

The Banabans' inexperience in agriculture and fishing (after years of being phosphate miners), combined with a series of faulty business ventures, led to their economic ruin. Moreover, the phosphate deposits and any share of their royalties "will be exhausted in six or seven years, leaving the Banabans without further income," Trumbull writes.

In other words, the British imperialists came to Banaba, made the

phosphate deal, decided that the money that belonged to the Banabans would be used to finance the British colonial administration, took an additional \$100,000 to buy an island they already owned, and settled the Banabans there without any future. In the meantime, they stripped away all the topsoil and phosphates from Banaba itself.

The Banabans are waging a struggle around this question. They are demanding independence and the enforcement of a 1913 agreement that bound the phosphate companies to restore strip-mined areas with new soil and food-bearing plants. British courts have agreed to hear the Banabans' lawsuit, which demands enforcement of the agreement or \$25-million compensation.