

THE MILITANT

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

Why Nixon won

—page 3



Militant



Militant/Peggy Brundy

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In Brief

JDL ATTACKS PUBLIC MEETING: On Oct. 26 some 20 to 30 members of the right-wing Jewish Defense League attacked a public meeting on the Middle East called by Youth Against War and Fascism in New York City. The attackers, who used chains and iron pipes, failed to break up the meeting, but seven members of YAWF were injured.

NEW YORK POLL ON ABORTION RIGHTS: A poll released by NBC-TV on Nov. 5 showed that 70 percent of the men and women surveyed favored the legalization of abortion, despite the intensive anti-abortion campaign carried out by right-wing forces in New York. Fifty-eight percent of the Catholics in the poll supported the legalization of abortion.

Max Shachtman dies

Max Shachtman died Nov. 4 at the age of 68. Shachtman was a founding member of the U.S. Communist Party, one of the initiators of the American Trotskyist movement and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party until 1940, and more recently a leader of the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation.

The SP-DSF is planning a memorial meeting in New York, but as we go to press the time and place have not been set.



ZIONIST RABBIS GETTING WORRIED: The Nov. 6 New York Times reports that a new commission set up by the Religious Zionists of America "will publish literature on the compatibility of Judaism with modern life and its relevance to social justice. . . ."

Social justice—perhaps the Religious Zionists are going to carry out a campaign in behalf of the rights of Blacks in Forest Hills and Canarsie? No. They want to combat "indifference and hostility" toward Israel and Judaism among "leftist Jewish students." "When a Jewish student cries out for the liberation of Palestine from the Israeli conquerors," said Dr. Maurice Sage, the head of the Religious Zionists, "he strengthens every hate-monger."

Leaving aside the usual crude attempt to identify anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism, the formation of this committee is an indication of the mounting impact that opponents of the Israeli state are having on the thinking of young Jews.

NOVACK-HARRINGTON DEBATE: "The road to socialism in America" will be the subject of a New York debate between George Novack, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, and Michael Harrington, who recently resigned as cochairman of the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation. The debate will take place at Queens College on Tuesday, Nov. 14, at 1 p.m. in Room 310 of the college union building.

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST LESLIE BACON: On Nov. 1 the federal government announced that it would drop the last of its charges against Leslie Bacon rather than reveal the contents of wiretaps used in surveillance of her. Bacon, an antiwar activist, was initially arrested in April 1971 during the investigation of a bomb explosion in the Capitol building. She was indicted on perjury charges as a result of her grand jury testimony about the Capitol bombing, but those charges were dropped because the government refused to disclose the contents of its wiretaps.

The latest charges that have been dropped concerned a "conspiracy" to bomb a bank in New York. Other cases in which the government has dropped charges rather than reveal information on its secret surveillance of dissidents include contempt charges against Black Panther leader Bobby Seale, an indictment against Abbie Hoffman, and a Michigan case against members of the White Panther Party. Apparently, disclosure of the wiretap evidence would prove considerably more damaging to the government than to its opponents.

ANOTHER GOVERNMENT FRAME-UP: When eight antiwar activists, including seven members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), were indicted on Oct. 18 by a federal grand jury, the New York Post ran the headline: "Indict 8 in Plot to Kill Cops." An Associated Press dispatch said the eight were accused of plotting to attack police with "automatic weapons and incendiary devices, and with planning to use slingshots and crossbows to fire lead weights, cherry bombs, ball bearings and marbles at the police." The action was allegedly being planned for the Republican national convention last August.

All eight of the defendants pleaded not guilty on Nov. 6, and their trial is set to begin in January.

MORAL DEPRAVITY IN CALIFORNIA: Robert Mitchell, chairman of Governor Ronald Reagan's social welfare board, complains that "It is amazing to find how many people do not regard illegitimacy as much of a problem and who do not think there is anything morally shocking about its growth."

According to the Oct. 30 New York Times, Mitchell's committee has proposed legislation that "would allow a third illegitimate child born to any woman to be taken away and placed for adoption, on the legal assumption that the mother had shown herself to be 'morally depraved.'"

HUMILITY OR INSIDE INFORMATION? A group of Black clergymen have been sitting in at the Council of Churches of New York City in protest of the council's failure to condemn the virulent racism manifested in the Forest Hills housing dispute and in the Canarsie school struggle. The clergymen have released copies of letters showing that the council attempted to award Henry Kissinger its "Family of Man 1972 Award for Excellence in the Field of Peace."

Kissinger wrote on Sept. 9 that "Because of this year's particular circumstances . . . I believe I must regretfully decline to receive the award at this time," according to the Nov. 6 New York Post.



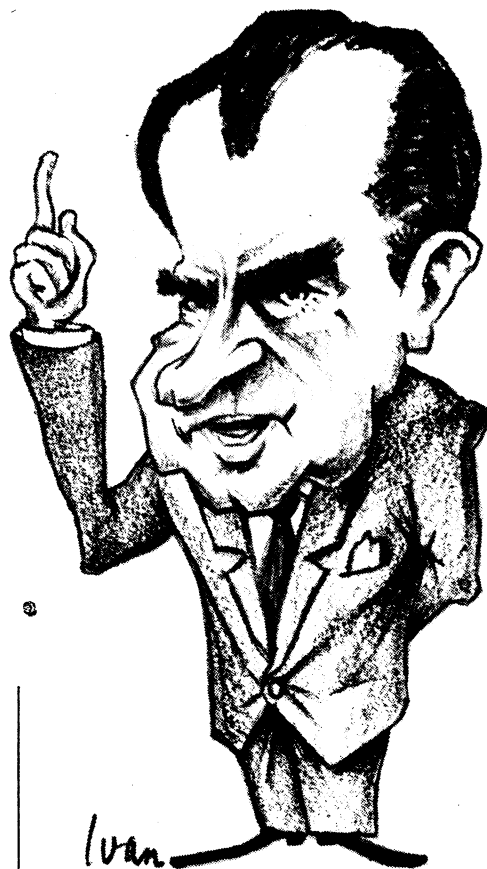
Front of the Communist Party's national headquarters in New York after two Molotov cocktails were thrown at it on Nov. 5. Becky Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 18th C.D., where the headquarters is located, condemned the firebombing as "an attack on the entire left, and on the rights of all Americans to hear and vote for differing views."

NIXON'S CHINA POLICY: NEW TACTICS FOR COUNTERREVOLUTION IN ASIA: That's the title of an article by Militant staff writer Dick Roberts that originally appeared in the March 1972 issue of the International Socialist Review. Since then, it has been translated into Spanish and printed in *Espartaco*, the revolutionary-socialist magazine in Colombia.

—DAVE FRANKEL

LOWEST TURNOUT SINCE '48

WHAT DOES NIXON VICTORY MEAN?



By DOUG JENNESS

NOV. 8—With the lowest turnout of voters in 24 years, President Nixon won yesterday's presidential election with about 60 percent of the votes. There was no significant shift in either the House of Representatives or the Senate. Both will continue to have Democratic majorities.

Not all the votes have been tabulated, and final figures are not available at this time. But projections reported in this morning's *New York Times* indicate that about 54 percent of the voting-age population went to the polls—the lowest since 1948. This flies in the face of election-eve predictions that there would be a record turnout. The percentage has been more than 60 percent in every presidential election in the last 24 years.

These figures indicate that many voters were not happy about choosing between Tricky Dick and the senator from South Dakota. A national poll taken for the *New York Times* by Daniel Yankelovich revealed that when voters were asked to name the "more attractive personality" running for president, 33 percent said Nixon, 23 percent said McGovern, and 37 percent said neither one.

Among students this feeling was especially common. Steven V. Roberts, writing in the Oct. 2 *New York Times*, observed that "The catch phrase on campus this fall is 'the lesser of two evils,' and, if given the chance, many students would vote for 'none of the above.'"

The reasons for this apathy and cynicism are many. Neither candidate presented serious answers to the urgent social needs of the American people. There was also the Watergate and grain scandals and the Eagleton affair, along with the usual dose of doubletalk and transparent promises.

Of those who did vote, three out of five pulled the lever or marked an "X" to reelect Nixon. Why did he win such an overwhelming victory?

The most important reason is that he created an image of himself as a peace candidate. He withdrew more than 500,000 GIs from Vietnam since taking office; he went to Peking and Moscow to hold historic summit meetings and establish closer relations; and he announced his intention to sign a settlement of the Vietnam war.

McGovern won Democratic primaries and his party's nomination because of his criticism of Nixon's Vietnam policy. But Nixon swept the carpet out from under McGovern's feet. In the eyes of

millions of voters Nixon appeared to be as much of a peace candidate as McGovern. In the last days of the campaign McGovern was even hailing Nixon's unjust nine-point proposal for settling the Vietnam war.

In reality, neither candidate was a genuine peace candidate. Both support the aims of U. S. imperialist foreign policy, which include the use of U. S. military forces anywhere in the world.

Nor is Nixon's détente with Moscow and Peking designed to bring world peace. Its purpose is to get these two world powers to help control revolutionary movements throughout the world. This policy is bearing fruit for the U. S. rulers in Vietnam, where the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats have helped twist Hanoi's arm to accept an unfair settlement.

In addition to the question of peace, Nixon's opposition to busing and increased welfare benefits won him support from the more privileged and racist strata of the working class and from the South—a traditional stronghold of the Democratic Party.

In 1968 George Wallace, running on the American Independent Party ticket, won 13 percent of the vote, mostly from these sectors. Nixon clearly picked up votes that would have gone to Wallace if he had been in the race this year. This partly accounts for Nixon's much larger margin of victory this year. (He received 43 percent of the total vote in 1968.)

Nixon's catering to the racist sentiments held by many white workers also accounts for why most Blacks and Chicanos voted against him. His substantial defeat in Washington, D. C., where the majority of voters are Black, testifies to his lack of support among Blacks.

Although unemployment is still high and prices keep rising, a slight upturn in the economy in the last few months offered a little hope to some voters that things might get better. This probably decided some votes in favor of Nixon.

Another factor involved in Nixon's victory is that he successfully manipulated the advantages of an incumbent. His trips to Moscow and Peking were organized to make the biggest possible impact on the electorate. On the pretext of doing important business he avoided public debates and did very little personal campaigning until the last week of the campaign.

Nixon also had the backing of the country's top financiers and businessmen and 600 newspapers. Only 38 newspapers backed McGovern.

Nixon's forces spent at least \$50-million, and it's publicly known that he received two contributions of at least \$1-million. It's estimated that McGovern spent about \$25-million.

Nixon also benefited from McGovern's loss of credibility due to his backtracking on positions and because of the Eagleton affair.

The large vote for Nixon did not signify a nationwide shift of loyalties from the Democratic to the Republican Party. There were no significant changes in either house of Congress or in the proportion of governors that are Democratic.

The Republicans are back in the White House, and the Democrats control Congress again. But the American working people have lost.

Speaking to an election-night rally in New York City, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president Linda Jenness told supporters in 17 cities over a special telephone hookup:

"Those who lost this election, those who will suffer from the results of this election, are the working people of this country, the oppressed of this society, the victims of capitalist injustice, inequality, racism, and sexism. . . .

"We now face four more years of a man in the White House working hand in glove with the bankers and businessmen to squeeze every last nickel's worth of profit out of our labor. We know that that man in the White House is not going to do

anything to stop the inflation that shrinks the value of our paycheck every week. He's not going to do anything to find jobs for those out of work."

None of the basic social problems that plague our society are going to be resolved or even eased by Nixon or the 93rd Congress. They are going to get worse.

There was no labor party, based on the unions, that workers could support. Likewise, Blacks had no party, based on the Black community, to fight for their interests. The central choice was between two parties of big business.

It was different with Chicanos in a few areas. In Texas and Colorado, there were La Raza Unida Party candidates on the state ballots, opposed to

Reporting from Sioux Falls, S. D., on election day, New York Times writer James Naughton was on hand when George McGovern voted. " . . . he looked at the Presidential ballot," Naughton states, and "expressed surprise that Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers party was able to get on it in this conservative state. . . ." The SWP presidential ticket was officially on the ballot in 23 states and Washington, D. C.

the Democratic and Republican party candidates. These parties are new and relatively small, but they were able to elect a number of county officials in Texas and score impressive votes in other races. These gains will serve as an inspiring example throughout the country for those fighting to develop an independent political alternative to the capitalist parties.

The final returns for the radical parties are not in yet. The experience in previous years has been that it takes more than a month before they can

RAZA UNIDA VICTORIES

As we go to press election returns are still incomplete, but Texas Raza Unida Party candidates have won five seats in Zavala County: sheriff, Joe Serna; county attorney, Ray Pérez; county commissioner, precinct 5, Elena Díaz; county commissioner, precinct 7, Antonio Ríos; and constable, precinct 6, Rodolfo Espinosa. Since 1970, the RUP has controlled the administration in Crystal City, the county seat for Zavala County, but these are the first county offices to be won by the Chicano party there.

all be obtained. As soon as they become available they will be published in *The Militant*.

It's not expected that the SWP vote will be large. Most Americans still have illusions in the major capitalist parties. Furthermore, discriminatory election laws kept the SWP off the ballot in half the states, and election officials often don't bother to count the votes that are cast. Nor was the SWP permitted the same access to the mass media as the Democrats and Republicans.

Nevertheless, given its modest resources, the SWP campaign was very successful. It reached more people with socialist ideas than any campaign in its history and won many of them to the socialist movement.

SO THAT'S WHY SHE WAS RULED OFF

Despite the fact that she had been ruled off the Ohio ballot, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness was running third after Nixon and McGovern in Cuyahoga County, according to preliminary returns published in the Nov. 8 *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. The socialist candidate received 9,773 votes (1.4 percent) in the returns of 8,427 of the county's 12,826 polling places. Cuyahoga County encompasses the Cleveland area.

The American Independent Party came in fourth, with 9,567 votes; followed by the Socialist Labor Party, with 1,562; and the Communist Party, with 1,256.

Jenness had filed suit and lost in court in her bid to overturn the decision by Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown that she was "too young" to run. However, her name had already been printed on the state ballot. Election officials announced they would not count votes for the SWP presidential ticket, but apparently there was a slipup in Cuyahoga County.

U.S. beefs up Saigon air power

Why won't 9-point plan

By DOUG JENNESS

NOV. 7 — On election day, 1972, U. S. planes are still bombing Vietnam. Nearly four years after President Nixon took office and 12 days after Henry Kissinger, his chief foreign policy aide, affirmed that the U. S. had agreed to sign a settlement, the war continues. And the bombing attacks are particularly heavy. On Nov. 4 alone, waves of B-52s dropped 2,000 tons of bombs on Vietnam.

Meanwhile, the Oct. 31 deadline set

Another reason for stalling is that the U. S. government needs time to rush more military equipment to its puppet regime in Saigon before a cease-fire is signed. This includes F-5A jet fighters provided by the reactionary governments in Iran, Taiwan, and South Korea, which in turn received them from the U. S.

According to an Associated Press report in the Nov. 4 *New York Post*, the present military aid is the largest since the war began. "It will make

surrender."

Nixon's "peace with honor" means an unjust settlement imposed on the Vietnamese workers and peasants by the U. S. government with the assistance of the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking. We don't know what secret agreements have been made or will be made, or what the final outcome of the present discussions will be. But the proposals made public by Hanoi on Oct. 26—proposals the U. S. says it supports—won't solve the social evils the Vietnamese workers and peasants have been fighting against for so long. If signed it won't guarantee peace in Indochina.

To see why, let's examine the nine-point proposal as presented by the North Vietnamese government and reprinted in the Oct. 27 *New York Times*. Let's take it point by point.

● Point One: "The United States respects the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva agreements."

It's good that the U. S. says it will respect Vietnam's right to self-determination. However, it is contradictory for the U. S. to concede this point and then assume that it has the right to negotiate an agreement about Vietnam's affairs. It has no right to negotiate anything about the fate of Vietnam.

Also, the 1954 Geneva settlement is not the best model for self-determination. It was agreed to at a conference that included representatives from several imperialist powers, and the USSR and China, none of which had any right to settle anything in Vietnam.

There were provisions in the agreement that clearly infringed on Vietnam's right to control its own affairs. For example, the arbitrary division of the country at the seventeenth parallel and the stipulation that "internationally supervised" elections be held.

84,000 troops to remain

● Point Two: "Twenty-four hours after the signing of the agreement, a cease-fire shall be observed throughout South Vietnam. The United States will stop all its military activities and end the bombing and mining in North Vietnam."

If the U. S. were to do this it would bring badly needed relief to the Vietnamese, who are suffering the worst bombing in human history.

This point continues:

"Within 60 days there will be a total withdrawal from South Vietnam of troops and military personnel of the United States and those of the foreign countries allied with the United States and with the Republic of Vietnam. The two South Vietnamese parties shall not accept the introduction of troops, military advisers and military personnel, armaments, munitions, and war material into South Vietnam."

It is a concession for Washington to agree to withdraw its remaining 30,000 troops from South Vietnam. Previously it had declared this unacceptable. And if the U. S. actually withdraws its forces it will help ease the pressure on the liberation forces.

It should be noted, however, that if the U. S. truly respected Vietnam's sovereignty as indicated in Point One, it would stop the bombing and withdraw its troops immediately. It would not wait for the cease-fire or for 60 days following a cease-fire.

Also, the nine-point draft doesn't say

anything about the 45,000 U. S. troops stationed in Thailand or the 39,000 U. S. troops attached to the naval fleet off Vietnam's coast. The four aircraft carriers in the fleet carry 240 fighter-bombers. The Thailand-based armada contains 500 combat planes, 50 B-52s among them. These would be available to intervene if things don't go the way Washington wants.

Although the proposal says there will be no introduction of military advisers, reports have already leaked out that the U. S. government has plans under way to send in civilians as military advisers.

According to an Associated Press dispatch in the Nov. 3 *New York Post*, "U. S. military sources said the advisers would be employed by civilian firms that would be under contract either to the U. S. Defense or State Dept. They would be on the order of Air America, the charter airline which the CIA finances in Laos."

The remaining paragraphs in Point Two indicate that the two South Vietnamese parties will be allowed to make periodic replacements of armaments, munitions, and war materials. This offers the Saigon regime an opportunity to upgrade its military equipment periodically.

● Point Three: "The return of all captured and detained personnel of the parties shall be carried out simultaneously with the U. S. troops' withdrawal."

It is not unusual that prisoners are exchanged when an armistice is signed. However, this provision does not include the estimated 200,000 civilian political prisoners in South Vietnam. Hanoi made a major concession here. Previously it had demanded the release of the political prisoners in Thieu's jails as a condition for settlement.

● Point Four: "... The South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Vietnam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision. . . ."

"An administrative structure called the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, of three equal segments, will be set up to promote the implementation of the signed agreements by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and to organize the general elections. . . ."

Neither elections or a three-part council (composed of the PRG, the Saigon puppet regime, and "neutralists") would resolve the basic social problems that led to the struggle for independence and social justice by the Vietnamese masses. The effect of the cease-fire and the nine-point proposal would be to create a situation where two armies occupy South Vietnam, each administering the areas under its control.

These armies represent opposing social forces. The million-man army of the U. S. puppet regime in Saigon represents the tiny clique of landlords, bankers, corrupt politicians, generals, and millionaire dope peddlers.

On the other side are the Vietnamese masses—workers, peasants, and students. They have been fighting for land reform, national independence, and democratic rights, and against economic exploitation. These demands reflect the basic needs and desires of the Vietnamese for a more decent life. However, they can't be won within



On election day 1972 Nixon was still bombing Indochina.

by Hanoi for signing the nine-point proposal has passed without an agreement being signed. President Nixon continues to delay signing while negotiations continue with Hanoi on other points.

Appearing on NBC television's "Meet the Press," Secretary of State William Rogers predicted that an agreement will be reached but that it will take at least several weeks before the remaining details can be ironed out.

Asked why the administration is so certain peace is on its way in Vietnam, Rogers replied, according to the Nov. 6 *New York Times*, "that 'major suppliers,' such as the Soviet Union and China, agreed with the United States that the war did 'not serve anyone's interest', that the people in Indochina had 'come to the conclusion that military solution is not possible, that the problem should be solved by political methods.'" The reference to "major suppliers" confirms other recent reports that both Moscow and Peking are exerting considerable pressure on Hanoi to make this settlement even if it means major concessions.

One of the reasons Washington doesn't want to sign the agreement right away is that it's trying to squeeze more concessions from the Vietnamese. For example, the U. S. is trying to convince the North Vietnamese to agree to pull some of their troops out of the South.

the South Vietnamese air force the third largest in the world, with more than 2000 aircraft."

Rogers, in his "Meet the Press" appearance, explained that this is being done "to assure" the South Vietnamese "that they will have the necessary supplies in the event the agreement doesn't work out."

Thieu's bloodbath

But President Nguyen Van Thieu isn't waiting for a cease-fire, or for it to prove unworkable, before launching a massive bloodbath. While the U. S. beefs up his arsenal, Thieu is stepping up the arrest, imprisonment, torture, and execution of thousands of South Vietnamese civilians. He is attempting to wipe out every voice or potential voice of opposition. As part of this campaign he has decreed that every South Vietnamese family must have two government flags or suffer severe penalties. Possession of a National Liberation Front flag is punishable by death.

Thieu has, so far, stubbornly refused to endorse the nine-point proposal. On Nov. 5, some 10,000 to 15,000 of his most ardent supporters, Catholics who fled the North in 1954, rallied in Saigon to protest the proposed terms for settlement.

In the days just before the elections in this country, Nixon has been expressing optimism about reaching an agreement. His theme is that he seeks "peace with honor," not "peace with

to Vietnam.

Another six B-52s are always in the air from the base at Uta-pao, Thailand, where 50 of the giant bombers are based.

The *Post* reports that "About 90 flights a day are being mounted out of these two airfields—2,700 flights and 135 million pounds of bombs a month, the highest levels of the long air war."

Around-the-clock bombing

A year ago there were no B-52s on Guam, a small island in the Pacific. Today there are 150, according to a report in the Oct. 30 *Washington Post*.

This is the most massive concentration of military striking power ever collected on a single base—including missile bases—in history. Every day of the week 33 planes are in the air at all times on their 12-hour missions

bring peace?

the framework of a capitalist Vietnam.

Much of the land is owned or controlled by absentee landlords — big bankers and businessmen who live in Saigon or abroad. They will not permit the peasants to assume control over the land they farm, and they refuse to sacrifice the profits made from keeping rents high and wages low.

Only a socialist government would meet the demands of the masses. But the capitalist-landlords would certainly not be willing to accept elections that could lead to a socialist South Vietnam.

The nine-point proposal does not settle the question of whether South Vietnam will be administered by a socialist or capitalist government. It would leave instead a very unstable situation in which the struggle would break out again in some form.

The proposal that the elections be internationally supervised is contrary to the right of the Vietnamese to control affairs inside their own borders without the meddling of other countries. Furthermore, in other situations it has proved to be a way of giving legitimacy to totally fraudulent elections. Elections in the Dominican Republic in 1966 are a case in point.



There are 9 million refugees and other war victims in Vietnam.

● Point Five: "The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means."

The issue of reunification is a matter for the Vietnamese to determine themselves. It has no place in an agreement in which the U. S. is a party.

This point also dodges the essential question of whether a united Vietnam would be capitalist or socialist. The masses in North Vietnam will not voluntarily and peacefully abandon their nationalized and planned economy in order to become part of a united capitalist Vietnam.

Int'l control commission

● Point Six: "There will be formed a four-party joint military commission and a joint military commission of the two South Vietnamese parties."

"An international commission of control and supervision shall be established. An international guarantee conference on Vietnam will be convened within 30 days of the signing of this agreement."

According to a dispatch from Paris in the Oct. 31 *New York Times*, diplomatic sources have revealed that this commission would include representatives from Poland, Hungary, Canada, and Indonesia.

Besides the fact that none of these countries have the right to "control" or "supervise" anything in Vietnam, there isn't anything they can do to prevent a breakdown in the cease-fire.

The Saigon puppet regime, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and North Vietnam would take part in the proposed international conference. In addition, the Soviet Union, France, the U. S., China, and the four members of the cease-fire commission would participate. But these latter countries have no more right to sit down at a conference table in 1972 or 1973 to settle the future of Vietnam than the participants in the 1954 Geneva conference did.

● Point Seven deals with Cambodia and Laos. The central proposals here are that all foreign military activities in these countries cease and that their neutrality be respected.

It is not clear whether Hanoi will be expected to withdraw its troops that have been aiding the liberation fighters in these two countries. If so, this would be a significant concession to U. S. imperialism.

● Point Eight indicates that the U. S. will help in the postwar reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and throughout Indochina. This is certainly the least the U. S. can do after years of raining death and destruction on the people of Indochina. Of course any strings Washington tries to attach to this aid should be opposed.

● Point Nine: "This agreement shall come into force as of its signing. It will be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned."

It should be noted here that the U. S. government has a long record of violating such agreements, not "strictly implementing" them.

Although the above terms for settlement include concessions by the U. S., there are significant concessions by Hanoi. If implemented they would represent a setback to the revolutionary struggle.

If these concessions were made because the Vietnamese liberation fighters feel they can't continue to fight any longer, this is understandable.

Continued on page 22

Saigon Catholic appeals for political prisoners

From Intercontinental Press

[There are an estimated 200,000 political prisoners in the jails of South Vietnam. Their ranks include not only fighters of the National Liberation Front, but Catholic and Buddhist oppositionists as well. Now that every indication points to the fact that South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu is preparing to liquidate his opposition, their lives are in grave danger.]

[The following is a letter from a Catholic activist in Saigon appealing to world public opinion to prevent a massacre of political prisoners. The author, a member of the Committee to Reform the Prison System in South Vietnam, addressed it to a Vietnamese priest in Paris. It is dated August 20, 1972.]

[The French revolutionary-socialist weekly *Rouge* published the text in its October 28 issue. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

Dear N.

What we are experiencing here is a nightmare. In the past six months, the number of persons arrested has increased at a staggering rate. A number have been deported to the island of Con Son (Poulo Condor); others are being held in the prisons and other penal institutions in Saigon or in the provinces. Since we have received no word from many of them, we have no way of knowing if they are living or already dead.

We no longer know which saints to turn to. Our only hope is to wait for international religious, humanitarian, or legal bodies and movements of our friends abroad to come to our rescue. As soon as possible. We are in danger. The documents and information that you find attached have been gathered under conditions of the strictest clandestinity. In spite of the fact that they are incomplete, do everything you can to get them translated and publicized. Thanks in advance.

NLF Paris delegation 'irritated and unhappy'

From Intercontinental Press

The National Liberation Front's delegation in Paris is reportedly "irritated and unhappy" with North Vietnam for dropping three key demands in reaching a cease-fire agreement with the United States, according to a November 1 dispatch from *New York Times* Paris correspondent Flora Lewis. The three demands are the release of political prisoners in Thieu's jails, the resignation of Thieu, and the liquidation of Saigon's police apparatus.

Lewis based her report on information from "American sources in close touch with the Vietcong's delegation in Paris."

Although the NLF, unlike Thieu, has made no public statements challenging any aspect of the announced draft agreement, Lewis noted, its representatives have "repeatedly expressed their concern for political prisoners held by the Saigon government. Many of the prisoners are people whom the Communists would rely upon to staff their administration, the sources said, and to represent them in three-part councils of Communists, Saigon loyalists and neutralists envisioned in the pact."

The release of Vietnamese civilian prisoners is left up to negotiations between Saigon and the NLF by the draft agreement. As a result, no time limit is placed on their further detention. Meanwhile, there is the very real danger that Thieu will massacre thousands of these prisoners in the bloodbath for which, according to every indication, he is already making preparations.

The NLF is also reportedly concerned over the absence of guarantees in the agreement announced by Hanoi and presidential adviser Henry Kissinger that a three-part council of reconciliation will ever be set up. The agreement provides that both the NLF's apparatus and the Thieu puppet administration will remain in charge of the areas they control on the day the fighting stops. "That 'temporary' arrangement," Lewis observed, "is to last until elections can be held to form a new unified government. But there is no date fixed for elections and all further political moves are to depend on agreements worked out by Saigon and the Vietcong."

"The accord provides only that they 'will do their utmost' to set up a three-part National Council of Reconciliation and Concord within three months after a cease-fire begins."

Lewis also indicated that the NLF's concern over the perils facing political prisoners in South Vietnam has prompted it to step up its efforts to alert world opinion about the question. On November 1, for instance, its Paris delegation made public a letter smuggled out of Saigon's Chi Hoa Prison. The letter, signed simply "The Students Imprisoned at Chi Hoa Prison, Saigon," is dated October 11, 1972, and was received by Vietnamese Catholic sources in Paris. It describes the torture of a student leader, Le Cong Giau, said to be at the point of death in the prison.

The letter concludes: "We beg you to do everything possible (alert public opinion, take all necessary steps) to bring help to our friend whose state is so critical. Otherwise Giau may not survive."

The NLF statement did not mention Giau, but it reported that "more than 10 prisoners" had to be rushed to a hospital following severe beatings by guards October 25. They had tried to protest against "the condition of one of their fellow inmates."



PRG's Nguyen Thi Binh: "Women and children are being tortured and killed in the Saigon jails."

Russian Revolution and Vietnam

Nov. 7 was the fifty-fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. A *New York Times* report from Moscow indicates that the official Soviet celebrations were "relatively low-key."

Perhaps the Kremlin did not want to use the attention focused on the revolution's anniversary to spoil Nixon's election day—a day when more than 400 U.S. air strikes were flown over Vietnam—by calling for an international campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese freedom struggle. On Oct. 5, the *Los Angeles Times* quoted Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny as looking "forward to working with President Nixon for several more years."

Since May 22, when President Nixon went to Moscow in quest of a Soviet agreement to impose a settlement on Indochina, the bomb tonnage dropped on Vietnam every two weeks has equaled the total bombing endured by Britain during six years of World War II.

Soviet complicity in the U.S. plan to impose a settlement on Vietnam is a measure of how Stalin and his heirs have abandoned the internationalist heritage of the Russian Revolution. In a speech on the first anniversary of the revolution, Lenin outlined how the Bolsheviks exposed the imperialist "peace plan" for World War I:

"We frankly told the working people the whole truth. We exposed the secret imperialist treaties, the fruits of a policy which serves as a massive instrument of deception, and which in America today, the most advanced of the bourgeois imperialist democratic republics, is more than ever deceiving the people and leading them by the nose. . . .

"We exposed the secret treaties and declared, through Comrade Trotsky, to all countries of the world: We appeal to you to put an end to this war in a democratic way, without annexations and indemnities, and frankly and proudly declare the truth, a bitter truth but the truth nevertheless, that only a revolution against the bourgeois governments can put an end to this war."

If a revolutionary leadership were in power in the Soviet Union today, Nixon would not be wined and dined in the Kremlin. The Soviet government would initiate a worldwide united front of all forces opposed to U.S. war aims. The most modern weapons would be made available to North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Under these conditions the U.S. warmakers would not be able to bomb with impunity, to shell and defoliate without fear of the consequences. And under these conditions Nixon would not be able to impose the unjust "peace" settlement currently being discussed.

The Russian Revolution marked a turning point in human history. One-sixth of the world was wrenched out of capitalist control. The existence of the first workers state remains an inspiration to the oppressed throughout the world who are struggling for their liberation, despite the usurpation of power by a bureaucracy that does not represent the Soviet people.

But the Moscow bureaucrats not only fail to help lead the deepening world revolution forward—they stand in mortal fear of it. The struggles of the Vietnamese; of liberation fighters in Africa and Palestine; of the workers and students of France, Argentina, Quebec, and countless other places; of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and students in the United States; and of fighters for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe are finding their echo within the Soviet Union itself.

The Soviet people will one day throw the nationalist-minded bureaucrats out of the Kremlin and restore to their workers state its original heritage of democracy and internationalism.

Loyal opposition

When George McGovern gave his concession speech in South Dakota on election night, he read a telegram to President Nixon. It stated: "Congratulations on your victory. I hope that in the next four years you will lead us to a time of peace abroad and justice at home. You have my full support in such efforts. Best wishes to you and your gracious wife, Pat."

Half an hour earlier, at a rally in New York City, socialist candidate Linda Jenness predicted, "I bet that when George McGovern gives his concession speech tonight, he is going to urge the American people to unite in support of President Nixon. I'm not going to tell you that. I'm telling the American people to unite in the streets against President Nixon."

What more can we say?

From a South Carolina prison

Before stating my reason for writing I would like to introduce myself. I am a victim of injustice, American style, serving 15 years in the state prison in South Carolina. I am 21 years old, a high school graduate, and a Vietnam veteran.

My brother in New York mailed me a copy of *The Militant*. I was quite surprised by the things printed in your paper, things that happened while I was overseas. *The Militant* is unknown to most Black people in South Carolina. The inmates here don't have the money to obtain this paper directly. But if you can mail some subscription blanks for the paper, I'm sure our families will help us.

I could arrange things myself, but at the moment I'm in isolation in the maximum security building. I am here because I am Black and my destiny is for Black awareness, among the Black people. So that makes me dangerous in the sight of these KKK clowns.

Everyone is talking about McGovern or Nixon and the Vietnam war. I've spent 29 months in the Marines, 13 months in Vietnam, and have been wounded twice, but still don't know what the war is all about. What's the purpose of Black GIs jeopardizing and giving their lives for this so-called America when veterans like myself come home, experienced in trades, and can't find jobs, come back to their homes and face prejudice and injustice.

A prisoner
South Carolina

Joins sub drive

I would like to have 50 subscription blanks. I can promise that these blanks will be filled and that the subscribers will be well pleased with the results.

T. V.
Scranton, Pa.

Gay rights

The Militant's election issue, Nov. 3, 1972, has ignored the gay civil rights plank publicly taken by the Socialist Workers Party and the party's presidential candidate, Ms. Linda Jenness. Does this mean *The Militant* has doubts about the political expediency of endorsing civil rights for America's 20 million gay men and women?

Senator McGovern too endorsed a gay civil rights plank but then publicly denied that his office ever issued any such document. It is curious how *The Militant* fights for the civil rights of other groups but has to run for cover on this "controversial" issue now that the time has come to stand up and be counted.

It is time for *The Militant* and other newspapers to realize that we take our rights seriously. Blacks or Jews or Puerto Ricans or Italians or American Indians do not accept hidden endorsement, and neither do gays.

Garret Ormiston
New York, N. Y.

In reply—Garret Ormiston is mistaken. In its statement urging a vote for the SWP candidates, the Nov. 3 *Militant* specifically cites as one reason the fact that the "SWP campaign

has spoken out consistently for the human rights of all oppressed people—including gay people, prisoners, high school students."

YSAers excluded from Tyner meeting

On the night of Oct. 26 two members of the Young Socialist Alliance were thrown out of a Jarvis Tyner speaking engagement at Fisk University here in Nashville. Cindy Carver and I were thrown out by a member of Tyner's staff who refused to identify himself. "You're racists. Get out of here and don't come back," was all he would say.

We had set up a table on the Black liberation struggle after discussing the possibility of problems with two representatives of the Timbuktu Bookstore, a Black liberation bookstore, which was also setting up a table. We were told there would be no problems. Shortly afterward Jarvis Tyner and his staff entered, and it was then that the Tyner official demanded that our table be removed and that we leave.

In an open letter to the Nashville Young Workers Liberation League, who helped to build the meeting, the Nashville YSA has called upon them to state their position on such attempts to restrict opposing views, and to act in the best tradition of socialist democracy to avoid similar events in the future.

Warren Duzak
Nashville, Tenn.

Buffalo Creek

Thank you for sending a copy of the article on the Buffalo Creek Massacre Coalition that appeared in the Oct. 27 *Militant*.

However, a rather serious error is contained in it. We are definitely not an arm of the Miners for Democracy, even though we support that campaign. I have gone over our newsletter and can see no indication in it which would have led to that conclusion.

As we specifically point out at the end, several groups and many individuals have supported our efforts and worked with us, but linking us with the Miners for Democracy is neither helpful to us or them.

Jim Mauro
Buffalo Creek Massacre Coalition
New York, N. Y.

Harvard's ties with Portugal

I am a recent *Militant* subscriber and would like to commend you on the quality articles you have been coming out with. I am writing in regard to the article called "Harvard tries to justify ties with Portugal," which appears in the Oct. 27 issue.

I have been unable to get an address to write to at Harvard to get a more complete picture by the students as to what has been going on, the history of the strikes, and the actions that are planned following Harvard's racist conclusion that sale of their Gulf stock would have "no practical effect in advancing the independence of black Angolans."

As I am quite involved in political work here in the Bay Area, and would therefore like to expand radi-

cal consciousness on this issue, I am requesting that you send me some addresses of groups I can get in contact with. I do not know who else could help me on this matter, and I would like to find out as soon as possible.

Fred Lowe
Oakland, Calif.

In reply — One group that has been active in exposing Harvard University's complicity with repressive regimes in Africa is the Pan-African Liberation Committee, P.O. Box 514, Brookline Village, Mass. 02147. A pamphlet entitled *Gulf Oil: Portuguese Ally in Angola* has been published by the Corporate Information Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 (60 cents). Additional information can be obtained from the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016; and the Gulf Boycott Coalition, Box 123, D.V. Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406.

Illinois straw poll

Students at the Illinois Masonic Medical Center School of Nursing voted Oct. 26 and 27 in a straw poll. Nixon, McGovern, Jenness, and Spock were listed on the presidential ballot. The results were as follows: Nixon, 56.5 percent; McGovern, 26.7 percent; Jenness, 7 percent; Spock, 7 percent; no vote, 2.8 percent.

It is interesting to note that Jenness and Spock received a combined total of one-seventh of the vote. It shows that in this traditionally conservative profession some people are refusing to accept the lies of the GOP and Democrats.

A further example of the radical trend in this profession is the fact that Pat Grogan, Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, will be addressing the Student Nurses Association of Illinois.

Paul Obis Jr.
Chicago, Ill.

Questions about The Militant

I have decided finally to subscribe to *The Militant*. You people have been so nice in sending me sample copies of your excellent newspaper.

However, I do have some questions for you. For instance, is *The Militant* the official newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party? Does it always support SWP candidates? Also, how about an article on the history of the SWP.

Dan Harrison
Chappaqua, N.Y.

In reply — *The Militant* is published by The Militant Publishing Association, not the Socialist Workers Party. It does, however, reflect the views of the SWP and support SWP candidates.

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.



Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith

New low for anti-abortion forces

Making the victim into the criminal is a favorite trick of the anti-abortion forces.

Take for example the full-page ad signed by "Women for Life," which appeared in the Oct. 8 *New York Times*. The ad is a crude attempt to equate supporters of women's right to abortion with those who supported slavery in the nineteenth century.

Beneath the headline, which reads "The Disposable Humans?", is a comparison between the arguments used to defend slavery and arguments (some of them totally distorted) used to defend abortion as a basic right of women.

The ad reads, for example: "Why not compare today's rhetoric with that of the last century and see whether there are any similarities?" Two of the phony parallels drawn are the following: "A black man only becomes a *legal* person when he is set free./A baby only becomes a *legal* person when he is born"; or, "Although he may have a heart and a brain, and he may be a human life biologically, a slave is not a legal person./Although he may have a heart and a brain, and he may be a human life biologically, an unborn baby is not a *legal* person." (Emphasis in original.)

Apparently, the reader is supposed to conclude from this that if you're for outlawing slavery and for giving Black people legal rights, then you should be for outlawing abortion and for giving fetuses legal rights.

Needless to say, there are some very obvious differences between fetuses and slaves. A slave can

physically support herself or himself independently. A fetus cannot—it is totally dependent on a woman for its existence.

Unlike fetuses, women and Blacks have thoughts, aspirations, and feelings. Blacks slaves, for example, organized struggles against their slavemasters in an effort to win freedom.

Or take the forced comparison the ad makes between the statement "A woman has a right to do what she wants with her own body," to the slaveowners' excuse that "A man has a right to do what he wants with his own property." Those who owned slaves did so by *choice*. But when women become pregnant against their will, they are denied the right to exercise choice by laws that outlaw abortion.

The truth is that women are the victims of anti-abortion laws, just as Blacks were the victims of laws that upheld slavery. And if you trace back the history of the fights for women's liberation and for Black liberation, the whole question becomes even clearer.

Right from the start, women and Blacks were in the forefront of the Abolitionist movement. They were organizing to win the freedom of slaves long before the Emancipation Proclamation.

Suffragists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone played leading roles as Abolitionists. They were the forerunners of the women who are today struggling against the anti-abortion laws, which maim and kill thousands of women each year. It is the women in the abortion rights movement who are the real "women for life."



By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins

Defeat for white colonialists

The United Nations General Assembly voted Nov. 2 to condemn colonialism in Africa. Such condemnations of colonialism are perennial occurrences in the UN and are usually couched in such general terms that even the cabal of imperialist thieves that dominates that august body feel perfectly comfortable with their adoption. But not so with the resolution passed last week.

Besides condemning colonialism in the abstract the General Assembly recognized the "legitimacy" of the "anticolonial armed struggle"—this at a time when the world's imperialist powers, led by the United States, are attempting to brand all revolutionary fighters, especially those in their colonies, as terrorists. The resolution was adopted by 99 countries with Portugal, South Africa, Great Britain, France, and the United States casting the only opposing votes.

According to a report in the Nov. 5 *New York Times*, the resolution "repeated past calls for the world organization, its agencies and all countries to withhold all assistance from Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa, and it called on the colonial powers to withdraw military installations from colonial territories."

In three separate resolutions on Africa the General Assembly voted to increase dissemination of literature on colonialism; to convene in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity an "international conference of experts for the support of the victims of southern Africa" next April; and to designate the week of May 25 (African Liberation Day) a "week of solidarity with the colonial peoples of southern Africa" and Guinea Bissau in their fight for "freedom, independence and equal rights."

Also noteworthy is the seating of Amilcar Cabral, secretary-general of the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC—African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands) as an observer at a session of the UN Committee on Trusts and Nonselfgoverning Territories. This is the first time a leader of a guerrilla movement has been accorded such status.

Such resolutions and actions on the part of the UN help legitimize the struggles being waged for the liberation of African colonies. And skillfully used they can help cut through the lies, deceit, and whitewash the U.S. government uses to cover the real nature of their complicity in the oppression of brothers and

sisters in southern Africa.

•Coming under increasing attack for their role in South Africa, U.S. business and the federal government have joined with the government of South Africa in a campaign to portray that role as beneficial to Africans. Part of this campaign calls for the use of Black "leaders" and "celebrities" to lend their endorsement to the status quo in South Africa—with a few changes of course.

Since the beginning of this year several Black "leaders" and "celebrities" have proved more than willing to lend themselves to this campaign. When Roy Wilkins of the NAACP toured South Africa investigating the involvement of U.S. business in that country, he returned to report that U.S. corporations were playing a progressive role there—providing higher wages, job upgrading, etc.

Eartha Kitt made a trip to South Africa and performed before segregated audiences. Upon her return, when interviewed on NBC's morning news program, *Today*, she voiced hope that the apartheid regime would reform itself. She cited as a sign of changing times an incident in which she gained admittance to a "white" amusement park for several Black and "coloured" children.

One "celebrity" who was saved despite himself from being used in this fashion is Muhammad Ali. Ali recently canceled a bout with Al Jones, an Afro-American boxer, scheduled for Nov. 18 in South Africa. Ali's cancellation came after a massive campaign of condemnation on the part of major Black newspapers across the country and organizations supporting the African liberation struggles.

Speaking to the Second International Congress of African Peoples in September, Owusu Sadaukai commented, "The question in southern Africa is who will control. . . . Who said jobs were the problem? Who said American investment was needed? Did the PAC say it? Did ANC say it? Did MPLA say it? Did FRELIMO say it? Who said it? Polaroid said it! General Motors said it! Gulf Oil said it!"

"And true to form, once they said it we obedient followers of the white man's gospel chimed in. So now we have in our midst the disciples of the white man's new rationale for the continued control of the lives of African people."

Luckily for Ali he avoided joining those "disciples."

The Great Society

Nothing sacred—Nearly 4,000 Cadillacs, including hearses, were recalled for defective axles. Commented a UAW official: "You're not even safe from General Motors when you're dead."

Housecleaning time—Syndicated columnist Nick Thimmesch reports on current antibureaucratic jokes in Poland, including the one about Soviet science bringing Lenin back to life. After hearing a state-of-the-nation report from the Politburo, Lenin says he will rest overnight and then make an important announcement. The next morning he advises: "I have reviewed our situation, and I've decided to go back to Switzerland and start the whole damned thing over again."

Spreading the benefits—The *Times of India* reported 26,000 carved rosewood elephants had been sold to Republican campaign workers.



Be patient—The *London Sunday Times* reports that the real estate operators who bought the London Bridge and transported it to Lake Havasu in the Arizona desert are now concerned that the clean air is eroding a half-century of tradition-laden soot from the bridge and that in ten years it will be looking bright and shiny. What with the giant power generator system going up in nearby New Mexico, we don't think it's much of a problem.

Who?—A New Jersey pollster reported that Paul Krebs, Democratic U. S. senatorial nominee, has a public recognition level so low as to defy computer analysis. Only 5 percent of those queried correctly identified the aspirant. Incumbent Clifford Case, who has served the people for four terms, was identified by 19 percent of those polled.

The grime is always greener . . .—The mayor of New York City asked the mayor of New York for expert guidance in keeping streets clean. He said he was impressed by New York's "scientific approach to cleaning streets." A dirty joke?

For the decision-makers—A New York jeweler was offering a novelty gold coin engraved "head" on one side, "tail" on the other. The theory apparently being that those who can afford the \$65 price tag can also afford to use it at the polls.

Better than gold—The FBI is probing the theft of more than 77,000 rounds of ammo from Ft. Knox. Members of the nearby Louisville police department seem to have been the principal recipients.



National Picket Line

Rail workers cheated on pension

Recent happenings in the U. S. Congress relative to the railroad industry and some tragic accidents on the railroads draw attention to this very sick industry, which has long suffered from a bad case of mismanagement by profit-hungry "free enterprise."

The rapidity and decisiveness with which both houses of Congress overrode President Nixon's veto of a 20 percent increase in pensions for railroad workers must have surprised him. The House rejected the veto by a vote of 353 to 29, the Senate, by 76 to 5. After all, this is election year.

Nixon motivated his veto in this way: the 20 percent increase in railroad pensions would "jeopardize the fiscal integrity of the Railroad Retirement System and hasten its bankruptcy . . ." because the bill does not contain any provisions for financing the raise. He wanted a railroad pension increase on a dollar-for-dollar, not percentage, basis to match the recently enacted 20 percent increase in Social Security pensions.

The Railroad Retirement System costs railroad employees about double what Social Security costs other workers—9.5 percent per month on the first \$9,000 gross earnings, or nearly \$75 every month. The rail employers are supposed to match this sum.

Recently a five-man U. S. Commission on Railroad Retirement reported that the Retirement Fund would go broke within 13 years, that employment

on the lines would drop from the present 600,000 workers to 200,000 by the year 2000. The *UTU* [United Transportation Union] *News* for Sept. 16 reports that this dire prediction contradicts another section of the same report, which emphasized that the Retirement System's reserve, now more than \$5-billion, has continuously increased. Moreover, the figures show that the drop of rail jobs over the past few years has leveled off.

The commission proposes that railroad workers' pensions be two-tiered—the first tier, regular Social Security; the second tier, supplementary pensions paid out of the present Railroad Retirement System.

President Al Chesser of the United Transportation Union announced a counterplan at a meeting of the union's Association of General Chairmen and legislative directors in Las Vegas recently.

While Chesser approved the two-tier pension plan, he proposed further that tier-one benefits be tied to Social Security, with the total railroad retirement tax paid by both the workers and the corporations reduced to match the lower tax for Social Security.

He proposed that tier-two supplementary pension benefits be paid by a ton-mile tax on all freight shipments.

All this happened during August and September. On Oct. 21 a *New York Times* report from Washington, D. C., said that all 21 of the nation's rail-

road unions are now backing the U. S. commission's proposals—with no mention of Chesser's ton-mile freight tax. Chesser is not only the president of the two-year-old AFL-CIO United Transportation Union (an amalgamation of four former Brotherhoods). He is also chairman of the Congress of Railway Unions—the 21 unions that approved the commission's two-tier plan.

There are only 600,000 railroaders left on the job today—automation, corporation mergers, and bankruptcies having reduced the total work force to about one-third of what it once was. More than a million retired workers are drawing pensions from the Railroad Retirement System.

During the past decade of rapid deterioration of the industry and attrition of the work force the bureaucrats at the head of the unions have buckled under on every important issue—the latest last summer when they gave in on a three-year rank-and-file fight to keep the lines from phasing out firemen on diesel locomotives.

Under this agreement the 18,000 firemen currently working will be retained in their jobs, advancing to engineers as these latter die or retire. Certain others among the already furloughed 18,000 firemen can return to their jobs if they want to. The only trains upon which it will be obligatory to carry both an engineer and a fireman are passenger carriers. That's to protect against an engineer dying at the throttle!

Marvel Scholl



The American Way of Life

Con Ed's freeze-out

New York winters aren't the coldest in the world. But they are plenty cold. The temperature sometimes drops below zero, and rain turns to ice and snow. This condition wouldn't be so miserable if the apartments were warm. But on far too many mornings, usually the coldest, hundreds of thousands of tenants wake up without heat. The winds may even leave a small snowdrift on the windowsill. Why? The city's landlords turn down the thermostats to save a few bucks.

It doesn't make any difference to them that your child has pneumonia or that you have arthritis. They aren't concerned that you may not enjoy changing your clothes in front of the oven or shaving in cold water. For them profits come before health and comfort.

This winter promises to be even worse. Consolidated Edison, New York's electric-power monopoly, has given landlords a green light to turn down

the heat. It recently announced that three of its major generators have to be taken out of service at the same time. The result will be a shortage of steam for office and apartment buildings.

Mayor Lindsay has ordered a special investigation. He says he wants to "have all the facts in hand and plan corrective steps immediately in order to avoid any undue hardships for the public." Few people expect much to come of this.

Electric power shortages aren't a new thing in the city. They've been occurring nearly every summer for the past few years when one or another of Con Ed's generators fails. Then it orders a cutback in power or "brownout" as they have come to be called. Meanwhile, the city administration does nothing.

This year, however, is the first time a shortage is expected in the winter.

We live in a society that produces undreamed-of

electronic devices, that has harnessed the atom and sent men to the moon. Yet it can't produce enough electricity for our needs when it gets too hot or too cold.

While Con Edison keeps raising its rates we get less and less service. And to top it all off the company refuses to stop pouring tons of poisonous chemicals and soot into the air.

Not only do the capitalist rulers steal from working people to make themselves richer. They can't even provide the day-to-day necessities of life in a highly industrialized society. They are incapable of managing this society. And things are getting worse.

The capitalist owners of Con Ed should be turned out to pasture and this giant utility placed under workers control. Only then will priority be given to providing enough electric power—and without pollution.

David James



Jenness on election night

Socialist campaign 'a tremendous victory'

By PEGGY BRUNDY

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 8—At an election night rally here, Linda Jenness and 300 New York supporters of the Socialist Workers Party ticket wound up 15 months of intensive campaigning.

At 11 p.m., Jenness, the SWP presidential candidate, simultaneously addressed her campaign supporters at election rallies in 17 different cities via a national telephone hookup.

"We didn't win this election," she said. "The people who won this election are the Rockefellers, the Morgans, General Motors, and Con Edisons of this country."

"But those who lost this election are not just the supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. . . . Those who will suffer from the results of this election are the working people of this country; the oppressed in this society; the victims of capitalist injustice, inequality, racism, and sexism. . . .

"But we have given Nixon and McGovern a run for their money. . . . We have debated their representatives, and we have certainly never lost a debate. We have taken them to court, and we have an enviable batting average in the courts. We have beaten back their Army brass at Fort Dix

and their Navy brass at Quonset Point. We have forced open the doors to some of their prisons, and we have emerged from this campaign stronger, more confident, better organized, and better equipped to continue the struggle. And that is a tremendous victory."

Following Jenness's speech, the telephone hookup broadcast a speech by Andrew Pulley, the SWP vice-presidential candidate. He was speaking from the Americana Hotel in San Francisco, where campaign supporters held an election night rally.

Pulley reminded the audiences in 17 cities that the press calls the SWP a "minor" party, while it calls the Democrats and Republicans the "major" parties. "I've rejected that notion," he said. "It is not true that we represent the interests of a minority. Quite the contrary. We represent the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people."

While the Democrats and Republicans might receive a majority of the vote, he continued, "they represent definitely the interests of a minority. So they are the minority parties, not the Socialist Workers Party."

The work of the socialist campaign will not end now that the election is over, Pulley said. "We must build a

massive youth organization of revolutionary socialists and a massive revolutionary socialist party." He urged his young supporters to join the Young Socialist Alliance and to attend the YSA convention in Cleveland, Nov. 23-26.

More than 300 New York campaign supporters heard Jenness speak at a Manhattan rally at Hunter College on Nov. 4. One of the other speakers on the platform was Jane Tam, a Chinese member of the school board in New York's District One.

Tam outlined the history of the struggle of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese in that district for representation on the school board. "We are very proud to say that we are the only school board out of 31 in New York with a majority of minorities on the local school board," Tam said.

Jenness, she continued, "is the only presidential candidate who put out a pamphlet for the poor people. I hope that all the people here come out to vote and work for Pulley and Jenness."

The next speaker was Mary Vasiliades, a member of the National Organization for Women, the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus, and a writer for *Majority Report*, a New York feminist newspaper. A Chisholm delegate to the Democratic Party convention, Vasiliades urged feminists to vote for Jenness.

Paul Massas, student body president of Brooklyn College, also spoke. He announced that the Third World Federation at his school endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

On Nov. 6 at New York University in Manhattan, Jenness debated Dr. Benjamin Spock, presidential candidate of the People's Party, before an audience of 100.

Jenness began her remarks by noting that "the SWP is particularly grateful to Ben Spock for not having been afraid or backing off from standing up with the socialists during this campaign. Dr. Spock and I have had several joint suits demanding the campaign rights of third parties during this campaign."

One important difference between



Jane Tam

Militant/Mark Satinoff

the SWP and the People's Party, Jenness said, was in their understandings of the class structure in society. The SWP believes there are two decisive classes in this country: the ruling, capitalist class, consisting of about 2 percent of the population, and the working class. The SWP believes that the working class, a vast majority, should own and control the resources of this country.

While the SWP proposes a democratically planned economy utilizing technology's achievements, Jenness said, the People's Party proposes breaking up big industries into community factories. "That is not a new idea," she pointed out. "That is what is known as utopian socialism, and it would be a step backward."

Dr. Spock began his rebuttal by saying that his remarks represented the position of the People's Party, not necessarily his own. "At the conventions," he said, "when discussion of the platform begins in earnest, I'm always being yanked out to talk to the press. So they're not my ideas,

Continued on page 22

vote Socialist Workers in '72



Linda Jenness addressing New York election night rally

Militant/Mark Satinoff

Pulley condemns phony 'peace' proposal

By DERRICK MORRISON

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 6—Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, campaigned on the West Coast this week, denouncing Nixon's attempt to impose a settlement on the Vietnamese liberation forces. He told people that a vote for the socialist alternative is a vote for the U.S. to get out of Southeast Asia now.

Today Pulley held a news conference here and then spoke to more than 100 students at an outdoor rally at San Francisco State College. He called for a socialist vote and urged participa-

tion in the nationwide antiwar demonstrations planned for Nov. 18. Pulley also blasted McGovern's retreats on the issues of the war and women's rights, and his vicious slander of the Raza Unida parties. McGovern recently accused the independent Chicano parties of receiving funds from the Republican Party in return for not supporting the Democratic ticket.

On Nov. 4, Pulley addressed more than 200 supporters at a Bay Area banquet in Oakland. He had just returned from a campaign rally at Fort Dix, N.J. The right to hold such a rally, won in a lower court, was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. (See story, p. 11.)

The Bay Area rally was chaired by Susan Vass, the SWP candidate in California's 5th C.D. George Novack and Harry Ring also spoke. Novack is a noted Marxist scholar and a national speaker for the SWP campaign. Ring heads the Southwest Bureau of *The Militant*. Supporters contributed more than \$1,000 at the affair.

Before flying to the Bay Area, Pulley toured San Diego. There he appeared on two TV programs and addressed audiences at the University of California and at La Jolla High School.

At San Diego State College nearly 100 students came to a debate between Pulley and Richard Castro, the vice-

chairman of the speaker's bureau of the local McGovern campaign.

Castro admitted to the moderator that he was used to debating Republicans and thus appearing as an opponent of the establishment. But at this debate he thought he was sure to be cast as a supporter of the status quo.

And defend the status quo he did, apologizing for McGovern's backtracking on women's rights and other issues, and repeatedly claiming that

the political system in the U.S. is the best of all possible alternatives. He received a cool reception from the audience.

Pulley spoke in defense of the right of women to abortion and pointed out that the demand of "Out Now!" is the only demand consistent with the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination. He scored Nixon's phony peace plan, which McGovern has endorsed.



Militant/Derrick Morrison

Andrew Pulley speaking at University of Oregon in Eugene.

Matching Fund over the top

By SYD STAPLETON

NOV. 7—The 10-week drive to raise \$40,000 for the Jenness-Pulley campaign was successfully completed today. The drive began in August when several campaign supporters offered to pool their resources and match all contributions up to \$20,000.

The Matching Fund drive got off to a running start with the Socialist Workers national campaign rally held in Cleveland Aug. 18. Contributions and pledges to the Socialist Workers campaign at that rally totaled \$10,007.36.

Another major part of the more than \$20,000 in donations raised came from the collections taken

at 25 of the rallies and banquets at which Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley spoke during the fall.

In addition to the contributions made at these rallies, more than 240 people sent donations directly to the national campaign office. These donations, which averaged \$17 and totaled \$4,282.38, came from a broad range of campaign supporters, including a group of GIs in Korea and a person at a conscientious objectors work camp in Northern Idaho.

The total donations to the Matching Fund amounted to \$20,797.94. With the \$20,000 in matching funds, the total raised thus comes to \$40,797.94.

Lafferty confronts Hicks on TV

Brooke challenged to debate by SWP senatorial candidate

By CAROL HENDERSON EVANS
BOSTON, Oct. 27—"Brooke—Why Are You Afraid to Debate Gurewitz?" "Brooke Is Dodging the Issues—Debate Gurewitz." With signs bearing these and other statements, about 20 campaign supporters joined Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, Don Gurewitz, in a picket line in front of Republican Senator Edward Brooke's campaign office here Oct. 26.

Two Boston TV stations have offered Gurewitz, Brooke, and John Dronney, the Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Senate, prime time for a debate. Brooke has refused this format, recommending instead that each candidate be given an equal amount of time simply to state his position.

While the picket line continued outside, Gurewitz and SWP Campaign Coordinator John Powers, who is the SWP candidate in the 8th C.D., went inside to deliver an open letter from Gurewitz to Brooke. They were accompanied by a camera crew from WBZ-TV. Unable to speak with Brooke, Gurewitz talked to his campaign manager, Carolyn Stuart, who told him, "the senator would prefer to answer [your letter] himself, with a letter."

In his open letter Gurewitz told Brooke, "Your comment about television debates not being productive is

a very feeble excuse. You know as well as I do that there is no better way . . . to bring the differences between candidates into sharper focus You made these very points yourself when you were running against Mr. [Endicott] Peabody and demanding that he debate you Your refusal to debate now makes clear how hypocritical your 'concern' for democratic dialogue really is."

That same night, a local television program covering the Senate race noted the extensive financial backing of Brooke's campaign, and described Gurewitz's campaign as consisting of "nickles and dimes and a dynamic speaking style," and as "pursuing the issues, such as the war."

On Oct. 26 Gurewitz also participated in a candidate's night sponsored by the League of Women Voters in Lexington, Mass. Governor Francis Sargent made an unscheduled appearance at the meeting to give what he termed a "nonpartisan" address to the audience—by urging support for Nixon.

By YIPPER FITZGERALD
Jeanne Lafferty, Massachusetts SWP candidate in the 9th C.D., confronted

ed her three opponents in a half-hour WBZ-TV debate Oct. 24. Her opponents are Louise Day Hicks, the well-known racist Democrat; Joseph Moakley, a Democrat who ran as an "independent" to avoid losing to Hicks in the primaries; and Howard Miller, a Republican.

The moderator, a columnist from the *Christian Science Monitor*, addressed questions to each candidate. The candidates were also allowed to ask each other questions. Lafferty addressed her question to Hicks, asking for her position on repealing all anti-abortion laws.

Hicks answered that she was opposed to abortion law repeal, that it was a "state matter," but that even on the state level, she opposed repeal.

A question on busing, a major issue in Boston, brought out the racism of the Democratic and Republican parties. Hicks formerly headed the Boston School Committee, which maintains one of the most segregated school systems in the North. During the debate, she flatly opposed busing in any form.

Moakley, who is characterizing himself as the "liberal" in opposition to Hicks, said he favored busing, but only within school districts. (School districts in Boston, under the direction of people like Hicks, have been carefully drawn to keep Blacks out of the better quality schools.) Miller's position thus amounted to making no change in the institutionalized racism in Boston's schools.

Lafferty responded that the decision on busing belongs with the Black community. She called for massive government funding under the democratic control of the Black community in order for Blacks to be able to reconstruct their community, including the schools, as they choose.

Following the broadcast of the debate, several people called the SWP headquarters to get involved in the socialist campaign.

Lafferty was scheduled for another debate with her opponents on Public Broadcast TV, WGBH, on Nov. 1.

Socialist candidate speaks at Cleveland City Club

CLEVELAND—Ohio Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate Herman Kirsch confronted his three opponents in the 20th C.D. in a debate sponsored by the Cleveland City Club on Oct. 13.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* ran an article on the debate the next day, noting that "American Independent party candidate Richard B. Kay expressed chagrin at finding himself in agreement with [Democratic incumbent James] Stanton on something." Both candidates said they were unalterably opposed to repeal of Ohio's anti-abortion law.

Republican candidate Thomas Vilt took a position on abortion that was scarcely different from Stanton's and Kay's. He said he thought abortion should be "a matter between the doctors and the church," leaving the pregnant woman's right to decide out of the question altogether.

Kirsch was the only candidate who gave unconditional support to women's right to abortion.

The *Plain Dealer* said, "Kirsch attacked the control of the election process by the two major parties and what he called 'the Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee political mentality'"

SWP campaign supporters in Ohio have been active in the fight to gain ballot status for Linda Jenness, the SWP presidential candidate. She was ruled off the Ohio ballot by Secretary of State Ted Brown because she is "too young" to serve if elected.

Kirsch is running as a write-in candidate, as is Robbie Scheer, the SWP candidate in the 23rd C.D. Two SWP candidates are on the Ohio ballot—Cecil Lampkin (21st C.D.) and Caryl Loeb (22nd C.D.).

Kirsch has filed suit in the State Supreme Court protesting the unreasonably short time allowed for smaller parties to collect signatures on nominating petitions. His suit received an unfavorable ruling in a lower court.

The three other Ohio SWP candidates have also debated their opponents at the Cleveland City Club this fall. Ohio campaign supporters are now concentrating their efforts on publicizing the Young Socialist Alliance national convention, to take place in Cleveland Nov. 23-26.



Herman Kirsch

Madison Geddes



SWP senatorial candidate Don Gurewitz (l) and campaign supporters picket office of Senator Edward Brooke demanding debate.

Scores Koch on war, abortion, schools

Finch debates N.Y. opponents

By SARA GATES
NEW YORK, Nov. 3—Before an audience of more than 175 people, Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York's 18th C.D., met the Democratic incumbent, Edward Koch, in a debate last night. Also included in the debate were the candidates of the Tenants and Free Libertarian parties. The Republican candidate was invited but did not attend.

Finch called on Koch to support the Nov. 18 antiwar demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee. She stated, "The war would end tomorrow if politicians like George McGovern and Ed Koch supported and helped build antiwar demonstrations instead of telling people to get out of those demonstrations and into supporting their election campaigns."

Koch refused, and said, "What I'm doing to try to end that war is elect Senator McGovern, and that's where my efforts lie."

Finch expressed her solidarity with the movement for a woman's right to abortion by supporting the Abortion Rights Act of 1972, now pending in Congress, and urged all the other candidates to do so. Koch, although purporting to be for the repeal of anti-abortion laws, said it was up to the states to decide.

Finch pointed out that the "state's rights" excuse was used by Southern states to sanction slavery and segregation. She posed the question in the concrete: "Will you fight for the principle of a woman's right to choose? The bill is in Congress now. What are you going to do? Are you going to be for or against it?" Koch refused to answer the question directly.

Finch pointed out how she has used her campaign to defend the community school board in its attempt to win control over the District One schools. She noted in particular her defense of Luis Fuentes, the school superintendent in District One. Fuentes has faced slanderous attacks aimed at removing him from office because of

his support for community control and for bilingual and bicultural education.

Refusing to defend the local school board or Fuentes, Koch repeated his empty formula that he supports "community participation, not control." To justify his position, he said that just as he did not support the right of whites to exclude Blacks from their schools, so he could not support community control in the communities of oppressed nationalities.

Finch replied that this position is an apology for the racist status quo in which whites control not only the schools in their own neighborhoods but in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese neighborhoods as well.

She pointed out that to break the pattern of racism in communities like District One, the people in these communities must decide who will be teachers and principals and what will be taught in the schools. She called for an immediate restoration of the 5 percent cutback in the city's education budget and for a crash program of funding for the schools.

Fort Dix rally a historic first

Socialists campaign on U.S. military base

By LARRY SEIGLE

FORT DIX, N.J., Nov. 4—For the first time in U.S. history, a socialist election campaign rally has been held on an Army base. The rally took place here today after the U.S. Supreme Court rejected, by a 5-to-4 vote, an eleventh-hour appeal by the U.S. solicitor general for a stay of the court of appeals ruling that cleared the way for the rally.

Speaking at the rally were Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, candidates for president and vice-president on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, and Dr. Benjamin Spock, presidential candidate of the People's Party. Approximately two hundred people attended the rally, half of them active-duty GIs.

In addition to the candidates, singer

did so in civilian clothes. A number of others sat in cars parked away from the rally but within earshot of the sound system. Others, who approached the rally itself, did so cautiously, staying on the outskirts of the crowd and away from the cameras.

Although the sky was overcast and the air cold and damp, the crowd was enthusiastic. Not a single person left the rally before it was over. Many GIs sported "Vote SWP" buttons and dozens held SWP campaign posters.

In his speech Andrew Pulley related his own experiences as a GI: "The case that developed at Fort Jackson [S.C.] developed around the rights of GIs to speak out, around the rights of Black GIs to struggle against racial oppression, and around the rights of all GIs to organize against the war.

GIs United Against the War had faced. "I was court-martialed once for allegedly refusing a direct order to go to bed."

"When you become a serviceman," Pulley said, "you don't lose your citizenship. In fact, one of the things they told me when I was inducted was that the first priority, the first order, was to defend the U.S. Constitution against all aggressors, foreign and domestic.

"So I looked around, trying to see who were the foreign aggressors attacking the Constitution. . . . I could not see how the Vietnamese were doing that.

"The only people I could see who were actually violating the Constitution, attacking the GIs' rights, was the military apparatus itself, and the U.S. government. And we were le-

Black GIs and Chicanos and Puerto Ricans have died in this war in disproportionate numbers. When they have come back home as veterans, they are forced to join the ranks of the unemployed. More than 25 percent of all Black veterans are unemployed."

Pulley called on the GIs to reject the promises of the Democrats and Republicans, pointing out that both parties were responsible for the Vietnam war.

Linda Jenness followed Pulley. "This rally represents a tremendous victory for the American GI," she began. "It also represents a tremendous victory for free speech in this country.

"You know, the Army brass thinks that when they draft you into the Army, they control your mind as well as everything else about you. But I say 'No!' I know that the American GIs are standing up and saying 'No!' And the U.S. Constitution says 'No!'"

Jenness talked about the war in Southeast Asia. "It is criminal and it's inhumane that one more GI be sacrificed for General Thieu and his clique! And it's criminal that one more American GI be sacrificed to protect the profits of American businessmen and bankers who are making billions of dollars off of this war!"

Jenness urged the GIs to participate in antiwar demonstrations scheduled for Nov. 18.

"I've also heard since I've been here," she continued, "that there is a rumor going around this base that some of the units here are being prepared to be sent to the Middle East. I doubt very much if there are many GIs who look forward to being stationed in the Mideast.

"The Zionist government of Israel does not have the right to build a so-called homeland on the backs of two million Palestinian refugees. . . .

"Whether Nixon gets elected or McGovern gets elected, you're still going to be drafted, and you're still going to be sent off to fight to protect somebody else's bankroll and to protect the profits of the American ruling class.

"If you want to cast your vote on the side of the Vietnamese liberation fighters and on the side of self-determination for Vietnam, if you want your vote to be counted on the side of the antiwar movement, and if you want your vote to be counted against this system, then you should pull the lever for the Socialist Workers Party," she concluded. "That's what we stand for, and that's what we've been fighting for all over this country."



Militant/Michael Smith

On platform at Fort Dix rally are (l to r) Dr. Benjamin Spock, Carl Rogers of the People's Party, folksinger Judy Collins, Andrew Pulley, and Linda Jenness.

Judy Collins appeared at the rally. Don Gurewitz, SWP senatorial candidate from Massachusetts, and Carl Rogers, representing the People's Party, chaired the meeting.

Leaflets advertising the "antiwar campaign rally" were circulated on base last week. The response to the leafletters was overwhelmingly enthusiastic. "Antiwar! Right on!" was repeated by many GIs as they were handed the leaflets.

Many GIs expressed fears that they would be harassed if they attended the rally. Many of those who attended

"And we were busted for that, following a meeting on the base. The Army called it a rally, a demonstration. We called it a meeting. I was taken to the stockade along with seven other GIs who were victimized for that."

Pulley told the crowd, "In the Army, you are going to be harassed whether you are political or not. Only if you are political, you will be harassed a little bit more."

Pulley told the GIs of the harassment he and other GIs at Fort Jackson who organized a group called

gally correct in defending our rights!"

Pulley told the rally of his campaign visit to U.S. Army bases in West Germany, where he discussed with GIs the struggle for Black liberation and the fight against the war in Vietnam.

"When Black GIs find themselves in the Armed Forces, the racial oppression just becomes exacerbated. Discrimination goes on constantly. The racism in the Army is just more obvious than it is in the rest of society.

"And yet we are asked to fight for what is called democracy by the ones who control and run this country.

Socialist confronts Ron Dellums in debate

By JOHN VOTAVA

OAKLAND, Calif., Nov. 6—During the final week of the race in California's 7th C.D., incumbent Democrat Ron Dellums was publicly confronted twice by Ken Miliner, the Socialist Workers Party candidate in that district.

The first of the two encounters came Oct. 29 at the Jewish Community Center, where Dellums and his Republican opponent Peter Hannaford had been invited to speak. Although originally not invited, Miliner requested and received five minutes to explain his campaign right before the summations by the other two candidates.

Miliner noted that Dellums's party and its presidential candidate, George McGovern, oppose many of the things Dellums says he is for. In addition, Miliner explained how working

people, Blacks, and women have all won gains by working independently of the Democratic and Republican parties.

He pointed out that the first civil rights bill was passed by a conservative Congress and signed by a racist president. What was decisive in this case was the existence of a mass, independent Black movement, not the composition of Congress.

The response to Miliner's remarks was quite good, forcing Dellums to admit that "Many of the things Mr. Miliner says are correct."

The Nov. 2 meeting, attended by 150 people, was sponsored by a number of churches in North Oakland. All during the meeting, Dellums presented himself as the defender of the oppressed. Significant exceptions to this, however, were his bellicose state-

ments favoring arms to Israel, maintenance of the Zionist state, and his hypocritical refusal to condemn the Israeli bombing of Palestinian villages and camps.

Hannaford, who has concentrated in his campaign on accusing Dellums of being pro-Arab and on personal attacks, told the audience that the real issue in the 7th C.D. was the fact that "people are tired of militancy and radicalism and the politics of confrontation."

The Democratic and Republican parties, Miliner told the audience, "have been running this country for the last 100 years and that is why we have the problems we have today. . . . If you want to change this society you can't rely on anyone but yourselves."



SWP candidate Ken Miliner (l) and incumbent Democrat Ron Dellums at debate between 7th C.D. candidates in Oakland, Calif., Nov. 2.

500 Indian protesters occupy gov't office

By CALVIN GODDARD
and ERNEST HARSCH

WASHINGTON, D.C., Nov. 8—Agreement was reached today between leaders of the Indian protest occupation of government offices here and U.S. officials. Details of the agreement have not yet been announced, although Indian leaders have indicated that some of their demands have been won. The government has so far agreed to form an interagency task force to hear grievances and proposals from the Indians.

Most of the Native Americans have begun to go back to their homes across the country. As they left, they confiscated secret files and memorandums that outline deals between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and corporations to cheat Indians out of their land, mineral, and water rights.

Russell Means, a coordinator of the American Indian Movement (AIM), said the documents would be evaluated and made public.

The following article was written during the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Nov. 6—Native Americans from 250 tribes whose Trail of Broken Treaties Caravans converged on the capital Oct. 30 continued today to occupy the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which they have renamed the Native American Embassy. Since Nov. 2 more than 500 Native Americans have held the federal office building housing the BIA, a symbol of centuries of oppression.

Approximately 1,800 Native Americans have come to the seat of their government overseers to demand self-determination and to protest U.S. violation of 387 unequal treaties imposed on them.

The occupation was touched off Nov. 2 at 5 p.m. by an unprovoked police attack on a group of Native Americans inside the BIA offices. Beatings by the cops gave head injuries to four Native Americans. The police were then driven off and the doors barricaded by Native Americans who had been negotiating with BIA officials.

"The violence was caused by the cops," Vernon Bellecourt said. "We came here in peace." Bellecourt is a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), the main organizer of the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravans.

Late Friday night, Nov. 3, U.S. marshals served the Indians with a court order to leave the building while 200 riot cops waited nearby. "You have no right to issue an order to Indian people on Indian land," replied AIM leader Dennis Banks, speaking for the Indians who had taken up positions in and around the building. "We will die here if we have to," Banks said, expressing the determination of the occupiers. "There must be no more Wounded Knees, Vietnams, or Kent States. U.S. troops massacred some 300 Indians, mostly women and children, at Wounded Knee in 1890. The country must take a new direction providing maximum self-determination for all people," Banks said.

About 150 non-Indian supporters of the protest linked arms to form a line between the building and a possible police attack. But the authorities recoiled from a forceful eviction in the face of the militancy of the Native Americans and the solidarity shown by non-Indians.

Negotiations continue with government officials in the BIA, Justice Department, and the White House. The immediate demands of the Indians included decent housing for the rest of their stay, originally set to end today, but now scheduled at least through Nov. 12; the removal of several officials; and the right to conduct memorial services in Arlington National Cemetery.

An appeals court on Nov. 5 overturned an Army Department ruling against the Indians' use of the cemetery, where they sought to honor two of their people. One of them, Ira Hayes, was a hero of the landing on Iwo Jima during World War II.

The Army claimed such memorial services would be "political."

Early this morning, after the Indians had rejected the Interior Department's offer of facilities other than the BIA, the government indicated that it would begin contempt proceedings

that could lead to the forceful eviction of the Native Americans. Indian leaders once again expressed their determination to remain until their demands are met.

Coming from reservations and urban slums across the country, the Native Americans demanded justice for

pressure.

They also demanded that Indian rights to minerals, water, and land be recognized; that urban and landless Indians be given proper services entitled to them the same as treaty Indians; that the BIA be abolished and replaced by a new structure controlled by Indians; and that funds for health, housing, employment, economic development, and education be increased.

In an interview last week, John Trudell, one of the leaders of the 1970 occupation of Alcatraz, said: "It doesn't make any difference whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats—the same people have been screwing us for 400 years. It's the whole system!"

The main problem facing Indians, Trudell continued, "is that we have no control over our lives. The government appropriates funds all right, but they decide what to do with them. They run the bureau, not us. If we controlled our own affairs, we might make a few mistakes as we went along, but that would be a thousand times better than to be systematically oppressed by the white businessmen."

Dennis Banks, national director of AIM, says: "The next 200 years are not going to be like the last 200. We are going to fight for our rights, and we're going to run our own schools, our own institutions, and we're not going to fight in any more illegal wars!"



Bureau of Indian Affairs office.

Militant

the 800,000 Indians in the U.S., survivors of centuries of white oppression and genocide.

A document outlining their demands said: "The governmental agencies are the prime offenders in the total neglect of Indian people." The Indians demanded, among other things, that the U.S. fulfill all treaty obligations with U.S. tribes; that a treaty commission be established to negotiate new treaties, since those of the past were unjust and made under military

By ROBIN DAVID

SEATTLE, Nov. 7—Native Americans took over the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) office here yesterday afternoon. The number of demonstrators grew to as many as 100 during the night.

The peaceful occupation is in support of the Trail of Broken Treaties takeover of the BIA headquarters in Washington, D.C. In addition, demonstrators here have raised demands for tribal control of fishery management and for investigations by Indians of those Native Americans jailed "for refusal to fight in a war which is not of our making and one which we don't believe in."

Commission blasts Hanrahan's acquittal

By PETER SEIDMAN

An independent Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and Law Enforcement has attacked the Oct. 25 court decision declaring Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan innocent of all charges brought against him. Hanrahan and 13 Chicago policemen had been charged with "conspiracy to obstruct justice" in connection with the Dec. 4, 1969, police murder of Illinois Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and the wounding of four other Panthers.

Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general, and Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), cochaired the commission, which began its investigation 11 days after the police raid on Hampton's West Side Chicago apartment.

At a Nov. 2 news conference, Clark and Wilkins charged that those who planned and carried out the raid "acted with wanton disregard for human life and the legal rights of American citizens."

An early copy of the report, made available to the *New York Times* last March, stated: "The indication is that the raid, contrary to its stated ob-

jectives (to obtain Panther weapons), was conceived and planned as a search and destroy mission aimed at the leaders of the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther party."



Edward Hanrahan

The report concludes that Hampton "was shot from the doorway to his bedroom as he lay drugged and defenseless in bed."

A federal grand jury showed that in the course of the raid police fired at least 99 shots into the apartment, and only one shot was fired by the Panthers.

Despite this evidence, Barnabas Sears, the special county prosecutor conducting the case against Hanrahan, made no effort to charge him or his 13 codefendants with murder. The 14 defendants were charged with conspiring to obstruct justice by thwarting the prosecution of the policemen involved in the raid and by hampering the defense of seven Panthers who survived the raid and were later indicted in connection with it. The 14 were also accused of presenting false evidence and false accounts.

After hearing 15 weeks of evidence against Hanrahan, Cook County Circuit Judge Philip Romiti dismissed the charges without even hearing defense evidence. Special prosecutor Sears seemed well prepared for the judge's decision. Moments afterward, Sears released a statement assuring his respect for the judgment of the court: "Respect for law and the maintenance of the judicial system so essential to our survival as a free society alike demand that I do this."

In response to the decision, however, Andrew Barrett, executive secretary of

the Chicago NAACP raised "serious questions about the integrity of the judge, who made a political rather than a judicial decision."

Throughout the case, Hanrahan's ties to the corrupt Daley machine have spared him from facing the real charge of murder.

While protests last winter from other Democratic Party candidates and Black leaders in Chicago had forced Daley to withdraw his support from Hanrahan in the Democratic primary, the Democratic Party machine has once again taken him into its fold. Daley endorsed the acquitted Hanrahan in his race for state's attorney, saying that this case has been a "lesson": "We are sometimes too willing, too anxious to believe." Adlai Stevenson III, liberal Democratic Senator from Illinois, also endorsed Hanrahan's bid for reelection.

Hanrahan and his Republican opponent, Bernard Carey, an ex-FBI agent, are competing with each other in a racist "law and order" campaign. Hanrahan's Oct. 15 murder charges against eight Black Vietnam veterans said to be members of "De Mau Mau," an alleged Black murder gang, are no doubt intended to further his chances in this competition.

World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 17, 1972

Canadian election results pose challenge for New Democratic Party

[The following is an editorial on the October 30 Canadian federal election results reprinted from the November 6 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. The elections gave 109 seats in the federal parliament to the Progressive Conservatives, 108 seats to Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's Liberal party, and 30 seats to Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party (NDP). Thus neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives came close to winning the necessary 133 seats required for majority control of the House of Commons. To gain a majority, either major party must win the support of the NDP members of Parliament.]

At *Labor Challenge* press time, the morning after the October 30 election, the voting returns are still not clear as to whether we'll face a Liberal or a Conservative minority government. But no matter. We agree with Donald MacDonald, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, who told the press that, between the big business parties, "It's Tweedledee and Tweedledum as far as we're concerned."

NDP leader David Lewis was equally correct to reject out of hand suggestions that the New Democratic Party might form a coalition government with one of the old-line capitalist parties. He "would not consider it," Lewis stated, adding that the 30 NDP MPs would use their strategic position in parliament to press for action on the key issues the party has stressed during the campaign. "We will not go for token reforms."

The NDP platform includes demands for higher old age pensions, more public housing, measures to shift the tax load from individuals to large corporations, and to curb rising food costs. The party also calls for massive public works to reduce unemployment, including construction of housing, sewage treatment plants, public transit systems and day care centers.

Holding the balance of power, according to the peculiar workings of the parliamentary machine, the NDP is well situated to use parliament as a tribune, to speak out on all the key issues, to pose a clear alternative to the policies of the big business parties. It can carry forward its opposition to the "corporate ripoff"

that gave the party's election campaign such initiative and momentum.

This is the big challenge before the NDP. The election results constitute a crushing rejection of the Trudeau government — its arrogant, cynical anti-working class policies. The popular disillusionment with Trudeau's promised "Just Society" of the 1968 federal election is registered in Liberal losses across the country.

Liberal ministers, defeated and re-elected alike, are offering up self-justifying excuses that the government was brought down by a right-wing backlash. They point to Tory candidates' appeals for "law and order," wage controls and denunciations of "welfare cheaters" and alleged Québec influence in the inner circles of government.

It's a little late in the day for the Liberals to claim the progressive label. It was the Trudeau government which carried out the War Measures occupation of Québec, deliberately created mass unemployment to hold down wages, and dished out millions of dollars from the public treasury to the hard-pressed "corporate welfare bums."

Since there is no substantial difference between the two parties, the shift by some 10 percent of the electorate from Liberals to the Tories can hardly

be said to indicate a turn to the right. At most the Tories only offered to "do better."

Far from indicating confidence in either of the big business parties, the October 30 federal vote carries forward the antigovernment feeling that has toppled a majority of provincial regimes during the last three years.

Underlying the parliamentary stalemate is a profound political instability, characterized by fluctuating allegiances, regroupments and — most significantly — the steady emergence of the NDP as a labor-based political alternative to the traditional capitalist parties. Of the eight minority federal governments since Confederation, this is the fifth since 1957, in seven general elections.

But the election results nonetheless pose some important questions for the NDP. The party made some modest gains in British Columbia, Toronto and Northern Ontario, strengthening somewhat its urban working class base in those areas. It scored a small but significant breakthrough in the Northwest Territories, where the Native majority elected an Indian NDP member — no doubt on the strength of the NDP's opposition to Trudeau's plans to bulldoze through with Northern resources exploitation, ignoring

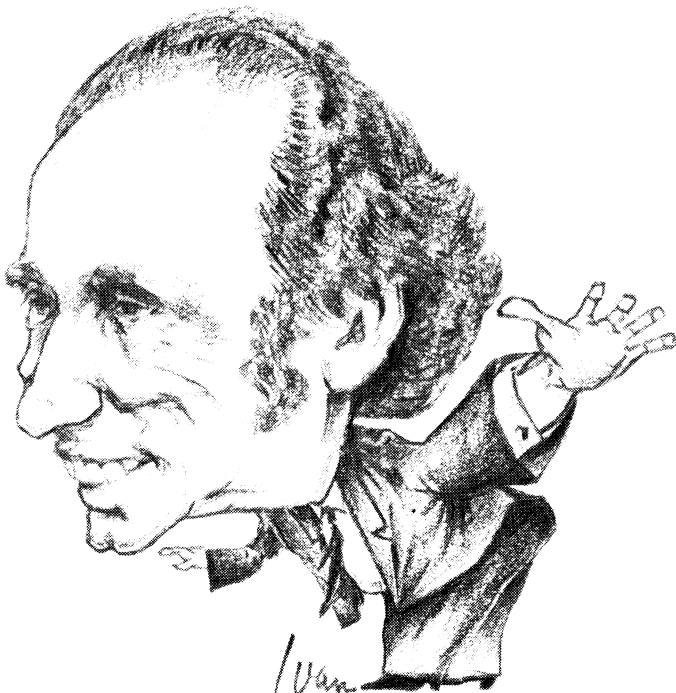
Native aboriginal rights and treaty claims.

But the party failed to advance much in popular support from the 1968 election; its 17.5 percent share of the total vote fell short of its high-water 18 percent achieved in 1965. It lost three of its six seats in Saskatchewan, and suffered small declines in an already-weak electoral base in Québec and the Atlantic provinces, where it was outdistanced for the first time by Social Credit candidates in Acadian areas. In Montréal, the Socreds overcame the NDP in many ridings where the NDP had previously come second.

While the NDP did not get squeezed out in the major shift of votes between the two main capitalist parties, it can't claim to have made much advance, either. This election saw the party move out more aggressively, pose a clearer, more distinct class identity than ever before. Yet in the end, the majority of voters who abandoned previous allegiances to the Liberals, chose to throw their support to the Tories of Robert Stanfield. While not a turn to the right, the vote does not indicate any sharp turn to the left. The most ominous aspect is that the Tories have succeeded in re-establishing the urban base that Trudeau-ism and the NDP shattered for them in the 1960s. Today they are the only party with parliamentary representation from every province and region of the country.

Everything in the parliamentary electoral system, of course, is designed to demobilize the electorate, to bring out its conservative side — from the gerrymandered riding boundaries to the compulsory two-day suspension of campaigning before the polling day. The election results reveal only very partially and inadequately the impact of the powerful and growing sectors of the population that are in motion against their oppression and exploitation. Insofar as those elements were given expression in the campaign, it was almost entirely through the NDP campaign.

Perhaps the best thing about the indecisive election result is that there will almost certainly be another federal general election within a matter of months — that is, another opportunity for NDP supporters to mobilize and popularize class struggle politics in the labor movement. The challenge to the NDP is to use every opportunity in the next period, both in and out of parliament, to project a clear anticapitalist alternative to the capitalist parties. As the vote shows, the party still has a long way to go before the masses of working people in this country understand the necessity of independent labor political action — the need for a workers government, which the NDP projects in this period. □



Pierre Elliot Trudeau

Western CPs denounce Czechoslovak trials

[The witch-hunt trials conducted during July and August by the Czechoslovak regime headed by Gustav Husak gave rise to deep divisions within the Communist parties outside the workers states.

[The trials, held between July 17 and August 11, sentenced a total of forty-six persons to prison terms ranging from six months to six and a half years. Most of the defendants were supporters of the Prague Spring policies of former Communist party general secretary, Alexander Dubcek. Many of those prosecuted had been leaders of the Communist party, members of its Central Committee, chairmen of its local committees, and directors of its institutions, educational and otherwise.

[Although the charges against the defendants involved "antistate" or "subversive" activities, no evidence of concrete antisocialist acts on the part of the defendants was presented. There was a total of nine trials—brief affairs often lasting less than forty-eight hours. In violation of Czechoslovak law, they were closed to the public.

[These trials were but a part of a more generalized repression that has involved the purging of student and trade-union organizations, the closing of theaters, and the firing of intellectuals (some 30,000 of them) from their jobs.

[The Western Communist parties had already been divided over the 1968 Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia. Most of the parties that opposed the invasion, or expressed reservations about its efficacy, continued to voice concern about the repression.

[On July 25 the French CP's Political Bureau approved a resolution that, while it supported all necessary measures to suppress counterrevolutionary activity by antisocialist forces, noted that the defendants in the Czechoslovak trials did not appear to be counterrevolutionaries. "Now, since it is a question of political and ideological opposition, we consider that it is by means of an intense political and ideological struggle, waged with the support of the workers and popular masses, that the opponents of socialism must be fought and isolated."

[The British Communist party, which in the past has been among the most slavish in bowing to the Kremlin's line, this time felt compelled to take its distance from the Husak show trials. The *Morning Star*, official organ of the British CP, wrote editorially that the charges against the defendants arose from political differences and "should be dealt with by political means and not by trials and imprisonment."

[The Norwegian Communist party sent a letter to the Czechoslovak leaders on August 20 in which it referred, among other things, to the "rights that the Norwegian Communist Party thinks a socialist democracy must assure to the people in freedom of thought and expression."

[The Italian Communist party, which is the largest outside the workers states, the Australian Communist

party, and the Dutch Communist party also expressed opposition to the trials.

[One Western CP that gave unconditional and uncritical support to the Czechoslovak witch-hunt was the Communist party of the United States. The American CP kept silent on the subject of the Prague trials for five weeks. On August 23 the *Daily World*, which reflects the CP's views, noted that forty-six persons had been sentenced to prison "for attempting to take up where the counter-revolutionary movement around Alexander Dubcek left off in 1969."

[The American CP finds itself virtually alone among the Western Communist parties in its complete acceptance of the Kremlin's line on the Prague repression.

[For the information of our readers we reprint below excerpts from statements on the trials from the Australian, Dutch, and Italian Communist parties.]

Australia

[The following is from the August 8-14 issue of the *Tribune*, which reflects the views of the Communist party of Australia.]

The Communist Party of Australia expresses deep concern at the trial and conviction of 31 Czechoslovakians on obviously political charges.

The C.P.A. protests at the harsh sentences imposed, going as high as six and a half years, on vague charges of "antistate activity" and "subversion."

The charges seem to arise mainly from publication of leaflets, including an appeal for voters to exercise their constitutional right to cast informal ballots at the 1971 parliamentary elections. This makes the severity of the sentences quite inexplicable and unjustified.

Even more disturbing is that the charges were brought at all. These are political trials directed at communists who were excluded by administrative means from the Communist Party after the August, 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia. They include former Central Committee members, secretaries of city committees, students and youth leaders, and others whose devotion to socialism is unquestioned. These people have been removed from their positions, dismissed from their work and discriminated against in employment because of their political beliefs; now they are imprisoned.

The Communist Party of Australia protests against these political trials, which still continue. It calls for the release of all those imprisoned, cancellation of the sentences and the dropping of all further proceedings.

These political trials damage Czechoslovakia's international reputation and the socialist cause which is used to justify these actions. In our view, the suppression of political views in general, and these trials in particular, are a serious departure from so-

cialist principles.

The trials will not suppress the aspirations of the Czech and Slovak peoples for genuine national independence and for a real socialist democracy. In fact, the trials are only a symptom of the serious problem arising from the so-called "normalisation" imposed after intervention by armed forces of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact nations.

Netherlands

[The following are excerpts from an article titled "The Trials," appearing in the August 5 issue of *De Waarheid*, which reflects the views of the Dutch Communist party. It was signed by Joop Wolff.]

The Czech press agency CTK is sending out ambiguous reports about trials now taking place in the country. Even relying on the reports of CTK itself about the prosecution and sentencing—to terms of one-half to six and a half years in prison—of persons on charges of distributing leaflets, it is clear that these trials have nothing to do with justice.

Certainly not with socialist justice. As for the Communists in the Netherlands, their attitude has been clear and is still clear now.

Our party has never seen any value in *démarches* which the masses do not support.

Italy

[The following excerpts are from an article, "Prague Trials 'Cause for Political Concern,'" appearing in the July 22 issue of *L'Unita*, organ of the Italian Communist party.]

We do not consider in any way legitimate the criticisms and accusations raised against the socialist countries by those reactionary and conservative groups which are guilty in their own countries of the gravest crimes against the workers and humanity. Further, we have always stressed our desire not to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries and communist parties. Having said this, however, it is obvious, in our opinion, that the trials which have taken place in Prague do not concern solely internal affairs, but raise questions and problems for us also.

First, little is known about these trials because the real public was excluded. This is certainly detrimental to anyone who would like to form a considered and informed opinion; but, even more than that, it casts a dark shadow on the legal proceedings. There should be no fear of publicity concerning the crimes which are by their nature manifest or considered to be so.

Second, to reach the point of trials and sentences on the basis of the facts



Many of the Western Communist parties condemned the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops. Invasion was designed to crush the mass mobilization for democratic rights expressed in such rallies as the one above in Prague, May 1968.

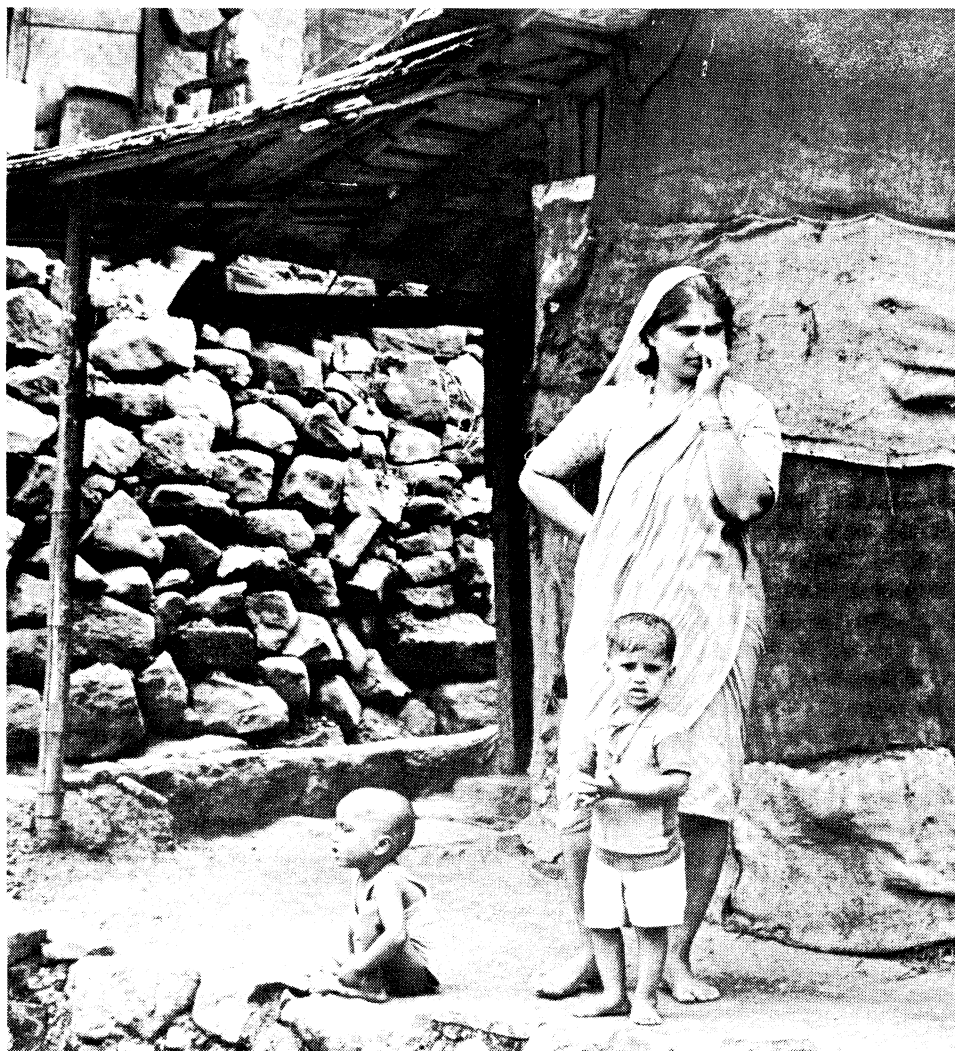
Our party has taken a clear stand in all respects. Since the shocking events of 1968, the Dutch Communist party has maintained no relations with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. An invitation a year ago to take part in a so-called international conference in Karlovy Vary was to be led by Novotny—the man who was, in his own country, held responsible by the masses for the distortion of socialism—was turned down unambiguously and forcefully by the Dutch Communist party.

For us, Dutch Communists, the concept of socialism is indissolubly linked with democracy, with the will of the majority of the people, and with the independence of the country.

as they have been officially announced is certainly an alarming political sign.

It should be possible to answer accusations of "publications of an antistate nature" and "slandorous publications" by a reasoned defense and public controversy, by an ideological and political counterattack, and by a campaign where truth confronts possible slander.

To resort in these cases to administrative and judicial methods does not resolve matters but aggravates them. This is precisely what strikes us most, as an indication of a situation that has not been resolved and of problems that are certainly not easy, but not for this reason less serious or less grave. □



Militant/Barry Sheppard

Revolutionary socialists in India discuss political tasks

[The Central Committee of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, held a meeting during August. For the information of our readers we publish below two documents of that meeting. The first is the official press statement issued by the Central Committee; the second is the resolution on women's liberation.]

The Central Committee of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, met at Varanasi, with Somendra Kumar, a trade unionist from Bihar, presiding.

The CC discussed a report on organizational problems by Magan Desai, general secretary of the party, and decided to strengthen party journals and publications in regional languages.

The party has state units in West Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Kerala, and has ad hoc committees in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

The CC discussed the impact of the India-Pakistan agreement reached at Simla and was of the view that though the agreement would reduce tension on the subcontinent, it failed to tackle the basic problems created by the communal partition of India in 1947.

The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation has reopened the problem of nationalities, which has remained unresolved in both India and Pakistan. The CC held that the problem could be resolved only in the larger framework of the Union of Socialist States of the Indian Sub-

continent that would include India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and other nations on a voluntary basis.

The problems of Kashmir, Pakhtoonistan, Sind, and other nationalities could be solved only in such a framework on the basis of their right of self-determination.

On the question of Muslim minorities and communal rioting in India, the CC felt that the failure of the capitalist government in India to resolve the communal question resulted from their inability to tackle it politically. This was the reason behind the tendency of the bourgeois governments to resort to police terror against the minorities. The bourgeoisie themselves needed a communal bias to keep the working masses divided, and for this reason practised discrimination against the minorities in education and employment and in cultural and linguistic areas.

The problem of minorities cannot be solved on a communal basis, without a united struggle of the exploited masses. Nor can a successful struggle be launched without the cooperation of the exploited masses of the majority community, who will be the best allies in the fight against social discrimination against the minority. The final solution will come only through the overthrow of the common exploiters who maintain communalism to keep the working masses divided.

The CC took serious note of the growing assault on the civil liberties of the people and the tendency of the state and central governments to resort to a ruthless suppression of the

struggle of the working masses by banning strikes and by resorting to lathi-charges and police shootings. [A lathi is a heavy stick, often bamboo bound with iron, used by police against demonstrators.] The CC decided to organize a nationwide campaign to defend the civil rights of the people in collaboration with various left parties and mass organizations.

The CC noted the current radicalization of the youth, the students, and the socially oppressed groups like the scheduled castes and tribes, the backward castes, and women, and directed its units to identify themselves with the struggles of these groups. It decided to organize a movement for the democratization and unification of the trade-union movement under workers' control on the basis of one union in each industry and elected workers' councils at the plant level. The party decided to agitate, among other things, for a cent-for-cent neutralization in the rise of the cost of living, for holding the price line, and against imposition of bans on strikes and against government control of unions.

The redrafted ninety-page programme of the party was finalized as per direction of the party conference held in Bombay in January, 1972. Among other things, it calls for the framing of a socialist constitution for India, abolishing the right to private property, and guaranteeing the right to work. The programme calls for nationalization of the basic and key industries, financial institutions, export and import trade, and trade in essential commodities. It calls for the total nationalization and democratization of educational institutions, with effective representation of teachers and students in managing universities, colleges, and schools.

Women's liberation on the Indian subcontinent

The expansion of women's education since 1947; the expansion of opportunities for employment of women in education and health services, private offices, post offices, banks, and administrative services; the rising cost of living, which forces men to send their wives to take employment; and the spread of a liberal attitude toward women among men have led to the destruction of the myth that women are made only for household duties and are inferior to men in intelligence or in capacity for handling outside jobs involving responsibility.

The existence of a political framework in India wherein more and more women get elected to representative bodies and hold offices in political organizations has contributed to an apparent sense of equality which has further infused women with confidence, especially educated and employed women. The drive for family planning has given them some relief and shown them the way to reduce their slavery.

Yet they are greatly handicapped in private and public life. Male suprem-

acy in the family results in such social evils as dowry and sale of women, both legally by parents and illegally by seducers. It is conducive to mental and physical tortures, even by educated men who cannot bear being contradicted by women and force them into the conventional norms of female behaviour through physical violence as well as economic coercion.

Employed women have to perform a double duty, as their work on the job is only an addition to their work in their homes. They are discriminated against in employment and promotion and are harassed by their employers in various ways.

In spite of their lives outside the home, even these women cannot participate fully in the social, political, and cultural life of society. The present society continually shuts the door of social life on them and forces them to go back to the domestic prison. It enslaves them through male-oriented personal laws and saddles them with the responsibility of running homes and rearing children. They have no control even over their bodies and the course of their lives. Educated and employed women resent it and sometimes offer resistance in their traditional way—by committing suicide or by running away from home.

The women's liberation movement in the United States and throughout the world has had its impact on the women of India too. They have begun to express their views and voice their protests publicly. The existing women's organizations have not had much influence. However, formation of radical organizations of women with a view to educate public opinion and agitate for reforms despite resistance from orthodox sections of society will very soon follow.

The struggle against the social oppression of women will develop around the demands of free education for women, free hostels for women students, hostel facilities for employed women, child-care centers and cheap hotels for married women, reservation of jobs and the end of discrimination in employment and promotion, a lighter workload, fewer working hours, liberal conditions of work, including transfer only on demand. As the struggle develops, more basic and fundamental questions will be taken up, including the abrogation of Hindu and Muslim personal laws on marriage, inheritance, and divorce; the right to free marriage and divorce, especially in cases of physical and mental torture and restrictions on personal freedom; and the right to free legal abortions and women's control over their own bodies.

The Communist League of India supports women in all their struggles for social equality and for liberation from the conditions oppressing them. It calls upon all employee unions and student associations to raise and support women's demands relating to education and jobs. But it is only through women's own organizations that their struggle for personal liberation, for a uniform civil code that respects their personal rights, for control of their bodies and personal lives, etc., can be best and most successfully fought. Such organizations have to be independent, mass-based, and democratically controlled in order to be able to lead women's struggles to their logical anticapitalist conclusion.

The Communist League of India will support all women's organizations in their struggle and will help them to build a really effective, mass-based, radical organization through fraternal cooperation and criticism on the basis of a nonexcluding united front on a common programme of action. □

Allende moves to placate opposition

Chilean military gets 3 cabinet posts

By David Thorstad

In an effort to placate a seemingly intransigent opposition, Chilean President Salvador Allende appointed two generals and an admiral to cabinet posts November 2, including the key post of minister of the interior. The decision to name the three military men was made in an attempt to quell nearly a month of strikes and demonstrations against Allende's Popular Unity government.

The key appointment went to Army Commander in Chief General Carlos Prats, who as minister of the interior will be the number two man in the government and head of the country's internal police apparatus.

Air Force General Claudio Sepulveda became mining minister, and Rear Admiral Ismael Huerta public works minister.

Allende's appointment of military officers, who in Chile come mostly from the ranks of the bourgeoisie, appeared to satisfy one of the major aims of the opposition: to further undermine Allende's base of support by forcing him to pull back from implementing his Popular Unity program and to rely increasingly on the military. The opposition now hopes to deal a heavy

blow to the Chilean popular front in next March's elections, during which all 150 members of the House of Representatives and twenty-five of the fifty senators will be selected. If it should win a two-thirds majority in parliament, where it currently holds only a simple majority, it would be in a position to impeach Allende.

There are some indications that Allende's appointment of military brass may persuade the opposition to call off its current offensive. "Opposition leaders have said such a move would help insure honest balloting next March," observed the *Wall Street Journal* November 1.

In order to give Allende more leeway in attempting to reach an understanding with the opposition, the entire fifteen-member cabinet resigned on October 31. Allende immediately accepted the resignations of interior minister Jaime Suárez and education minister Anibal Palma. Both were among the four ministers whom the opposition announced October 29 that it was planning to impeach. Both had planned to resign anyway by November 4, the official deadline for them to declare their candidacies in the coming elections.

The first official action of the new

interior minister was to call in strike leaders for talks. Jorge Mario Martínez, a representative of the striking shopkeepers, left the meeting with General Prats saying, "There is optimism for a prompt solution to the conflict." The general also announced that "The nation will return to full normalcy Monday [November 6]. That is the Government's desire."

A United Press International report from Santiago suggested that there was some opposition within the Popular Unity coalition to the appointment of military men to the government. The report, which appeared in the November 2 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, noted that opposition within Allende's Socialist party, one of the main components of the popular front, "could be the reason for convening the so-called national plenum, which is to discuss the present situation and possible formulas that Allende might use in order to solve the cabinet crisis brought on by the resignation of the fifteen ministers."

A subsequent UPI report indicated that "Dr. Allende's Socialist party urged him not to give in to the strikers' demands or to slow down the socialization of Chile. The party said that inclusion of the traditionally apoliti-

cal military in the Cabinet must not be allowed to freeze the progress toward socialism."

In addition to broadening the representation in his cabinet to include the military, Allende has taken some other steps in his attempt to deal with the opposition's offensive and to reduce the possibility of a military coup d'état. Kalfon reported, for instance, that thirty-four colonels and lieutenant colonels "were officially transferred to the reserves, among them several known for their right-wing opinions."

Meanwhile, in an apparent effort to apply the law "equally," Allende seems to have responded favorably to a letter he received from the Supreme Court telling him, his cabinet, and the police to enforce judicial decisions. According to an Associated Press dispatch from Santiago October 31, "The justices pointed out that on Sept. 27 they ruled that a newspaper in the south-central city of Talca, taken over by its employees, should be returned to its owner, but that the order 'still hasn't been carried out.'" A late report from Talca the same day indicated that the police had intervened and forced the workers to turn the newspaper back to its owner. □



4,000 in Copenhagen protest Viet war

Copenhagen

Some 4,000 persons marched on the American embassy in Copenhagen October 14 in a demonstration staged in connection with the hearings of the International Commission of Inquiry into United States War Crimes in Indo-

china. The Communist party daily *Land og Folk* ran the above picture of this demonstration. The photograph contains a series of signs in which texts are clearly visible. The one in the center, however, has been tampered with to make it illegible.

Before the CP editors crossed out the sign's lettering, it stated: "Bakaemp imperialismen med revolutionær klassekamp — SUF" (fight imperialism with revolutionary class struggle — SUF [Socialistisk Ungdoms Forbund — Socialist Youth League]). The SUF recently changed its name to the RSF (Revolutionære Socialister Forbund — League of Revolutionary Socialists), Danish section of the Fourth International. The sign also included a hammer and sickle insignia.

Orley Olsen, the editor of *Land og*

Folk, told the daily *Information* that he didn't know anything about the matter. "I just saw the picture in the paper," he lamely explained. He added that he didn't remember which of his paper's two photographers took the photo. □

'Vietnam Week' held in Sweden

Antiwar exhibitions, meetings, and film showings were scheduled for nearly 200 locations throughout Sweden during this fall's "Vietnam Week" October 15-21, according to a report in the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* October 14. The week, it explained, is one of "intensified work in support of the people of Indochina. Such a week is organized every spring and fall and involves tens of thousands of people throughout Sweden in working to mobilize and make visible the opposition to the USA's aggressive war in Southeast Asia."

The last day of the week saw thousands of Swedes take to the streets to protest the war. Some eighty demonstrations took place that day.

In Stockholm, an estimated 6,200 persons marched; in Uppsala 1,500 took part; and in Lund, there were two demonstrations, one of 1,000 and the other of 200. □



- FOR GRYNSPAN: Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels.
- Interview with the Copenhagen Social-Demokraten, 1932.
- Letter to the Communist League of China (section of the International Left Opposition).
- How the Workers in Austria Should Fight Hitler.
- Polish Fascism and the Mistakes of the Communist party.

These are just a few of the articles and letters by Leon Trotsky that *Intercontinental Press* has published. Most were translated from the original Russian and appeared in the pages of *Intercontinental Press* for the first time in English.

For any of those listed above, send 50c for each article desired. Or, if you want to follow the important news of the world each week and get features like these, send in a check for \$7.50 for six months or \$15 for a year to:

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To the editor of the 'Daily World'

An open letter concerning the assassination of Leon Trotsky

S.W. Gerson, Executive Editor
Daily World
P.O. Box 544, Old Chelsea Station
New York, N.Y. 10011

Dear Mr. Gerson,

In the November 1 issue of the *Daily World* you published a review of Joseph Losey's film *The Assassination of Trotsky*. The reviewer, David Gordon, alleges—without citing any source—that Lenin used the epithet "poseur" to describe Trotsky. Gordon then continues: "Richard Burton, playing Trotsky, makes him resemble a poseur, posturing, making some pompous (and some incomprehensible) statements."

That ought to have won five stars in the *Daily World* for the film, since Burton's Trotsky is patterned on the Stalinist image of the coleader of the Russian revolution, cofounder of the first workers state in history, and organizer of the armed struggle that won victory in the civil war. Gordon even concludes: "The film is poorly acted incohesive and badly told; perhaps that suits Trotsky's political rec-

Joseph Hansen is the editor of *Intercontinental Press* and a leader of the *Socialist Workers Party*. His review of the film "*The Assassination of Trotsky*" was printed in the Nov. 3 *Militant* and is available for 25 cents from the *Militant* business office.

ord." With all due consistency, the review is entitled "Inept film fits Trotsky legacy."

Since the film fits so well with the Stalinist view of Trotsky's personality, why such lack of enthusiasm for Losey's production? The reason is that Losey presents the truth concerning Stalin's responsibility for the murder of Trotsky.

How important this is to the *Daily World's* reviewer is shown by his asserting in the very first paragraph: "The film attempts to tell the story of Trotsky's last days, in Mexico, and to fix blame for his assassination upon Stalin and the Soviet Union, a charge that to this day has not been substantiated."

Now, of course Losey did not attempt to fix the blame for Trotsky's assassination upon "the Soviet Union." Losey clearly shows that the plot against Trotsky was spun by Stalin and not by the people of the Soviet Union.

Has the charge against Stalin not been substantiated? I will not attempt in this letter to cite the overwhelming evidence as to Stalin's guilt. What I would like to do, however, is to suggest a simple and obvious means by which you and the other members of the editorial board of the *Daily World* can establish the facts through an inquiry of your own.

First let me remind you, since you seem to have forgotten it, that the murderer, who went by the names of "Frank Jacson" and "Jaques Mornard" among others, was released from prison on May 6, 1960, three months before the termination of his sentence. He was taken secretly by Mexican officials to the airport where he was handed over to two officials of the Czechoslovak embassy, Oldrich

Novicky and Edward Foulches. The three boarded a waiting airliner and flew to Havana. There Trotsky's murderer was kept in hiding at the country estate of the Czechoslovak mission. The next report was that he had been flown to Prague.

In its lead editorial in the issue of May 8, 1960, the *New York Times* said of this:

"Last Friday the Mexican Government finally released the man who calls himself Jacques Mornard. This is the killer who twenty years ago wormed his way into the confidence of Leon Trotsky and then ended the latter's life with axe blows on the head.



Stalin (l) with Bolshevik leaders Rykov, Kamenev, and Zinoviev. Stalin had all three shot following the Moscow frame-up trials of 1936-1938. Trotsky was the main target at these trials, but the CP still denies that Stalin ordered his assassination.

For two decades the world has been reasonably sure the killer was a Moscow agent sent by Stalin to murder the hero of the Bolshevik Revolution who had lost the Kremlin power struggle. If any doubt of this remained, it was dispelled last Friday when the killer walked out of jail with a diplomatic passport from Communist Czechoslovakia and, accompanied by two Czech diplomats, boarded a plane with Prague as his final destination."

In view of the location of the murderer's residence, it appears to me that with your special connections you are in a singularly good position to interview him and thus get his views as to Stalin's responsibility in the crime.

After all, the *Daily World* has fully supported the extraordinary efforts—including an invasion by Soviet troops—to maintain the same kind of government in Czechoslovakia as the one that provided a haven for Trotsky's murderer.

By way of breaking the ice in an interview, you or your Prague correspondent might ask "Jacson" what his current source of income is. That would lead naturally to his source of income at the time he came to Mexico to kill Trotsky.

It would be interesting to know how he got his false passport, which originally belonged to Tony Babich, a Canadian who volunteered to fight

with the Loyalists in the Spanish civil war and lost his life (and passport) there.

An especially instructive line of questioning might be developed concerning the unusually skilled forgers who altered the passport. How did they get the passport in the first place? Didn't the Stalinists exercise command over the brigades in the Spanish Republican Army to which volunteers like Tony Babich, the original possessor of the passport, were assigned? Was it just coincidental that Trotsky's murderer, whose real name was Jaime Ramón Mercader del Río Hernández, also participated in the Spanish civil

war, working with members of the NKVD, Stalin's secret political police? Exactly when and where did Mercader get this passport? Why did he adopt the name of "Frank Jacson"?

Other questions come naturally to mind. Besides murdering Trotsky, was "Jacson" the one who murdered Trotsky's guard Robert Sheldon Harte, kidnapped in the May 24, 1940, assault led by the Mexican painter and Communist leader David Alfaro Siqueiros? Was "Jacson" also the one who murdered Rudolf Klement, the secretary of the group preparing the founding congress of the Fourth International in 1938?

If you think that the answers to these questions would still prove insufficient to pin down the identity of the figure whose orders "Jacson" carried out, I am quite willing to prepare a list of additional questions to help you in a quest to settle what must be a nagging problem for your staff. I could also provide you with some pertinent background material that might prove useful in interviewing the killer.

There is not much point in doing that, however, until you have ascertained for sure whether the present Czechoslovak government and the Soviet occupation forces will take your excellent credentials into account and grant you permission to interview the retired executioner.

Sincerely yours,
Joseph Hansen

Billy Dean Smith defense exposes frame-up

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 7 — The defense rested its case Nov. 2 after bringing Billy Dean Smith to the witness stand to speak for himself. Smith's statements climaxed two weeks of defense testimony that effectively demolished the Army's charges that the Black GI murdered two officers and attempted to kill two others by detonating a fragmentation grenade in Vietnam.

The jury, composed of seven career officers, is expected to rule on the case this week. Only five "guilty" votes are needed to convict Smith.

Smith told the jury Nov. 1 that he had had no motive to attempt to kill his commanding officer and his first sergeant, as the Army charges. Smith maintains he did not dislike Sergeant Billy Willis, because Willis was "kind of like a mascot" for the artillery unit.

Smith testified that a threat by his commanding officer to give him an undesirable discharge did not disturb him too much because he had wanted to get out of the Army.

In a soft voice Smith related that he heard the explosion of the grenade March 15, 1971, while he was smoking marijuana with two other GIs inside a bunker in another unit area.

Smith's testimony corroborated that of former GI Henry McClay, who revealed Oct. 24 that he had been inside the bunker with Smith for about two hours when they heard the explosion.

McClay said he did not tell Army investigators he had been with Smith because of a rumor among GIs that "Billy had confessed and had implicated many brothers."

Testimony from other witnesses has exposed the tactics of intimidation and

Pulley backs GI

The following letter was sent by SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley to Billy Dean Smith on Nov. 7, 1972.

I vigorously protest the Army's attempt to railroad you into prison. As an ex-GI, victimized and framed-up myself, I can readily understand the harassment and repression a Black GI can suffer at the hands of the racist Army.

It is clear from all evidence that you are totally innocent, just as Angela was innocent. The mass defense of Angela Davis was responsible for her freedom. The Black movement and the antiwar movement must redouble their efforts to free you.

the distortions used by the Army to pin its case on Smith.

Luther Howard confessed earlier in the trial that he had lied during pre-trial hearings because Army investigators told him Smith had named him as an accomplice.

Another witness, Bradley Curtis, said the Army had bullied him into believing he too had been implicated by Smith and might never get out of Vietnam unless he testified he had seen Smith running from the scene of the frapping.

Curtis shattered the courtroom Sept. 20 by affirming the person he had

Continued on page 22

Nixon-McGovern lies hit by Raza Unida

By JOEL BRITTON

In the final weeks of the election period, leaders of the Texas Raza Unida Party continued to respond to the Oct. 6 charges by George McGovern that the independent party was in the pay of the Republicans.

The Nov. 3-17 *Chicano Times*, "The World's Largest Chicano Newspaper," published in San Antonio, featured a front-page banner headline: "'McGovern A Damn Liar.'"

The accompanying article reported a recent Texas speech by Raza Unida leader José Angel Gutiérrez. "Gutiérrez said the Raza Unida Party had voted to support neither McGovern nor Nixon at their recent national convention in El Paso. The party is asking Mexican-Americans 'not to be con-

cerned' about the presidential race, Gutiérrez said. 'Both candidates are indistinguishable,' Gutiérrez summarized."

An article in the Oct. 27 *Houston Post* described a visit to Washington, D. C., by Francisco Benavides, Raza Unida Party mayor of Crystal City, and other community representatives.

"Angrily denouncing both presidential nominees as 'liars,' Mexican-American officials from Crystal City, Texas, demanded Thursday [Oct. 26] that federal officials quit playing 'political football' with the future of a critically needed public health clinic in their city."

The issue centers on grants for building a clinic that were approved last June by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Preston Smith, the Democratic governor of Texas, vetoed the OEO grant. OEO Director Philip Sanchez overrode the veto after a Crystal City delegation went to Washington, D. C. to apply pressure on the agency.

Benavides told a Washington news conference, "McGovern has publicly charged that this grant was only a political arrangement between our city and the Republicans in return for the Chicano vote."

"As mayor of the city, I here publicly declare McGovern a liar. McGovern has used McCarthy red-baiting



Militant/Antonio Camejo

Crystal City's need for health clinic is real. Water for homes without plumbing is stored in drums.

techniques before first investigating his charges."

The Chicano mayor also blasted Nixon: "Nixon is publicly declaring he has proven his commitment to Chicanos by pointing to Crystal City and the grant—typical politics of division. As mayor of that city, I publicly call him a liar."

Benavides said the grant was a

"trick by the Republicans" because the agencies were holding it up and because "when the racist Democratic governor of Texas vetoed the funds, Nixon was nowhere to be found to lend public support."

Meanwhile, the Crystal City newspaper *La Verdad* has printed an exchange of letters between Luz Gu-

Continued on page 22

Union for RUP

NOV. 2 — The Texas statewide office of the International Paper Mill Workers Union, AFL-CIO, in Dallas, announced its endorsement of the entire Raza Unida Party slate, according to today's *San Antonio Express*. The statewide endorsement followed endorsement by San Antonio Local 478.

The endorsement includes Ramsey Muñiz for governor, and the more than 50 state and local candidates.

New Mexico meeting backs Raza Unida

By RICHARD GARCIA

ALBUQUERQUE — Chicano activists took an independent stand on the 1972 elections at the Congreso Nacional de Tierra y Cultura [National Congress of Land and Culture] held here Oct. 20-22. The meeting of about 1,000 activists from around the country voted overwhelmingly, after much discussion, to support the candidates and program of the Raza Unida parties, including a plank stating, "No support to either [Democratic or Republican] presidential candidate."

The outcome of the conference was not what was intended by Reies López Tijerina and other organizers of the conference. In his opening statement, Tijerina emphasized what he thought the theme of the conference should be: "Unity before ideas, leaders, or organizations." He stated that no politics would be discussed at the conference. Furthermore, if anything controversial was brought up for discussion on the floor or in any of the workshops, it would be tabled. This sentiment was

echoed by those connected with federal agencies and poverty programs.

As the basis for unity, Tijerina proposed an effort that would center on asking the federal government and the United Nations to enforce the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (the 1848 treaty that ended the Mexican-American War). The treaty contained provisions guaranteeing the land and culture of Mexicans living in what became the southwestern United States.

The projected format of the conference and Tijerina's unity proposal was to the liking of such Democratic Party politicians present as Colorado legislator Betty Benavides and New Mexican Lieutenant Governor Roberto Mondragón.

Tijerina stated throughout the conference that he did not want the type of "disruptions" that occurred at the conferences sponsored by the National Spanish-Speaking Coalition in Washington, D. C., in October 1971 and in San Jose, California, in April of this year.

It is worth noting that these "disruptions," as Tijerina called them, represented political victories for Raza Unida forces led by José Angel Gutiérrez at the D. C. conference and by Bert Corona at the San Jose meeting. Democratic Party politicians had intended to use those gatherings to set up vehicles for hustling votes for George McGovern.

Tijerina insisted that the workshop that would discuss unity had room for only 16 participants because of the size of the room. Raza Unida Party members and other activists, realizing that this workshop would discuss politics, intervened, and more than 300 people were heard.

The workshop unanimously voted for the resolution calling for endorsement of La Raza Unida Party. Tijerina walked out of the workshop, as he did at the general assembly the following evening when this resolution, together with other resolutions containing pro-RUP stands, was discussed.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, leader of

the Crusade for Justice and Raza Unida Party in Denver, had been scheduled to be present but then announced he would not attend. Gonzales cited other commitments and what he termed "my own uncompromising philosophy." He elaborated on this when he released a press statement aimed at the Democratic Party loyalties of the scheduled speakers and their influence at the convention.

Gonzales's statement read in part: "In the past years, I have dissociated myself from these people who confuse and mislead the gullible members of our Raza. I can no longer bargain with despotic government representatives . . . I want no part of alignment with political prostitutes. . . . I have no intention of creating reaction for the profitable benefit of the professional program managers."

Conference publicity had announced that two other Chicano leaders, César Chávez and José Angel Gutiérrez, would address the conference, but neither did.

Raza Unida candidate runs Calif. write-in

By WOODY DIAZ

and MICHAEL MAGGI

LOS ANGELES — Roger Granados, Raza Unida Party candidate in the 38th C.D. in Southern California, ran a vigorous write-in campaign in the barrios and on the campuses. Undemocratic election laws made it impossible for him to achieve ballot status.

On Oct. 28, José Angel Gutiérrez spoke at a community campaign rally for Granados in San Bernardino. Both Granados and Gutiérrez stressed the need to build La Raza Unida Party as an ongoing social movement and not just an electoral campaign.

Granados has been repeatedly questioned at campus meetings and by the press about McGovern's charges that Republican money is behind La Raza Unida's refusal to endorse either McGovern or Nixon. "The Raza com-

munity," Granados has replied, "could not trust any Raza candidate who accepted money from the Democrats and Republicans."

"If winning means selling out our own people," he added, "then the hell with winning. We have to create a party and create a political force based on the trust of the Raza community. To do this we have to make our stand as anti-Democratic Party as we are anti-Republican Party."

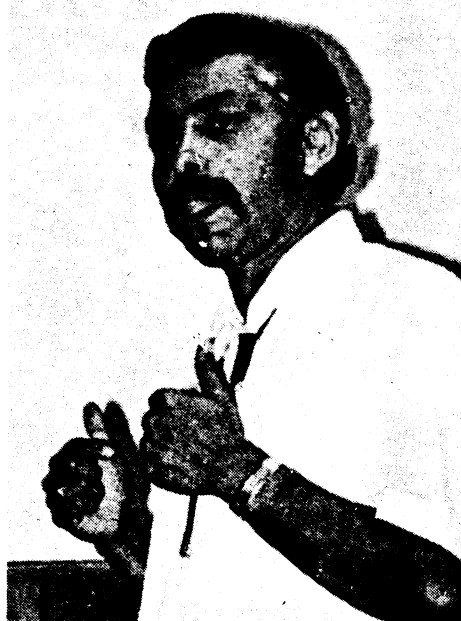
A statement issued by Granados's campaign committee, "The Raza Unida Politics," said, "We can no longer depend upon the Republican and Democratic parties to speak and determine our destiny. Both parties are controlled by the rich corporations no matter how often denied."

Granados's campaign committee pointed out that 15 percent of the California population is Chicano. But

out of the 15,650 elected and appointed officials, only 310, or just about 1.98 percent, are Chicanos. None of the top 40 state officials are Chicanos. None of the top 28 advisers on the governor's staff are Chicanos. None of the 132 top state court positions are filled by Chicanos.

Another major issue in Granados's campaign was the demand for better and relevant education for Chicanos at all levels. Granados has campaigned for more funds to Chicano schools, multicultural and multilingual programs, civil and political rights for students, and participation on all educational boards and regents bodies by student and community representatives.

Granados also urged the defeat of Proposition 22, the anti-farm-worker measure on the California ballot.



Roger Granados

El Chicano

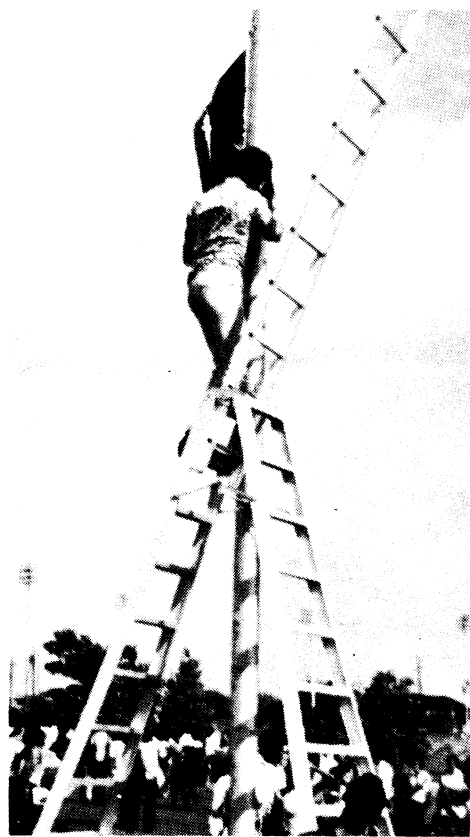
Student protests hit Black colleges in La.

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 4—Student protests have hit three predominantly Black colleges in Louisiana during the past week. They began at Southern University in Baton Rouge and then spread to Southern University in New Orleans (SUNO) and Grambling College.

The protests began at Baton Rouge over the forced resignation of Dr. Charles Wydell, a faculty member the students said was sympathetic to their problems. A group called Students United demanded the reinstatement of the ousted professor and the resignation of the university's president.

On Oct. 20 Students United called a meeting to solicit student support and map a plan of action. Three thousand students out of an enrollment of 8,300 attended the meeting and voted to boycott classes until their demands were met. The demands centered on student control of the curriculum, a student voice in the hiring and firing of faculty, and physical improvements on the campus.



Militant/Baxter Smith

Students hoist Black liberation flag at Southern University in New Orleans during takeover of administration building.

On Oct. 24 a march of 2,500 in support of these demands was held. The students marched to the state board of education to present their demands to the board superintendent. Faculty and community support for the students began to grow, and the administration decided to close the school for several days, hoping to defuse the movement. The governor alerted the National Guard, and the students were given three hours to leave the campus or face arrest.

Students at the New Orleans campus of Southern University met on Oct. 26 to discuss the possibility of a boycott in support of the students at Baton Rouge. One thousand students turned out and drew up their own list of demands. They called for curriculum improvement and termination of the cafeteria contract, which had resulted in unsanitary conditions and superexploitation of cafeteria workers.

At an Oct. 30 meeting, 1,500 students voted to boycott classes for two days. When the administration failed to give any answer to the demands after two days, the students took control of the administration building and vowed to occupy it until the administration replied. In response, the administration closed the university.

At Grambling College, which is not part of the Southern University complex but is governed by the state board of education, students also drew up a list of grievances and presented them to the administration. On Nov. 2 a meeting was held there to plan a course of action.

Following that meeting a group of 200 students held a rally outside the student union. Several windows were broken, and the campus cops reacted by firing tear gas into the crowd and bullets over their heads. No injuries were reported, but several arrests were made.

Students at all three campuses plan to continue to press their demands when the schools reopen.

Students at SUNO successfully won two other struggles earlier in the semester. They forced the firing of a psychology department head who was an active supporter of the American Nazi Party. Also, they won a decision to have the Black liberation flag adopted as the official school flag and to have it flown on the campus.

Brooklyn school crisis simmers despite deal

By DAVE FRANKEL

NOV. 9—The presidents and executive boards of the Combined Parent-Teacher Associations of Canarsie, which have been leading the two-week-old boycott of schools in that area by white parents, called on Nov. 7 for an end to the boycott.

The boycott was originally called to protest the admission of 32 Black and Puerto Rican students from Brownsville to John Wilson JHS (JHS 211), a move the white parents claimed would "tip the racial balance" of the school. JHS 211 is 70 percent white.

Despite the call for an end to the boycott, only 1,853 out of 9,700 Canarsie students attended school Nov. 8. Statements by the board of education and the parents association leaders claim the agreement to end the boycott was reached after the local school board, which had been replaced by a trustee of the central board because it refused to admit the 32 students, was reinstated. The local school board has reportedly agreed

to redraw school zones in order to "promote integration and improve racial balance" in three junior high schools in the district.

The three schools involved are JHS 211; Meyer Levin JHS (JHS 85), which is 50 percent white; and Isaac Bildersee JHS (JHS 68), which is 97 percent white. It is likely that any plan aimed at desegregating JHS 68 will draw strong protests from the parents there, who have already given widespread support to racist actions against even the threat of such moves.

Although the local board has agreed to accept the continued enrollment of the 32 children bused to JHS 211, the question remains of whether the central board secretly agreed to limit the number of children bused from Brownsville in the future in order to maintain the "racial balance" in the Canarsie school district. The central board had earlier refused to rule out such an agreement.

YSA Convention Countdown

Geoff Mirelowitz, a national executive committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, debated Youth for McGovern campus coordinator Al Nelson at the University of Colorado at Boulder Nov. 1. After the debate, which more than 50 people attended, Mirelowitz and a McGovern supporter from the audience discussed the relative merits of Jenness and McGovern.

Finally the young woman remarked, "Well, I guess we've reached a standstill. I'm not going to convince you to vote for McGovern and you aren't going to convince me to vote for Linda Jenness." Mirelowitz responded that the socialist alternative would still be around after the elections, and suggested that she keep this in mind. "Oh, I know that," she responded as she walked away. "I'll probably end up joining you!"

● The YSA is continuing to expand throughout the country. New YSA chapters were launched this week in Lexington, Ky.; Albuquerque, N.M.; New London, Conn.; and Lubbock, Texas. Reports indicate that quite a few more areas where YSA chapters are being organized will be represented at the upcoming Young Socialist national convention.

● Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley have been carrying on a debate with McGovern supporters in the pages of the *Minnesota Daily*, the student newspaper at the University of Minnesota. This continuing debate has touched on a variety of campaign issues in a series of opinion articles and letters to the editor.

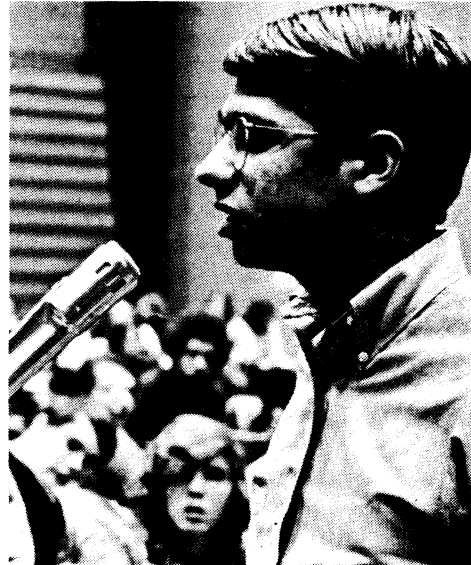
In an article entitled "Why Socialists Should Vote for McGovern," Chuck Klinger, a U of M student, complained:

"The nominations and candidacies of Jenness and Pulley can be interpreted only as a gratuitous gesture of contempt for the U. S. Constitution. And this gesture is nearly peculiar to the SWP since almost every other party, including the great Socialist Labor Party, has seen fit to meet the constitutional age requirements for its candidates."

Jack Baker, president of the Minnesota Student Association, responded

with the following statement after Mary Hillery, 25-year-old senatorial candidate of the SWP, was barred from the Minnesota ballot because of her age:

"The recent refusal of the secretary of state to place Hillery's name on the Minnesota senatorial ballot is another indication of the multitudinous



Geoff Mirelowitz

Militant/Ellen Lemisch

obstacles placed in front of dedicated, involved young people as they attempt to translate ideas into productive action. In preventing Hillery's candidacy the secretary has simply reiterated the obsolete dogma that chronological age is equated with wisdom."

● The Young Socialist Alliance national office in New York City and the Young Socialist convention center in Cleveland report that the number of inquiries they receive is steadily increasing as the Young Socialist national convention approaches. Five hundred people requested more information about the YSA and the convention through letters and phone calls to the YSA national office during September and October alone.

Often these inquiries come from out-of-the-way places. Last week the phoned inquiries about the convention included calls from Alliance, Neb., and Logan, Utah.

— LAURA MILLER

YSA convention schedule

THURSDAY, NOV. 23: International Report/Panel: Imperialism's Anti-Arab Witch-hunt/Political Report and Discussion/Panel: Defending Political Prisoners Around the World/Party.

FRIDAY, NOV. 24: Antiwar Report and Activists' Meeting/Florida Defense Campaign Presentation/Women's Liberation Report and Activists' Meeting/Socialist Rally, featuring Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley/Party.

SATURDAY, NOV. 25: Black Struggle Report and Activists' Meeting/Chicano Struggle Report and Activists' Meeting/Panel: Defending African Liberation Struggles/Party.

SUNDAY, NOV. 26: Organization Report/Final Reports on Credentials, Press, Constitution, Expansion of the Socialist Movement.

WORKSHOPS: International Revolutionary Movement/High School Orga-

nizing/Gay Liberation/Student Governments.

FILMS: "To Make a Revolution"/"A Luta Continua!"/"No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger"/"Black Unity: Breaking the Chains of Oppression"/Various films on struggles in Latin America.

REGISTRATION AND HOUSING: Registration begins Wednesday evening, Nov. 22, in the Mezzanine of the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio; \$5 or \$1.50/day, \$3 or \$1/day for high school students.

Housing at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel (reasonable rates). Inexpensive mass housing also available (bring sleeping bag).

FOR MORE INFORMATION: Contact Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7570.

Land or Death

The peasant struggle in Peru



Blanco (center) with peasants and other members of guerrilla group

Land or Death by Hugo Blanco. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 178 pp. \$6.95 cloth, \$2.45 paper.

In his introduction to this book, Peter Camejo writes that *Land or Death* "constitutes one of the most significant contributions to the theory and practice of the Latin American revolution since the Cuban Revolution." Blanco's book has an even broader significance, however. It illuminates the central questions of revolutionary strategy that are applicable throughout the world.

Half the book is an account of a rebellion of peasants—many of them Quechuas, the descendants of the Incas—that began in two provinces of Peru in the early 1960s. Blanco describes graphically the conditions of life of the peasants, how they began to organize unions, to take the land that they worked, and to refuse to work as slaves for their landlords. He explains how the struggle reached the stage of incipient dual power—when the organized power of the peasants actually challenged the power and authority of the local capitalist state apparatus. And he tells of how the peasants responded to armed repression from the landlords and government through armed peasant militias and guerrilla warfare.

Hugo Blanco was a central leader of this struggle, elected as the secretary of agrarian reform of the Departmental Peasants Federation of Cuzco and later elected to take charge of organizing the peasant militia and guerrilla "commission." Blanco was hunted down and imprisoned nearly eight years for his role in this struggle, spending three of those years in solitary confinement. He was spared a death sentence and finally released only

because of a massive international defense campaign waged in his behalf.

This section of the book was written by Blanco in prison.

The second half of the book is a collection of various other writings—letters Blanco wrote from prison to a Peruvian student congress and to a peasant organizer; an open letter to the people of Peru written while Blanco thought he was doomed to execution; three short stories; an analysis of the pseudorevolutionary military junta that took power in Peru in 1968, and other interesting items.

The whole book is written in a simple, straightforward, highly readable manner. Parts are exciting narrative, including descriptions of the peasant meetings, of Blanco's evasion of the police hunting him down, and of the trial of Blanco and the other peasants of the guerrilla brigade of the peasant union. Other sections of the book include clear political explanation. Still other parts are passionate and inspiring in identifying with the hatred the oppressed feel for their overlords and in showing what it means to be a revolutionist.

Revolutionary leadership

While the struggle described in this book was a peasant fight for land, Hugo Blanco was not simply a peasant leader fighting for land. He was a revolutionist fighting for a socialist government of the workers and peasants of Peru. He is still that. And he is a leader of the Fourth International, whose goal is a worldwide system of democratic socialism.

Land or Death is not simply about a peasant struggle; it is about the meaning and importance of revolutionary leadership. It deals with the key question facing all those who want to change society: How is it possible to maintain a revolutionary perspective and at the same time find sup-

port among the masses of people, who do not have a full revolutionary consciousness?

The experience of revolutionists in Latin America since the inspiration of the Cuban revolution has largely consisted of failures due to their inability to find a correct answer to this question.

On the one hand, scores of dedicated revolutionists like Che Guevara have lost their lives in isolated attempts at guerrilla warfare.

On the other hand many of these same revolutionists have taken the obverse view when demagogic, reformist governments have arisen, such as that of General Juan Torres in Bolivia and of General Juan Velasco in Peru. Seeing that the masses of people have illusions in these regimes, many revolutionists have given them political support despite the fact that they are not for revolution at all, but for capitalism.

These same mistakes are made throughout the world. In the U.S., for example, revolutionary-minded youth in the Weatherpeople, the old Students for a Democratic Society, and the Black Panther Party tended to think it was enough to confront the police, or "pick up the gun," in order to try to create a revolutionary situation by the sheer will and action of a small group.

But then when the election period came along, many of these same people, such as Jerry Rubin and Huey Newton, were out campaigning for Shirley Chisholm or George McGovern, dropping their radical critique of society in order not to "alienate" people.

This book describes through an actual experience how it is possible for revolutionists to maintain a perspective of uncompromising opposition to the capitalist system while at the same time linking up with, and promoting, every impulse among the

masses to fight against their oppression.

Transitional approach

This approach—the transitional approach applied by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky—is the only way to make a progressively stronger connection in struggle between convinced revolutionists and the masses, the combination needed to make a revolution.

Blanco illuminates this basic concept by describing his own experience in leading the struggle of the Cuzco peasant unions. He shows how he and his comrades were able to link up with the peasants' desire to struggle and to formulate demands and explanations that would progressively lead the struggle in the direction of an ever sharper and more conscious challenge to the capitalist private-property system.

Blanco tells how he would draw from the peasants' own experience in struggle to heighten their consciousness of the significance of their struggle in the context of the entire struggle of the oppressed, and to heighten their consciousness of the irreconcilable antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited and of the need to go further in their challenge to capitalist injustice.

As Blanco writes, "It can be said that we represented the fusion of the militant form of peasant struggle with the Marxist conception and experience, with a consciousness of the significance of this struggle."

Part of Blanco's revolutionary transitional approach was to press for forms of struggle and organization that would involve the masses of peasants and show them their own power. Thus he proposed mass meetings, mass demonstrations, and mass, united actions such as a strike against the landowners. He urged the peasants to rely on their own power rather than on such tactics as court battles to claim land.

Such mass actions were especially important in breaking down the feelings of powerlessness of the Quechua peasants, who had been held down for centuries under the most extreme oppression.

"The mass meeting put the Indian on top of the monster," Blanco writes. "A concentration of *ponchos* in the main plaza, the heart of the city The odor of *coca* and Quechua, permeating the air. Quechua, out loud from the throat; Quechua shouted, threatening, tearing away the centuries of oppression. A march down the main streets, before and after the meeting. Windows and doors of the powerful fearfully slammed shut at the advance of the multitudes, aggressive, insulting, threatening, shouting in Quechua truths silenced by centuries of Castilian Spanish. The Indian, master of plazas and streets, of the entire street and the sidewalk. That's what the peasant meetings meant, aside from the specific object for each gathering."

Through every possible means



Blanco in courtroom protests injustice of trial of members of guerrilla group.

Blanco and his comrades would attempt to point out the significance of the peasant actions, such as the work stoppages that paralyzed all transportation, and commercial and industrial activity in the province. Blanco writes: "we explained then that the strike call was a paralyzing decree issued by the peasantry, and that if it succeeded it was because we had the strength to enforce it, no matter how illegal it was declared by the bourgeois power."

As the scope of the upsurge grew, he writes, "we made each demonstration of peasant power more formal and more explicit."

At the same time he and the other Trotskyists warned the peasants from the start that the capitalist government would not allow them to challenge the sanctity of private property by taking the land, and urged the peasant unions to prepare to defend themselves against armed repression by the rulers.

Armed struggle

The approach to armed struggle by Blanco and the peasant revolutionists he worked with was totally different, however, from the approach of those who have elevated guerrilla warfare to a general strategy, unconnected with a mass political struggle. Blanco writes:

"It is not revolutionary to climb to the summit of the revolution with the scheme of what is 'inevitable' in your hand, scorning the masses for 'not supporting us,' for 'not following,' looking with disdain at their 'reformist land claims,' their 'low level,' and their 'primitive means of struggle.'"

"The masses will not 'link up with the armed struggle.' No. That is putting things backwards. The armed struggle will emerge from the masses. The role of the revolutionary is to stimulate and lead this process."

He explains how the peasants of Cuzco became conscious of the need for armed struggle out of their own experiences. There were numerous incidents of armed attacks on peasants by the landowners. First the peasants demanded protection from the local police, only to find that the police took the side of the landlords. Only then did the peasant federations of La Convención and Lares decide to establish Union Defense Brigades.

Hugo Blanco was one of the two people assigned to head this work. Later Blanco was one of a group of peasants elected to form a special "commission" that functioned in essence as a guerrilla band.

Thus the armed struggle grew out of a mass struggle and took the form of militias based on the peasant organizations. The armed groups were established to carry out the decisions of the peasant representatives and were seen as one aspect of a general political struggle.

Blanco's explanation of the role of armed struggle in the Peruvian peasant struggle contains answers to many of the questions that have been raised by Latin American guerrilla fighters in attempting to evaluate why guerrilla warfare since the Cuban revolution has been unsuccessful.

Revolutionary party

While the struggles described in *Land or Death* showed the value of the transitional method, they also pointed up a grave need—the need for a revolutionary party—a disciplined, homogeneous formation designed to organize, extend, and centralize the struggles of all the oppressed into a unified fight against the entire capitalist system of oppression and exploitation.

Blanco shows how the peasant upsurge in Cuzco suffered and finally faced a defeat because there was no revolutionary party that could have mobilized workers, students, and

peasants in other provinces in support of the struggle in Cuzco.

This question of the need for a revolutionary party has been one of the main points of discussion among Latin American revolutionists searching for an explanation for the failure of the guerrilla warfare strategy.

Peruvian guerrilla leader Héctor Béjar, for example, in his book *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience*, argues against the need to build a revolutionary Marxist party. He says the party can only be formed in the midst of an ongoing mass struggle, otherwise it will be incapable of reflecting the interests of the masses and will degenerate into bureaucracy.

Hugo Blanco effectively answers such objections to the need for a revolutionary Leninist party by demonstrating the crucial role of revolutionary leadership in the Cuzco peasant struggle and the problems that arose because that leadership was not stronger and was not consolidated in a national organization.

Blanco writes that in Cuzco, "it was

peasant struggles but the lessons of class struggles of Peru as a whole as well as the class struggle worldwide.

Blanco explains how individual revolutionary leaders, or small guerrilla bands isolated from mass struggle, are also not a sufficient instrument for taking on the capitalist state. He notes that the myth of individual "saviors" of the people is fostered by the capitalist class because it promotes the passivity and alienation of the masses of people.

"Therefore, Marxists persist in showing the masses that their power lies in themselves," writes Blanco. "If there are different levels of organization whose vanguard is the party, it is precisely because the party brings together the least alienated and most combative sector of those masses, the sector that believes least in redeemers and that believes most in the power of the masses; the party is not a collection of exceptional individuals who can substitute themselves for the action of the masses."

Quechuas, who are doubly oppressed as peasants and as a nationality. Blanco, who is half Quechua and speaks the Quechua language, explains how the peasant struggle brought forth the additional element of resurgence of this oppressed people demanding to be treated as human beings.

This book will hold special interest for the many prisoners in this country who, like Blanco, have utilized their time in prison to try to come to grips with questions of revolutionary theory and practice. Blanco was given a 25-year term and won amnesty along with other revolutionists only after serving almost eight years on the prison island of El Frontón.

Short parts of the book deal with the role of women in the Cuzco peasant upsurge, and will be inspiring to feminists.

Finally, the book will be of special interest to civil libertarians and again to prisoners because of the dramatic success of the worldwide campaign that saved Blanco's life. Included



Peasant union banner reads, 'Land or death! We shall win!'

not human material that was lacking, for the evolution of the peasant struggle in La Convención and in the rest of the department produced its own vanguard, as any struggle does. What was lacking was the distinct organization of that vanguard in a disciplined nucleus, completely conscious of the role it would have to play in the process."

He explains how the most militant peasants, and the most militant peasant union of Chaupimayo, attempted to fulfill some of the functions of a revolutionary party because of the necessities of the struggle. Rank-and-file peasants from the Chaupimayo union, for example, would travel to other areas to function as organizers and leaders in spreading the struggle. A "general staff" was set up in Chaupimayo to coordinate the struggle in the whole department. This centralized leadership attempted to combine the union, political, and military aspects of the struggle—one of the key functions of a revolutionary Marxist party.

But this rudimentary leadership could not take the place of a Leninist party—a party that had roots among the workers and students of Peru, not only the peasants, and a party whose members had assimilated not only the lessons of the Peruvian

To better understand the role of the revolutionary party it is instructive to read Blanco's *Land or Death* in conjunction with another book that is similar in many ways, *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs. Dobbs's book, which recounts the role of American Trotskyists in the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, shows in a positive sense the difference that a revolutionary party can make in a mass struggle, even if it is only a very small party.

Reading the two books together serves to highlight the common problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics faced by Marxists throughout the world—such problems as the importance of timing considerations in responding to the ruling class; the importance of defensive formulations so as to make clear how justice is on the side of the oppressed and so as not to give undue advantage to the rulers; the importance of a correct judgment of the level of consciousness of the masses; and the importance of military considerations in such deadly serious struggles.

Land or Death, however, is not only a book for those interested in building a revolutionary party. It will also be of special interest to African-Americans, Chicanos, and Native-Americans because of Blanco's explanations of the power of nationalism of Peru's

in the second part of the book is an open letter from Blanco to all those who aided the campaign against imposition of the death penalty in his case.

Blanco writes in this letter: "With your example, solidarity will extend to all the political prisoners of Peru; to the victims of repression in Latin America and in all the countries fighting to liberate themselves; to the people who fight to maintain their independence, as in Cuba. Solidarity with the Vietnamese people, to whom the human race owes so much, will increase beyond measure."

— CAROLINE LUND

Land or Death by Hugo Blanco

With an introduction by Peter Camejo.
\$6.95 cloth, \$2.45 paper.
PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St.,
New York, N.Y. 10014.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Bethlehem, Pa.	10	12	120.0
Edinboro, Pa.	60	66	110.0
Lexington, Ky.	25	27	108.0
New Haven, Conn.	25	27	108.0
Cedar Falls, Iowa	30	32	106.7
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	26	104.0
Storrs, Conn.	25	26	104.0
Nashville, Tenn.	20	18	90.0
Oxford, Ohio	40	36	90.0
Madison, Wisc.	200	178	89.0
Boulder, Colo.	175	154	88.0
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	12	80.0
Cleveland, Ohio	1,500	1,179	78.6
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,450	1,125	77.6
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,450	1,101	76.0
Detroit, Mich.	1,650	1,233	74.8
Portland, Ore.	815	608	74.6
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,350	1,002	74.3
Los Angeles, Calif.	2,000	1,484	74.2
San Francisco, Calif.	2,150	1,586	73.7
Hartford, Conn.	125	91	72.8
Seattle, Wash.	1,185	856	72.2
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,900	1,369	72.1
San Diego, Calif.	400	283	70.7
Oakland/Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	1,520	69.1
Denver, Colo.	1,315	895	68.0
Boston, Mass.	2,500	1,687	67.5
Atlanta, Ga.	1,500	980	65.3
Chicago, Ill.	2,600	1,670	64.2
Augusta, Me.	25	16	64.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050	665	63.3
Corvallis, Ore.	33	20	60.6
Washington, D.C.	900	507	56.3
Tallahassee, Fla.	150	84	56.0
Austin, Texas	550	303	55.1
Bowling Green, Ky.	10	5	50.0
Youngstown, Ohio	20	10	50.0
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	98	49.0
San Antonio, Texas	50	23	46.0
Athens, Ohio	30	13	43.3
Houston, Texas	1,050	443	42.2
College Park, Md.	175	73	41.7
Providence, R.I.	125	52	41.6
Bloomington, Ind.	350	144	41.2
Burlington, Vt.	25	10	40.0
Geneseo, N.Y.	15	6	40.0
Saranac Lake, N.Y.	25	10	40.0
Cincinnati, Ohio	100	34	34.0
Durham, N.H.	50	17	34.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	30	10	33.3
St. Louis, Mo.	120	38	31.7
Celina, Ohio	10	3	30.0
Binghamton, N.Y.	200	55	27.5
Huntington, W. Va.	40	10	25.0
Sarasota, Fla.	25	6	24.0
Champaign, Ill.	60	13	21.7
Allentown, Pa.	50	10	20.0
New Brunswick, N.J.	20	4	20.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	8	16.0
Long Island, N.Y.	100	12	12.0
Carbondale, Ill.	35	4	11.4
Alfred, N.Y.	10	1	10.0
Buffalo, N.Y.	20	2	10.0
Sacramento, Calif.	10	1	10.0
Worcester, Mass.	175	17	9.7
Kansas City, Mo.	150	14	9.3
Amherst, Mass.	150	12	8.0
University, Ala.	100	7	7.0
Santa Barbara, Calif.	75	4	5.3
Bellingham, Wash.	50	1	2.0
Gary, Ind.	100	2	2.0
Red Bank, N.J.	50	1	2.0
Aliquippa, Pa.	20	0	0
Louisville, Ky.	20	0	0
Springfield, Mass.	25	0	0
Wilson, N.C.	5	0	0
General	500	138	27.6
Midwest National Team	1,000	813	81.3
Southern National Team	700	397	56.7
Special National Team	1,000	269	26.9
TOTAL TO DATE		23,668	71.8
SHOULD BE		26,424	80.1
GOAL		33,000	100.0

(The following is a breakdown of the progress of the local teams. Figures are incorporated in above totals.)

TEAM BREAKDOWN	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Seattle/Portland	850	695	81.8
Boston	700	565	80.8
Denver	625	473	75.7
Detroit	750	563	75.1
Cleveland	1,000	750	75.0
San Francisco	800	593	74.1
New York #2	700	483	69.0
New York #1	1,000	684	68.4
Oakland/Berkeley	700	472	67.5
Twin Cities	800	515	64.3
Chicago	800	488	61.0
Philadelphia/Washington	700	415	59.3
Atlanta	850	492	57.9
Los Angeles	750	389	51.9
Texas	700	223	31.9
TOTAL TO DATE		7,800	72.7
SHOULD BE		8,355	77.9
TEAM GOAL		11,725	100.0

Final push needed to make Militant subscription drive

By NANCY COLE

NOV. 8—After six days on the road in central Pennsylvania, the new national subscription team reports selling 296 subscriptions. Top salesperson so far is Mike Lux, with 95 subscriptions, followed by Steve Bloom, with 90; Andrea Brod, with 78; and Judi Chertov, who joined the team later last week, with 33.

The team arrived at Mansfield State College in the afternoon on Monday, Nov. 6, and before they left the next morning they had sold 109 subscriptions. At Williamsport Area Community College the campus radio station broadcast an announcement that *Militant* representatives were on campus. Six people appeared at the station to buy subscriptions. Later when the radio announced that the representatives were in the snack bar, six or seven more subscriptions were sold—all in about half hour.

According to Lux, "People are unbelievably open to socialist ideas. You can walk up to a group of people and sell at least two subscriptions. It's the easiest thing I've ever done."

This week we received 3,522 subscriptions, leaving 9,332 to be obtained during the last two weeks of the drive. It will require an extra effort from all our supporters to see that the 33,000 goal is met.

At least two areas, Twin Cities and Boston, are sending additional teams into their regions to boost subscription efforts in the final weeks. Since the last scoreboard, the Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party raised their quota by 100; the San Francisco and Twin Cities teams by 100 each; the Denver team by 65; and the Chicago team by 50.

The total goal of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams, including the national South and Midwest teams, has gone from 12,000 at the beginning of the drive to its present 13,425. Combined with all their other activities, this represents a significant number of people the teams will have reached with the socialist alternative this fall.

The Boston team feels they have made a real impact in the New England region. As a result of their tour, during which they worked with at-large members of the YSA, there should soon be three new YSA locals in New England. At least 12 people they've talked with have decided to attend the Young Socialist national convention in Cleveland.

Last week the team spent two days at four campuses around Springfield, Mass. Because they wanted to make sure that each campus was introduced to *The Militant* and the socialist campaign,

each team member set up a table at one of the schools for the two days.

The Cleveland team reports that they now have 887 subscriptions. They spent election day in Bowling Green, Ohio, where they saw some results of the work they and other Ohio SWP campaign supporters have been doing. By early evening they had talked to about 50 people who had voted for Jenness and Pulley.

The drive for 3,300 new subscribers to the *International Socialist Review* is still behind. Last week 215 subscriptions were received, bringing the total to 1,517. *ISR* subscriptions continue to come in at a steady pace, but not in the ratio of one to every 10 *Militant* subscriptions needed to make the drive. Sub sellers should consistently ask everyone who buys a *Militant* subscription also to subscribe to the *ISR* during the last two weeks.

For those areas that have completed their *Militant* quotas or plan to do so this week, we encourage you to keep on selling.



The Atlanta YSJP team

Militant Gets Around

Nancy Cole



The more than 20,000 new subscribers we now have were initially attracted to *The Militant* for a variety of reasons. With the comprehensive coverage *The Militant* offers of movements for social change and the crises of capitalism, both nationally and internationally, it's not difficult for subscription sellers to point out an article that is of special interest to each potential subscriber.

It's interesting to note what features have been selling points during this fall's subscription drive. Subscription sellers report that *The Militant's* coverage of the Vietnam war continues to be the most outstanding feature for new subscribers. Several reports have also indicated that coverage of the international women's liberation movement has often attracted new readers.

The Munich killings and the subsequent Israeli attacks on Arab villages have stirred interest among students about the Palestinian struggle. For example, the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams report that Pathfinder literature on the Middle East has been among their best sellers.

The Militant's uncompromising stand on Palestine and the Munich events has earned the appreciation of supporters of the Arab revolution, especially of Arab students studying in the U.S. Philadelphia sales director Lea Tammi writes that after they handed out back issues of *The Militant* featuring the Israeli attacks, one foreign student was heard to say that for once the real nature of the Israeli state was explained, and that she was looking forward to receiving her subscription.

When the Oakland/Berkeley team visited San Joaquin Delta College and University of the Pacific, both in Stockton, Calif., they sold most of their subscriptions to Arab and Latin American students. The team even met a student who knew Hugo Blanco and was interested to learn that he had written a book (*Land or Death*, Pathfinder Press).

The Boston team reports that at Middlebury College in Vermont, while trying to sell a woman a subscription, "one team member was flipping through *The Militant*. When the woman saw an article on La Raza Unida Party, she said, 'I'll get a subscription. It has news of my party. La Raza Unida Party, in Colorado.'"

It's not always necessary to point out specific articles in order to sell a subscription. In fact, it's not always necessary to even have a copy with you. Jon Olmsted from the Boston team writes that he sold a subscription sight unseen—no *Militant*, no sub blank. He says that he has the best luck "stressing the value of *The Militant* for its insight and knowledge of not just what happens, but why it happens."

There are always those people who buy subscriptions because they had heard about or read *The Militant* at some point in the past. The national Midwest team sold a subscription to a West Indian who had read it before in the Bahamas. And at Atlanta University a subscription was sold to a woman from Tunisia who knew of *The Militant* through Malcolm X. She had met him when he was on tour in Africa.

Los Angeles pickets hit Bonn's anti-Arab moves

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES—At a demonstration held here Oct. 18 in front of the West German consulate, 150 persons picketed for more than an hour. The picket line and a rally that followed were called by the Coalition for the Democratic Rights of the Third World People in West Germany. Involved in the coalition are the United American-Arab Congress, the Organization of Arab Students, the Iranian Students Organization, and other groups.

The spirited marchers, mostly Arabs, carried Palestinian flags and signs with slogans such as "Solidarity of Arabs and Jews against Zionism," "Stop brutal action of German police against progressive groups," and "Imperialists are the international outlaws, not freedom fighters." The demonstrators chanted, "Vietnam to Palestine, one struggle, many fronts," "Free Palestine," and other slogans.

The demands of the demonstration tied the defense of Arabs against repression and government terrorism in West Germany with defense of worldwide struggles for national liberation.

Hassan el Nouty, a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, told the rally, "Those who shout loudest against terrorism are the very same ones who are spreading terrorism all over the world." He pointed out that the current attacks on Arabs in West Germany are a threat to the struggles of other peoples, such as Iranians, Turks, and Africans, as well.

Ahmad Mobrez of the Iranian Students Organization explained that the coalition had sent two delegations this month to talk to the West German consulate staff here and had gotten only denials that the incidents are taking place. Meetings of the coalition are continuing, and further actions are being planned.

The U.S. government has refused to disclose details of its measures of surveillance and "investigation" of Arab

residents, students, and visitors in the U.S. Announcing that it was instituting new "security" procedures after the Munich events, the government claimed that it was not disclosing details on them "for fear of diminishing [their] effectiveness."

Reports from around the country have revealed a number of attempts to intimidate Arabs who have been engaged in open political activity. Abdulla Albinali, the president of the Arab-American Club at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis was interrogated twice by FBI agents following the Munich events. The questions he was asked had nothing to do with any supposed terrorist activities—they dealt with the activities and membership of his organization.

Numerous instances in which people traveling by air have been separated from other passengers and searched solely because they were Arabs have also been reported. This has been done despite the fact that there have been no cases of terrorist acts on the part of Arabs in the U.S., although such acts have been directed against Arabs here.

On Oct. 16 Aryeh Neier, the executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, sent a letter to U.S. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst in which he took note of reports that Arabs were being investigated solely because they were Arabs. Neier noted that such investigations were "constitutionally impermissible," and could generate "the impression in the Arabic community that public statements of support for the Arabic position in the Arab-Israeli dispute will be reason enough for federal officers to take an official interest in the spokesmen of those views."

Neier urged Kleindienst to repudiate publicly any government intention of stifling the right of Arabs to speak openly. So far, Kleindienst has not replied to Neier's request.

Is 'human failure' cause of recent train wrecks?

By MARVEL SCHOLL

Suburban riders know full well the dangers they face every day as they commute to their jobs in big cities. Old, broken-down trains, understaffed, dirty, cold in the winter and unbearably hot in the summer, are a scandal all over the country.

The most recent tragedy involving suburban trains occurred in Chicago Oct. 30 when a double-deck train over-shot a station, backed up, and was rammed by a closely following express train. Forty-four persons were killed, more than 300 injured.

The engineer on the double-decker said his brakes failed when he attempted to stop. A plethora of local and federal investigations are now underway. They will probably come to the usual conclusion arrived at after tragic accidents in transportation—human failure. The bad brakes, the possible faulty construction of the double-deck train, and the inadequate system of signals at the station will be side-tracked somewhere along the line.

Another commuter train accident on the newly opened, almost completely automated Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) in California is almost funny in a macabre sort of way. A two-car train was derailed when a tiny control oscillator transposed a slow-down command to a speed-up (to 70 miles an hour) command, and the train rammed through a barrier at Fremont, Calif. One of the cars landed

in a parking lot. No one was killed but one crewman and four passengers were injured. An operator on the train said that when he realized something was wrong he pressed an emergency stop button but could not get the train slowed down in time to avert the accident.

When the investigation into this accident is complete will they blame the control oscillator—or a computer operator?



Illinois Central wreck, Chicago.

Israel's policy: attack Arabs and strikers

By DAVE FRANKEL

NOV. 6—Once again Israeli jets have pounded villages and refugee camps in Syria. The latest raids, which came on Oct. 30, were aimed at suburbs of Damascus four and a half to eight miles from the Syrian capital. Hospitals in Damascus reported more than 60 dead and 70 wounded, among them children.

The Nov. 2 *Christian Science Monitor* carries a report by John Cooley, who writes that "witnesses said one of the areas hit was a housing area for Syrian refugees who fled the Golan Heights in the 1967 war." Cooley also mentions the report of news agencies in Damascus that "Several time bombs exploded after the raids, one killing a family of seven. . . ."

Although the raids came just 24 hours after the hijacking of a West German airliner had forced the release of three of the Arab commandos involved in the Munich events, the Israeli military claimed that the raids were not in retaliation for the hijacking. Terence Smith, writing in the Nov. 5 *New York Times* "Week in Review" section, quotes one Israeli officer who said, "the fact is that the raids had nothing to do with the hijacking and would have gone off as

Terence Smith, reporting in the Oct. 26 *New York Times*, notes that "Nearly every sector of the economy has been hit by a nationwide rash of wild-cat strikes." Abraham Friedman, the head of the Hebrew University Department of Business Administration, lamented in an interview with Smith that "The workers have lost all their inhibitions about striking."

This state of affairs has been most noticeable in the public employees sector. Last year 63 percent of all strikes were by public employees, including civil servants, teachers, firemen, and hospital workers. Strikes have also been called by dock workers, airline maintenance crews, truckers, and flour mill workers.

Most of the strikes have been conducted in spite of industrywide agreements between the Histadrut, which "represents" the bulk of the workers in Israel, and the government. Fifty-two percent of the strikes in the last year were not sanctioned by Histadrut.

Although the Histadrut calls itself in English "The General Federation of Labor in Israel," it also happens to be the largest employer in Israel. It owns banks, shipping and airline companies, the largest construction



A victim of Israel's 'anti-terrorist' campaign, this Palestinian child was killed by Zionist bombs.

scheduled Monday morning even if it had not occurred."

The raids, which were the fourth series of attacks against Arab countries in the last two months, were followed by further attacks on a Syrian army headquarters later the same day. The increasing Israeli belligerence was expressed by Lieutenant General David Elazar, the Israeli chief of staff, in an interview published on Nov. 3 and quoted by Smith. Elazar argues that "hitting the terrorists is the first priority." If that endangers the cease-fire, he said, "we already have more volunteers for the combat units than we can accommodate."

Inside Israel there has been a growing right-wing campaign, supported by several influential papers and members of the Knesset (the Israeli parliament), for the extension of "anti-terrorist" raids to Libya, which gave asylum to the three commandos released as a result of the hijacking.

Meanwhile, the repeated demonstrations of Israel's overwhelming military superiority over its Arab neighbors have helped to aggravate some of the internal problems faced by the social democratic government of Golda Meir.

firm in Israel, and runs the largest health insurance system, to name only some of its operations.

The Mapai party, a social democratic party affiliated to the Second International and headed by Golda Meir, is the main governing party in Israel. It also controls the Histadrut.

In the past most Jewish workers in Israel have subordinated their economic demands to the needs of "national unity" and "national defense" any time the government whipped up a war scare. However, Smith claims that "The siege mentality that prevailed during the 1967 war and the fighting along the Suez Canal in 1969 and 1970 has given way to concern over internal social and economic problems." This concern has been heightened by the fact that retail prices in Israel rose 23 percent from mid-1970 through 1971.

The reaction of the so-called socialists in the government was typified by Gidon Ben-Israel, the government's chief labor-relations officer. "We are faced with a spiraling situation that is out of control," he said. "The Government has no choice but to crack down."

In Review

Books

Leon Trotsky Speaks

Leon Trotsky Speaks. Edited by Sarah Lovell. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 336 pp. \$8.95 cloth, \$3.45 paper.

In addition to his many other talents Leon Trotsky was a great orator. Anatoly Lunacharsky, commissar of education in the first Soviet government, who was familiar with the great public speakers of his time, wrote of Trotsky, "I consider Trotsky probably the greatest orator of our times."

The first speech in this book is the final summary made by Trotsky in the czarist court in 1906, when he was 26 years old. Trotsky met the principal charge, that the Petrograd Soviet was preparing an armed uprising, head on.

The defendants in this case, leaders of the 1905 revolution, had been kept in jail for a year and a half before their trial began. Trotsky had been chairman of the Petersburg Soviet, and his fellow defendants were members of that workers council.

The address to the court is a model of how revolutionists can use the forum of a courtroom to explain their ideas and educate a mass movement.



Trotsky at the podium in Copenhagen, Nov. 27, 1932.

Trotsky said, in part, "we never prepared an uprising, as the prosecutor thinks and says, we prepared for an uprising—for us, this meant first and foremost to bring clarity into the minds of the people; to explain to them that an open conflict was inevitable; that they would be deprived of everything that had been granted them; that they could preserve their freedoms only by force; that a mighty organization of the revolutionary masses was indispensable; that it was necessary to meet the enemy head on; that they had to be prepared to go to the end in the struggle; that there was no other road. For us, this constituted the essence of the uprising." (Emphasis in original.) This was an accurate forecast of the coming revolution of 1917.

Trotsky in New York

Compelled to leave Europe at the end of 1916, Trotsky and his family found asylum in New York for two months. In February 1917 the czar was overthrown and replaced by a government of capitalist and social-reformist parties. The Soviets, which had disappeared after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, now vigorously sprang to life in Petersburg and many other Russian cities. Trotsky spoke in New

York in support of another revolution, one that would shift power to the workers and peasants organized in the Soviets.

Returning to Russia in May, Trotsky addressed the Petrograd Soviet for the first time on the fifth of that month. After bringing greetings from American workers and German war prisoners in Canada, where the British government held him for about a month, Trotsky said, "I think that the next step should be the handing over of all power to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies." This position placed him side by side with Lenin, from whom he had been separated for some years. From then on, the Lenin-Trotsky alliance led the Russian revolution to the October victory.

After the Bolsheviks took power Trotsky held the post of commissar of foreign affairs in the first Soviet government. One of the first acts of the new state was to publish the secret treaties entered into by the czar and retained by the various coalitions that succeeded him. At a public meeting in Petrograd Trotsky denounced the practice of secret diplomacy: "We said then and we say now that a people cannot shed their blood and that of their brothers for treaties that they have not themselves concluded, have never read or even seen."

Describing Bolshevik policy in forthcoming negotiations with Germany to end the war, he said, "Secret diplomacy shall not be tolerated for a single moment during the negotiations. Our leaflets and our radio service will keep all the nations informed of every proposition we make and of the answers they elicit from Germany." This is in sharp contrast to the spectacle of Nixon's messenger boy, Dr. Kissinger, rushing from pillar to post in all parts of the world making secret agreements with other countries, the details of which are hidden from the American people.

In 1924 Trotsky addressed the third anniversary meeting of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, established in Moscow to teach Asian revolutionaries. He explained the application of Marxist theory to the growing revolutionary developments in the colonial sectors of the world.

Defended revolution

In 1929 Trotsky was deported from the Soviet Union by the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy that had usurped power. Living in exile in Turkey, he was invited in 1932 to speak in Copenhagen. As it turned out, the audience of 2,000 was the last large group that Trotsky ever addressed.

His speech was a defense of the Russian revolution, but he also ranged, as was his custom, over a wider area. For Americans his defense of revolution in general is interesting. Referring to whether the costs of the American Civil War of the 1860s were worthwhile, he said, "From the standpoint of the American slaveholder and the ruling classes of Great Britain who marched with them—no! From the standpoint of the Negro or of the British workingman—absolutely! And from the standpoint of the development of humanity as a whole—there can be no doubt whatever."

The book ends not with a speech but with Trotsky's testament, which he wrote in 1940, several months before he was assassinated by a Stalinist agent. In it he sums up his life's work, and knowing that his time is growing short, he leaves a brief and beautiful message to all humankind.

His wife Natalia is in view just outside his window. Trotsky writes, "Natasha has just come up to the window from the courtyard and opened it wider so that the air may enter more freely into my room. I can see the bright green strip of grass beneath the wall, and the clear blue sky above the wall, and sunlight everywhere. Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence and enjoy it to the full."

—MILTON ALVIN

Film



The Ruling Class

The Ruling Class. Directed by Peter Medak. Screenplay by Peter Barnes.

This movie won't tell you *everything you always wanted to know about the ruling class*. Technically speaking, it's not even about the ruling class. It's about the ceremonial scum that floats above the stagnant water of the British ruling class.

How can you tell a member of the English aristocracy? "By the smell, of course," blurts out Tucker, the butler. This outburst of class-conscious rudeness would give the discerning British ear all the evidence it needs to conclude "the butler did it."

Sure enough, we discover by the end of the movie that these discerning British have figured out a way to pin the rap on their ungrateful servant, whom they discover was a secret "Bolshie" all along ("Bolshie" is aristocratese for Bolshevik).

The crime in question is the murder of Lady Gurney, and the real villain is Tucker's young master, Jack Gurney.

Director Peter Medak and playwright Peter Barnes turn the traditional British mystery-comedy on its head. Usually these dusty Anglo-Saxon cobwebs are filled with painfully polite, painfully daft old men who somehow manage to "muddle along" despite the mortal threat posed by "lower-class ruffians and foreigners."

Their witless offspring may come under bad influences, only later to emerge as the pillar of the community and a stable and trusted heir. Of course, crowning God's scheme (the *royal* scheme) is that superbly arrogant bit of social propaganda—"the butler did it!"

Although the butler (Arthur Lowe) might take the rap, it's Peter O'Toole who steals the show. O'Toole plays the witless heir, Jack Gurney, confined in an asylum because of his paranoid schizophrenic delusion that he's Jesus Christ. A mad fellow, this God of Love, obviously unfit to inherit the Gurney mantle and the Gurney millions.

But through hard work, innate British reasonableness, and with the promise of a mighty inheritance to spur him on, Jack—the prospective fourteenth Earl of Gurney—manages to cure himself of his delusions. There is, however, one awkwardness connected with his cure: Jack murders women. (But for a stoic English gentleman this will prove to be only a mild embarrassment.)

The moral is simple: if you try to be the God of Love, you won't get anywhere; but if you succeed in becoming Jack the Ripper, you might make it to the House of Lords.

And so, as this uproarious three hours grinds to its grimly ironic conclusion, we leave Jack Gurney, the fourteenth Earl of Gurney, revelling in the sacrosanct crypt of the House of Lords by day and the back alleys of Jack the Ripper by night.

—DAVID SALNER

Final week of referendum battle

Abortion debate held in Detroit

By PAULA REIMERS

DETROIT, Nov. 2—Last night nearly 150 people attended a debate here at Wayne State University on Michigan's abortion law. The debate was sponsored by Wayne Women's Liberation and the Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition (DWAAC).

Proposal B, a referendum on the Nov. 7 Michigan ballot, has become the focus of discussion on the abortion issue. If passed, this proposal would make abortion legal in Michigan when performed within the first 20 weeks of pregnancy by a licensed doctor in a state-approved facility.

Participating in the debate in favor of Proposal B were Gretchen Tucker of Detroit Clergy Counseling, an abortion referral service, and Dr. Barbara Roberts, national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

Dr. Ann Pollack, pathologist and member of Illinois Right to Life, and Pat Nixon, representing the group Voice of the Unborn, spoke against Proposal B.

The presentation by Dr. Roberts was especially well received. She outlined how denying women the right to control their own bodies helps the rulers of this country prevent women from controlling their entire lives. She also noted the hypocrisy of the Catholic Church hierarchy in denouncing abortion as "murder," reminding her audience of the Church's history of support to murderous regimes around the world.

Pat Nixon based her arguments on the claim that if Proposal B passed, this would amount to the establishment of fascism. She tried to justify this fantastic theory by saying that the practice of legal abortion is no different from Hitler's extermination of the Jews.

Nixon and members of her organization also tried to convince the rest of the audience that the maternal death rate has increased in states where abortion is legal. Dr. Roberts exposed

this fabrication by citing the most recent statistics from health officials in New York. These figures show a sharp decrease in maternal deaths since the liberal New York abortion law has been in effect.

A lively discussion followed the initial presentations. One older Black woman got up and said that she had four children and had also had four abortions during her lifetime. She denounced the Voice of the Unborn group for trying to take away women's right to abortion.

A high school woman spoke, stating she would vote "yes" on Proposal B if she were old enough to vote. She explained the type of social ostracism faced by young women who become pregnant.

A male high school student said that at his school 30 women students had been dismissed in one year because of pregnancy. The issue of abortion touches not only on the right of women to control their own bodies but also on their right to attend school or hold jobs while pregnant, he said.

Nanci Kimker, the Michigan Social-

ist Workers Party congressional candidate in the 13th C.D., explained that she had had two abortions, and that she and other women had no intention of allowing the state or the courts to decide what women should do with their bodies.

After the debate, many women stopped by the DWAAC table to pick up literature supporting Proposal B for last-minute distribution.

The Catholic Church hierarchy and anti-abortion groups have conducted an extensive campaign on TV and radio, and through mailings, phone calls, and billboards for defeat of the referendum. Parochial school students have been released from classes to canvass door-to-door against Proposal B.

This anti-abortion campaign appears to be having an impact. A poll published this week by the *Detroit News* showed that 54 percent of the Detroit electorate now opposes Proposal B. Previous polls had shown a majority in favor of abortion reform.



One week before Michigan referendum, women debate Proposal B, which would legalize abortion. Photo on right is of Barbara Roberts, National Coordinator of WONAAC (l) and Gretchen Tucker from Michigan Counseling for Problem Pregnancy (r), who spoke for women's right to abortion.



Mayor finds 'nonexistent' funds

Cleveland unions gain in strike

By ROBERT BRENNAN

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1—City employees here ended a nine-day strike on Oct. 4, proving that better wages can be won from a city administration that pleads "no funds." The strike was called by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 100, and joined by Municipal Foremen and Laborers Local 1099 four days before settlement. Seven other union locals representing workers affected by the strike remained on the sidelines, attempting to reach separate agreements with the city administration.

Despite union division, AFSCME Local 100 and Laborers Local 1099 won some important concessions. The city granted a 5.5 percent wage increase and agreed to a two-step plan to pay fringe benefits included in the 1970 contract but never paid. Under the new agreement the city will pay these "back benefits" in equal installments on June 30, 1973, and June 30, 1974. Other gains include a new \$3,000 life insurance policy, fully paid family hospitalization, and longevity bonuses.

The unions relinquished step increases in wages for 1973 but won a Jan. 1, 1974, reopener clause on wages and step increases.

Negotiators for the city claimed they were unable to grant any wage increases until they failed on Oct. 2 to get a court order against the strike. Mayor Ralph Perk had issued an ultimatum Sept. 29, threatening the strikers with "the full power of my office" if they failed to return to work by Monday, Oct. 2.

The mayor implied that he would invoke Ohio's Ferguson Act, which denies public employees the right to strike, if Cleveland courts refused to issue back-to-work orders. But the strikers' cause was so just and public opinion so heavily on their side that the courts refused the city's request. Mayor Perk then decided to retreat.

Some important issues of the strike have not yet been resolved, but the small wage gains were a breakthrough. The settlement represented a complete reversal of the city's position. On Oct. 19, Perk announced that the 5.5 percent raise won by the strike would be extended to all city employees.

He revealed then that the city expects \$14.1-million in 1973 from the federal revenue sharing plan. This is an admission by Perk that previous claims of poverty to deny benefits under the old contract and modest wage increases in the new settlement were

false. When the strikers demanded living wages, the city found the money to pay them. City workers will remember this in the next round of negotiations.

Another thing to remember is the sad lack of unity among the different unions. If the seven that stayed on the sidelines had joined Locals 100 and 1099 on the picket lines, the strikers' bargaining power would have been tremendously increased. The \$14.1-million federal revenue sharing fund for Cleveland is enough to triple the piddling 5.5 percent wage increase, with \$10-million left over to expand city services and hire more workers.

Under the circumstances the strike settlement is a victory of the moment, but it is generally recognized here that the wage increase will be eaten away by inflation and higher taxes before the contract expires.

Complete union solidarity in future negotiations would give city workers the power needed to win higher real wages and raise their present low standard of living. The question is how to unite all local unions representing city workers. The strike action of AFSCME Local 100 and Laborers Local 1099 demonstrated what is possible and provides the basis for joint action next time.

East Cambridge youth protest cop brutality

By BERNIE LOUGEE

BOSTON, Nov. 7—The brutal killing of an East Cambridge youth has touched off a series of angry demonstrations against police violence.

Late Saturday evening, Oct. 21, Lawrence Largey, 17, and a friend were arrested at Roosevelt Towers—a white working-class housing project. Eyewitnesses say Largey entered the police van without resistance. They also saw the cops, nightsticks in hand, follow Largey into the truck and close the doors.

They said, "The truck rocked back and forth as if a fight was going on." When the doors were opened, Largey was lying in a pool of blood. Three hours later he was dead.

By Monday, Oct. 23, it was apparent the police and city government were trying to put a lid on the murder. That evening hundreds of incensed East Cambridge youths took to the street. Police used gas to break up their protests. On Oct. 24 and Oct. 25 the protests grew in size. Riot-equipped police again used gas and dogs to break them up.

On Oct. 26, Hard Times, a local social welfare group, announced a march on police headquarters. That afternoon the police issued a trumped-up autopsy report that attributed Largey's death to an overdose of "rapid acting" drugs combined with large amounts of alcohol.

In response, well over 2,500 protesters marched to police headquarters demanding the suspension and indictment of the two cops who made the arrest. Chanting "We want justice," they then marched to a special city council hearing, where they repeated their demands and called for a new autopsy.

The city council requested the city manager to order an "impartial investigation" of the killing but refused to order a new autopsy; it also announced that the two cops were now on leave without pay. The protesters, furious over this attempt to whitewash the murder, showered the council members with paper.

Late Thursday evening, Oct. 26, Cambridge youths demonstrated again. Police cordoned off the eight-block area where the actions occurred, arrested 15 people, and beat up Kenneth Gustowski, a youth who has cerebral palsy and who was not part of the demonstration.

City Manager John Corcoran, who has an especially cozy relationship with the police department, has announced the beginning of an investigation. Cambridge residents are skeptical of Corcoran's "impartiality."

Concurrent with the city's investigation, Middlesex County District Attorney John Droney has called for a separate investigation of the case. Droney was opposed in the Massachusetts senatorial race by Socialist Workers Party candidate Don Gurewitz.

Gurewitz has demanded that his opponent exercise his official powers and indict the cops. He has supported the demand for an independent investigation into the death of Largey. The socialist candidate's statements were widely reported on radio and television.

Calendar

CHICAGO

AFRICA: THE NEXT VIETNAM? Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate in New York's 12th C.D. and member of the Young Socialist Alliance national executive committee. Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 75c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

CLEVELAND

DINNER AND RALLY WITH LINDA JENNESS, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Fri., Nov. 17, 6:30 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2.50. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES

THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the anti-war movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

"THE ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY"—A critical appraisal of the movie. Speakers: George Weissman, former editor of *The Militant*; Lenny Rubenstein, co-editor, *Cineaste* magazine; James D'Anna, movie critic and radio commentator, WRVR. Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 982-5940.

PHILADELPHIA

THE MEANING OF LIFE: A Marxist View. Speaker: George Novack, Marxist scholar and philosopher. Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m. University of Pennsylvania, Houston Hall, Second Floor, 3417 Spruce St. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by U of P Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

TWIN CITIES

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM—NOW MORE THAN EVER. Speakers: Becky Bohan, University of Minn. women's liberation activist; and Dave Zilly, former member of the New American Movement and now a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

OPEN HOUSE with film *To Make a Revolution*. Speaker: Hank Scheer. Sat., Nov. 18, after the antiwar demonstration (approximately 3 p.m.). 1 University Ave., N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1.25. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance. Dinner and party to follow. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...9 points

Continued on page 5

They are under great pressure from the long years of war and the intensive

U.S. bombing. It is also the result of inadequate political and military support from Moscow and Peking. Nobody can fault fighters who are waging a historic struggle but are compelled to make a settlement.

But the job of those in the U.S. who defend the Vietnamese revolution is not to help Washington impose this settlement. Nor is it to demand that Nixon sign this arrogant agreement as quickly as possible.

Our task is to expose the injustice of this proposed settlement and explain why it won't bring peace to Vietnam. We must tell the truth about this nine-point proposal.

We must also do what we can to help relieve the pressure on the Vietnamese fighters and prevent the U.S. government from wresting more concessions. The most effective way to do this is to help mobilize as many people as possible in demonstrations and rallies to demand that the U.S. get all of its forces out of Southeast Asia and let the Vietnamese handle their own affairs.

This underlines the importance of turning out as many people as possible for the Nov. 18 antiwar actions to be held in cities throughout the country.

...victory

Continued from page 9

they're the party's ideas."

In response to questions, Spock said that if major industries were nationalized, the former owners should be reimbursed. He said the People's Party has no position on the Middle East.

The last week of the campaign trail began in Minneapolis, Minn., where Jenness spoke at the University of Minnesota and Augsburg College. After she addressed a campaign rally Oct. 31 in Minneapolis, five people asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Jenness had two speaking engagements at the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls on Nov. 1. A total of 350 students heard her at an afternoon rally in the student union and at an evening meeting sponsored by the Controversial Speakers Bureau.

From Cedar Falls, Jenness flew to New York City to appear on the nationally televised CBS Morning News.

She then flew to Michigan for more campaigning.

...Smith

Continued from page 13

seen could not possibly have been Smith. Hubert Brown testified Oct. 19 that he saw two GIs fleeing from the officers' barracks where the fraggings occurred. Brown said that when he informed Army investigators of what he had seen, he was immediately placed on the lineup of suspects along with Smith.

The court-martial is being held in a courthouse at Fort Ord, Calif., ringed by military police and topped with snipers.

GIs at Fort Ord told *The Militant* they had been told they would face disciplinary action if they discussed the case publicly.

Several GIs who attended a rally for Smith at Fort Ord about a year ago have since been transferred to other parts of the country or have been given undesirable discharges.

Smith, who has been in solitary confinement in Fort Ord for more than 19 months, attributed his arrest and confinement to the fact that "I did not have a puppet mind, and I was a candid, outspoken individual. I had stated time and time again that I realized the war in Indochina was unjust and racially motivated, and that most of all I strictly hated all who had high regard for the habitual butchery of the Vietnamese people."

Despite the complete destruction of the Army's legal case, the repressive security measures at Fort Ord are a constant reminder that the jury is made up of officers. Smith's conviction or acquittal ultimately rests with this hand-picked panel.

The Billy Dean Smith Defense Committee urges that mass support be demonstrated as the case goes to jury. Telegrams demanding that all charges be dropped can be addressed to Commanding General Harold Moore at Fort Ord, Calif. 93941.

...RUP

Continued from page 14

tiérrez, a member of the Zavala County Health Association, and Jorge

Prieto, an Illinois doctor who was being considered for the position of medical director of the projected clinic.

The charges by McGovern and his Illinois campaign manager that there was "an arrangement" between Nixon and the Raza Unida Party were partially attributed to Prieto.

Gutiérrez answered Prieto's charges. She wrote, "Health care does not have a political ideology." She pointed to the lack of health services in Crystal City, "a Chicano, rural, poor, migrant community." She cited the "inordinately high" mortality rate, "death at infancy, or, if you live through that, an early death at 48 years of age from TB."

She referred to the struggle by Crystal City Chicanos to take over the city government and wrote, "When political control was wrested from the gringo in 1970, health had been an overriding issue. We saw and are seeing that many government dollars that should have gone to health care were and are being used for 'other' things, and since 1970, this community has been and continues to be demanding, threatening and fighting to get not one million dollars for one clinic in Crystal, but \$25 billion for clinics in Chicano communities throughout the Southwest.

"We have been able to wrest around one million for about three communities—a far cry from the \$25 billion we need. Nothing is going to deter us from continuing our struggle for health care. Gringo bullets and ballots haven't stopped us yet, so little political schemes designed to promote the presidential aspiration of a gringo will certainly not get in our way."

Gutiérrez asked Prieto, "Where were you when the governor vetoed our project? . . . and he's a democrat. . . . Where were you during the El Paso convention when it was unanimously decided not to support McGovern or Nixon? Were you there to hear the reasons why? And what were you doing during the McCarthy era? You have obviously picked up his red-baiting techniques against us without bothering to investigate first. . . .

"You have proven by your actions that some weak members of La Raza, such as yourself, Dr. Prieto, are continuing to let themselves be used by the gringo in his political fights with each other."

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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IN THE NOVEMBER INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



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BY PETER CAMEJO

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The right to organize

The Young Socialist Alliance was denied the right to organize on Florida state campuses as a legitimate student organization in March 1970. In July 1972, a federal district court upheld the banning of the YSA. Currently the Florida ACLU is appealing this decision to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) was formed in 1970 to launch a legal and public campaign to win the right of official recognition for the YSA on Florida campuses.

FAPEC urgently needs the help of all who believe in the rights of free speech and assembly. Letters of protest from individuals, student governments, and campus organizations can be sent to Board of Regents, 210 Collins Building, 107 North Gaines St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304 (send copy to FAPEC). Contributions and requests for more information can be sent to FAPEC, P.O. Box 6693, FSU, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

THE MILITANT

Meeting discusses Nixon 'peace' offer

NPAC affirms Out Now demand for Nov. 18

By WENDY REISSNER

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 4—Today, just over a week after Kissinger said, "Peace is at hand," close to 80 people attended a National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) steering committee meeting here to analyze the meaning of the peace talks and lay final plans for the Nov. 18 antiwar demonstrations.

Katherine Sojourner, a national coordinator of NPAC, outlined her view of the peace talks. She said, "If the cease-fire is signed we must make clear that we certainly welcome an end to the bombing and a pledge that U.S. troops will be withdrawn.

"But we must also make it clear that we will continue demanding the kind of peace in Southeast Asia that will ensure that people stop dying from U.S. aggression permanently — not just for a few days, weeks, or months. The only way this can be assured is immediate, total, and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces, bases, and war matériel from Southeast Asia."

She pointed out that the vigilance of the antiwar movement is needed more than ever at this crucial stage of the war. The Nov. 18 demonstrations were posed as an opportunity to continue educating around the crucial point of the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese. "The antiwar movement must demand: 'Out Now — No Conditions!'" Sojourner said.

Organizations such as the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice say that the antiwar movement should call on Nixon to sign the accords. NPAC opposed this perspective and reaffirmed its call for immediate and total withdrawal of U.S. forces and matériel from Southeast Asia. NPAC views the publicized accords as an indication that tremendous pressure has been brought to bear on the Vietnamese to make concessions in their



Militant/Charles Ostrovsky

Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition and Student Mobilization Committee protest Nixon visit at Cleveland airport, Oct. 28

fight for independence and social justice.

If the publicized accords were implemented, the U.S. puppet government with its repressive apparatus would remain intact. Washington could continue to shore it up with money and war matériel.

Sojourner said, "NPAC supports 100 percent the right of the Vietnamese to negotiate. It is up to them to decide for themselves what agreements may or may not be necessary on their part in their long struggle to rid themselves of U.S. military and political interference in their country. They are the people who are being slaughtered, maimed, and made homeless by a relentless U.S. war.

"The American antiwar movement, however, must continue to stress that not only does the U.S. have absolutely no right to be in Southeast Asia, but the U.S. government has absolutely no right to negotiate—placing conditions on and demanding concessions from Asian peoples."

The steering committee felt that the situation regarding the war remains unclear. The proposed accords could

blow up over the fact the U.S. is trying to wrest further concessions from the Vietnamese. It was pointed out that even if the agreement as it stands is signed, the situation would be unstable.

The Saigon regime is stepping up its terror campaign against the population of South Vietnam. The U.S. has shipped enough war matériel to Saigon to give it the third largest air force in the world.

At the same time, the U.S. has made it clear that it will continue to maintain military bases in Thailand and carriers off the shore of Vietnam in case of "violations" of the cease-fire. There is a very real possibility that the U.S. would term any uprising or resistance to the Saigon regime's repression as a "violation" and use this as a pretext to reescalate the war.

The steering committee pointed to the importance of the Nov. 18 antiwar demonstrations. The U.S. antiwar movement has played a crucial role throughout the history of the war. Mass antiwar sentiment forced Nixon to end the invasions of Cambodia and Laos and withdraw U.S. ground

forces from Vietnam.

The antiwar movement cannot rely on promises to end the war. As a recent NPAC news release pointed out, the movement must "... continue to judge the United States government's policies by deeds and not by words. No talk of an impending cease-fire can obscure the fact that nearly two tons of bombs are being dropped on Asian people every 60 seconds. ... The whole sordid history of the Vietnam war—as the Pentagon Papers prove—is one of lies and deceptions by successive administrations. More than one President has attempted to demobilize antiwar sentiment in order to buy more time to insure a continued U.S. presence in Southeast Asia.

"We will be in the streets of 20 cities on Saturday, Nov. 18 demanding, 'U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now! No U.S. Conditions!' We are putting the administration on notice that as long as the U.S. intervention continues in S.E. Asia in any form the majority antiwar sentiment in this country will not be without organized focus."

U.S. forced to let Argentine activist enter

By JUDY WHITE

MIAMI, Nov. 6—Daniel Zadunaisky, a third-year medical student and activist in the Argentine movement to defend political prisoners, was officially allowed to enter the U.S. today after spending almost four days in this city without any legal status.

Zadunaisky had been invited here to conduct a speaking tour on the denial of human rights in his country for the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The initial reason U.S. immigration authorities gave for his detention and harassment was possession of "subversive" literature.

The literature in question was an unpublished article analyzing the political scene in Argentina today and the role of the left in the current situation. Zadunaisky was refused the right to telephone the USLA office in New York and was strongly urged—since he was "in serious trouble"—to voluntarily withdraw his request to enter the U.S. Otherwise, immigration officials told him, he could be jailed or deported.

Zadunaisky's detention caused delays in the speaking tour and created

a storm of protest across the U.S. and Canada.

In Miami itself support to Zadunaisky's attempt to gain entry to the country came from the Reverend August Vanden Bosche, field representative for Christian Life in Missions of the National Council of Churches; Jack Gordon, president of the Miami Federal Savings and Loan Association; Monsignor Walsh of the Miami diocese of the Catholic Church; Dr. Gaspar Langella of the Coordinating Committee on Interamerican Concerns of the United Presbyterian Church; the Reverend Donald Olson, director of the Center for Dialogue.

Also from Steve Raskin, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorney; the Reverend Frederick LeShane of the First Unitarian Church of Miami; the Reverend Lloyd Knox, director of the urban church and Spanish-speaking work for the Florida Conference of the United Methodist Church; Richard Feder, attorney for the ACLU; Tom Crowder, Presbyterian chaplain at the University of Miami; Rudolfo Juárez of Organized Migrants in Community Action; José Molina of the United Puerto Ricans of

Greater Miami.

And from Father Frank O'Loughlin of St. John the Apostle Church in Hialeah, Fla.; the Reverend Jack Cassidy, Metropolitan minister of the United Church of Christ; Angelo Muñoz, Clínica Borinquen, Inc.; Rabbi Sol Schiff, executive secretary of the Rabbinical Association; and many others.

This team worked with USLA to break the case in the media, to organize a delegation of prominent citizens to accompany Zadunaisky to the Federal Building when his case came up, and to arrange for Zadunaisky to present his case before a McGovern rally and two church congregations over the weekend.

Meanwhile telegrams began to flood the immigration authorities in Miami from well-known people and sponsoring groups of the tour all across North America. Among them was one from Gloria Steinem that read, "I support the right of Americans to hear your message. I support your right to enter this country freely and without political harassment from the Immigration Dept. or any other government agency purporting to represent

us as citizens."

Today at the "deferred inspection" no mention was made of the initial reason for the detention, the so-called subversive literature Zadunaisky had brought in with him. Instead, questions centered on the technicalities of his tour, the subject matter of his talks, and the political background of individuals interested in the case.

After six hours of "deferred inspection," which included several hours of waiting for immigration authorities to come to an agreement on how to proceed, he was told he would be allowed into the U.S. to conduct the speaking tour in defense of his comrades imprisoned in Argentina.

The permission granted to Zadunaisky to speak to North Americans on the torture and assassination practices of the Lanusse dictatorship is an important civil liberties victory.

If you want to hear what Washington was afraid might harm Nixon-Lanusse relations, get in touch with USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011, (212) 691-2880, to find out when Zadunaisky will be in your area.