

San Jose 'rock-throwing' was a Nixon fake

By ROBERT CHESTER

SAN FRANCISCO—That stone-and-egg attack on President Nixon by San Jose antiwar demonstrators was a figment of the imagination. It was created by the president, his associates and the San Jose cops. The newspapers which gave it such scare headlines never saw it happen. The only person who actually claims he saw rocks fly was the San Jose chief of police.

These are the facts that emerge from follow-up accounts which, needless to say, are not making the same kind of news splash the original fake story did.

Looking back at the original stories, it becomes clear that those who reported the incident never claimed to see it happen. Buried in the *New York Times* account, for example, was the phrase, "according to eyewitnesses." A follow-up *Times* story indicated the San Jose police chief was

the "eyewitness."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* confirmed Nov. 2 that the only person who remembered seeing any rocks thrown was the police chief.

A comprehensive account of what actually happened was pieced together by reporter Tom DeVries of the prize-winning program, "Newsroom," on educational station KQED.

He reported that the crowd, numbering about 5,000, was composed of an exceptionally broad spectrum—unemployed building trades workers demanding jobs, a large group of scientists and engineers laid off by space-program cutbacks, students, ecology groups, and simply curious onlookers.

Nixon deliberately sought to goad the crowd. After climbing up on his car to give his spread-eagle "V" sign, he was overhead saying, "That's what they hate to see."

Throughout, DeVries observed, police and secret service men functioned in a normal manner, giving no indication of any serious problem, not to speak of a hail of missiles.

DeVries reported that there was some minor damage to the press box and newsmen's bus, but that he made a point of examining the area after the crowd left and saw no stones. He then began questioning other reporters and cameramen and found none who had seen any objects thrown.

The next morning he called the San Clemente residence and queried Nixon's press secretary. He too conceded he had not actually seen any objects thrown at the president's car. The whole thing, apparently, was part of President Nixon's effort to restore morality to political life.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 34—No. 42

Friday, Nov. 13, 1970

Price 15c

Oct. 31 antiwar demonstrations

— pages 4-5 —

Vietnam withdrawal carries in referendums

— see page 20



Off-duty members of Ft. Wadsworth GI band lead New York antiwar march Oct. 31.

Texas gov. flees U of Houston campus

**YSA, SMC, other groups
smeared by Houston press**

Houston, Texas
When Texas governor Preston Smith appeared Oct. 7 before a crowd of 4,000 U of Houston students to explain his tuition-hike request, someone from the audience asked, "Why haven't you freed Lee Otis Johnson?" (Johnson is a Black activist sentenced to 30 years in prison for allegedly passing a single marijuana cigarette.) Smith was silent for almost a full minute and then left the stage.

Although only five or six voices were heard from the audience during the governor's silence, the local bourgeois press reported Smith's right to free speech had been denied by a crowd of hecklers.

Later reports blamed the U of H Young Socialist Alliance and Student Mobilization Committee, along with two off-campus organizations, for preventing Smith from speaking.

Obviously a direct result of J. Edgar Hoover's recent attack on the YSA and the SMC, this false accusation was carried even further by U of H right-wingers who circulated a phony "YSA press release" stating that the YSA had "successfully suppressed" the governor.

YSA representative Jeanette Tracy

**Letters from
our readers**

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

denounced this "press release" as a complete fabrication. The YSA, she told reporters, "did not in any way attempt to prevent Governor Smith from speaking nor have we ever interfered with the right of free speech. In fact, the YSA has always defended that right."

She pointed to the real reason for Smith's abrupt departure: "He is afraid to address the students because of his unpopular views on all major issues of concern to students."

Tracy concluded by announcing a public invitation to Smith from the YSA and SMC to return to the U of H campus provided he is willing to allow his opponents to state their views along with him.

So far, Smith has not responded to the invitation.

Marybeth Prejean

Letter to Rep. Ichord from Oberlin students

Oberlin, Ohio

The following is the text of a letter we sent to Representative Richard H. Ichord, chairman of the House Internal Security Committee, after his release on Oct. 14 of a committee report listing "radical" campus speakers (including Paul Boutelle):

"We, the members of the Oberlin College Forum Board, a student-sponsored organization which brings speakers to the campus, would like to thank you for providing us with a list of sixty-five of the most relevant, courageous, committed and inspiring speakers in America today. The list will be a great help in selecting future speakers."

Randy Tennen
Bill Wycko
Pat Clawson
Stormy Tatter
Tom Michl
Ben Forbes
Peter Fuller
Warren Leon
Adrian Tyler

Local leaders face irate workers in strike classes

Detroit, Mich.

UAW Local 157 was the first striking GM local to set up strike classes. To my knowledge it is the only local that attempted to make attendance compulsory.

These classes have provided the local leaders with an opportunity to face an irate membership. The men are mad for a number of reasons. First, the classes are held at the local hall in Inkster, while our plant is near the center of Detroit. Men living in the northern and eastern suburbs must drive as much as 70 miles one

way. Second, men in their 50s and 60s resent being sent to school. Finally, the classes don't seem to be worthwhile. There has been no progress report on the national talks. There was one report on the local talks, but it was so brief and vague that it gave us no idea of what will be in the local agreement we will be asked to ratify.

At the first class we had an instructor from the UAW educational department. He began by asking if anybody knew how many vice-presidents the UAW had: "If you know the answer, raise your hand," as if we were second-graders. After 20 minutes of this he opened the floor for questions. He never got it back.

The first question was, "Why don't we have direct election of the president of the UAW instead of election by 'handpicked' convention delegates?" Others wanted to know who decided that the classes were to be compulsory, and expressed their dissatisfaction with the location of the classes. This went on for a little over an hour until the two-hour class was adjourned a half-hour early. We never saw the instructor again.

Attendance at the classes has been declining. Many of the men have been allowed to do extra picket duty instead of going to class. Still, each class seems to be more turbulent than the last. In fact, the class on Oct. 14 got so lively that the vice-president's knees were shaking when he adjourned it a full hour early.

D. U.

UAW retirees back GM strike

Detroit, Mich.

There was a good turnout at the demonstration called Oct. 23 by retired United Auto Workers to support the demands of the GM strikers. Three to five thousand marched around the General Motors headquarters.

The crowd was in a holiday mood. They had come on chartered buses from as far away as Flint, Saginaw and Grand Rapids. Many of the protesters sported "Senior Power" buttons and some broke into a waltz step as they passed the brass band sent by Local 3.

A GM striker

Radicalization affects Episcopal convention

Houston, Texas

Armed guards costing \$50,000 patrolled the Episcopal church's sixty-third general convention due to anticipated confrontations over special points on the agenda. Usually, one thinks of the religious organized bodies as the conservative bulwarks of the capitalist system. However, in the context of a powerful developing radicalization that is taking place today, such a stately institution as the Episcopal church is not immune.

This convention, with over 10,000 from all 50 states in attendance, took up many of the problems that are being discussed and debated in society and the radical movement.

Probably the most controversial was the church's General Convention Special Program (GCSP), which has come under attack for making grants to militant groups such as the Alianza, Reies Tijerina's group in Albuquerque, and the Black Awareness Coordination Committee (BACC) of Denmark, S. C., whose leaders have been convicted of rioting with firearms. The program was vehemently defended by

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-9600. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$15.00, all other countries, \$24.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$20.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Volume 34

Number 42

Friday, Nov. 13, 1970

Closing news date — Nov. 4

Black and Brown clergymen and many youths forming a "Black caucus," which at points walked out of the convention, calling it racist. After much discussion, the convention voted to affirm the GSCP amending that grants be discontinued "to any organization whose leaders have been convicted of a crime involving physical violence."

Episcopalian youth presented a resolution on the draft and war which included a demand to "reject the undemocratic foundation of the current government of South Vietnam" and which called "for the withdrawal of support from the present government of South Vietnam" and for the U.S. to "Finally withdraw all American forces from South Vietnam."

Finally, one of the most controversial issues in society as a whole—women's liberation—received significant support from the convention. A resolution favoring the repeal of abortion laws was passed, and convention delegates for the 3.5 million members of the Episcopal church gave women the right to vote as delegates to the House of Deputies, the first time women have been admitted to the church councils in 181 years.

Mareen Jasim

Mideast teach-ins planned in Michigan

Detroit, Mich.

In response to the impact of the struggle in the Mideast, a number of teach-ins are being planned in Michigan.

Ann Arbor is having one on Nov. 15. Its high point will be a debate between a Zionist and an anti-Zionist Jew.

Detroit is having a teach-in Nov. 7-8, with speakers such as James Laferty of the National Peace Action Coalition, Cherif Guellal, first Algerian ambassador to the U.S., and Emanuel Dror of the Israeli Socialist Organization.

Both meetings have broad sponsorship. Teach-ins are also being planned in Ypsilanti and East Lansing.

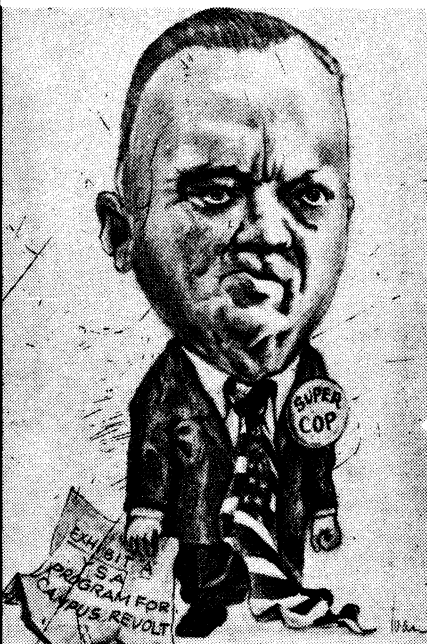
One point Militant readers may be interested in: there is already a growing interest in the tour Peter Buch, well-known anti-Zionist Jew, will be making here in Michigan this February.

B. S.

[See story elsewhere in this issue for an up-to-date report on Peter Buch's national speaking tour in defense of the Palestinian revolution. — Editor]

PLAN EARLY FOR XMAS. Are you drawing up a list of people who would appreciate gift subscriptions to The Militant?

**J. Edgar Hoover
claims the YSA
"is today the
largest and best
organized youth
group in leftwing
radicalism."**



**For once he's
right.**

JOIN THE YSA!

— I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA
— I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION
— ENCLOSED IS .75 FOR "INTRODUCTION TO THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE"

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
ZIP _____ PHONE _____
CLIP AND MAIL TO YSA, BOX 471 COOPER
STATION, NY, NY 10003

N.Y. setting pace in last weeks of sub drive

By FLAX HERMES and BARRY SHEPPARD

NOV. 3—With less than two weeks to go in the largest drive for subscriptions to be launched by *The Militant* in two decades, *Militant* supporters around the country are going all out to make their quotas by the Nov. 15 deadline.

New York, which has the largest target — 2,000 new readers — fell behind during the middle of the "blitz" but has gotten into full swing in the past week, turning in the largest number of new subscriptions of any area for any week of the drive so far — 323 new subs!

Of these 323 new readers, 97 were sold their subscriptions at the Oct. 31 antiwar rally in New York and 101 in a single evening when teams of supporters visited a number of campuses in the area.

With enthusiasm for the campaign running high in New York, as well as consciousness of the key importance of increasing the circulation of the Marxist press, careful organization is insuring that New York will meet its full quota on time.

Militant salesmen and women are also selling introductory subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review*

to those new *Militant* subscribers who are interested. An interesting aspect to the big leap forward in New York is that better than one out of six new *Militant* subscribers in the past week have also taken an introductory sub to the *ISR*.

While New York as a city is setting the pace for the final two weeks of the "blitz," four individuals are setting the pace nationally in terms of individual sales. All have sold over 100 subscriptions apiece.

Syd Stapleton in Cleveland is the leading sub getter nationally, with 112 sold to date. He has challenged the other top sub getters, in the spirit of socialist competition, to see who will win the most new readers to the Marxist press. Next comes Dean Reed in Santa Cruz, Calif., who has 110; Bill Rayson in Chicago, 105; and Natalie Harary in New York, 102.

All *Militant* supporters are putting on a spurt of energy in the remaining time left in the drive to meet their quotas by Nov. 15. In so doing, they will be making an important contribution to the struggle for a socialist America, by significantly increasing the circulation of the best tool the revolutionary movement has: its fighting newspaper.



Southern Illinois committee fighting ban on SMCer

CARBONDALE, Ill. — The Dale Garee Defense Committee won the first round today in the battle to get charges of criminal trespass against Dale Garee dropped. The charges stem from an Oct. 25 arrest for allegedly violating a July 16 decree by Southern Illinois University president Morris banning Garee from campus.

A delegation of faculty members, clergy, students and community figures met today with SIU chancellor Layer and his assistant on student affairs, Dean Edward Hammond. The delegation presented four demands to the chancellor:

- 1) That the administration justify and explain its reasons for refusing

- to grant Garee a hearing after the ban and for refusing to show reasonable cause;
 - 2) That the administration schedule a hearing to take place before Garee's arraignment Nov. 6;
 - 3) That they lift the ban on Garee;
 - 4) That they request the state's attorney's office to drop the charges against him.
- The chancellor agreed that the case is in the domain of the university administrative council and promised to arrange a hearing before the council for Garee and his attorney and representatives of the defense committee on Nov. 4. The chancellor said he did not know why Garee was banned from campus nor could he explain why no action had been taken on the request for an appeal. The chancellor's assistant, Dean Hammond, said that he saw no reason for the ban and that in his opinion "there is insufficient evidence to prosecute."

The Garee case takes place in the context of recently passed legislation in several states giving the states and the administrations of state universities the power to take extraordinary action against campus activists without benefit of due process of law. In Illinois, a September 1969 statute gives any "representative" of the state the power to ban any individual from state-owned property if he deems that individual undesirable for any arbitrary reason.

Garee has no criminal or campus disciplinary record. He was banned from campus purely on the basis of his radical political ideas and his activity as a leader of the SIU Student Mobilization Committee during last May's upsurge of student protest against the invasion of Cambodia and the killing of the Kent State students. It is the far-reaching implications of this action for all free political discussion on campus that has galvanized the university community into action in Garee's defense.

Funds are needed for the defense committee. Donations and statements of support may be sent to the Dale Garee Defense Committee, c/o Dr. Jonathan Seldin, 101 S. Glenview, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New Subs		
Baltimore, Md.	10	20	Washington, D.C.	300 157
Selinsgrove, Pa.	5	7	San Joaquin Val., Calif.	50 26
East Stroudsburg, Pa.	10	12	Cincinnati, Ohio	60 31
Youngstown, Ohio	10	12	Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000 503
Oxford, Ohio	50	55	Pittsburgh, Pa.	10 5
Santa Cruz, Calif.	100	110	Binghamton, N.Y.	150 67
Long Island, N.Y.	75	79	DeKalb, Ill.	150 64
Mansfield, Pa.	50	50	Hayward, Calif.	40 17
Middletown, N.Y.	5	5	El Paso, Texas	75 31
Northampton, Mass.	50	48	Eugene, Ore.	10 4
Portland, Ore.	100	95	Geneseo, N.Y.	5 2
Ypsilanti, Mich.	50	47	Portage, Mich.	10 4
Berkeley, Calif.	600	531	Bloomington, Ind.	100 34
Seattle, Wash.	400	342	Yellow Springs, Ohio	125 41
Austin, Texas	350	301	Tallahassee, Fla.	50 16
Twin Cities, Minn.	600	467	Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	30 9
Philadelphia, Pa.	650	501	Nacogdoches, Texas	10 3
San Francisco, Calif.	800	604	Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	75 22
Worcester, Mass.	125	94	Madison, Wis.	300 82
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	15	St. Louis, Mo.	50 13
Newark, N.J.	75	55	Milwaukee, Wis.	100 23
Houston, Texas	250	182	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	235 52
Atlanta, Ga.	500	351	East Lansing, Mich.	25 5
Logan, Utah	50	36	Kingsville, Texas	5 1
Boston, Mass.	1,000	710	Staatsburg, N.Y.	10 2
Cambridge	(250)	(218)	San Jose, Calif.	5 1
North Boston	(250)	(213)	State College, Pa.	10 2
South Boston	(250)	(149)	Bellingham, Wash.	40 7
Cleveland, Ohio	600	415	Riverside, Calif.	150 18
Albany, N.Y.	50	34	Paterson, N.J.	60 9
Knoxville, Tenn.	50	34	Tacoma, Wash.	20 3
New York, N.Y.	2,000	1,333	Tampa, Fla.	100 15
La Crosse, Wis.	50	32	Kent, Ohio	45 6
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	48	New Haven, Conn.	60 8
Detroit, Mich.	700	433	Oshkosh, Wis.	50 3
Grinnell, Iowa	5	3	Deland, Fla.	20 1
Niagara Falls, N.Y.	20	12	Grosse Pt., Mich.	20 1
Stanford, Calif.	30	18	Little Rock, Ark.	50 1
San Diego, Calif.	100	59	Red Hook, N.Y.	50 1
Chicago, Ill.	1,500	877	Indiana, Pa.	20 0
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	57	Marsing, Idaho	50 0
Kansas City, Mo.	100	57	Mission Viejo, Calif.	5 0
Providence, R.I.	150	84	Waverly, Iowa	10 0
Utica, N.Y.	15	8	General	400 219
			GOAL	15,000 9,742

THE MILITANT

10 issues for \$1

- Enclosed is \$1 for 10 weeks of THE MILITANT.
- Enclosed is \$2 for 3 months of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and 10 weeks of THE MILITANT.
- Send me a full year of THE MILITANT for \$6.
- I'm a GI. Send me 6 months of THE MILITANT for \$1.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make all checks payable to THE MILITANT, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Merit Pamphlets

**IN DEFENSE OF THE
WOMEN'S MOVEMENT**

By Ruthann Miller, Mary-Alice Waters, Evelyn Reed 25¢

WOMEN & THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Speeches by Fidel Castro

Articles by Linda Jenness 35¢

PIONEERS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

By Joyce Cowley 25¢

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by Evelyn Reed 95¢

**REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS
OF
WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

by George Novack 25¢

Pathfinder Press

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Oct. 31: spirited, determined

By DAVID THORSTAD

NOV. 3—The Oct. 31 antiwar protests, occurring in more than 40 cities throughout the U. S., were spirited and determined. Of particular significance were the large contingents of active-duty GIs and Chicano youth. The overwhelming majority of those who responded to the National Peace Action Coalition's call to participate were young. Most appear to have been high school students.

Some of the demonstrations were particularly dramatic.

In Austin, Texas, for instance, a contingent of 400 active-duty GIs led a march of 11,000, chanting, clapping and waving banners and placards. Demonstrators came from dozens of cities, campuses and military bases throughout the state. About 1,000 traveled from Houston.

As the GI contingent stood waiting to begin the march, a bus full of GIs from Ft. Sam Houston pulled up and military men piled off to the cheers of the crowd.

One GI, from a group calling itself the Pharmacy Left, said he was marching because his pharmacy class was being sent to Vietnam that week. "They finally gave us leave to come here," he said. "However, they threatened us with an Article 15 for coming."

The Austin Community United Front recessed its conference on political prisoners and joined the march to demand an end to the war and freedom for political prisoners.

Marchers shouted "Remember Kent State" as they streamed onto the capitol grounds for the rally. Speakers included GIs from Ft. Hood and GIs

for Peace in El Paso, a WAC from Ft. Sam Houston, Franklin Alexander of the Angela Davis Defense Committee, Jim Denny of Gay Liberation, Amancio Chapa of the Mexican-American Youth Organization, who read a message from La Raza Unida Party leader Jose Angel Gutierrez, and Bobby Washington of the New York Third World Task Force of the Student Mobilization Committee.

Active-duty soldiers also led the march in New York. Eight members of the 26th Army Band at Ft. Wadsworth on Staten Island added an ironic touch by playing martial music in what was probably the first antiwar march in U.S. history to be led by Army musicians.

These GIs are certainly among the most heroic in the country, for it was in the face of months of constant harassment and punitive transfers of antiwar bandmen to Vietnam and elsewhere that they took this step. A spokesman for the group gave an impassioned plea for support from the antiwar movement.

A highlight of the Bryant Park rally which followed the march was the speech by Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which represents 120,000 workers.

After urging the antiwar movement to reach out to workers, including hard hats who "support a war they do not understand," Gotbaum delivered a blistering attack on AFL-CIO president George Meany. "You're the spear carriers," he told the crowd of more than 5,000. "You know the god-



Photo by Herman Kirsch

NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon at Ohio capitol rally

dam frustration of the war. You're out front—not some 76-year-old character who plays golf with the president and claims to represent labor."

"On behalf of the largest union in New York City," he concluded, "we join hands with you."

Another trade union official who addressed the New York rally was Ed Gray, assistant director of Region 9 for the United Auto Workers. "I'm happy to tell you that the leadership of my union has become more outspoken on the war," said Gray, who linked the war and the strike against General Motors.

Speakers at the Grant Park rally

of 5,000 in Chicago included trade unionists representing the UAW, the United Electrical Workers and postal employees.

Labor spokesmen were also on rally platforms in a number of other cities, among them Seattle, Los Angeles, Boston, Detroit, San Diego, Madison and Minneapolis.

In Minneapolis, close to 2,500 ignored a cold rain to join a spirited march through the downtown area. Despite the tense atmosphere resulting from the presence of dozens of police tactical squad members in full regalia and surly moods, there were no incidents. Rally speakers included Elvis

Blacks stage Solidarity Day in New York

By JOSEPH HARRIS

NEW YORK, Nov. 2—Over 6,000 Black brothers and sisters, primarily youth, today attended the main Black Solidarity Day event, an evening rally at Manhattan Center.

Speakers included Hannibal Thomas of the Harlem Youth Federation, Florynce Kennedy of the Black Lawyers, Imamu Ameer Baraka (Le-Roi Jones), and Haywood Henry of the Harvard University Black Studies Institute. The keynote speaker was Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam.

In a speech interrupted by much applause, Baraka stressed the need to break with the white Democratic and Republican parties, pointing to the necessity of building a strong base in the Black community.

Henry read the "Black Declaration of Independence," drawn up last July 4 by the National Committee of Black Churchmen. The document was endorsed with much enthusiasm.

The rally was built by the Black Solidarity Day Committee, through broadcasts over the radio and articles of announcement in the newspapers. Spokesmen for the committee were Professor Carlos Russell of Brooklyn College and Dr. Eugene S. Callender, president of the New York Urban Coalition.

Blacks were urged not to work, travel, or buy anything on Nov. 2 as a show of solidarity. This action was more visible in the public schools than in any other aspect of Black activity. Three schools were closed in Harlem, and the board of education reported a 50 percent and higher absentee rate in many other schools.

AN EDITORIAL

Oct. 31 and NPAC: an evaluation

Established only four months previous to the event, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) registered a major accomplishment with the Oct. 31 national demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

This is especially true when measured in the context of the political circumstances under which they were carried through, and the history of the antiwar movement.

Since the inception of the movement against the Vietnam war, election periods have proven the most difficult for organizing massive demonstrations. In the past, as each election approached, substantial numbers of the various forces participating in the antiwar coalitions have turned away from such actions to devote their energies to garnering votes for one or another major party "peace" candidate. The process was repeated this year, and was compounded by the current Nixon campaign to swindle the American people into believing he really intends to wind up the war. The total capitulation of the Democratic and Republican "doves" to the Nixon fraud was an additional boost to the administration war efforts.

Such a situation is not the most auspicious for the launching of a new coalition and carrying through of a national action. Further, NPAC was confronted by the opposition—often expressed in red-baiting—of those in the leadership of the now defunct New Mobilization Committee who were determined there should be no further

mass demonstrations against the war.

Even among those who did finally give support to the Oct. 31 demonstrations, the endorsement was sometimes more formal than real. The weekly *Guardian*, for example, which could have helped appreciably, did nothing to build toward the action until the week prior to the event.

Also, among some of those who did join in the coalition, the pressure to subordinate mass action against the war to electioneering was not insignificant. The efforts of UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey to persuade NPAC to postpone the action until after the elections was one example of this.

Yet despite these obstacles (and not to mention the added one of limited financial resources) NPAC, backed by the Student Mobilization Committee, succeeded in initiating demonstrations in well over 30 areas and in every region of the country.

In most places the turnout was predictably modest, although some—like Austin, Texas, where 10,000 demonstrated—were quite impressive.

In virtually all places, the actions embraced significant representations from key sectors of the American population. Almost all areas reported unusually large turnouts of high school students. In most areas, there were organized women's liberation contingents. On the West Coast, there were large Chicano contingents. The participation of GIs was dra-

matically registered with the members of the GI military band who led the New York march and the large contingents of GIs in El Paso and Austin.

Of particular significance was the ability of the coalitions to involve trade union representatives to the extent they did. While in most cases these officials did not work actively to help turn out their memberships, a number of officers of influential unions did speak at rallies. They did so in greater numbers than ever before.

By carrying through the Oct. 31 action, NPAC succeeded in clearly counterposing the demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal to Nixon's crooked "peace" ploy. As the historical San Francisco and Detroit withdrawal referendum votes showed decisively, the American people more than ever before want our troops home now. As Nixon's "Vietnamization" becomes exposed, as it inevitably will, and as the lack of any significant action by elected "peace" candidates becomes equally apparent, the antiwar coalition now being developed by NPAC will be decisive in the mobilization of masses of Americans.

Oct. 31 demonstrated that NPAC is a viable formation. The next important step in its development will be the national antiwar conference it has scheduled for the Packinghouse Labor Center in Chicago Dec. 4-6. The conference organizers anticipate that it will be the largest antiwar coalition conference yet. Clearly it will be a very important one.

500 GIs join El Paso rally

Five-hundred GIs joined an Oct. 31 antiwar rally on the campus of the University of Texas at El Paso. The demonstration, which drew 2,000, was the largest ever in El Paso. It was organized by GIs for Peace at Ft. Bliss.

One of the speakers was Sp/4 Dave Cortright. Cortright was given a punitive transfer to Ft. Bliss last summer from Ft. Wadsworth in New York, where he had been active in organizing antiwar GIs in the 26th Army Band. Other speakers included Rennie Davis and a GI spokesman for the Black Liberation Front.

The Free Theater Association (FTA), a GI guerrilla theater group, performed a satirical skit.

Swan, business agent of the Retail and Wholesale Clerks in Shakopee; Professor Mulford Q. Sibley of the University of Minnesota; Mike Garza of the Latin Liberation Front; Nancy Strebe, Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate; and Betty Smith, Communist Party candidate for state auditor.

Sizable Chicano contingents took part in several demonstrations.

Chicanos from all over Washington State were represented in the contingent of about 200 that led the 4,000 that marched in Seattle. Brown Berets acted as monitors.

"Remember Reuben Salazar. Our fight is at home, not in Vietnam," said the banner at the front of the contingent.

Among the rally speakers were Ernie Viegila and Ricardo Romero of the Colorado Raza Unida Party; Tyree Scott of the Black United Construction Workers Association; Stephanie Coontz, SWP congressional candidate; and representatives of the meatcutters in Seattle.

The demonstration took place without incident despite violence-baiting attempts by the "liberal" establishment to create tension. The day before, at a rally of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan), Benny Barrazo of the Brown Berets had made clear that Chicanos did not intend to be victimized by provocative acts, no matter what their source.

A third of the more than 500 marchers in Riverside, Calif., were Black



Photo by Shelby Harris

Chicanos lead demonstration in Seattle

and Brown. Many Chicanos, Blacks and Filipinos marched behind nationalist banners. The contingents competed with each other by alternating chants of "Chicano Power: Raza Si. Guerra No" and "Black Power: Bring the Brothers Home Now."

"No Viet Cong Ever Called Me 'Chick,'" read a placard in the women's contingent.

A La Raza contingent of more than 100 set a militant tone for the march of 3,000 in San Francisco. There was a similar sized contingent of women and a much larger one of high school students.

Support of the indicted Kent State students was a central theme of the demonstration of 5,000 in Columbus, Ohio. The theme was echoed in dozens of cities, thus continuing the protests that erupted a week earlier on a number of campuses following the indictments.

Students from Kent State addressed many of the Oct. 31 rallies.

"Bring All the Troops Home Now! Free the Kent 25! Hands Off Kent State!" declared the banner which dominated the Columbus rally.

Contingents arriving from all over the state were welcomed with cheers. Fifty young people marched 64 miles from the University of Dayton. A large contingent of Kent students marched behind a banner demanding "Free the Kent 25! Out Now!" Other large contingents came from Ohio University, Antioch, Toledo, Youngstown, Akron, Cleveland and Cincinnati.

Speakers included Joe Collum, a Kent State defendant, and Kent State student senator Jeff Leiber. A statement was read from Steven Kling, president

of the student government at Ohio State, calling on students throughout the country to unite in defense of the Kent students.

A few days prior to the demonstration in Boston, the *Herald Traveler*, complete with banner headlines, launched a vicious red-baiting assault on the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition. Yet despite this, and despite a boycott by many liberal forces, 3,000 turned out. Among the speakers were attorney Mark Lane, comedian Dick Gregory and SWP senatorial candidate Peter Camejo. The theme of the action was support of a vote for immediate withdrawal on the referendum on the Nov. 3 ballot.

In spite of a media blackout and red-baiting, at least 1,200 demon-

strated in Denver. They came from Utah, Wyoming, New Mexico and all over Colorado.

An SMC rally in Madison Nov. 1 drew up to 1,000. The rally was built on short notice after the Madison Area Peace Action Council, at the prompting of liberal "peace" forces, called off its scheduled demonstration.

Some of the other demonstrations were: a candlelight march and rally of 5,000 in Tampa, Oct. 30, with a smaller one Oct. 31; Philadelphia — 2,000; Washington, D.C. — 1,000; Detroit — 4,000; Los Angeles — 1,500; San Diego — 800; Atlanta — 300; Amherst — 400; New Haven — 500; Worcester — 350; Providence — 200.

Demonstrations also took place throughout Canada.

Lindsay indicts leaders of N.Y. prisoner protests

By RANDY FURST

NEW YORK, Nov. 4—So outrageous was the scene in Brooklyn Supreme Court, it took on an aspect of the surrealistic.

There they stood, handcuffed, the Black, Puerto Rican, and white inmates indicted for organizing a "riot" in the Brooklyn House of Detention. It was three weeks after the mayor and other officials promised no reprisals.

Some of the prisoners limped. Some were bandaged. One had 50 stitches in his head, beaten senseless by guards who had moved in to crush the revolt. One prisoner had his jaw and three fingers broken. Another had been blinded in one eye.

It was like *Les Miserables* all over again, maybe worse; as vicious and criminal as the capitalist system can be. Twenty-eight inmates were being dragged in as an example to the rest of the nation's jail population. Some could be sentenced to life imprisonment.

The courtroom was virtually empty this morning as the arraignments got underway.

"Your Honor," began Mary Kaufman, a movement attorney, speaking for the first inmate, Adelberto Rivera, 24. "A great wrong is being done here. Everyone has conceded the conditions that caused the revolt. . . ."

Judge Dominic Rinaldi, his hair graying, peered out from beneath his black robes. "I have not conceded anything," he said sharply.

"I am concerned," said attorney Kaufman, "after the city of New York, the state of New York had condemned the conditions, after the mayor had promised no reprisals for the uprisings. . . ."

Rinaldi interrupted. "No one is responsible except the defendants," he scowled.

Not yet tried, already convicted, the courageous rebels who last month turned the national spotlight on the crimes of New York's "correctional" institutions, watched mutely as Judge Rinaldi set bails too high for any of them. Rivera's was set at \$6,000.

Defense attorney Richard Asche told the court the inmates had been put in isolation, not allowed to consult attorneys, not allowed to shave or have fresh clothes. Some, he said, have been beaten by guards since the revolt.

Chester Rustales, 34, handcuffed to a Black prisoner, was led in. Blinded in one eye by guards, Rustales listened to the charges, two counts of riot.

The defense said Rustales had only \$100 and asked that a small cash bail be set. Bail was set at \$1,000.

Next was Freddie Campas, 24. Scars crisscrossed his scalp where guards set upon him during the revolt. His jaw was broken. He had been brought into court from the prison hospital. Bail was set at \$1,000.

Outside the courtroom, his mother stood during the lunch recess, worried, angry. "They treat them like animals," said Mrs. Campas.

The four day revolt in October—largest prison rebellion in this city's history—swept through the four detention centers, focusing attention on inhuman conditions and high bails and lack of speedy trials. Some prisoners have been waiting three years to go to trial. Mayor Lindsay promised reform and no reprisals.

But as the gruesome scene in the Brooklyn court today testified, Lindsay, not surprisingly, was lying.

Defense for the indicted 28 is being handled by the National Lawyers Guild. Contributions are desperately needed for legal costs and bail. Send funds to Inmates Liberation Front, c/o Young Lords, 1678 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10029.



Photo by Irving Hall

Filipinos in Riverside, Calif., march



Scene at Cairo United Front community rally

Cairo United Front photo

A MILITANT INTERVIEW

Cairo Black leader describes struggle

By DERRICK MORRISON

The following interview with Leon Page, state coordinator for the United Front of Cairo, was given to *The Militant* Oct. 27. On the same day, Illinois governor Richard Ogilvie announced that 24 state police and an armored car were to be stationed indefinitely in Cairo.

A press release put out by the Cairo United Front Information Service stated: "The shipping of an armored truck and state troopers to the Cairo community motivates the United Front to prepare for the winter offensive of the white vigilante groups and we ask Black and white citizens to send money and food to the Cairo community for the Black Spirit Thanksgiving to help Blacks to overcome the bitter winter months. Such support would also help us overcome the aggression of the local, state, and federal officials against the peaceful boycott and effective struggle here in Cairo."

This escalation of attacks on the Black community in Cairo requires an escalation of the support effort, which must not be just local or regional but must become national. Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Cairo United Front, is on a national speaking tour, addressing student groups and other Black united front organizations in the Midwest and the East Coast.

Financial aid and requests for speakers and information can be sent to: United Front, P.O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914.

Militant: Would you explain the relationship between the defense efforts

of the Black community and the decision of the city government to bring an armored car into Cairo? What has been the recent history of attacks on the Black community here?

Leon Page: In March of 1969, racists fired upon the Black residents of Pyramid Courts. We then moved to establish an economic boycott.

A group called the White Hats was in operation at that time. People in the community had recognized business merchants and their associates as part of this group, which would patrol and drill in the Black community.

The origin of the White Hats goes back to the presidential administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower. In 1959, in an article written for *Reader's Digest* magazine, he called nationally for the organization of a "committee of 10 million."

Peyton Berbling, the state's attorney for the county of Alexander, in which the city of Cairo sits, read the article and thought it was good idea. So he formed what we came to know as the White Hats. We call them White Hats because they wore white construction helmets and operated with Citizens Band (CB) radios in their cars (used for receiving and transmitting messages at short range). And in each block of the white community there is a CB radio.

We felt that the only way we could deal with this was to boycott the central downtown business district. We recognized the fact that every time we spent a dollar downtown, we were either buying a box of shells, a CB radio, or another gun which was to be used against us.

Our boycott has continued for 19 months—since April 1969—and has been 100 percent effective. Some eight businesses have gone out of existence. Yet the only response we have gotten from white racist America is 142 nights of shoot-outs.

Neither the governor nor the FBI has responded to the many requests we have made to investigate the situation here. Their only response has been to subject the Black community to an investigation. Yet the Black community is what's being attacked.

The governor has periodically sent down as many as 100 to 200 state police to supposedly return "law and order" to the city. But I'm sure we understand what that concept means. It means the perpetuation of the system as it is, the protection of the merchants and the attitudes of white racist America.

Months ago it was discovered that there is a law from the 1800s on the books in the state of Illinois that outlaw vigilante groups. When this statute was brought to light, the White Hats were disbanded. But only on paper. The members of the White Hats formed a group called the UCCA, United Citizens for Community Action. This group has hooked up with the Ku Klux Klan, which is based in Jackson, Miss. And since then, the group has joined hands with the American Nazi Party. So in effect, it is these two groups, through the UCCA, that control Cairo, Ill.

And in addition to the UCCA, I want to include the state police unit 13-A, which is located here. They have also been identified by Black people as part of the force firing on and attacking the Black community.

So what you really have here is armed white citizens supported by local and state police. In effect it's a war zone.

Senator Ralph Smith, who is a Republican running against Adlai Stevenson III, the Democrat, has decided to utilize Cairo as his political football. He met with the state's attorneys for the five counties in the southern region to try and get the sum of \$1-million for law enforcement. What he wants to do is provide Berbling with added monies to expand his staff and whatever facilities he feels he needs to prosecute Black folks, to prosecute the victim.

This is being done through the Illinois Crime Commission that was set up last spring. The ICC is an institution set up to distribute "law and order" monies from the federal government.

Militant: Is it true that through the ICC the Cairo police have received training at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale?

Page: Not only have they received training, but they have received automatic weapons and sophisticated po-

lice equipment.

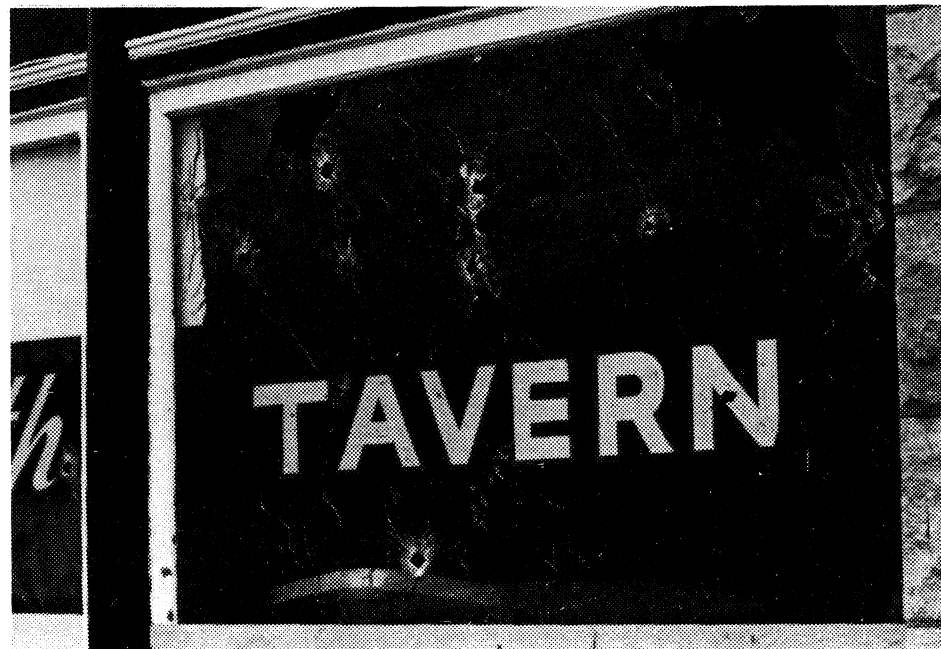
If an armored car comes in here, ultimately it will be operated by the UCCA, or the Ku Klux Klan, or the American Nazi Party. These are the controlling factors in the situation.

Militant: In September the mayor issued a "proclamation of peace" in an attempt to end the boycott. How did the Front respond?

Page: The men of the City Council, or the UCCA or what have you, don't really communicate with us directly. The mayor's office is only a few blocks away, but many times the way we get the word is from other parts of the country.

Now when they put together their proclamation for peace, it was the national press that called us and asked us what our position was. We couldn't respond because we didn't even know what they were talking about. But shortly after that, we received the proclamation.

Only 14 businesses identified themselves as being supporters of the proclamation. Altogether the 14 offered eight full-time jobs and four part-time jobs for Blacks. But prior to that, they wanted a 30-day suspension of our boycott to give them time to reorganize. They said this suspension



Cairo United Front photo

WHO SHOT UP WHAT? Cairo police reported that on Oct. 23 Blacks had poured gunfire into police headquarters. Later it was reported that only a few pockmarks that might have been from bullets were found on wall of station. Meanwhile, this is how a bar facing the police station directly across the street looked.

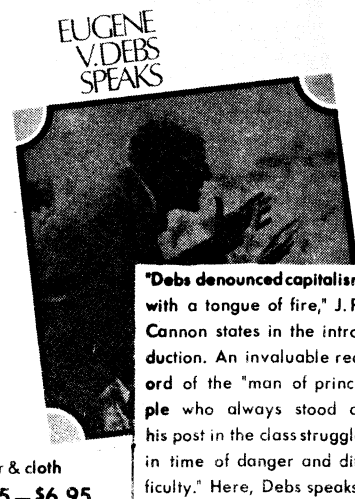
Eugene V. Debs Speaks

with an introduction by

James P. Cannon

edited by

Jean Y. Tussey

paper & cloth
\$2.75 - \$6.95PATHFINDER
PRESS, INC.

873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

Black community presses control issue

Demands of the Cairo United Front

The following are the demands of the Cairo Black United Front. They flow from the fact that Black people constitute 50 percent of Cairo's population of 6,000. The demands are broken down into three sets, dealing with the city government, city businessmen, and the state government.

Demands on the city government include:

1. The Board of Fire and Police-men must be completely replaced. The Black community has no respect for the Board because of its past and present practices. The new Board must be 50 percent Black.

2. The Cairo Fire Department must be made up of personnel which reflect the same ratio as the present population ratio in Cairo, that is, 50 percent Black and 50 percent white.

3. The Cairo Police Department must be made up of personnel which reflect the same ratio as the present population ratio in Cairo.

4. Those members of the Fire and Police Departments who have consistently been racist in their attitudes and actions against Blacks must be removed immediately. Names of these persons will be given at the appropriate time.

5. Blacks must make up half the Board of Directors of the Cairo Public Utilities Commission. Blacks must be hired by the Commission on more than a "token" basis, moving towards a full 50 percent of all positions being held by Blacks. A definite deadline for the accomplishment of this would be worked out in conference.

6. Blacks must be employed by the administrative branch of the city and in all areas and agencies

of the city of Cairo. This means more than "sanitation" and related areas and moving towards a full 50 percent of all positions being held by Blacks. Jobs becoming open would have to be filled by Blacks. A definite deadline for the accomplishment of the 50 percent would be worked out in conference.

7. Peyton Berbling must no longer remain as prosecuting attorney in this county. He was one of the organizers of the White Hats as state's attorney and he still uses his position to keep Black people in fear and slavery. A special prosecutor should be put in his place until some high degree of respect can be restored to that office.

8. A Black chief of police must be appointed.

9. A Black assistant fire chief must be appointed. This does not mean a "special assistant to" but an assistant with appropriate powers and responsibilities.

10. All members of the Alexander Housing Authority must resign. Blacks have never held positions on this or other such agencies. Since Blacks live in a high percentage of "public" housing, they must comprise one-half the board. The employment opportunities, admission policies, etc., must conform to the standards listed in above sections. The director of the Authority must be Black.

11. Members of the Advisory Committee to the City Council and other "community" advisory groups appointed by the present administration must be replaced. These persons were appointed only to meet the rules and regulations of the federal government so that federal monies could be

used "to save Cairo." Future representation on these committees must be 50 percent Black. Black people on the commissions and committees must be recommended and approved by the United Front, which represents all the Black community.

12. An equal Black-white ratio in all agencies and boards which are appointed by the administration of the city of Cairo must come about. In this and all other areas of appointment, it would be expected that the United Front of Cairo would give names of Blacks to be appointed and would exercise veto powers over suggested names.

13. In all decisions and appointments affecting the Black community the United Front, which represents all the Black people of Cairo, must be consulted, even as now the White Hats are always consulted. Persons called "responsible" by the whites now in office have not truly represented the overwhelming majority of Blacks. They have only served the interests of the white community in attempting to divide the Blacks. Such actions on the part of the city show its lack of understanding and concern for the real problems of the city. It shows that city officials are only trying to, if even this, place band-aids when radical surgery is needed.

14. A person must be hired by the city whose job will be to locate and to bring to the city new industries and new employment opportunities. The person hired would be a Black, or his assistant must be Black. These men would be employed full time and would be paid by the city.

Demands on Cairo businessmen:

1. Blacks must be employed in stores in more than "service" jobs, approaching a 50-50 ratio where at all possible.

2. Blacks must be treated with respect and with the dignity they deserve as God's children when they do return to the boycotted stores.

3. White merchants must stop calling Black people offensive and obscene names in public utterances and in public places.

Demands on Illinois governor Richard Ogilvie:

1. The governor use the full extent of his power to bring industry into Cairo. The federal and state government along with private industrialists be encouraged to bring industry into Cairo to lower the level of unemployment and underemployment to at least the national average.

2. Job training be set up through the Manpower Development Training for the housing program. Also, the craft unions be integrated according to the racial makeup of the bicounty area. Otherwise, the white man will become rich at the expense of the Black man in constructing the Black man's home.

3. Assistance must be given in easing the city's racial problems to avoid bloodshed between the Black and white communities. A Human Relations office and a Human Resource office should be set up in Cairo.

4. The assignment of a special judge to hear cases of Blacks being tried until such a time as the white community demonstrates its good faith and decreases its intense bias towards Blacks.

would be taken as a move for good faith on our part.

Now what's wrong with that is the fact that the Black man has long been the victim in this country. Why does he have to make a move in good faith?

But we took the proclamation to the people. Our rallies, which we have every Saturday, are both political and religious. During that Saturday's rally, which about 600 attended, we discussed the mayor's proclamation. We went into it in detail and a vote was taken. The vote was unanimous that the boycott be continued.

Militant: Who is the main employer of Blacks in Cairo?

Page: The main employer here is welfare. Second to that, there are a couple of factories in town. One is Burkart's, which pays a base salary of \$1.65 an hour.

A lot of people here in Cairo, particularly those on welfare, have to go to the fields seasonally, picking cotton, soybeans, tobacco, and what have you. The economy here is very low, for whites as well as Blacks.

One of the problems is that the city fathers have consistently displayed an inability to cope with the situation. It's now a matter of record that over the past 10 years some 250 industries from around the country have sent letters of inquiry to the chamber of commerce, wanting to locate here because of the natural resources available. On record, there are only responses to five.

Burkart's has an arrangement whereby they employ whites from out of northwest Kentucky and southeast Missouri. Which means that on pay-days about 40 percent of the payroll

goes across the bridge into Kentucky and Missouri.

Militant: What type of institutions have sprung up in the Black community since March 31, 1969?

Page: Let me rephrase your question, because they didn't just spring up, it wasn't a haphazard thing.

In terms of meeting the needs of the people, the boycott was the number one project. Along with the boycott, we felt that we should create an economy responsive to our needs. Now this seems to be a difficult kind of thing for white racist America to accept.

But the fact is that there can be no Black economy in this country that does not spill over into the white economy. Any businesses that we create would ultimately be dependent or interdependent with the rest of the economy.

After initiating the boycott, it became necessary for Black folks to go 32 miles west to Cape Girardeau, Mo., to do their shopping, or 35 miles east to Paducah, Ky.

One of the things that we have moved to do is to purchase 11 lots here upon which we plan to build a shopping plaza, owned and operated by the people. We operate around the principle of cooperativism, profit-sharing.

And in addition to that, we have formed ourselves into a nonprofit housing-development corporation, legally constituted and chartered with the state of Illinois.

Militant: You already have one house built, don't you?

Page: Yes, in conjunction with this housing program. We also have a cooperative food market. It's called

SICA, Southern Illinois Cooperative Association. The physical plant of the store is about seven miles out of town.

Militant: Could you explain the defense institution operating in the Black community? I understand that since January of this year, city and state police have not been allowed into the Black community around Pyramid Courts.

Page: We found it necessary to bar the Man, or the police, from our community simply because by day he would harass and intimidate us, and at night he would directly fire upon us.

We realized that in doing so, we had to assume the responsibility of caring for one another. So in effect, we have our own police force. And what that really means is that now we must deal with all of the problems in our community, which include marital problems, things that little brothers might do, and a variety of other things. We even had to bar a brother from the community who came in from Chicago with dope. We can't use that because it is really antirevolutionary, counterrevolutionary.

Militant: Does this restriction against the police entering Pyramid Courts extend to the whole Black community?

Page: It does extend to the whole Black community. Those [brothers] who act, in effect, as the police department are responsive to the needs of the people. Therefore, they must carry themselves in a certain manner, by which the Black community can respect them.

As long as we can maintain this relationship, it is no longer necessary to have the [Cairo] police in our community. The one fact that white racist

America will never acknowledge is that Black people are capable of governing themselves.

Militant: How does the United Front in Cairo see this National Black United Front that was formed at the conference in Carbondale Oct. 24-25? (See *The Militant*, Nov. 6.)

Page: The theme for the conference, out of which came the NBUF, was very simply this: unity for survival's sake. Now in 19 months, we have undergone 142 nights of shoot-outs. Somehow, we have developed a formula for sustaining ourselves in the midst of a violent country, in the midst of a racist country, in the midst of an exploitative country.

We felt the need to share this information with our brothers and sisters around the country. We recognize that what is happening here in Cairo is a model for elsewhere. Cairo is not geographically different from any community in this country that has a sizable Black population. Cairo is a microcosm of white racist America. It is not only the most advanced stage of the Black man's struggle, but the most advanced stage of the impudence of white racist America.

We recognized that whether you have a PhD, or are a wine-head slumped over on a stoop, to the white man you're nothing but a nigger. So we moved to pool our skills, talents, and abilities to develop ourselves.

ON THE MOVE? If you're planning on moving, advance notice to our business office of change of address will reduce undue delay in receiving your subscription.

Roots of the Mideast conflict (II)

Origins of the Zionist penetration of Palestine

By GUS HOROWITZ
and BARRY SHEPPARD
(Second in a series)

In 1914, the area which became known as Palestine was an overwhelmingly Arab land of 739,000 people. Of the total population, some 85,000 were Jews, mostly recent settlers from Europe who had come hoping to implement the Zionist program of colonizing Palestine in order to establish a Jewish state there.

At the time, Palestine and the surrounding area were under the domination of the Ottoman Empire, based in Turkey. The British and French empires had already established control over some parts of the Arab world, and when the Ottoman Empire allied itself with Germany and Austria in the first world war, London and Paris saw an opportunity to expand into the Arab East.

In 1916, in collaboration with czarist Russia, Britain and France drew up a plan (the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement) to carve up the Arab East between them. (After the Russian revolution, much to the consternation of bourgeois public opinion, the Bolsheviks made this secret plan public,

along with all the other secret imperialist treaties they found in the czarist archives.)

Needless to say, the Arab masses were not consulted about what was to be done with their land.

The Arab nationalist movement was just developing around this time in the Arab East. To win support against the Ottoman Empire, British and French imperialism promised the Arab peoples independence, but, of course, had no intention of carrying out this promise.

The Ottoman Empire was much weakened after the war, and this gave impetus to the Arab nationalist movement. In 1919, an Arab nationalist congress, meeting in Damascus, proclaimed political independence for a unified Syrian state which was to include the territory now divided into Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Israel. At around the same time, a movement was also underway for Iraqi independence.

The British and French rulers lost no time in intervening, not even waiting for the sanction of the League of Nations mandates which were to be shortly granted by that "den of thieves." The French imperialists divided "their" area into Syria and Lebanon, while the British carved out Palestine and Trans-Jordan, and also took control over Iraq and the remaining Ottoman enclaves in Egypt.

There was Arab resistance — the French Army had to march on Damascus, and rebellions broke out in Egypt and Iraq — but the imperialists were too powerful. The struggle continued, however, and by the 1960s, Arab nationalist resistance to imperialism was strong enough to have won formal political independence in the whole area except for Palestine.

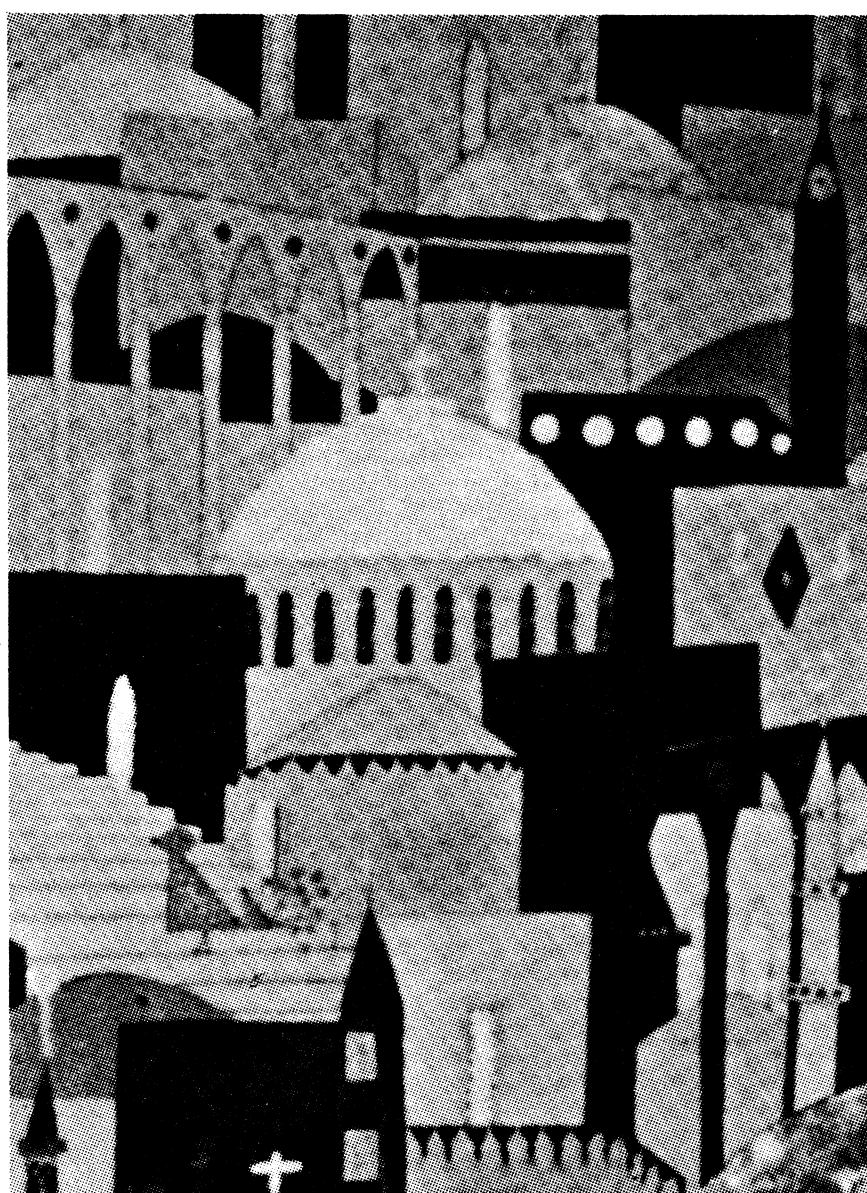
It is in this context of imperialist penetration of the Mideast that the role of Zionism must be assessed.

The Zionist movement arose in Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth century, at a time when the rise in European anti-Semitism (expressed, for example, in the Dreyfus case in France, in Bismark's fostering of anti-Semitism in Germany, and in a new wave of pogroms in czarist Russia) produced a nationalist awakening in European Jewry.

Zionism was only one expression of European Jewish nationalism and, in fact, was decidedly a minority trend until the rise of Nazism enabled the Zionists to bring about a large-scale Jewish colonization of Palestine.

Of the Jewish nationalist trends, the distinguishing feature of Zionism was its goal of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. The colonizing of Palestine by European Jewish settlers came into direct conflict with *the people who lived there already*, the Palestinian Arab masses. The achievement of the Zionist goal could only mean the displacement or subjugation of the Palestinian masses. (In 1919, Chaim Weizman, the Zionist leader who became the first president of Israel, blurted out that Zionism intended that Palestine should become "as Jewish as England is English.")

The "socialist" Zionists tried to base their arguments on the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, saying that the oppression suffered



Jumana Hussein Bayazid/Arab World

by European Jewry justified the creation of a Jewish state. But they perverted this concept, which aims at mobilizing internationalist support to the oppressed nations against their imperialist oppressors. In fact, they turned it into its opposite.

Instead of directing their fire against Western capitalism, which was responsible for anti-Semitism and the oppression of the Jews, the Zionists turned on the Palestinian Arabs, themselves oppressed by imperialism. There is no justification at all in seeking to end the oppression of Jews by oppressing another people. To carry out their goal, the Zionists allied themselves with imperialism against the Arab peoples.

At the turn of the century, Western imperialism openly justified its colonial expansion, including the setting up of settler states in places like Algeria, Rhodesia and South Africa. They said it was the "white man's burden" to bring "civilization" to backward Asia, Africa and Latin America. The colonial revolution was not yet strong enough to put imperialism on the defensive and to impress anticolonialism on the consciousness of the masses in the Western world. Today, however, the imperialists are forced to try to hide their real aims and actions.

Zionism used the same justification as European imperialism. Theodore Herzl, whose 1896 pamphlet, *The Jewish State* is generally acknowledged to be the founding document of the Zionist movement, stated: "We should there [in Palestine] form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism. We should as a neutral state remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence."

The rise of the colonial revolution was to make such statements unpalatable at a later time, but Herzl's racist and pro-imperialist stance did point out the essential character of the Israeli state of today: it exists in opposition to the Arab liberation movement; it functions as a Western imperialist beachhead in the Arab East; it is dependent on imperialism to exist.

From the outset, the Zionists realized that they could hope to achieve their aims only through the "good offices"

of the imperialists. They first tried to obtain the "rights" to Palestine from the Ottoman Empire. Later they turned to Britain, which in 1917 issued the Balfour Declaration, promising "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The Arabs, who already lived there, were not consulted.

The logic of settler-colonialism meant that the policies of the Zionists immediately came into conflict with the Palestinian Arabs. Since the Jews remained a minority in Palestine, the Zionists consistently opposed Arab demands for independence and for a national assembly. They favored British imperialist control through the League of Nations mandate to enable them to build up the Jewish colony.

The racist aspects of this settler-colonialism were evident also in Zionist policies. The Histadrut, for example, the powerful Jewish labor federation, refused to allow Arabs to join. Land purchases by the Jewish National Fund contained restrictive clauses forbidding resale of the land to Arabs (ironically, in the United States at the time, anti-Semitic restrictive clauses in land sales were common). A "buy Jewish" campaign was conducted along with a boycott of Arab labor and goods.

Palestinian Arab resistance to the colonization of their country was not slow in coming to the fore, and many incidents occurred throughout the period. Big uprisings occurred in Palestine in 1920-1921, around the same time as Arab nationalist revolts against British and French imperialism in Syria, Iraq and Egypt.

Outbreaks and protests in Palestine occurred in 1929 and the early 1930s. These reached a climax in 1936-1939, when a six-month general strike was followed by continuing struggles in the countryside. The 1936-1939 Arab revolts were crushed by British troops, assisted by the Zionist military forces.

But it was still not certain that the Zionists would be able to achieve their objectives. It was the growth of Nazism, the second world war, and the mass slaughter of European Jewry, that enabled the Zionists to bring about a mass influx of Jewish settlers to Palestine and lay the basis for the establishment of Israel in 1948.

(To be continued)

N.Y. socialists set expansion to new location

NEW YORK—As of Nov. 9, the New York Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will be located at a new, expanded central headquarters. Located at 706 Broadway, across from New York University, the new headquarters will include a spacious forum hall, large conference room, offices and a reading room.

The hall will house the Militant Labor Forum and an expanded Merit Bookstore. (The forum hall will be air conditioned!)

The hall is located two blocks south of Eighth St. on a section of Broadway now in the process of significant expansion. Two large new buildings of the NYU complex are opening directly across the street and restaurants, bookstores, an off-Broadway theater and other similar enterprises are now opening in what had traditionally been a commercial area.

The SWP and YSA moved into its present location at 873 Broadway five years ago in what was then a significant expansion move. In the intervening period, the growth of the movement made these facilities, which originally seemed so spacious, much too small.

The new hall will be open to the public as of Nov. 9 and there will be a formal opening celebration on Sat., Nov. 21.

The phone number remains the same for the SWP and YSA — (212) 982-6051. Numbers for the Militant Labor Forum and Merit Bookstore will be announced. Also soon to be announced is the program for the Nov. 21 opening celebration.

'Male domination': a fake issue

Red-baiting and women's liberation

By CAROLINE LUND

The New York City women's movement has launched a campaign of united action to force the city government to respond to the needs of women.

A newly established women's coalition has called for a Dec. 12 demonstration at Mayor Lindsay's office or home as the beginning of a campaign to force the city to take concrete steps toward setting up free abortion clinics and government-financed child-care centers under community control.

But alongside this positive development, there has been a development which is very dangerous and harmful to the growth of the movement: that is, red-baiting and attempts to narrow the movement by excluding certain organizations.

The New York coalition was launched Oct. 12 at a meeting of 300 women from a broad range of organizations. At this meeting a small group of women questioned the need for an action coalition, suggesting that a clearing house, such as the New York Women's Center, was all that was needed. These women, most of whom have been active at the Women's Center, also proposed that if a coalition were founded it should limit who should be allowed to participate in it. They proposed that no "male-dominated" groups or political parties be allowed to participate. Specifically mentioned were the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

This idea was rejected overwhelmingly by the women present, and it was decided that the coalition would be open to all women who agreed with its aims.

At a meeting of the Women's Center later that week, about 30 women voted to exclude women belonging to "male-dominated" groups, women who are running for public office, and women who openly support any candidate for public office. Such women are to be prevented from serving on leading bodies of the Women's Center. It was also decided to prohibit the sale or distribution of literature at the Center expressing the point of view of women belonging to "male-dominated" groups. Specifically singled out for exclusion were the SWP, the YSA and *The Militant*.

Charges were made that the SWP was trying to "infiltrate" and "co-opt" the women's liberation movement, and that socialists are not really for the goals of the women's liberation movement in and of themselves, but only as steps on the way toward eliminating the basic institutions of class society and establishing socialism.

The exclusionary decision ended the previous policy of the Women's Center, which had been to welcome all women on an equal basis. Women from the SWP and YSA walked out of the meeting in protest, along with others including a woman from the Phoenix Organization of Women, a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican organization.

At the second meeting of the coalition, attended by some 150 women, the same group from the Women's Center tried again to introduce red-baiting and exclusion into the movement, but this perspective was rejected again by the coalition. The same women were also opposed to the coalition's perspective of organizing mass actions around women's demands. Statements were made by women from Columbia Women's Liberation, the Phoenix Organization of Women, and Betty Friedan from NOW stressing the importance of building a nonexclusive

coalition in order to unite in action on issues we can agree on, whatever our differences may be.

The charges of "male domination," "co-option" and "infiltration" only serve to cover up the real questions, which reflect disagreements over political ideas and perspectives. Red-baiting is nothing new. It has taken many different forms in movements for social change. In the Black liberation movement the charge that someone belongs to a "white-dominated" organization is sometimes put forward as a basis for exclusion. In the antiwar movement it has been charged that SWP and YSA members get together before a meeting and decide what proposals to support, and are therefore "undemocratic" in their participation in the movement. In other organizations, such as trade unions, the charge of being a socialist or communist or "totalitarian" is the basis for exclusion.

Regardless of the form, the goal of red-baiting is to exclude radical groups by making charges which are a diversion from the real political questions at stake. The attempt is always to scare people away from seriously considering ideas on their own merits.

In the New York women's movement, the real question was whether or not to build a broad coalition of women's organizations to organize united actions against our oppression. The SWP and YSA are among the strongest proponents of this perspective.

The women who supported exclusion of socialist or "male-dominated" organizations from the movement opposed the perspective of building a united-action movement. But rather than voice their position outright and argue its merits, they resorted to the charges of "male domination" and "infiltration" in an attempt to discourage women in the movement from even considering the ideas held by the so-called "male-dominated" groups.

The charge of "male domination" is one we should look at closely. What does it mean? Why is membership in the SWP and YSA singled out as the target for attacks of "male domination?" What about women who belong to the Democratic or Republican parties? What about women who simply vote for Democratic or Republican candidates, which is the great majority of women? These parties are certainly "male-dominated." Shouldn't all women who vote for them be excluded too?

And why are women from supposedly "male-dominated" organizations singled out for exclusion? Why not exclude women who are "male-dominated" in other ways? Why not exclude all women who live with men? Or all women working for a "male-dominated" employer. Or women who read newspapers published by "male-dominated" companies, or who take medicines produced by a "male-dominated" industry, or live in an apartment rented from a male landlord. The fact is that our entire lives are circumscribed by men, and eliminating that domination is one of the central goals of women's liberation.

Obviously, exclusion of YSA and SWP women was not because of "male domination." If it were, then why stop with excluding YSA and SWP women? At bottom is disagreement with the political program put forward by the SWP and the YSA and *The Militant* for achieving women's liberation. It is disagreement with the perspective of mass independent struggle by women to achieve their goals.

There are more men in the SWP and YSA than women. But our po-

litical program does not reflect "male domination." If there were 51 percent women in the SWP, or even 100 percent women, the SWP would not change its political perspectives for the women's liberation movement. Because there is no organization in the world, regardless of composition, that has a more correct program for the liberation of women—and the rest of humanity as well.

In a political movement—and women's liberation is a political movement—"male domination" can have no meaning unless it refers to political

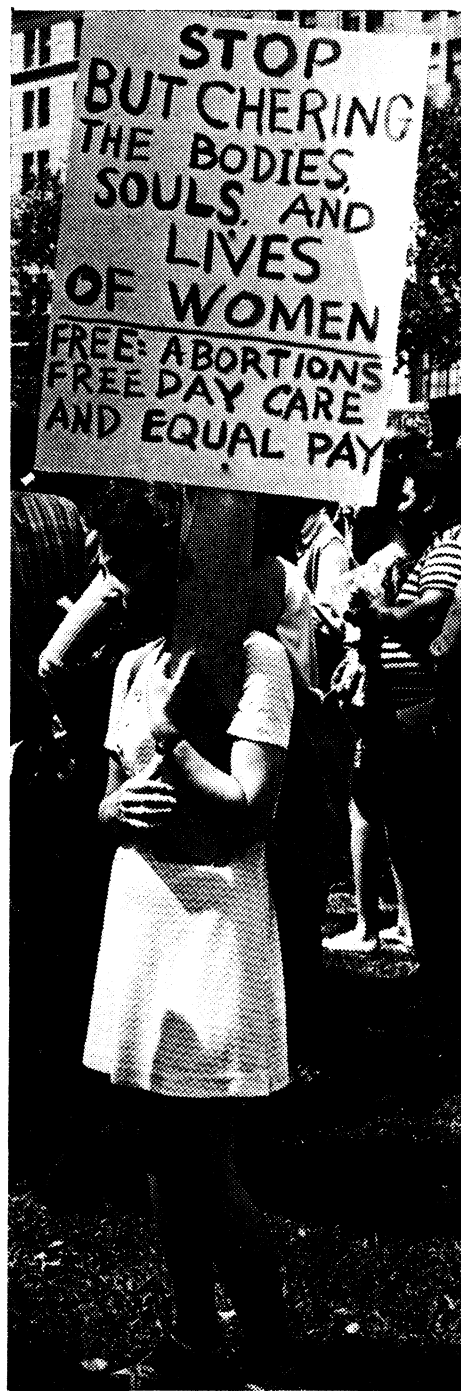


Photo by Howard Petrick

program, and it is the question of program that should be discussed.

But we believe no woman interested in supporting feminist demands should be excluded from the movement, regardless of her reasons or her ideas on other subjects.

It is an insult to the intelligence of women in the movement to say that they are being "co-opted" or "infiltrated" by socialists. Rather than making such charges, it would be more fruitful and beneficial to the movement for women who have favored exclusion to deal instead with the political ideas of the YSA and SWP in the women's movement.

The fact is that the SWP and YSA are for building independent, all-women liberation organizations, as well as building nonexclusive coalitions, with all decisions made by women, to organize massive demonstrations and other kinds of actions to involve new women and eventually win the demands of the feminist movement.

We believe that women will have many different reasons and motives for supporting a feminist demand

such as "free, legal abortions and no forced sterilization." Some women will support it simply because they, or a daughter, or a friend, were unable to get an abortion when they wanted one. The YSA and SWP have more than purely personal reasons for supporting this demand. We also believe that the struggle by women to control their own bodies will have far-reaching significance in laying the basis for eliminating the economic chains of the nuclear family system and replacing it with new, nonoppressive human relationships.

Despite the differing reasons women have for supporting this demand, we should be able to unite in order to fight to achieve it. No matter how much some women feel they differ with YSA and SWP women, or Republicans or Democrats, in the movement, none of us should allow those differences to get in the way of building the most powerful possible movement to fight to force changes in the degrading situation women find themselves in in this society.

The essence of red-baiting and exclusion from an action coalition is putting differences within the movement above our differences with the main enemy, the oppressors of women. This can only aid the ruling class, those who benefit from the oppression of women. The charge that socialists are out to "co-opt" and "infiltrate" movements of innocent, well-meaning people comes from the ruling class—from such people as J. Edgar Hoover and Joe McCarthy.

The reactionary and destructive effects of red-baiting can be seen by looking back to the McCarthy period in the 1950s. The charges of being a "communist" spread to anybody who dared dissent from the government. Nobody could prove that he or she was completely "clean" of the menace of communism. Struggles for social change were blocked during this period because people were afraid to be labeled "communists." That fear overrode their desire to struggle.

In the 1960s the new radicalization beginning with the Black liberation movement and the antiwar movement has rejected the reactionary policy of red-baiting. These new movements set the policy that the most important thing was to unite the broadest possible forces in struggle, no matter what views people held on other issues. The new radical generation has refused to be scared away from struggle by the bogeyman of "communism" or socialism.

Until now the women's movement has had the same nonexclusionary perspective. On Aug. 26 in most cities all women were urged to build the action and participate in decision-making on an equal basis.

The women's liberation movement should not be the movement to bring back the atmosphere of red-baiting and exclusion that existed in the 1950s. We must keep our eyes on the real enemy. While we should organize discussion forums to hear and debate all views within the movement, we should unite to fight together as the most powerful force against our common enemy.

In New York broad forces of women are building a united coalition to bring our demands forcefully before the Lindsay administration and exert our maximum power to change the oppressive situation women find themselves in. Hopefully those women who supported an exclusionary policy in the New York movement will reconsider this action and join in building the united demonstration on Dec. 12.

THIRTY YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH

Leon Trotsky and the new rise of world

By JOSEPH HANSEN

The fifty-third anniversary of the Russian revolution on November 7 will be observed by tens of millions of persons throughout the world.

Among them, a small number will also observe the ninety-first birthday of Leon Trotsky. (The workers in czarist Russia, by coincidence, took power on the day that Trotsky was thirty-eight years old.)

It should be noted in addition that 1970 marks three decades since Stalin succeeded in murdering the great revolutionist who, together with Lenin, led the struggle that brought the first workers state into existence.

'It Won't Work'

Of the viability of that beginning in socialism there cannot be the least remaining doubt. The old argument thrown at advocates of socialist planning—"It won't work"—is never heard nowadays. The argument itself no longer works.

Despite the distortions and perversions suffered by the planned economy of the Soviet Union under the mismanagement of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the country that was the most backward of the Western powers a half century ago has now overtaken all the others in productive capacity except the United States.

On top of that, the old capitalist argument about the inferiority of everything Soviet, because of the "lack of Russian know-how," suddenly lost its punch when the Soviet scientists, technicians, and workers produced first the atom and then the hydrogen bomb. When the Soviet Union pioneered the opening of the space age, American capitalism turned its attention, not without some panic, to the problem of "catching up" with Soviet technology and know-how in this field.

As to defensive capacities, the power of the Soviet Union is so obvious that only a psychotic personality would think of repeating the gamble of military aggression taken by Hitler, for

now it would mean the certain doom of the capitalist system if not all of the higher forms of life on our planet.

The revolutionary party headed by Lenin and Trotsky, it can be seen with absolute clarity today, laid firm foundations to a most dynamic economy in the first workers state.

It must be added that the proof is all the stronger in face of the unparalleled destruction wrought by the German imperialist invasion.

Unfortunately the picture is quite different so far as human relations in the Soviet Union are concerned. In the first years after the October victory, it is true, the young workers state gave new hope to the poor and the oppressed throughout the world with its promise of a flowering of proletarian democracy and with the great achievements it nurtured in art, literature, and education, and the examples it set in the liberation of women and protection of the rights of children.

All of this was eroded away under the baneful rule of the bureaucratic caste that usurped power following the death of Lenin. The soviets were liquidated and replaced by a totalitarian form of rule that reached a bizarre extreme in the cult of the personality of Stalin.

The obstacle this represented for decades to the advance of the world revolution is not easily appreciated by the youth of today. The most attractive country in the world, the Soviet Union, was headed by the most consummate master of counterrevolution. Each new revolutionary upsurge in other countries was thus lured to its doom. To clear the way for the victorious advance of the world revolution seemed an almost impossible task.

This was where Leon Trotsky made perhaps his greatest contributions.

First of all, he set a personal example. He remained true to the principles of revolutionary socialism to which he had dedicated himself as a youth. He never succumbed to the blandishments of the usurping caste. He and a grouping of cadres like him really laid down their lives to keep alive the program of Marxism and of Leninism.

Secondly, he kept that program up to date through analysis of current events and derivation of the corresponding theoretical and political generalizations. He thus provided the world with a scientific appreciation of the real nature of such phenomena as fascism and Stalinism and their origin in the symmetrical decay of capitalism and of the first workers state.

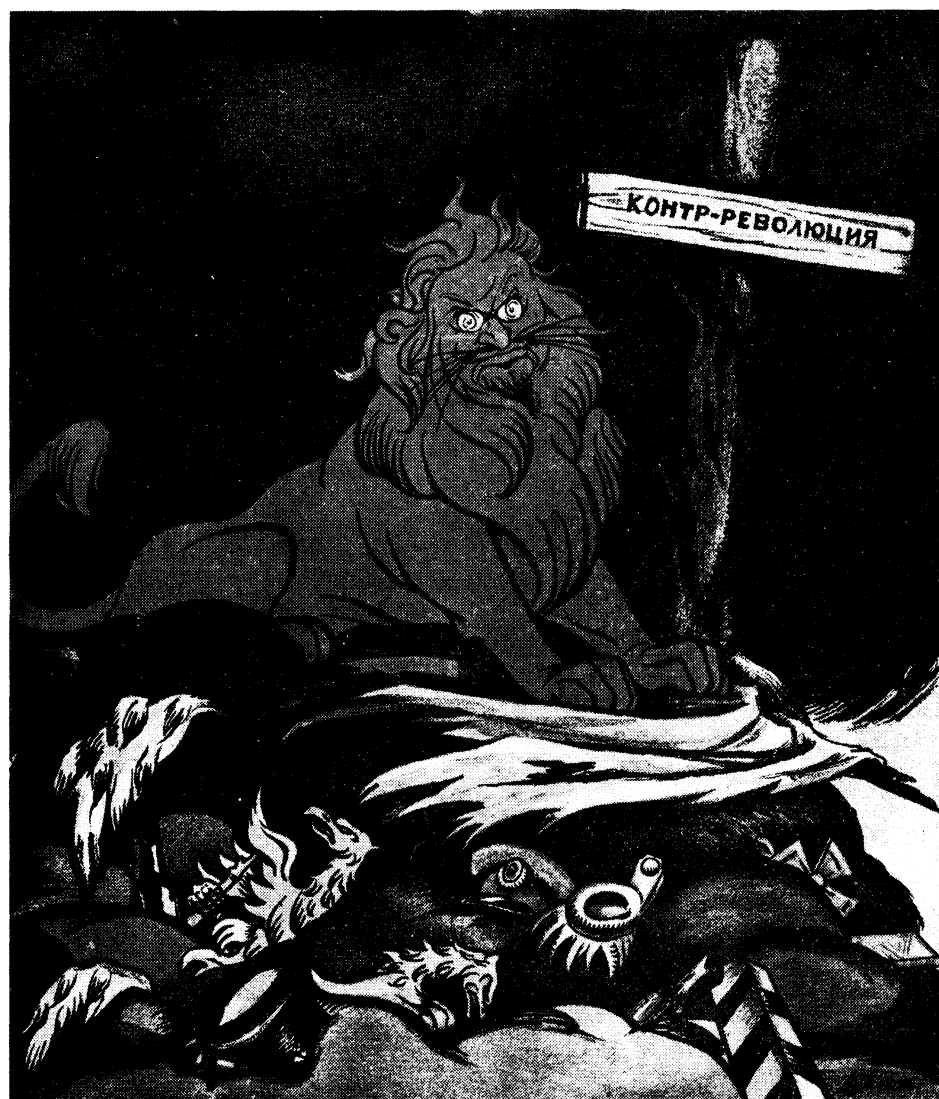
Through this the revolutionary socialist movement was armed with the correct slogans and methods of fighting on all the main fronts of the class struggle as it evolved in this period.

Thirdly, Trotsky utilized all his talents and everything he had learned in years of incomparably rich revolutionary experience to carry on the battle against Stalinism, against capitalism, and against the currents affected by them.

Fourthly, he set about to rebuild a team, an international grouping of cadres capable of carrying on the revolutionary-socialist program that Stalin had betrayed.

The Fourth International

At first this took the form of factions within the Communist parties that fought for a return to the program of Lenin. But as the Communist International declined and finally col-



The Soviet poster by Deni shows Trotsky (as a raging red lion) destroying the counterrevolution (depicted, in part, as the dead eagles of czarism, among whose insignia lies the silk hat of the bourgeoisie). The sign reads "Counter-Revolution." The print appeared in *Molodaya Gvardia* (Youth Guard) in April 1922. In Lenin's lifetime, the propaganda departments of the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party frequently used such representations of Trotsky to symbolize the revolution's triumph in the civil war.

lapsed, the job became one of constructing a new international. A key date in this was the founding of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, in the summer of 1938.

The death of Leon Trotsky barely two years later on August 21, 1940, was a blow that many persons judged would prove fatal to his movement.

Stalin, we can be sure, calculated that it would mean the finish of the "Trotskyite" threat to the power and privileges of the bureaucratic caste and to "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism.

Stalin and those who thought like him miscalculated. A brain can be destroyed by a blow from a pickaxe. Ideas cannot. They are immune to assassination. Their existence hinges, in the long run, on how well they reflect reality. Trotsky's ideas still mirror the reality of our time very faithfully.

Moreover, Trotsky had succeeded in his aim of establishing a grouping of cadres of sufficient stature to maintain the continuity of revolutionary Marxism. To them the loss of Trotsky was immeasurable, as it was in a wider sense to mankind as a whole. Trotsky was one of the great intellects of all time, still at the height of his productive capacity. But although they could not make up for Trotsky, they could carry on in his example, and as he had taught them. These cadres became the living tie connecting Trotsky's generation with the succeeding generations of rebels.

The cadres of the Fourth International believed that World War II would end in new revolutionary upheavals of such scope and power as to overwhelm the obstacle of Stalinism and lead to early victories like the one in Russia at the end of World War I.

The historic pattern proved to be much more complex than they had anticipated. The Soviet victory over imperialist Germany, made possible by the planned economy, marked a historic defeat for European and world capitalism. But it also strengthened Stalinism, for it refurbished the image of Soviet leadership in the eyes of the masses everywhere, partially blotting out such things as the great purges, the frame-up trials, the deportations of masses of human beings, the forced labor camps, the totalitarian form of rule, the many defeats of revolutions.

Thus it was that Stalinism was able to betray the big revolutionary upheavals in western Europe that occurred in the aftermath of World War II, notably in Greece, Italy, and France.

Analyzing the new situation with the method taught by Trotsky, the Fourth International foresaw that the strengthening of Stalinism would prove to be relatively ephemeral. On a world scale the relationship of forces, primarily because of the victory of the Soviet Union, had shifted in favor of socialist revolution and this would ultimately undermine Stalinism.

The forecast was confirmed by the immense upsurge in the colonial world

Peter Buch on the Mideast

Zionism and the Arab Revolution: The Myth of Progressive Israel

30¢

Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis

40¢

Leon Trotsky

On the Jewish Question

with an introduction by Peter Buch

50¢

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

revolution

that took China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and finally Cuba out of the capitalist orbit.

In this mighty process, reaching from Asia, through Africa to Latin America, there can hardly be any doubt which way the deep currents have been running, whatever the eddies, side currents, and even counter-currents. The direction is toward socialist revolution.

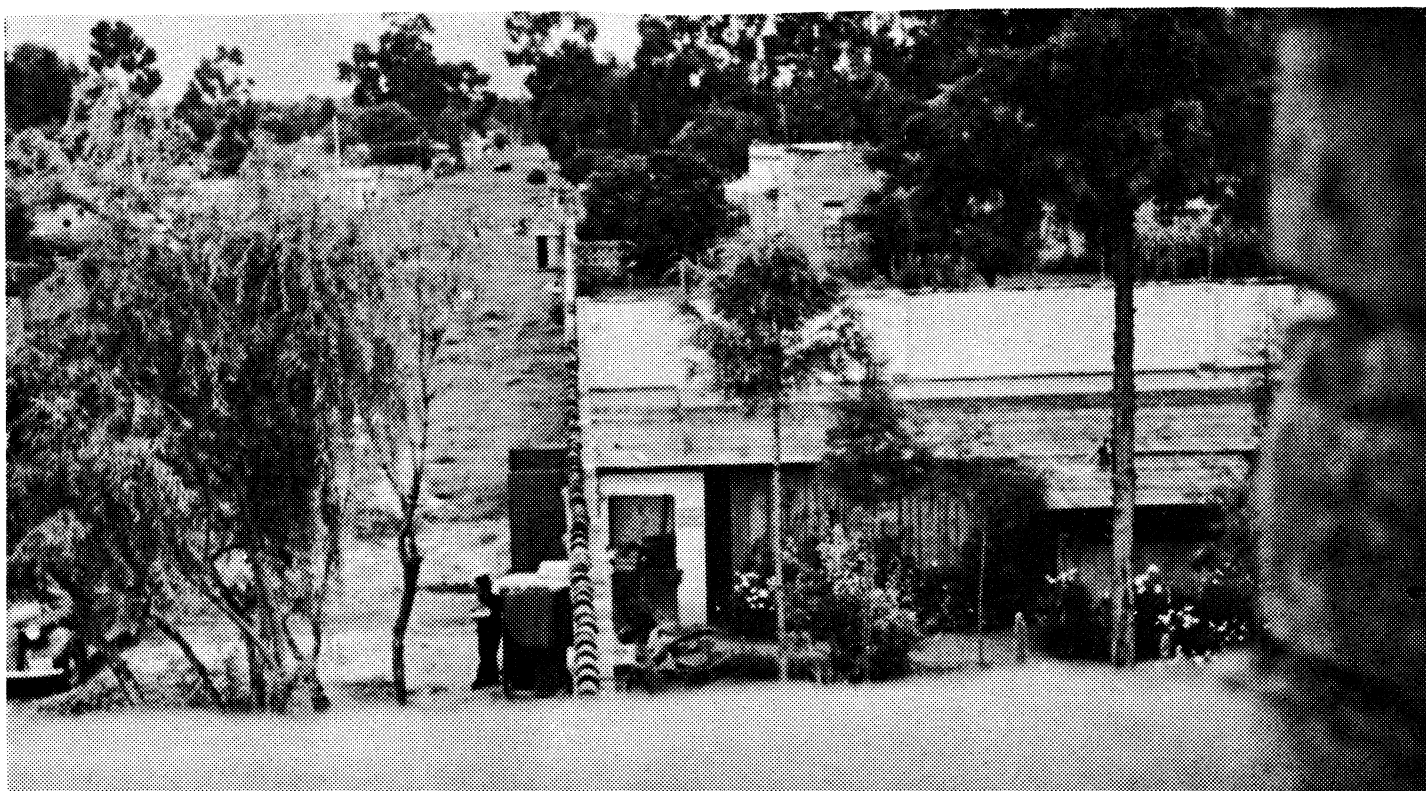
One of the most notable features has been the rise and increasing strength of revolutionary tendencies critical of Stalinism and inclined to stand on their own feet and to think for themselves. It is true that these tendencies have repeated errors long ago submitted to critical analysis by the Marxist movement. The inclination to begin afresh is nevertheless a most significant development. An outstanding instance was the Cuban leadership which outflanked the Communist party from the left, winning power on the very doorstep of the mightiest imperialist power on earth.

The revolutionary process over the past decades has, of course, not been continuous. It has suffered big ebbs. In Latin America in particular the guerrilla movement has met with repeated defeats. In Indonesia, the Communist party, primarily owing to the influence of the Maoist variety of Stalinism, led the masses into a debacle and a slaughter comparable to that suffered by the German workers in the early thirties.

Despite these and other grave defeats and setbacks, the primary trend toward socialist revolution has continued. The efforts of the statesmen of the capitalist system to halt it, whether through diplomatic intervention, economic reprisal, puppet regimes, or open armed aggression, can hardly be termed a conspicuous success.

Entire sectors of the world are obviously becoming more and more explosive. The increasing violence of the means used by the centers of world imperialism to contain things, ends only in building up the revolutionary pressures. Capitalist rule is becoming more and more unstable. The means of rule are being reduced more and more to nothing but the police club and B-52 bombers.

The consequences have now begun to show up in the imperialist centers themselves. In May and June, 1968, student demonstrations in Paris set off a chain reaction of revolutionary pro-



Trotsky's home on the outskirts of Coyoacan, a suburb of Mexico City. He was assassinated there on the afternoon of Aug. 20, 1940.

portions. Had the French workers possessed a leadership worthy of the name, France within a few days would have gone socialist.

The French capitalists managed temporarily to retrieve the situation, but May-June now stands like a specter over all of Western Europe. Which country will be next? How long before it occurs again in France?

The Monolith Is Shattered

We should not fail to note the parallel crisis of Stalinism. The monolith was shattered by Khrushchev's revelations at the Twentieth Congress in 1956. The Communist parties around the world were shaken to the bottom. Then came the Sino-Soviet rift and the further splintering of the Stalinist movement.

Neither Moscow's subsequent efforts to rehabilitate Stalin, nor Peking's efforts to save Stalin by means of the cult of Mao have succeeded in surmounting the crisis of Stalinism. Nor will they succeed.

The upsurge of the Czechoslovak people in 1968 in search of socialist democracy showed—like the upsurges in East Germany in 1953 and in Poland and Hungary in 1956—the explosive political potential that exists among the masses in the Soviet sphere.

In China the "cultural revolution" showed in a different way how rotted the bureaucratic structures themselves have become.

Most heartening of all has been the appearance of a new political opposition in the Soviet Union. Its precise outlines are difficult to determine under Stalinist police rule, but its success in disseminating *samizdat* underground publications indicates its extensiveness, while the *samizdat* material itself shows how the dissidents are seeking to revive genuine Leninism.

Radicalization of the Youth

All these threads come together in something new—the worldwide radicalization of the youth that has been going on for the past few years. This is a striking new phenomenon visible in all the continents.

The internationalism of these dissident youth appeared not only in such an extraordinary feature as the universality of their rebellion around the globe but in the way they thought from the beginning. Among their first acts were appeals for international solidarity—and in the very advanced form of simultaneous actions and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, often on a mass scale.

These appeals, most significantly, originated from within the United States in face of the fact that the United States constitutes the main powerhouse of world reaction.

The militancy of the radicalizing youth was likewise visible from the beginning, as well as their independence, their desire to know the truth and not to be taken in by lies, hypocrisy, and half-truths.

In the United States, the radicalization of the youth, coupled with the development of the liberation struggles of the Blacks, of women, the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, the Native Americans, has confronted U.S. imperialism with a domestic problem of the first order. An upsurge of the working class in the United States in the near future could lead to a situation of immense revolutionary possibilities.

The time is obviously nearing when we can expect a great new renaissance of the revolutionary Marxist movement. The program defended by Leon Trotsky and his followers will become the heritage of millions.

Among the signs to be noted is the widening prestige of Trotskyism in many areas. The most solid evidence of all is the rise in recruitment to the Fourth International and to the parties sharing its views. The cadres now being formed and educated will constitute the key component in building the mass revolutionary parties needed to win the revolutions being placed on the agenda.

Small wonder that "Trotskyism" has once again become a worrisome problem to the Kremlin. In the past few years it has felt forced to pay increasing attention to it. Hence the "new" analyses of Trotskyism, and Moscow's attempts to provide "fresh" material about it for the Stalinist propaganda mill. If "Jackson," Trotsky's assassin, is still alive, should not Brezhnev-Kosygin have him contribute his memoirs as a natural part of this campaign? Should not Stalin's heirs also make a pact on this battlefield with J. Edgar Hoover, who is likewise alarmed at the growth of Trotskyism?

Thirty years after the martyrdom of Leon Trotsky, the Kremlin bureaucrats find his ideas springing up everywhere, even under their own feet.

No ax can destroy these ideas; no police club can beat them down. They represent the best in humanity. They represent the socialist society of the future. They outline what must be done to achieve that society. They belong to the new generation of youth in all countries, who will take them, make them their own, and convert them into a living reality.

NEW MERIT PAMPHLETS

DOUGLAS BRAVO SPEAKS

Interview with Venezuelan Guerrilla Leader .25

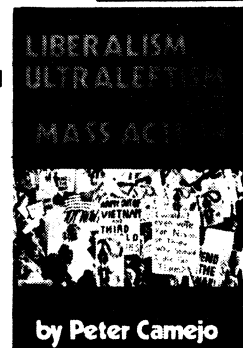
Here Bravo discusses theories of guerrilla war, the role of the revolutionary party and rumors of his reported break with Fidel Castro.



LIBERALISM, ULTRALEFTISM OR MASS ACTION

by Peter Camejo .25

The abridged text of a speech given in NYC in June concerning the political conjuncture in this country following the events of May 1970.



MARXISM VERSUS NEO-ANARCHIST TERRORISM

by George Novack .25

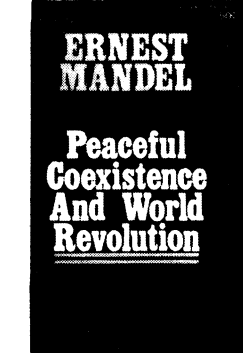
The history and the question of the revolutionary efficacy of terrorism are discussed in this pamphlet.



PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND WORLD REVOLUTION

by Ernest Mandel .50

A historical study of the two main approaches to the interrelations of class struggle and the contradictions between capitalist and workers states.



MARXIST THEORY OF ALIENATION

Ernest Mandel and George Novack .95

The broad attention focused on the condition of alienation shows that we are confronted by the symptoms of a morbid and acute social sickness. The two essays in this pamphlet undertake to analyze that endemic condition of capitalism from the Marxist point of view.



Pathfinder Press, Inc.
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

A Revised Edition

MALCOLM X

on

Afro-American History

expanded

and

illustrated

80pp. \$1.

MALCOLM X
on
Afro-American
History



PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Tip of an iceberg

GI opposition surfacing

By DICK ROBERTS

When a couple of GIs recently wrote a letter to the press concerning orders they didn't approve of, they touched off a flurry of speculation about the state of the U.S. military that has not yet subsided.

The GIs, who worked for an awards and decorations office, complained that they had been forced under orders to make up a story in order to prepare a citation for awarding a Silver Star to Brig. Gen. Eugene P. Forrester. The Army could not and did not challenge the GI's charge.

It is the tip of an iceberg.

One colonel mourned to Alvin Shuster of the *New York Times*, "It's another blow to the military, another small goof that will look as if the whole Army is bad, another reason we will find it so hard to recruit volunteers. It just plays into the hands of those who hate the military. . . ."

What this officer is really complaining about is the steady rise of opposition by masses of soldiers to everything the Army stands for, and especially to the Army's racism and the war in Vietnam.

In some cases—most noteworthy is the movement of Black GIs on the bases in West Germany—they are organizing to do something about the Army conditions they oppose. Even where there is no outright organization, however, the brass is being forced to change its ways and means of dealing with enlisted men.

"Now many soldiers wear peace beads, show irreverence if not disobedience to authority, smoke marijuana, avoid salutes, object to the war they are in, and tell all about it to those who listen," Alvin Shuster reported.

In an exceptionally revealing article in *Life* magazine, Oct. 23, reporter John Saar went even further. Saar

described the attitudes of draftees and their commanding officer in a front-line company in Vietnam: "Old ideas of dress, behavior, discipline and rank no longer apply," says Saar. "Virtually no draftee wants to be fighting in Vietnam anyway, and in return for his reluctant participation, he demands, and gets, personal freedoms that would have driven a MacArthur or a Patton apoplectic."

Saar emphasized what has undoubtedly been one of the major factors heightening GI opposition to the war: "Grunt logic argues that since the U.S. has decided not to go out and win the war, there's no sense in being the last one to die."

Saar found no draftees who wanted to fight. They simply and totally rejected the war: "Two of them [lifers] want to kill gooks, and the rest of us never want to see any again," Pfc. Steve Wright told Saar.

"Perhaps half of [Company] Alpha's 21 Blacks agree with the alienated view of Pfc. John Munn, a tall, somber soul brother," Saar writes. "I have my life to preserve," says Munn, "but I have nothing against that little man out there. They're fighting for what they believe in, and you can't knock that."

"I lie on my air mattress at night and I say what am I doing here? I can imagine a war back in the world that I'd fight and wouldn't mind dying in—to keep your people free."

The effect of GI opposition to Army methods on a West German U.S. Army base was described by *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Felix Kessler, Sept. 1.

"The 1st Battalion 81st Artillery shows what's happening to the U.S. Army here in Germany," said Kessler. "Its weapons are nuclear missiles—and its men flaunt the peace symbol."

"Nor is the symbol, painted on lockers or sometimes even worn instead of dog tags, the only evidence of dissent. The battalion's authorized newspaper reads more like an underground paper."

"The handling of the Vietnam war," a recent issue commented with heavy sarcasm, "is an excellent example of the flawless leadership and fathomless wisdom possessed by our government."

The battalion "in many ways typifies the contradictions that seem to characterize the Army these days. Its men are better paid, better fed and better trained than soldiers in the past—but no happier. Its ranks include former draft resisters and Vietnam veterans; some soldiers are both. Its above-average performance is achieved by soldiers who fight doggedly to retain every shred of civilian privilege. . . ."

"Discontent is widespread in the bat-

talion, but it's strongest among Black men. Many claim they are denied promotions or job assignments purely on racial grounds. When they go to town on pass, they say, only two bars serve them. 'What I've learned is that all white men are against us,' says one Black soldier bitterly."

In New York City, Bob Wilkinson of the *GI Press Service*, a press service for antiwar GI newspapers, talked about the scope of the antiwar GI movement. Pulling out a long filing cabinet drawer, former GI Wilkinson said that the new underground GI papers were appearing at the rate of two or three a week. "Of course, some also disappear, and we don't hear about all of them."

The most recent issue of the *GI Press Service* listed the names and addresses of 63 antiwar GI newspapers.

A new newspaper Wilkinson had just received, *Catharsis*, is put out by the Quonset-Davisville GIs for Peace, from the Boston Navy base. "It is the aim of *Catharsis* to make known that GIs no longer will be blind puppets of the U.S. government," it states.

"We may have to obey orders, but we will no longer remain silent when we believe those orders to be wrong! We believe that orders to fight in Southeast Asia are wrong. Orders to disperse peaceful demonstrations are wrong!"

And in the last analysis, it always comes down to the war, which most GIs hate and oppose whether they are actually in combat or are far away stationed on bases which will never see combat action. *New York Times* correspondent James P. Sterba, who had completed a 16-month assignment in Saigon, summarized his impressions in an article for the *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 18.

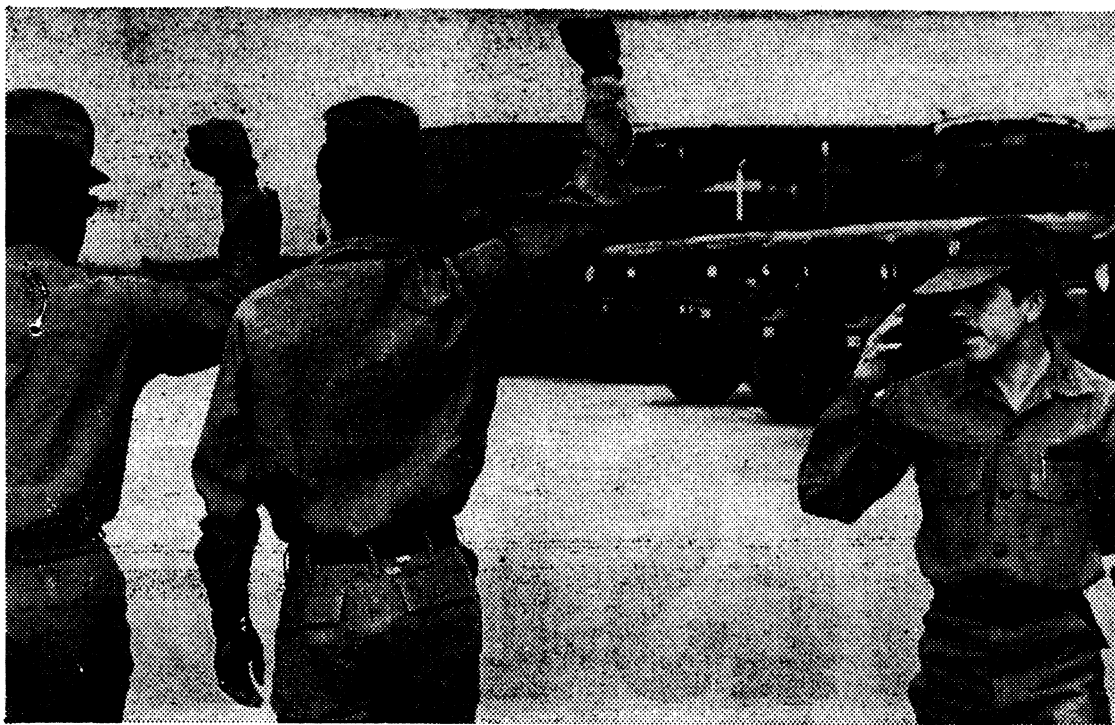
Presenting these impressions as "Scraps of Paper from Vietnam," Sterba included this "irreverent song of unknown origin" in his article:

*Spray the town and kill the people,
Drop your napalm in the square:
Take off early in the morning,
Get them while they're still at prayer.*

*Drop some candy to the orphans,
Watch them as they gather round:
Use your 20 millimeter,
Mow the little b—s down. . . .*

*See them line up in the market,
Waiting for their pound of rice:
Hungry, skinny, starving people,
Isn't killing harvests nice?*

Fighting and dying in a war that they label "unjust, illegal and immoral" is what GIs are most against. More and more they are saying so and acting accordingly. But it is still the tip of an iceberg.



Black GIs in U.S. base in West Germany give Black power salute. Organizations have been formed on a number of the bases to fight against Army racism and for end to war.

Puerto Ricans hold march of 5,000 in New York

By MIRTA VIDAL

NEW YORK, Oct. 30—Over 5,000 people, predominately Puerto Rican, marched along an 80-block route today demanding independence for Puerto Rico.

Oct. 30 marks the 20th anniversary of the rebellion at Jayuya that confronted the exploitative colonial regime and proclaimed Puerto Rico a republic. The 1950 rebellion was led by the Nationalist Party of Pedro Albizu Campos.

This year's commemoration was initiated by the Young Lords Party, Movimiento Pro Independencia, and the Puerto Rican Student Union.

The unprecedented show of solidarity with the independence struggle was just a glimpse of the power of the one million Puerto Ricans who live in New York City. Along with the demand for the independence of Puerto Rico, there were demands and slogans relating to Puerto Rican self-determination in the United States. A favorite chant was, "A Vietnam yo no voy porque Yanqui yo no soy" (I won't go to Vietnam because I am not a Yankee). It resounded loudly throughout the long march from 125th St. and Lexington Ave. to the United Nations Plaza.

Thousands of spectators poured out along the streets of East Harlem, waving and raising clenched fists to shouts of "Free Puerto Rico, right now!"

The bulk of the demonstrators were

high school students who had cut classes to attend the demonstration. The turnout was unexpected, even by the organizers of the action. As a result, technical problems delayed the scheduled rally considerably, and about half the crowd dispersed before it began.

Among the speakers at the rally were Florencio Merced and Jose Irizarry of MPI, the minister of education of the Black Panther Party, and the minister of defense of the YLP. Attorney William M. Kunstler also addressed the rally.

Merced stated that there will be many more mobilizations like this one demanding independence, but they will be bigger. He urged a nonsectarian united front to carry the struggle to its end.

One of the factors that built the action was the protests made by the YLP over the mysterious prison death of one of their members, Julio Roldan. The Lords' subsequent demand for an investigation into the city's prisons was turned down by Mayor Lindsay.

The importance of this commemoration was stressed by the YLP spokesmen, who pointed out that last year at the same time and same place, 50 people picketed. Today, thousands were gathered. He summed up the mood of the day when he said that "we will keep on mobilizing our people as long as it is necessary."

Challenge media bias**Ga. write-in nominees protest**By CLIFF CONNER
and BILL MORAN

ATLANTA—Four write-in candidates for governor of Georgia agreed Oct. 24 to wage a united struggle against discriminatory practices on the part of Georgia's news media. Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party and Rev. Clennon King drafted a statement which was later approved by the other two write-in candidates, Kenneth Krautter and Adrienne Roberts.

Jenness read the joint statement at a well-attended news conference, emphasizing that the four candidates were "uniting only on the single issue of media coverage."

The statement charged that the newspapers have made a "concerted and conscious effort" to avoid mentioning that candidates other than the Republicans and Democrats have appeared at public meetings and put forward solutions to the problems facing Georgia. Radio and television stations have been prompted to provide equal time for all candidates only "when threatened with complaints to the FCC," the candidates charged.

"The most blatant proof of the position of the press on this matter came in a TV editorial by WAGA which called for a change in election qualifying laws so that the Democrats and Republicans would no longer be bothered with any opposition and have free run of the airwaves. . . ."

Protesting this kind of discrimination, the four candidates demanded headline coverage of their campaigns and programs, and that television and radio stations invite them to share



SOME GOT MORE "EQUAL" TIME THAN OTHERS. At Atlanta telecast, left to right, gubernatorial candidates Jimmy Carter, Democrat; Hal Suit, Republican; Linda Jenness, Socialist Worker; Clennon King, independent; and Kenneth Krautter.

the time already allotted to Democrat Carter and Republican Suit. They threatened to undertake "legal suits or other forms of action" if the requests are not met.

The WAGA-TV editorial cited by the statement announced the cancellation of a televised debate between the gubernatorial candidates scheduled for the following night. The reason given for the cancellation was the write-in candidates' demand for equal time.

"It's funny how that program disappeared when we made a routine request for equal time," Jenness commented. "The FCC fairness doctrine

is always being held up as an example of perfect democracy, but it seems more like the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. It evaporates when you try to touch it."

As a result of this united front for fair coverage, the *Atlanta Constitution* has agreed to interview Linda Jenness for a headline article. In addition, WAGA-TV extended to eight minutes a scheduled five-minute appearance by Linda Jenness. It also scheduled an additional 20-minute program for Oct. 28. "We figured we owed her at least that much," the station explained.

Jenness wins time demand

By CLIFF CONNER

ATLANTA—The FCC, in response to a complaint by the Georgia Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, ruled Oct. 30 that Linda Jenness had been denied an opportunity to equal broadcast time on an Oct. 9 statewide radio and TV hookup debate between the gubernatorial candidates. Although Jenness and other write-in candidates had been included in the debate at Jenness' insistence, most questions were directed to the Republican and the Democrat. Whereas they each received more than 15 minutes' time, no write-in candidate received more than four minutes.

Some stations, including Atlanta's WSB-TV, the station that initiated the broadcast, refused to grant a block of time to compensate for this discriminatory treatment when asked to do so. The SWP then protested to the FCC.

Although the FCC ordered WSB and other participating stations to provide Jenness extra time without charge, it did not order them to set up another statewide hookup. Thus, to take full advantage of the ruling, Jenness would have had to go to each station individually in the remaining three days of the campaign. This, of course, was impossible.

Yet, an estimated 200,000 viewers saw her Nov. 1 during prime time on WSB deliver a stinging, 10-minute indictment of her Democratic and Republican opponents, expose Nixon's "peace" proposals, and counter the mass media's whitewash of police murders of Blacks in Georgia, including those in Augusta last spring.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

The Massachusetts *Daily Collegian*, a student newspaper at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, endorsed the Socialist Workers Party's senatorial candidate Peter Camejo Oct. 28.

Camejo's confrontations with his opponents "brought some of the only issue-oriented speaking of any campaign," the editors explained.

"Camejo cannot win this election. Yet a sizable write-in vote for him could demonstrate the willingness of many citizens to modernize archaic election laws, vote approval in a candidate that is more than just a flimsy liberal, and show that there could be an alternative between two political parties that, at least in this state, are identical."

The Sept. 20 Los Angeles Times gave considerable coverage to the Sept. 13 confrontation between Sen. Edward Kennedy and Peter Camejo at Boston University. Massachusetts papers did their best to ignore it. The Times provides a blow-by-blow account of Kennedy's stumbling from issue to issue during the question period.

When Camejo, whom it describes as "an intense young man," gets the floor, he "looses a blistering word marathon against everything from the Bay of Pigs affair to U.S. imperialism in Vietnam."

"Kennedy sees he has let it go too far already," says the Times, so he calls it quits. Kennedy and friends

then retired to his townhouse on the Charles River to post-mortem the evening. They "deplored" the way the question period had gone.

Nancy Cole, SWP candidate for the University of Illinois board of trustees, explained the commitment of revolutionary socialists to women's liberation at a meeting last month of the Women's Liberation Front at Southern Illinois University in Edwardsville. "Nearly every seat in the Missouri Room was filled by listeners, who participated in a lively question-and-answer period after her speech," says the SIU student newspaper.

Members of the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women picketed the campaign headquarters of Sen. Charles Goodell Oct. 29. They urged voters not to vote for him Nov. 3 since he promised to support but did not bother to vote for the Equal Rights Amendment. The picketers also opposed Conservative James Buckley.

They distributed a leaflet calling attention to the alternatives: The SWP's Kipp Dawson ("A women's lib activist. She has worked to get labor union support of the Equal Rights Amendment") and Democrat Richard Ottinger, who voted for it in the House ("So far, he keeps his promises").

"I left last week's gubernatorial fo-

rum thoroughly angered and disgusted," says editor Rebecca Leet in the Oct. 20 issue of the University of Georgia at Athens student newspaper, *The Red and Black*. "Jimmy Carter and Hal Suit spewed out endless generalized rhetoric which meant little. Linda Jenness directed herself more to issues, but she has no chance of being elected." Jenness is the candidate of the SWP.

"Mrs. Jenness was the only candidate to address herself to real issues in this campaign, instead of dabbling in vague inconsistencies. . . ." states another article on the paper's editorial page. "She did not seem to worry whether or not she offended someone as long as she made her position clear, something that other politicians should try more often."

In two debates with her opponents, Democrat Hubert Humphrey and Republican Clark MacGregor, Oct. 19, Minnesota SWP senatorial candidate Nancy Strebe drew strong applause with her call for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia and her attacks on the failure of the Democrats and Republicans to provide solutions to social problems.

The preceding day, Derrel Myers, SWP congressional candidate (5th C.D.), debated incumbent Donald Fraser and Republican Dick Enroth on television. Myers was able to foil Enroth's attempt to focus the discussion on "obscenity" and "morality"

by bringing up the war, the Middle East, and the lack of control people have over decisions affecting their lives.

A few days later, Myers' remarks on the war to a largely middle-class, middle-aged audience of 200 brought him the most frequent and enthusiastic applause of the three candidates.

"When a company shows contempt for the rights of the people it's irresponsible and should be nationalized," asserted Nancy Strebe at a recent meeting for the candidates in suburban Minnetonka High School. She called for the nationalization of Reserve Mining Co., which has been emptying taconite tailings into Lake Superior. Her remarks were considered the most newsworthy of the evening by the *Minneapolis Star*. It headlined them in its Oct. 30 report on the meeting.

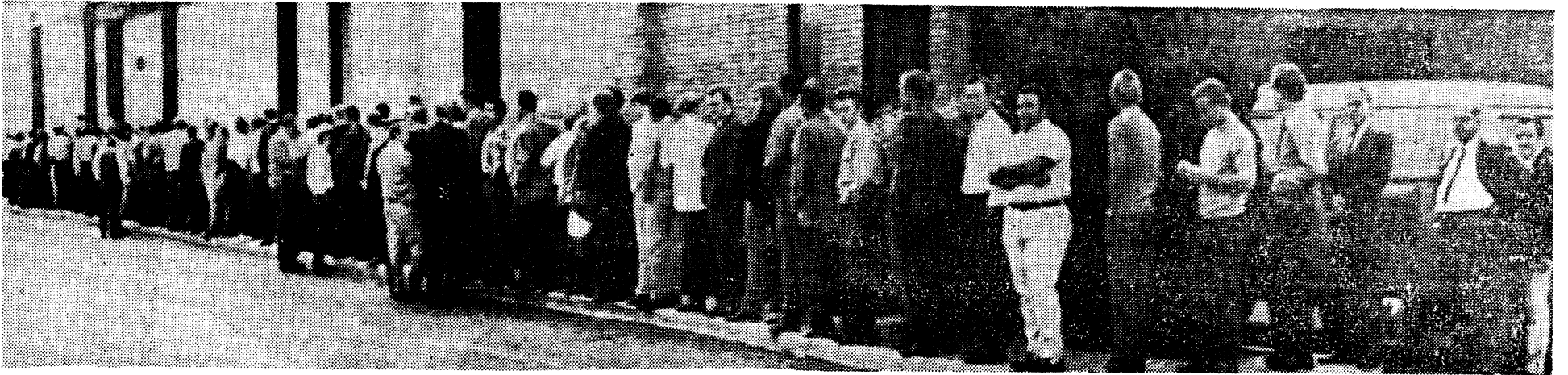
Republican gubernatorial candidate Douglas Head, the present attorney general, had bragged about having brought a suit against the company for polluting. "Big deal," Strebe countered. "They're still dumping tailings into the lake."

The University of Minnesota *Daily* ran a feature on Nancy Strebe's campaign Oct. 28. She told the paper, among other things, of her conversations with people about politics while driving cab—which she does for a living. "People ask questions, and they say 'maybe I'll be where you are later on.' This is how mass radicalization will come—when people are daring to question their government and are open to new ideas."

—DAVID THORSTAD

THEY GO TOGETHER
The Militant usually
presents the International
Socialist Review. Do you have
a subscription?

Why corporate chiefs want Nixon to take tougher stand on wages



In one California area unemployment is so high that 700 applicants recently lined up for four gas-meter-reading jobs. But corporate officials

have asked Nixon to consider additional steps to hold down wage increases.

By DICK ROBERTS

Top officials of some of the largest U.S. corporations have asked for greater White House participation in wage battles across the nation.

Although the details of the corporate executives' requests have not been made public, their move assuredly reflects forces at work in the national and world economy that will have a major impact on future U.S. wage struggles.

Involved is the trend of big business towards increasing reliance on the federal government to impose and enforce wage settlements that are acceptable to business.

The corporate leaders' decision came out of a meeting of the influential Business Council, in Hot Springs, Va. This organization of 100 high-ranking executives includes among its members Fred J. Borch, chairman of General Electric, and James M. Roche, chairman of General Motors.

Representatives of the Business Council met with President Nixon Oct. 17. The Business Council proposed "that the federal government embark on some new policies aimed at holding down wage increases and improving the productiveness of certain groups of workers," *New York Times* economic reporter Eileen Shanahan wrote Oct. 18.

A second economic reporter for the *New York Times*, Leonard S. Silk, wrote on Oct. 21 that "The latest recruit to the cause of an incomes policy is the Business Council, a group of the nation's top industrialists. . . ." And *Business Week* magazine on Oct. 24 stated that the Business Council move "could add up to another push toward an 'incomes policy.'"

These references to an "incomes policy" are significant. An "incomes policy" was initiated in Britain by former Prime Minister Harold Wilson. It includes direct governmental restrictions on wage levels.

No such restrictions have been attempted in this country since the wage and price controls initiated during the second world war and ended by Eisenhower in 1953. Until quite recently, the talk in U.S. financial circles was that "incomes policies will never be necessary here." The Nixon administration continues to maintain a stance of adamant opposition to any form of wage and price controls.

Nevertheless, the economic tendencies underlying the Business Council move deserve the closest attention.

The main factor, influencing the economies of all the advanced capitalist nations, is the development of overproduction (relative to an increasingly constricted mass purchasing power) on a world scale, and the sharp intensification of competition on national and international levels that this causes.

The monopolies of each nation are

competing with each other and with foreign monopolies for markets that are becoming increasingly saturated. The dispute between U.S. and Japanese textile manufacturers, for example, which has resulted in the introduction of a protectionist trade bill in Congress, is one manifestation of world overproduction. U.S. textile firms are seeking tariff measures to protect the American market against Japanese textiles and shoes (see "Soaring Japan imports slice into markets," *The Militant*, Aug. 7).

Viewers of TV have been subjected to saturation advertising by such foreign-owned international combines as Toyota, Volkswagen and British Petroleum, as these corporations battle their way into markets once considered the exclusive private precincts of the U.S. auto and oil monopolies.

"The minis meet the imports (*Business Week*, Aug. 15), "The global scramble for cheap labor" (*Time*, Sept. 21), "World's major oil firms jam Singapore as drilling fever rises in Southeast Asia" (*Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 22), "Foreign cars mount new invasion" (*New York Times*, Oct. 18), and "Foreign threats to a basic industry: Will the American steel industry hold its own against rapidly growing foreign producers?" (*U.S. News and World Report*, Oct. 26) are headlines reporting various aspects of the excruciating conjuncture of international capitalist competition.

The outcome of this competition is above all determined by the relative technologies and wage levels of the competing national capitalisms, because these factors fundamentally determine the quality and prices of the goods produced.

The U.S. monopolies are finding themselves at an increasing disadvantage in world trade, despite the immense technological superiority of U.S. industry in many fields, because of the relatively high wage levels of U.S. workers compared to those of foreign workers.

In cases where the technological advantage is not so great, where new plants with new and better technology have to be built, the matter is all the more problematical to the U.S. monopolists because of the higher wage levels of the workers who must build the new plants and machinery.

On top of this, the war-primed inflation drives prices to ever higher levels, more and more often forcing workers onto the picket lines in the battle to defend their wages against price increases.

This combination of circumstances explains why the inflation has become the number-one preoccupation of the capitalist economic strategists: The high prices of U.S. products and high wage levels of U.S. workers are undermining U.S. competitiveness in world trade.

The "Nixon recession" and the demands of the Business Council fit into this context. The rulers of U.S. industry hoped that increased unemployment would begin the process of stemming the wage increases of American workers. "Progress" on this front has been far from satisfactory—from the capitalists' viewpoint.

It is interesting to refer to the opinions expressed at the Business Council meeting one year ago. The headline of the Oct. 21, 1969, *Wall Street Journal* declared: "Recession risk needed to combat inflation, administration and business leaders agree."

The article stated: "In private conversations, a sampling of key businessmen almost eagerly received the somber economic prescription. 'A recession might be just what it takes,' one said, to shake workers into more diligence about their jobs as well as to moderate wage settlements."

"Another said, unless the U.S. sharply improves its cost performance, it will face two 'gruesome alternatives,' either 'closing our borders' to foreign trade or devaluing the dollar, bringing 'the 1930s all over again.'"

At this time corporate leaders went along with Nixon's "hands off" policy towards strikes. They and Nixon counted on increased unemployment and long holdouts by the corporations to wear down strikers and hold down wage increases.

In its Oct. 18, 1969, issue, *Business Week* commented on the then-impending strike against General Electric: "The union alliance [between the United Electrical workers, International Union of Electrical workers and 11 other unions] is still untested, and 1969 could be its last chance for many years. *Rising unemployment figures could dim members' militancy by the time the next contract reopening rolls around.*" (Emphasis added.)

That was why GE was suddenly anxious to grant a one-year wage reopening contract. By the following year GE believed that workers would be in a more difficult position to bargain for a wage increase.

But the workers saw through this scheme and waged a militant battle for a three-year contract. They delivered a big blow to GE's traditional antiunion policies. Soon afterwards the postal workers took the offensive—and incidentally showed that Nixon would abandon his "hands off" policy and send in the National Guard if he so chose.

Figures released by the Labor Dept. Oct. 24 indicated that major union contracts signed in the first nine months of 1970 provided an annual pay increase averaging 9.6 percent, against 7.6 percent for 1969. "Dimmed militancy" is hardly the right expression for it. At the time of the recent Business Council meeting, the auto

workers were entering the second month of strike against GM.

This does not mean, however, that the recession has had no effect on workers. On the contrary, it has cut deeply into the employment levels of those who need jobs the most. With national unemployment heading towards 6 percent, the unemployment of Black teenagers was nearly six times as high, at 34.9 percent, this fall.

The recession has also begun to effect productivity. As some workers are laid off and the overtime of those who remain on the job is slashed, their productivity will tend to increase. The *Wall Street Journal* put it this way, Aug. 6:

"Crusty bosses have long had a pet theory for improving worker efficiency. 'Give 'em a good hard recession and watch 'em work,' they say. 'If a man has to produce or get laid off, he'll produce.'"

On Oct. 14, the same newspaper reported, "the productivity of most workers has recently begun to rise, after a long period of no gain."

The Oct. 14 *Wall Street Journal* also reported that "wage increases of non-union employees—more than three-quarters of the job force—have been getting smaller." (Emphasis added.)

This shows that the impact of the recession is uneven. An unemployment level that is still insufficient from the bosses' viewpoint to "soften up" workers in basic unionized industry leaves hundreds of thousands of other workers, particularly the young and the Black, without jobs.

How far is the administration willing to go in "permitting" the ranks of the unemployed to swell? This is undoubtedly one of the major questions that was discussed by the Business Council members, first at Hot Springs and then in Washington.

But the press reports of the Business Council proposals indicate that their thinking also followed a different path: If a 6 percent unemployment level is insufficient to bring the unions into line, and unemployment levels much higher are politically risky, then it may be necessary for the government to take direct measures against wages.

This is what top corporate officials mean when they begin to talk about an "incomes policy."

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

by James P. Cannon

An exposition of the political and organizational principles of Marxism revolving around fundamental questions about how to build a revolutionary party. paper \$2.45



Pathfinder Press, Inc.
873 Broadway, NYC 10003

Auto workers hold firm as strike enters new phase

By FRANK LOVELL

The strike pattern in the auto industry continues to unfold on the exact schedule and in complete accord with the dictates and needs of the General Motors Corporation. UAW and GM negotiators jointly announced Oct. 30 that bargaining on the basic issue of wages had resumed and there would be "no further public comment."

This announcement was anticipated by analysts on the side of industry. One such analyst, Leo Cherne, executive director of Research Institute of America, speaking in Detroit, Oct. 26, to a convention of truck body and equipment manufacturers, said that a late November settlement of the strike would make it possible for industry to quickly recapture, in the first quarter of 1971, all economic losses.

GM reported a loss of \$77-million for the third quarter of 1970; in the third quarter of 1969, by comparison, they reported a profit of \$230-million. To insure that this \$307-million difference is made up, GM has already raised the price of cars 6 percent and promises another increase after the wage settlement with the union.

The UAW wage demands are modest, presenting little threat to corporate profits. Over the three-year life of a new contract the union is asking 61.5 cents the first year, up from the present \$4 hourly average, and approximately 30 cents more for each of the other two years.

The crucial question is the cost-of-living escalator clause which gears base wages to the rising cost of living. The auto industry, under the leadership of General Motors, rejects this, insisting that protection of wages against inflation be limited to 3 percent yearly.

The most important issue after

wages is the pension, also modest. The union is asking that any worker who has spent 30 years in an auto plant be eligible for retirement at \$500 a month, regardless of age. The industry says full pension is only for workers at age 58, soon enough to retire.

The GM strike pattern calls for a settlement by the end of November or early December—on terms suitable to the corporation, of course.

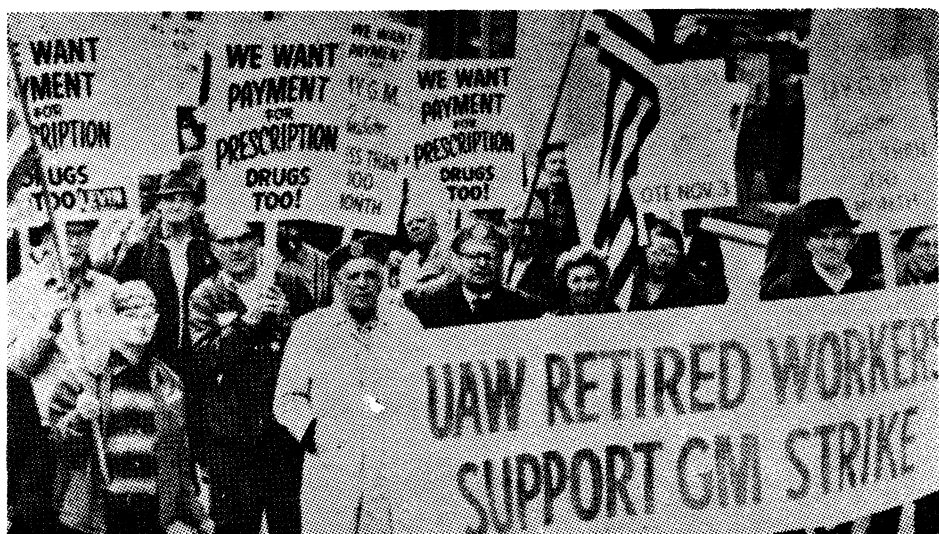
In the first period of the strike, from Sept. 14 to Nov. 1, GM stalled. These first seven weeks were the "bleeding period" during which the temper of the strikers was tested, the \$120-million UAW strike fund drained, and "local grievances" at all GM plants discussed.

Now comes the second stage of the strike. This is expected to extend through November, bringing the strike almost to the third month. Then the "crash negotiations" are scheduled to culminate in a settlement, and by that time the strikers are expected to be in a mood to accept it.

Despite a special assessment of non-striking UAW members, union strike funds are expected to run out by Nov. 23. If strike benefits—a meager \$40 a week maximum—are cut off, the pressure on GM strikers to settle will be greater after that date.

Meantime UAW "educational" continue discussing how the union developed in the past and what its problems were then. Strikers in the Detroit area are not happy with this substitute for their regular UAW meetings, as no current issues are discussed and no decision taken.

The general rank-and-file dissatis-



Retired UAW members turned out in a demonstration of 10,000 to support the GM strike. March was outside GM's Detroit headquarters.

faction and continuing militancy have disrupted to some extent the overall strike pattern as plotted at the outset by the GM strategists. Only 5 of the UAW locals—far less than half—had settled their "local grievances" after seven weeks.

Another sign of the strikers' militancy was the insistence by many that the first-year wage demand of 61.5 cents is too low and ought to be raised.

There are persistent and increasing demands from the ranks for mass strike meetings and for the closing of all GM installations, i.e., for an end to the "selective strike strategy" which allows GM feeder plants for Ford and Chrysler to continue operations.

The scheme to settle all local grievances before settling the national issues has been converted by the strikers into a demand that no one go back to work until all local and national issues are resolved in their favor.

The smooth unfolding of the strike pattern as projected by GM's clever labor advisors is by no means assured. The strikers have learned the signals, and some of the larger and

more strategic GM locals in the Detroit area are holding membership meetings, beginning to intervene directly in the councils and decision-making process of the UAW.

It may be that the vast majority of strikers will be kept dispersed and prevented from directly participating in their strike until their morale has been weakened and they are ready to accept less than would otherwise have been possible for them to win.

It may be that the UAW leaders will keep up the appearance of solidarity among themselves, if not with the strikers.

But the very miserly offer so far submitted by GM negotiators, combined with GM's determination to impose management control over working conditions and production quotas, may be rejected if a "settlement" is offered on these terms.

One thing was certain from the start of the strike. If there is no improvement over the 1967 contract—and especially in the cost-of-living escalator clause—there will be some changes of UAW officials, possibly extending to the top of the heap this time.



Women's liberation notes

Reports have been coming in from across the country of women who were inspired by the militancy of Aug. 26 and are allowing no discrimination to go by unchallenged. The following two examples are indications of the way feminism is finding its way into an ever-growing number of communities.

In front of Borough Hall in Kew Gardens, New York, stands an 11-foot statue of a sword-wielding man with his feet triumphantly planted on the necks of several women. A few weeks ago, a group called Women Wage War demonstrated at the statue, demanding its immediate removal as well as \$200,000 in reparations for the psychological degradation its presence has caused women in the community. One of the placards carried by the group bore an 1838 quotation from feminist Sarah Grimke, "All I ask of our brethren is that they will take their feet from off our necks."

WWW would use the \$200,000 to replace the statue with another sculpture honoring instead of humiliating women and use the remaining funds to set up a child-care center. Throwing the responsibility right back on the women, however, the borough president told them that if they wanted the statue, known as the "Civic Virtue," removed, they would have to raise the \$100,000 required for the job themselves.

Grande Prairie, Texas, a small town outside of Dallas, did not have a women's liberation action Aug. 26. But

last week when the local chamber of commerce sponsored a pre-election forum "for men only," women demonstrated outside the rally site. Protest organizer Maria Mitchell said, "Women don't like to be excluded from things of interest to us. After all," she continued, "women are voters, and we're just as interested as the men in hearing what the candidates have to say so we can be informed when we go to the polls."

When Mitchell confronted the chamber of commerce president on his group's exclusion of women, she was told it was "based on consideration of women, not lack of consideration." The language gets "pretty rough" at such gatherings, he informed Mitchell!

San Francisco women's liberation activists held a press conference Oct. 19 in support of Angela Davis. They pointed to her victimization, contrasting her innocence to the guilt of those who are really responsible for the murders in Marin County. "The responsibility for these murders lies with those who control a system that destroys lives in the U.S. and all over the world," one spokeswoman said.

Not only does recorded history slander women's contributions, it goes on to distort the very names we call ourselves. Varda One reports in *Everywoman* (10 issues for \$2.50 from 6516 West 83 St., Los Angeles, Ca. 90045.) that a Riverside, California, paper now calls feminists "liberation-

ettes." This sounds reminiscent of the way the press used to refer to our sisters as "suffragettes," a term used only by their opponents, when they insisted on being called "suffragists." And for those of us who object to "women's lib," Varda says the *Los Angeles Times* has abbreviated us down to "wom lib"!

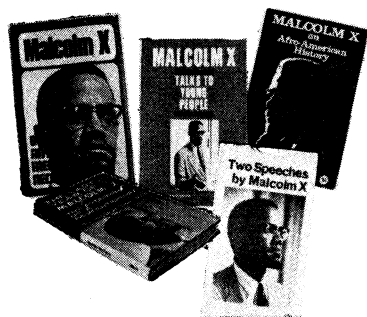
Speaking of women's history, the feminist movement had produced its own archives service. Laura X has opened up a research, lending, corresponding and selling library of everything she could collect on women. Topics she has materials on include women in other counties, specific women, action projects, psychological oppression, infamous men's statements on women, and many others. For information on how you can use the library, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Woman's History Research Center, 2325 Oak, Berkeley, Ca. 94708.

On the weekend of Nov. 13-15, Boston Female Liberation will hold its second regional conference, open to all women. Female Liberation sponsored a similar conference in 1969 which was attended by 600 women and was one of the first such conferences in the country. It will be held at Boston University. For more information on rooms and the agenda, women should call Female Liberation at (617) 262-4030.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

works by and about

Malcolm X



By Malcolm X	Cl.	Pc
The Autobiography of Malcolm X	\$7.50	1.25
By Any Means Necessary	5.95	1.95
Malcolm X Speaks	6.95	.95
Malcolm X On Afro-American History		1.00
Malcolm X Talks to Young People		.35
Two Speeches by Malcolm X		.40
by George Breitman		
The Assassination of Malcolm X		.50
The Last Year of Malcolm X	4.95	1.95
Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas		.35

by Albert Cleage and George Breitman
Myths About Malcolm X: Two Views .50

Order from:
PATHFINDER PRESS, 873 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003



Farm workers in Crystal City, Texas. Their new Raza Unida Party is beginning to win elections and to change conditions. Such independent nationalist parties pose a real challenge to the vote-catching Democratic Party coalition.

Alternatives to two-party system

By FRANK LOVELL
(Fifth in a series)

Within the structure of constitutional democracy, alternatives to the present two-party system are limited. One possibility is to include additional parties representing several contending factions of the capitalist class. Another is the "realignment" of the two major parties. A third option is not voting.

All three of these alternatives seek to change the form and scope of electoral contests without challenging the capitalist monopoly of the electoral arena.

The only meaningful alternative is the organization of mass parties outside of and totally independent of capitalist politics and the capitalist electoral machines. Such parties must be controlled by the unrepresented majority of workers and national minorities.

All four alternatives are presently being tested, reflecting the process of social and political polarization which is developing in this country.

Disenchantment with the major parties and frustration over their failure to provide any meaningful choices prompts discussion about alternatives to the two-party system. Most of the debate is over organizing additional parties representing factions of the capitalist class or remaking the Democratic and Republican parties so as to end up with liberals in one and conservatives in the other. This discussion serves to spark greater interest in electoral politics, one of the reasons for it.

The 1970 general elections have been the occasion for wide speculation about these "alternatives in politics." The campaigns waged by Wallace in Alabama and Buckley in New York, for example, attracted popular attention and some big-money support.

Nixon seeks to purge the Republican Party of such critics of the Vietnam war as Charles E. Goodell, much in the same way as Franklin D. Roosevelt in earlier times sought to purge some Democratic senators who opposed the New Deal.

Those who reject electoral politics and choose not to vote or otherwise participate think they have discovered an alternative. But their decision places them *outside* the electoral arena, which they abandon to the capitalist politicians.

The real reason now for all the talk and for some infighting and shifts within the two-party system is the economic and social crisis that confronts the ruling class. Their difficulties and

differences are expressed through their political parties.

The electoral arena appears to be the center of political activity because this is where public representatives of government must present themselves and where the temper of the mass of voters is tested, if only indirectly and for limited purposes, under well-regulated conditions imposed by the ruling class. But this is neither the beginning nor the end of all political activity. It is what happens outside and beyond the electoral arena that finally determines the outcome of all parliamentary struggles.

It is necessary to look to the organization and development of conflicting social forces, for this is where the process of political polarization begins, where it is most clearly seen.

The huge antiwar demonstrations with hundreds of thousands participating in all sections of the country are forms of political activity.

The student strikes last May, triggered by the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the murder of students at Jackson, Mississippi, and Kent, Ohio, were political strikes.

The massive uprisings of Blacks in the ghettos of Watts, Newark, Detroit, and other cities, although unorganized and leaderless and lacking clearly formulated demands, were significant political events with profound effect—as attested to by subsequent developments during the past few years.

The more recent New York City prison revolts in October this year, demanding reforms in court procedures and the prison system, were likewise political actions.

Efforts by Black communities in New York and other areas to control their own schools challenge the authority of anachronistic school boards and seek basic social and political changes.

The women's liberation movement, which has shown that it can call tens of thousands to demonstrations, is a mass movement, representative of women in all classes of society, organized to fight for fundamental changes in social relations. One of its demands is an amendment to the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing equal rights for women. This alone would impart to the movement a political character, even if it had no other more far-reaching goals.

All this expresses the general restiveness, dissatisfaction, impatience, distrust, resentment, desperation of broad strata of the population. Millions of

youth, Blacks and other minorities, and women of all ages and social classes are questioning the false values of capitalist society. They have little confidence in the electoral process, disdain the hypocrisy of the big-money politicians, strive in their own way, often by means of mass demonstrations for specific demands, to express their opposition to war, racism, poverty, humiliating discrimination, brutality, and other evils of this society.

Their demands are, and should be, addressed to the ruling class, to the government, demanding of *them* that *they* do something to make things better, end war, build houses, improve schools, outlaw discrimination, end poverty.

But such demands cannot and will not be satisfied by the ruling class of this country nor by any government it dominates. Present laws are drafted to serve the needs of capitalism, the needs of that small handful which controls almost the entirety of the world's resources and wealth and uses those possessions for personal, not social gain. The laws are twisted by the courts to meet the special demands of particular sectors of that tiny ruling class.

The police are under the direct control of the dominant local business interests in every city. They move upon command to disperse, beat, jail, or murder those who challenge in whatever manner or threaten in any way the established social relations and the class privileges enjoyed by the employers.

In addition to their naked power, the entrenched rulers enforce their control over the vast majority who are their victims through their monopoly of the electoral arena, which assures them unchallenged control of government.

This control exercised by the ruling class will continue until it is challenged in the electoral arena as well as in the streets by independent parties of the majority, now unrepresented in government. The organization of such parties—which would be organizers of electoral and mass action—is the only decisive alternative to the capitalist two-party system.

There are now important segments of the population who recognize that one of the keys to the solution of the complex social and economic problems that plague them is the extension of mass independent struggles from the streets to the electoral arena as well. Instead of demanding that political

representatives of the ruling class act for the poor and the oppressed, they are organizing their own independent political parties.

As yet there has not developed any lasting and viable mass political party to challenge the established parties of the ruling class. But important starts have been made.

In 1963 there was a general movement for an all-Black Freedom Now Party, and such a party was organized in several localities. In Michigan it was on the state ballot in the 1964 general election, but the organizers of it lost heart when it failed in its first test to gain the required votes to remain on the ballot.

Black nationalism is stronger now than several years ago. Political awareness and broad support for all-Black organizations are greater than in 1963 and the need for such a party independent of the parties of the white ruling class remains.

The earlier movement set the example. And the idea of an independent party to fight for the interests of oppressed nationalities seeking self-determination has won adherents in the Chicano communities where nationalist consciousness is finding new forms of expression.

La Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano political party, has already progressed beyond the example set by the Freedom Now Party. It has recently won local election victories in Texas, defeating white Anglo and *vendido* [sellout] candidates of the Democratic Party. These initial successes have served to popularize the party and La Raza Unida parties have spread to other sections of the country.

Such independent nationalist parties are a direct challenge to the two-party system, the strongest and most serious threat yet to the broad vote-catching coalition around the Democratic Party.

One of the first effects is the loss by the Democratic Party of large blocs of votes which after the break with the Democrats serve to elect authentic representatives to public office from the minority communities.

This is only the beginning of the developing process of social polarization which will produce mass parties representing the working class and oppressed nationalities and challenging the political monopoly of the parties of the employing class.

(To be continued)

Opposition to war measures grows

Nov. 13 protests called across Canada

TORONTO, Nov. 1—Rallies and demonstrations against the war measures act imposed Oct. 16 by the federal government, and for an end to all repressive legislation, will be held in cities across Canada Nov. 13. These demonstrations will coincide with a big assembly in Montreal being called by the Comité Québécois pour la Défense des Libertés (Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom).

The assembly will be the culmination of a series of rallies and teach-ins taking place on campuses and community colleges in Quebec. Nov. 13 was first suggested as a focal point for the protests by the Committee for Defense of Democratic Rights, a Saskatoon-based united-front group which has enlisted support from the student and labor communities and the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. The committee has sent out a call to make Nov. 13 the day for unified protest actions to campus organizations, student councils, newspapers, antiwar committees and other concerned groups.

MONTREAL, Oct. 28—Two thousand students, faculty members and workers rallied at the University of Montreal tonight against the Canadian war measures act. The teach-in, organized by the Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom, showed

the strength and breadth of the mounting protest.

The Parti Québécois, the three trade union confederations, FRAP (a municipal labor-based party), most of the colleges and junior colleges around Montreal, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO—Socialist Workers League), the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LJS—Young Socialist League), and many other organizations either participated or had representatives present.

The teach-in succeeded in focusing the massive opposition in Quebec on support for action—the building of a mass defense movement in the schools, campuses and unions against the repression. Until the teach-in most of the protest had been verbal. The three main trade union confederations had formed a united front immediately after the army occupation. They held a large assembly in Quebec City Oct. 21 which agreed to launch a publicity campaign calling for the repeal of the war measures act and the release of the prisoners detained under the act.

The main voice for the mounting opposition has been the trade union weekly *Quebec-Press*. For three weeks *Quebec-Press* campaigned against the army invasion, exposed the repression, published lists of those arrested, denounced the sham of the elections,

and served as a voice for the election campaign of FRAP.

At the University of Montreal teach-in, Arthur Young, editor of *La Lutte Ouvrière*, imprisoned for a week under the law, called on the labor movement to provide the means for *Quebec-Press* to become a daily if only for the duration of the crisis. The audience repeatedly applauded Young when he said, "Such a meeting as this would not have been possible a week ago. The situation is changing. The government is on the defensive but we have to act now. We can't protect ourselves by shutting up. We've heard a lot of orators tonight but all too few organizers. Tomorrow and for the next few days we have to go out and organize defense committees on all the schools and campuses."

The teach-in agreed to a recommendation from the CQDL organizers that local units of the CQDL be built throughout the city, but the appeal for a daily *Quebec-Press* was lost amidst reports by Confederation of National Trade Unions that it was buying TV and radio time and ads in the establishment press calling for the repeal of the war measures act.

Over 100 people are still behind bars in Quebec despite Trudeau's admission that almost all of them are innocent and will not be charged.

—PHIL COURNEYEUR



African mov't leader on U.S. speaking tour

I. B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, is on a national speaking tour in this country, discussing the freedom struggle in South Africa. Author of books and articles on the Black African movement, Tabata also gave a speaking tour of the U.S. in 1965. His tour is being sponsored by the Committee for a Free South Africa, 2035 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10035. For information please call Jennifer Davis, (212) 724-5729.

Weekly Calendar

AMHERST

STALINISM AND ITS CONTEMPORARY HEIRS. What is Stalinism? Is the Soviet Union socialist? Why Hungary? Why Czechoslovakia? Mon., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. Colonial Lounge, Student Union, U of Mass. Ausp. Militant Forum.

ATLANTA

THE NIXON, HOOVER, AGNEW ATTACK ON CAMPUS ACTIVISM AND HOW TO FIGHT AGAINST IT A panel discussion featuring Hugh Willoughby, student government vice-president, U of Georgia; Dr. John Bugge, Emory U faculty; Jeff Berchenko, Georgia State Student Mobilization Committee; Frank Lord, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Florida. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree. Donation: \$1. For further information call 876-2230.

SOUTHWIDE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE—NOVEMBER 14-15. Schedule: Saturday, Nov. 14, 10 a.m.—Registration; 11 a.m.-1 p.m.—Paul Boutelle, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for congress in Harlem, on Black America and the Arab Revolution; 2-4 p.m.—Evelyn Reed, noted anthropologist and women's liberation theoretician, on How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny and How They Can Regain It; 8-12 p.m.—Party. Sunday, Nov. 15, 10:30 a.m.-12:00 noon—Young Socialist area reports from activists around the South; 1-3:30 p.m.—Panel on Black and Chicano Political Parties and the Struggle for National Liberation, participants: Jose Angel Gutierrez, leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party; Raleigh Jagger, Malcolm X United Liberation Front, Tallahassee, Florida; and Paul Boutelle. Admission: \$3 for whole conference, \$1 each session. Place: Emory University, Longstreet Dormitory, recreation room. Auspices: Atlanta Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

BOSTON

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS VS. TERRORISM: Why terrorism cannot bring social change in the U.S. Speaker: Joe Miles, Black antiwar activist and founder of Ft. Jackson GIs United Against the War. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information call 536-6981 or 731-3985.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM OF THE AIR. A socialist perspective on current issues. Tuesdays, 6 to 7 p.m. WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sundays, 7 to 8 p.m. WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tuesday, Nov. 10 and Sunday, Nov. 15: Debate on the Future of the Middle East. Michael Walzer, Harvard professor, and Jon Rothschild, 1970 New York Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lt. governor. Tues-

day, Nov. 17 and Sunday, Nov. 22: An interview with Myrna Lamb, feminist playwright, and a reading of her latest play, *Scykion Z*. For more information, call (617) 536-6981.

CHICAGO

THE REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMIC OF CHICANO LIBERATION; BLACK NATIONALISM AND THE COMING REVOLUTION. Speakers: Daren Boulton and Hilda Rangel, Young Socialist Alliance national field secretaries. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Rm. 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

Eyewitness report on the military occupation of Quebec and the growth of the separatist movement. Speaker: Larry Seigle, editor of the *International Socialist Review* and recently returned from Quebec. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect. For further information call 861-3862. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

DETROIT

THE POLITICS OF THE UAW STRIKE. Speaker: John Anderson, retired auto worker and former president UAW Local 15, Fleetwood Fisher Body. Fri., Nov. 13, 8:00 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THIRD WORLD WOMEN SPEAK OUT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION. A panel of Third World activists will discuss the importance of the women's liberation movement to the struggles of oppressed minorities. Fri., Nov. 13, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

AT OUR NEW FORUM HALL: Marxism and Individual Terror—A Revolutionary View. Speaker: Harry Ring, editor of *The Militant*. Fri., Nov. 13, 8:30 p.m. NOTE NEW ADDRESS: 706 Broadway (two blocks south of 8th St.), 8th floor. Contrib.: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

YELLOW SPRINGS

OHIO YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE REGIONAL CONFERENCE. Nov. 14-15, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Registration 10 a.m. Sat. Speakers: Larry Seigle, editor of the *International Socialist Review*; John Hawkins, Detroit Black activist; Rich Finkel, YSA national office. Educational and organizational workshops scheduled for both days. Registration fee: \$2. For further information call (216) 861-3862, or write 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

Detroit Panthers fighting murder frame-up charges

By MACEO DIXON

DETROIT—It is undeniably apparent that government, both local and national, is trying to crush the Black Panther Party. Since the inception of the BPP, government officials and police have employed the frame-up of the party's local and national leaders in an effort to silence the party and to weaken it organizationally.

Seeing that this approach only rallied more young Blacks to the defense of the party, government officials and police have resorted to armed attacks upon Panther members and headquarters across the country.

On Saturday, Oct. 24, one police officer lay dead and another wounded after a confrontation with the Black community in the area of the Black Panther headquarters on Detroit's West Side. Within the last two weeks, Detroit police have conducted several actions against the Black Panthers.

Police arrived at their two former headquarters on Detroit's Northwest and East Sides en masse and in full "riot gear" to serve indictments on members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism. The NCCF had occupied its current headquarters for not more than two weeks before the latest incident occurred.

According to Chuck Holt of the Detroit branch of the NCCF, the incident began when two cops left their car and attacked two youths, aged 11 and 13, who were selling the Panther paper in the area around their new headquarters on 16th and Myrtle.

Two members of the NCCF within the area called out to the community for help. Police then turned upon these two and began beating them. A crowd gathered. Several people attempted to intervene and halt the attack.

More squad cars were called in and opened fire on the crowd. People in the area defended themselves. When the confrontation ended, one cop lay

wounded and another dead. Four of the close-to-25 squad cars that had arrived were in flames.

According to the police version, after seeing several people run toward the Panther headquarters on Myrtle and 16th, the police converged on the NCCF office. Police began firing upon the office and were met with an exchange of gun fire.

"The Black Panther Party believes in liberation for the entire Black community," said Chuck Holt of the NCCF. "Blacks who defend themselves get arrested for conspiracy to commit murder. When the pigs vamp on the brothers for conspiracy to commit murder, it's really a conspiracy to defend ourselves against the racists."

He continued, "the Panthers intend to organize a defense campaign around the most recent attack and the charges brought against them."

Fourteen are being held in jail on charges of murder and conspiracy to commit murder. Bonds range up to \$25,000. Three others have been charged with lesser offenses.

The Panthers are currently being defended by Ken Cockrel, Justin Ravitz, Hugh Davis and Elliott Hall. All funds for the defense can be sent to National Committee to Combat Fascism, Ministry of Information, 12845 14th St., Detroit, Mich.

Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question

Introduction by Peter Buch

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



PATHFINDER PRESS
873 BROADWAY
N.Y., N.Y. 10003

In In B In Br In Bri In Brie In Brief

WIN OVER ARMY: The trouble began when Nora Simon, a properly wed Army WAC, became pregnant. That was too much for America's first line of defense, which had her summarily discharged in July 1968. Nearly two years later, the 24-year-old medical technologist had her marriage annulled, gave up the baby for adoption and attempted to reenlist. The Army said no, pointing to an obscure military regulation that prohibits women who have become pregnant from entering the Army. Simon got in touch with the American Civil Liberties Union and challenged the ruling. This month she won the case. "They wouldn't hire me because I'm a woman," she told this column. "That's wrong." Simon believes there is discrimination in the Army. "Why not child care for women with children in the Army?" she wants to know. That may not be the only question Nora Simon is likely to ask. She says that when she returns to the service next month, she'll be joining a women's liberation group and continuing to press other issues. "I marched in the August 26 women's liberation march in New York City," she explains. Gaining equal rights for women is going to take time, she says. "It took us 4,000 years just to start voting," she pointed out in a telephone interview. "It's ridiculous." Why was she reenlisting? "I'm against the war," she says, "but there's nothing wrong with going into the Army if you're not carrying a gun. I'm going to help the sick, not destroy."

POISONING SEALS AND PEOPLE: Newest pollution atrocity is the discovery this week by federal marine biologists of lethal quantities of mercury in the livers of Alaskan fur seals. "You have to be worried by this amount of mercury," Dr. George Harry, director of Seattle's Marine Mammal Biological Laboratory, says by phone. He says that in 29 female seals examined, laboratory scientists found that the mercury content ranged from 19 to 172 parts per million. The amount is the largest ever discovered in marine mammals. The Food and Drug Administration, says Harry, has set a tolerance level of 0.5 parts per million for human consumption. What will the mercury deposits do? The toxic levels may affect the nervous system and reproduction of seals, Dr. Harry reports. The native Aleuts of Alaska, who eat large amounts of seal meat, also face dangers. Dr. Harry says that humans who have eaten food

with excessive amounts of mercury have become virtual human vegetables due to brain damage. The most likely source of the mercury is the industrial waste poured into the Pacific Ocean by pulp plants along the northwest coast.

SDS MARCH: Some 1,500 demonstrators assembled at Wayne State University for a national PL-SDS rally in Detroit on election day, Nov. 3. Theme of the rally was that elections are a hoax. The rally was the main fall action of SDS, once a massive new left radical organization now reduced to a small sect dominated by Progressive Labor Party in Boston. The position on elections appears to be a shift from past stances. In 1966, PL ran a candidate of its own in New York City and has supported several other campaigns. The politics of the Detroit demonstration was all PL. "All nationalism is a tool of the bosses," Ken Solks, a member of the Canadian Party of Labor, PL's northern counterpart, told the crowd.

FRAME-UP AT FT. LEWIS: Six soldiers accused of disobeying a direct order for shipment to Vietnam were court-martialed and convicted at Ft. Lewis, Wash., last week. The men refused the orders in June. The sentences were heavy. Sp/4 Carl Dix, 21, received two years and a bad conduct discharge; Pvt. James Allen, 23, three years and a dishonorable discharge; Pfc. Paul Forrest, 22, two years and a dishonorable discharge; Pfc. Manuel Perez, 25, one year and a bad conduct discharge; Pfc. Larry Galgano, 24, one year and a bad conduct discharge; and Pfc. Jeffrey Griffith, 27, one month and no discharge. "It automatically goes to the military board of appeals which reviews the case on its merit," Bob Barnes, one of the members of the defense committee, said by telephone. "There is little chance that the sentences will be reversed, but a good chance the sentences will be reduced. But that's just speculation." The six GIs filed for conscientious objector status before refusing Vietnam war duty, but the Army turned them down. They have been imprisoned in the stockade since June. Contributions and letters of support may be sent to the Ft. Lewis Six Defense Fund, Box 2444, Tacoma, Wash. 98409.

CAMPUS SPEAKERS LIST: The court ruling last week that blocked official government distribution or publication of a list of 65 radical campus speakers put out by the House Internal Security Committee was believed to have been unprecedented. Judge Gerhard A. Gesell of the U.S. district court in Washington says that publishing the list at public expense was "illegal" and a violation of free speech. Although the list of 65 individuals had already been distributed to the press by HISC, the court ruling remained something of a civil rights victory. The house committee is the same HUAC that engaged in the rabid witch-hunt of the late forties and fifties, using its apparatus to "expose" leftists. Civil libertarians argued then—and now—that the committee had no legislative purpose and was indulging in unconstitutional activity. Intimidation 1950-style is not likely to work in 1970, however. "I'll have to double my campus speaking engagements next year," was Paul Boutelle's first comment on learning that he made the list. Boutelle was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president in 1968 and a New York congressional candidate this year. Campus activists can sign up Boutelle to speak or get other SWP leaders to speak at colleges and university by writing the Education Department, SWP, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

RECRUITMENT UP: The YSA continues to forge ahead. Latest statistics from the YSA are that new members are joining at the rate of 25 per week since mid-September when campuses and high schools opened. Between 200 and 300 YSAers have joined in the last seven weeks, a YSA officer said. Recruitment rate between January and July 1970 was about 14 new members per week.

THE CALDWELL AFFAIR: When Earl Caldwell turned down a subpoena to testify on the Black Panther Party before a closed-door grand jury in San Francisco earlier this year, he acknowledges that he had little choice. Caldwell is a Black reporter with the New York Times and he says that testifying against the Panthers would ruin his credibility in the Black community. He won't testify against anybody. "I am a journalist," says Caldwell in an interview with this reporter. "I don't give information to the FBI." For his principles, Caldwell was convicted of contempt of court by a U.S. district court in August that could put him behind bars until the grand jury completes its work at the end of 1971. But Caldwell still won't testify. The case is currently on appeal. He believes, he said, that the government used illegal bugging devices to monitor his interviews with officials of the Black Panther Party. It is possible that the government, not able to

Tenn. student gets 2 years

A University of Tennessee student was sentenced to two years in prison on incitement to riot charges stemming from a demonstration Jan. 15. The student, Peter Kami, immediately announced that he would appeal. Defense witnesses, including the president and vice-president of the student government, testified that Kami had incited no riot. The demonstration had been called to protest the appointment of a new university president whose qualifications were considered poor and who had been expressly opposed by the university student government.

The trial, first of a series slated for this fall and winter, is an effort by university and city and state officials to frame a group known as the Knoxville 22, arrested last January during the four-hour protest. At Kami's trial, the prosecution produced only a 40-second film clip illustrating the "riot," which amounted to no more than some pushing and shoving at the entrance to the administration building.

Kami's ideas were unquestionably on trial in Knoxville. Chancellor Charles Weaver, testifying for the prosecution, recalled a conversation he had had with Kami nearly a year before the protest. "The gist of the talk," Weaver told the court, "was that it would take a revolution to straighten out the country and the university." Said Weaver: "It was shocking."

Kami swore that he had advocated no violence in his talk with Weaver. "People like Weaver are going to cause the revolution because they symbolize the kind of reactionary force that doesn't allow any kind of peaceful change," Kami told the court.

A Brazilian by birth, Kami has learned that Congressman John Duncan, brother of trial judge Joseph Duncan, is moving on deportation proceedings.

Two more students, Carroll Bible and Rick Flowers, are expected to go on trial Nov. 4, also for incitement to riot.

Contributions to aid the students can be sent to the Knoxville 22 Legal Defense, c/o Mike Lemonds, P.O. Box 8641 University Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

Last month, the first of a series of trials took place in Knoxville resulting from the May 28 appearance of Richard Nixon at a Billy Graham Crusade rally. More than 1,000 demonstrators took part.

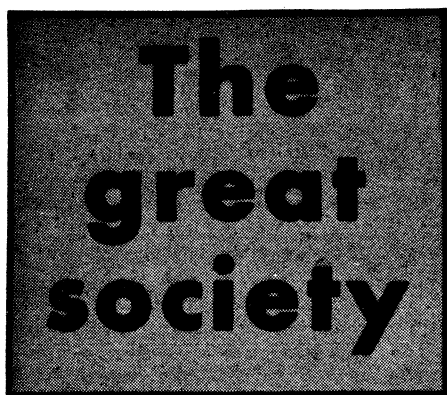
Terry L. Reynolds was sentenced to 60 days in jail and a \$50 fine and Charles Brown received 50 days in jail and a \$50 fine. Brown was accused of carrying a vulgar sign outside the football stadium where the Nixon-Graham rally was in process. Reynolds was charged with shouting obscenities in the stadium. He produced a witness, a minister, who testified that he sat one seat away from Reynolds and that he never once shouted. Both students will appeal to the Tennessee court of criminal appeal.

produce information gained through illegal eavesdropping, hopes to produce Caldwell himself. Besides balking, Caldwell insists he possesses no damaging information against the Panthers anyway. The Times position on the case remains ambivalent. This column has learned that Times managing editor A.M. Rosenthal circulated a private memo to his news staff announcing that the Times decided it would not officially back Caldwell's appeal. The memo, distributed in June, caused a furor among the paper's Black reporters. "We are not going to join the appeal," Rosenthal wrote, "because we feel that when a reporter refuses to authenticate his story, the Times, must, in a formal sense, stand aside." Three months later, the Times did file a friend-of-the-court brief, but appears to be sticking to its view that reporters should go to court to authenticate their stories. "Authenticate" is the wrong word, however. It is apparent the U.S. wanted Caldwell to be both "a journalist and a police informer at the same time," as Victor Woedheide, a U.S. attorney with the Justice Department said in an interview with Newsday, a Long Island paper, June 16. Meanwhile, Black reporters in New York, organized together in a group called Black Perspective fired back their own memo blasting Rosenthal's position. "The media employers support journalists in freedom of the press cases as a last resort," a Black New York Times reporter told us. "They don't want to criticize the government. They don't want to resist the government in any meaningful way."

— RANDY FURST



Listed: Paul Boutelle



Oh—The following in from the Oct. 23 *Portland Oregonian*: "A Small Correction: . . . an article about Tom Walsh, candidate for city council, quoted him as saying highly trained policemen were being used for 'menial tasks like rolling drunks. . . .' The word was 'handling' rather than rolling, which has an altogether different meaning."

Funniest headline of the week—"Police Aides Told to Rid Commands of All Dishonesty."—The Oct. 29 *New York Times*.

The esthetic approach—In our neighborhood a saying was, "If bull-shit was music, he'd be the leader of the band." We were reminded of this on reading the defense of TV campaign jingles by adman Robert Goodman, who explained, "We want our candidates to be liked more than understood. We're reaching for the heart rather than the mind. We think music is a very emotional selling tool. There's an essence to each campaign that can be captured in music."

They meant ghastly—The *Miami Herald* apologized for allegedly inadvertently scrambling a TV movie review with an announcement of a presidential speech. The combined announcement stated: "President Nixon delivers a campaign speech at Miami Convention Hall. Ghostly and menacing presence." So?

—HARRY RING



TRUE STATUS. San Francisco executives are installing luxurious toilets in their offices as a true symbol of their status. "When they get to the top," a psychiatrist explained to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "they find themselves more and more limited in the way in which they can demonstrate their exclusivity." Here we behold loan company president Elwood Hansen with his bluebird-bedecked early model of the water closet first designed for British royalty by Sir Thomas Crapper.

Czechoslovakia

Trial of political dissidents postponed

Government officials in Prague have announced the indefinite postponement of the trial of eight intellectuals who gained prominence as supporters of the 1968 democratization, Eric Bourne reported in the October 16 *Christian Science Monitor*.

That a trial was scheduled had become public knowledge only three days earlier.

The official reason for the postponement was the illness of one defendant, but Bourne wrote that "informed sources" consider "the postponement . . . essentially a political action . . . and that it represents a signal victory for party leader Gustav Husak . . ."

Bourne was referring to the difference of opinion within the Stalinist

bureaucracy over how far to proceed against leaders of the democratization movement.

The more pro-Moscow forces are demanding political show trials in the style of the 1950s in order to help the Kremlin justify the 1968 invasion to the Soviet public. Husak, while willing to aid the Kremlin in this, is also said to fear the effect such trials would have on public opinion in Czechoslovakia and on his attempts to reconcile writers and intellectuals to post-1968 conditions.

It is not clear what effect the postponement will have on the status of the defendants. Bourne wrote October 13 that "most" of them were free while awaiting trial.

The eight defendants are said to include Ludvik Vaculik, the author of the "Two Thousands Words" manifesto; Rudolf Battek, one of the founders of a group of nonparty leftists who supported Dubcek; and chess master Ludek Pachman. Pachman is the defendant who was ill. He was recently transferred from the criminal wing of a psychiatric hospital, where he had been held since his arrest.

The charge against the eight is "slandering" the state, which they are alleged to have done by signing a petition protesting the loss of political liberties since the 1968 invasion.

Intercontinental Press

Behind the death of a salesman--1970

Matt Maniaci, 33, a top salesman for Cleveland-based Scott & Fetzer Co., starts the week loudly singing a company-written song about the joys of peddling Kirby vacuum cleaners door-to-door.

Men who sell advertising space for Dow Jones & Co., publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*, are occasionally required to appear in public wearing paper space suits.

And Jack Morton Productions of New York, reports Greg Conderacci in the Oct. 13 *Wall Street Journal*, "has come up with programs that involve prodding salesmen through plastic tunnels filled with artificial fog, blinking strobe lights and weird noises."

A plot to drive weary salesmen to early retirement? Not at all, says Conderacci. It's just an attempt "to prod them to work harder and sell more at a time when a sluggish economy makes it more difficult to land orders."

Others, however, might argue that

it's a case of big corporations taking advantage of the economic slump to get more work out of their white-collar employees who—unlike most production workers—are not protected by a union.

It may amaze some, as the *Journal* article reports, "that grown men will take part in such goings-on." But in reality the salesmen have no choice. The highest unemployment rate in six years forces them to put up with almost anything to keep the job they have, no matter how degrading some aspects of it may be. And this is a factor big companies are relying on in their push for increased sales.

If their own sales directors can't dream up enough bizarre gimmicks, they can turn for help to a number of new sales-incentive firms that have sprung up recently.

Dayton-based E. F. MacDonald, for example, suggests salesmen's wives be

enlisted in the battle through a series of "teaser mailings." One they highly recommend is a little brush accompanied by this note: "Cajole your husband, nag him. Maybe he'll have some performance ideas which can earn a new waxer-polisher for you to take the drudgery out of some of that scrubbing."

If that doesn't work it can be followed up, they say, by a thimble and this note: "give your husband the needle and maybe he'll present you with a brand new sewing machine."

Several firms, though, indicate they don't need such fancy techniques. Old-fashioned National Cash Register reports that publicizing a salesman's bad month is still its biggest motivator. And stone-age Bearings, Inc., of Cleveland tops them all: "We tell our salesmen that if they do a good job they get to keep it."

—MICHAEL BAUMANN

Local socialist directory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Vera Westerberg, 1360 Sumac, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o Miguel Pendas, 313A N. Illinois, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80907.

Denver: Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203.

FLORIDA: Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

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

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

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Dennis Drake, 3321 Tapp Road, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrenceville: YSA, c/o Debby Deegan, 1005 Kentucky, Lawrence, Kans. Tel: (913) 842-9285.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Rm. 418B Student Union, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

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

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

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

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

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, Michigan State U., East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, UMKC Student Center, Box 38, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, McArthur Hotel, 100 N. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. 63101.

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

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

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

Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 272, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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

New York City: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway, 8th floor (2 bl. S. of 8th St.), New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (SWP) 982-6051, (YSA) 982-8214, (Merit Books) 982-5840.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sandy Knoll, Box 250, Memorial Hall, U of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220. Tel: (513) 475-2721.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleve-

land, Ohio 44115. Tel: (216) 861-3862.

Kent: YSA, Box 1, Musselman Hall, Kent State U., Kent, Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 672-4956.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Michael Lemonds, P.O. Box 8641, University St., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 523-8445.

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

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

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

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

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

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, P.O. Box 2301 C.S., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

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

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

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

Referendums on Vietnam withdrawal carry

By DICK ROBERTS

NOV. 4—A referendum calling for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia was passed yesterday in San Francisco, Calif.

With 60 percent of the votes counted, a similar referendum in Detroit was leading by 63 percent for withdrawal, 37 percent opposed.

In Massachusetts, where the question of the war was also on the ballot, 85 percent voted for either immediate withdrawal, or "withdrawal . . . according to a planned schedule."

These were the only places in the country where voters were given a chance to cast a vote on the most important political question facing Americans—the war in Vietnam.

Computer problems in Detroit were delaying a final count there. At the 60 percent mark, the vote was 142,541 for withdrawal, 82,004 opposed. In San Francisco, the final vote was 107,785 for withdrawal and 102,731 opposed, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

A referendum for withdrawal in Marin County, California, won by 39,940 votes to 33,827.

Despite the highly advertised attempt of Nixon and Agnew to lump American workers into one category and claim them as supporters of administration war policies, both the Detroit and San Francisco referendums had strong labor backing. In Detroit, the UAW's Community Action Program called for a vote in favor of withdrawal on the sample ballots it distributed.

The vote on a three-way referendum in Massachusetts also underlined the unpopularity of the war. The votes ran: 558,975 for "withdraw our armed forces in accordance with a planned

schedule"; 347,462 for "withdraw all our armed forces immediately"; and 150,984 for "win a military victory."

In Boston, the votes between gradual and immediate withdrawal were very close: 37,652 for "withdraw . . . in accordance with a planned schedule"; and 37,164 for "withdraw . . . immediately."

To be noted about the Massachusetts vote is the fact that if Nixon had been honestly presenting Washington's Vietnam policies to the American voter—and Nixon is seeking a military victory in Southeast Asia—the vote for immediate withdrawal would undoubtedly have been even higher. The figures given above for the Massachusetts vote in favor of military victory amount to less than 15 percent of the total vote.

The San Francisco referendum was an unequivocal statement of opposition to Washington's war policies. It declared:

"It shall be the policy of the people of the City and County of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

This was endorsed by the San Francisco Labor Council, the Joint Legislative Committee of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, and the San Francisco Building and Construction Trades Council.

A precinct worker in the Fillmore Black community reported a more than 90-percent vote in favor of immediate withdrawal.

A letter calling for a "yes" vote on the San Francisco referendum was sent to trade unionists by seven leading unionists of the "Labor Support Committee." It declared, in part: "We have the privilege in San Francisco of doing what most Americans cannot—officially registering our opinion on the war in the voting booth. . . .

"[We invite] the special endorsement and participation of your union to help insure a majority vote on the issue of the war. We would like to address your next general meeting in order to answer questions and to acquaint you with the campaign."

Antiwar activists who spoke for the



Photo by Manny Russell

SMC calls for immediate withdrawal vote in Boston Oct. 31.

referendum at trade-union meetings reported a favorable response.

Two Democratic Party assemblymen in San Francisco, John Burton and Willie Brown, also endorsed the referendum. But, by and large, capitalist politicians avoided raising the issue in their campaigns. And there was a virtual press blackout on the referendum, broken only when the two major San Francisco papers editorialized against a withdrawal vote.

Nevertheless, nearly 90 percent of the San Francisco voters took sides on the referendum, showing significant interest in the issue.

In Detroit and Boston the referendums received more publicity and they were endorsed by top Democratic Party politicians, although here again, the capitalist politicians kept the referendum issue out of their campaigns.

The withdrawal vote in Detroit was endorsed by former Democratic mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh and Demo-

cratic congressmen John Conyers and Charles C. Diggs Jr.

Massachusetts senator Edward Kennedy was forced to say he supported an immediate withdrawal vote on the Massachusetts referendum when he was confronted with the question face-to-face by Socialist Workers Party candidates. But Kennedy otherwise avoided the question throughout his campaign.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates in all three states made support to the withdrawal referendums a key part of their campaigns.

The immediate withdrawal vote in Boston was endorsed by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (AFL-CIO), Packinghouse Workers (P-575), American Jewish Congress (Commission on Law & Social Action), as well as many antiwar and radical organizations.

All three referendums were strongly supported and actively backed by the Student Mobilization Committee.

Angela Davis wins release from solitary

NEW YORK, Nov. 5—A federal judge ruled yesterday that Angela Davis, a Black member of the Communist Party, must be removed from solitary confinement. Davis, with the help of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, filed a suit against city and state prison officials, as well as Mayor Lindsay, charging violation of her constitutional rights by putting her in solitary confinement for no special reason.

Davis is being held temporarily at the Women's House of Detention in New York and is fighting extradition to California.

To justify her confinement, prison officials coughed up the lame excuse that "she could possibly have a serious and destructive influence on the rest of the prison population."

However, when Davis, who taught philosophy at UCLA, was in the regular prison area, officials report only that there was much interest and discussion generated. Thus, it was the growing political awareness on the part of the prisoners that caused officials to segregate Davis.

Support for Davis' defense effort continues to grow. The Young Women's Christian Association, which has never before made a statement on behalf of an individual, issued a statement supporting Angela Davis' rights, saying that everything possible should be done "to insure that a woman, a Black woman, a Black woman associated with controversial issues and causes, be granted equal and impartial justice as guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution."

Texas Raza Unida charges election fraud

By MARIANA HERNANDEZ and ANTONIO CAMEJO

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas—La Raza Unida Party candidates in the overwhelmingly Chicano counties of Zavala, Dimmit and LaSalle were prevented from achieving an almost certain electoral victory Nov. 3. At fault were a series of factors ranging from state and federal court decisions ruling the party off the ballot to illegal county procedures in printing ballots and counting write-ins, denial of the constitutional right to vote for illiterates, and even refusal to help physically handicapped Chicanos write in votes for La Raza Unida candidates.

Jose Angel Gutierrez, Raza Unida Party leader, charged "harassment, intimidation and outright fraud." Gutierrez, who is preparing legal action against county officials, outlined instances of violation of federal voting-rights laws and the state election code.

In spite of the election swindle, La Raza Unida Party candidates in Zavala County won over 40 percent of the vote.

Roel Rodriguez, 24, Raza Unida's sole winner, was elected to the post of LaSalle county commissioner for precinct three, defeating incumbent Democrat Charles Fred Hillje.

Undaunted by defeats in other races,

Gutierrez stated that work on the 1972 statewide elections will begin in January 1971. Pointing to the significant voter turnout despite the difficulties, as well as the victory of Rodriguez, he continued: "We are capturing the imagination of the Chicano voter. This

is the party that is finally opening up an avenue so they can express themselves, their frustrations, anger and aspirations. . . . With the 18-year-old vote and a place on the ballot for our party, the gringos can kiss South Texas good-bye."

Denver Raza headquarters raided; candidates score significant vote

By RON MARGOLIS

DENVER, Nov. 4—On election eve cops busted into the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice and wrecked the place, making off with \$850 in Raza Unida Party funds and causing about \$5,000 in damage, according to Denver Chicano leader Corky Gonzales.

One person was arrested in the pre-dawn Nov. 4 raid in which windows were smashed, doors were ripped off the hinges, tapes were seized, and files were scattered all over. The police had search warrants and claimed to be "looking for weapons," but when reached for comment the following morning they refused to make any

statement on the raid.

La Raza Unida received an impressive number of votes for a newly formed party: for governor and lieutenant governor, Al Gurule and George Garcia won 12,211 votes, 1.8 percent of the total; state treasurer, Leo Valdez, 18,728 votes, 3 percent; secretary of state, M. Avila, 14,540 votes, 2.3 percent; and University of Colorado board of regents, Marcus Saiz and Marcella Trujillo, 17,040 and 22,465 votes, 4 and 5 percent, respectively.

Funds to help repair police damage and letters of support may be sent to: Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colo. 80218.