

Capitalism and the Pakistan cyclone disaster

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THE MILITANT

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Interview with Raza Unida spokesman Corky Gonzales

— pages 10-11 —

A dangerous new aggression

Nixon bombing opens door for further escalation

— see pages 4, 5



Photo by Karl Bermann

PROTEST ACTION. Within hours after Saturday, Nov. 21, disclosure of bombing of North Vietnam, New York Student Mobilization Committee began organizing public protest. On Monday afternoon a hundred SMCers staged a picket-line demonstration in Times Square.

Worcester workers back withdrawal

Heavy antiwar vote in Nov. 3 referendum

Worcester, Mass.

Some very interesting results were found when reviewing the results of the Nov. 3 Vietnam referendum in Worcester, Mass. Option A (military victory) received 14 percent in the city (the same as statewide), option B (gradual withdrawal) received 50 percent (3 percent lower than statewide) and option C (immediate withdrawal) received 36 percent (3 percent higher than statewide).

The results in two Worcester precincts will be very surprising to those who subscribe to Nixon's silent majority myth. In one precinct, immediate withdrawal won a majority (52 percent) and in another a plurality (43 percent). The area in which these precincts are located is a typical working-class area of Worcester—predominantly Italian-American and lower-middle class to blue-collar worker in composition. It contains a number of small factories and shops.

A survey was taken to find out why the people voted for immediate withdrawal. The main reasons given were: a) the loss of many relatives either in Vietnam or in previous wars in which

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.

the U.S. has been involved; and b) the severe unemployment and impoverished state the residents now find themselves in because of Nixon's economic policies. This clearly shows who is really being affected the most by the continuation of the war—the average American worker.

Alan Einhorn

New action army

APO San Francisco, Calif.

Most of the guys in my unit are against the war. Many plan to support the antiwar movement when they get home.

P. V.

Correction

Cambridge, Mass.

Thank you for printing our letter on the recent wave of arrests of dissident Iranian intellectuals in the Nov. 20 *Militant*. Our address was noted incorrectly, however. Statements of support and donations for legal defense should be sent to P.O. Box 82 (MIT Branch), Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

Committee to Defend
Iranian Political Prisoners

Sees serious weakness in lack of unity on left

San Francisco, Calif.

Frank Lovell's articles on alternatives to the two-party system are very interesting, but he fails to mention a very important facet of the new, anti-establishment politics. As far as the left is concerned, it's not that there aren't enough alternatives; there are too many.

During the last presidential election, the far right was represented by one party, George Wallace's American Independent Party, but on the left there were these parties, some functional and some only nominal: Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Labor Party, Communist Party, and assorted Peace and Freedom and Freedom and Peace parties. (Now there is also the Raza Unida Party.) All of them together did not get as many votes as the American Independent Party. Why? Because the left has separate, independent, and sometimes opposing, organizations. This is not only foolish, it is a serious weakness on the revolutionary front.

I belong to the Peace and Freedom Party but I have very little hope for it unless all the leftists can get together and work together, even though this may mean the dissolution of the PFP. If the left is to play an important role in the future, if any, of America, the

leaders of all the anti-establishment, socialist-leaning parties must get together and—though I don't know which organizations should be sacrificed—agree to consolidate their leadership, their resources and (most important) their registered voters into one or, at the most, two political parties. We all remember the old adage, "United we stand, divided we fall." Let's take it seriously.

Dale Rasmussen

SWP campaign has impact on Minneapolis school

Minneapolis, Minn.

When I walked into Oak Grove Junior High School in suburban Minneapolis for a Socialist Workers Party campaign speaking engagement Oct. 27, the first thing I saw was a huge banner proclaiming "Socialistic Revolution." Students were wearing arm-bands reading "Harary" and "Strebe" (SWP candidates for governor and senator from Minn.) and the walls were covered with signs and banners urging: "Make socialism, not war," "Against poverty? Vote socialist," "A vote for socialism is a vote for freedom," and "You like war? No? Be a socialist."

Before Oak Grove students came across a single copy of an SWP campaign brochure, only the Democratic and Republican party supporters had been campaigning for the mock election slated to be held in their school. But after reading the SWP brochure, they started a socialist headquarters, made a tape explaining socialism, which could be dialed through the school telephone system, and invited me to speak.

After the SWP campaign meeting 11 students signed up for more information about the YSA and five have joined so far. A Student Mobilization Committee and a women's liberation organization are in the process of being formed and students are discussing running socialist candidates in the next student government election.

The radicalization of the students at Oak Grove Junior High School has prompted discussion in the Twin Cities YSA and SWP on incorporating into future campaigns a plank for lowering the voting age to 12.

Mimi Harary

Pleased

Macedonia, Ohio

I would like to express my sincere thanks for Dick Roberts' articles on the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. How great it would be if the bourgeois press would print this kind of article. They won't, of course, because they print only what benefits the ruling class.

J. M.

GM striker censured for opposing student support

Van Nuys, Calif.

A small group of GM strikers at their Van Nuys, Calif., UAW hall blocked student sympathizers from delivering a truckload of food intended for distribution to needy strikers' families. The food had been collected in response to calls for help from the UAW, which conducted a nationwide campaign to get student support for the strike against GM.

Frank Shaw, an ultraright union spokesman who had rallied the strik-

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

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Closing news date—Nov. 25

ers against the students, was quoted by the *Los Angeles Times* as saying, "We don't want any of their...commie food when they are over there killing our kids in Vietnam."

The local union executive board voted unanimously to bar Shaw from the union premises and from participation in strike activities because of his disruptive actions.

While taking this necessary action against Shaw and his antics, the local UAW executive board nonetheless sought to limit strike aid, barring gifts from Progressive Labor Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Communist Party, John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan.

One striker, when asked why he thought the students who had brought the food were radicals, was quoted as saying, "I don't know. I heard it from Shaw, and I heard he got it from the FBI."

J. B.

Dale Garee defense

Carbondale, Ill.

Thanks for the good coverage of the Dale Garee case here in Carbondale. Your story was as detailed as the local school paper's.

John Center

Advertisement

Merit Pamphlets

IN DEFENSE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

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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

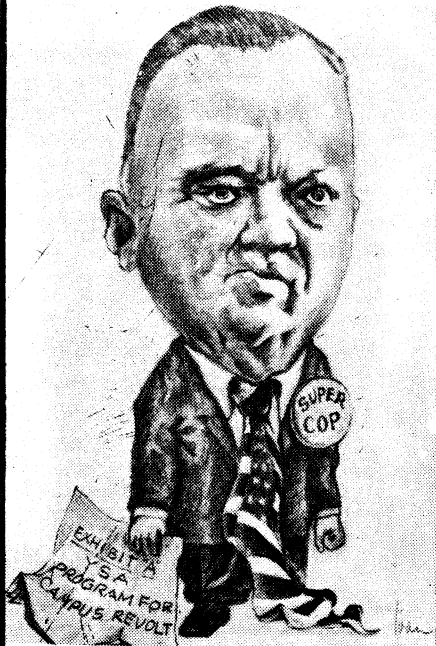
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by George Novack 25¢

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10th nat'l YSA convention set for N.Y., Dec. 27-31

The Tenth National Young Socialist Convention, which will take place December 27-31 in New York City's Manhattan Center, is expected to draw between 1,500 and 2,000 delegates and observers to its sessions.

In preparation for the gathering, the Young Socialist Alliance has been conducting a preconvention discussion. Before every YSA convention, the political positions and program of the YSA are presented for thorough discussion and reexamination by every member of the YSA. This discussion takes both written and oral form.

The discussion is initiated with publication of documents containing draft resolutions submitted to the membership by the YSA's National Executive Committee. This year the YSA NEC has submitted five such draft resolutions—on women's liberation, the Black struggle, the Chicano struggle, the antiwar movement, and a general political resolution relating all of these struggles to the overall political tasks of the YSA in 1971.

Each local unit of the YSA sets aside time to discuss these draft resolutions. A preconvention discussion bulletin is open to every member of the YSA, and any member can offer his or her

amendments, comments or alternative draft resolutions to the membership for consideration. The bulletin is also open to articles which may deal with subjects not covered in the NEC draft resolutions.

Any or all of these contributions may be discussed by a local unit if the membership decides to do so. At the end of the discussion, when enough meetings have been held to allow every member the opportunity to speak on all the documents he or she wants to, votes are taken on all of the resolutions discussed.

Delegates are then elected to represent the local unit to the convention on the basis of the votes on the resolutions.

At the convention, all of these documents are discussed again by the delegates and a final vote is taken which decides the YSA's political course for the next year.

The documents being discussed can be obtained from the YSA national office (P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003) or from YSA locals around the country. Information is also available concerning the preconvention discussion meetings, transportation to the convention, and the convention itself.

500 at Berkeley educational parley

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK
BERKELEY—On the weekend of Nov. 20-23, about 500 youth attended a socialist educational conference on "Revolutionary Strategy for the 1970s," here at the University of California campus.

The conference, featuring five sessions and a "Lobster Feast Banquet," was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Workers 1970 Campaign Committee, and *International Socialist Review*. Those attending were mostly students, coming from 21 different colleges and universities.

The opening session, a panel on "The Mexican Revolution and the Chicano Liberation Movement," drew close to 200 people, many of them Chicanos and Latinos. Speakers included Carlos Guerra of the Texas Raza Unida Party and national president of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization); Froben Lozada, SWP and chairman of the Merritt College Latin-American Studies Department; Carmen Alegria, Merritt College faculty; Antonio Camejo, SWP and Merritt College faculty; and Chicano student lead-

ers Manuel Delgado and Samuel Martinez.

The women's liberation panel, entitled "Sisterhood Is Powerful: Strategy for Women's Liberation," included Judy Syfers of Breakaway, Marijean Suelzle of NOW (National Organization for Women), and Carol Lipman of the YSA. Other events included a panel called "Why Americans Should Support the Palestinian Revolution," and a speech by Herman Fagg, Black activist and 1970 SWP candidate for governor of California, on "Nationalism: Progressive or Reactionary?"

On Saturday night, more than 100 people attended the banquet at the SWP headquarters in Oakland. Later that night, close to 300 people heard an address by Peter Camejo, 1970 SWP candidate for U. S. senator from Massachusetts, on "The Meaning of the 1970 Elections."

Dozens of people requested membership in the YSA during the weekend. In addition, more than 100 subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review* and *The Militant* were sold. The conference was reported on TV and in the *Oakland Tribune*.

WE DID IT!

By FLAX HERMES
(Militant business manager)

NOV. 24—The largest subscription drive held by *The Militant* since the post-World War II strike wave was completed on time and went considerably over the top.

Supporters of *The Militant* in 87 cities and towns from all parts of the country sold well over our goal of 15,000 subscriptions by Nov. 15. The drive was a two-month "blitz"—an intensive effort by enthusiastic supporters of *The Militant* to significantly increase the circulation of the paper.

In the days that followed the Nov. 15 cutoff date, the results of the final efforts of sub getters found their way through the U. S. Post Office, and by this morning's mail, exactly 15,776 introductory subscriptions had been received by *The Militant* business office.

Special credit goes to supporters in all those areas who went over their quotas. It was these areas which helped the national drive go over the top in spite of the fact that some areas fell short of making their projected goals.

Supporters in eight cities not only raised their original target goals, but went over their new targets. These cities were Northampton, Mass.; Santa Cruz, Calif.; Worcester, Mass.; Twin Cities, Minn.; San Francisco, Calif.; Austin, Texas; Houston, Texas; and Philadelphia, Pa. Other areas—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Boston—took high quotas and exceeded them.

Previously, we had reported that four individual sub getters had obtained over 100 subs each. In the final days of the campaign, two more joined them—one of the newcomers, Steve "Blitz" Bloom, ended up with the highest number sold.

The final results of the top six were: Steve Bloom, New York, 160; Syd Stapleton, Cleveland, 151; Bill Rayson, Chicago, 150; Natalie Harary, New York, 142; Dean Reed, Santa Cruz, 122; and Judi Coren, Los Angeles, 114.

To all the energetic *Militant* supporters who worked to help the paper take this big step forward, the staffs of the editorial and business offices of *The Militant* extend their congratulations for a job well done.

Subscription			scoreboard		
City	Quota	New Subs			
Northampton, Mass.	50	140	Portsmouth, N.H.	20	17
Baltimore, Md.	10	22	Madison, Wis.	300	248
Waverly, Iowa	10	19	San Joaquin Val., Calif.	50	41
Selinsgrove, Pa.	5	9	Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	4
La Crosse, Wis.	50	88	Portage, Mich.	10	8
Youngstown, Ohio	10	15	Yonkers, N.Y.	5	4
Middletown, N.Y.	5	7	New Haven, Conn.	60	47
Long Island, N.Y.	75	100	Stanford, Calif.	30	23
Portland, Ore.	100	122	East Lansing, Mich.	25	19
Santa Cruz, Calif.	100	122	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	235	175
East Stroudsburg, Pa.	10	12	Eugene, Ore.	10	7
Oxford, Ohio	50	60	Pittsburgh, Pa.	10	7
State College, Pa.	10	12	El Paso, Texas	75	49
Logan, Utah	50	59	Bloomington, Ind.	100	65
Worcester, Mass.	125	147	New Orleans, La.	20	13
Binghamton, N.Y.	150	176	Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	62
Twin Cities, Minn.	625	709	Grinnell, Iowa	5	3
Tampa, Fla.	100	113	Niagara Falls, N.Y.	20	12
Detroit, Mich.	700	788	Milwaukee, Wis.	100	55
San Francisco, Calif.	800	896	Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	30	16
Cincinnati, Ohio	60	67	Hayward, Calif.	40	17
Boston, Mass.	1,000	1,101	Tallahassee, Fla.	50	21
Cambridge	(250)	(285)	Geneseo, N.Y.	5	2
North Boston	(250)	(281)	San Jose, Calif.	5	2
South Boston	(250)	(266)	St. Louis, Mo.	50	19
Seattle, Wash.	400	437	Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	75	27
Berkeley, Calif.	600	648	Riverside, Calif.	150	52
Kansas City, Mo.	100	108	Nacogdoches, Texas	10	3
Knoxville, Tenn.	50	54	Sacramento, Calif.	15	4
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000	1,076	Bellingham, Wash.	40	8
Austin, Texas	350	373	Beloit, Wis.	40	8
Chicago, Ill.	1,500	1,583	Kingsville, Texas	5	1
Yellow Springs, Ohio	125	132	Paterson, N.J.	60	12
Providence, R.I.	150	157	Staatsburg, N.Y.	10	2
Cleveland, Ohio	600	625	Tacoma, Wash.	20	3
Houston, Texas	250	259	Kent, Ohio	45	6
New York, N.Y.	2,000	2,071	Oshkosh, Wis.	50	3
Washington, D.C.	300	308	Deland, Fla.	20	1
Philadelphia, Pa.	650	666	Grosse Pt., Mich.	20	1
Ypsilanti, Mich.	50	51	Marsing, Idaho	50	2
Albany, N.Y.	50	50	Red Hook, N.Y.	50	2
Atlanta, Ga.	500	500	Little Rock, Ark.	50	1
Mansfield, Pa.	50	50	Aurora, Ill.	20	0
Newark, N.J.	75	75	Barre-Montpelier, Vt.	10	0
San Diego, Calif.	100	98	Coopersburg, Pa.	5	0
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	73	Indiana, Pa.	20	0
DeKalb, Ill.	150	137	Greenville, S.C.	5	0
Utica, N.Y.	15	13	General	400	374
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Behind the smokescreen of lies

Nixon bombing opens way for new escalation

By DICK ROBERTS

These facts remain despite all the ballyhoo: Beginning Friday, Nov. 20, and for over 24 hours, U.S. planes massively bombed North Vietnam; charges by North Vietnamese that this bombing attack included civilian regions near Hanoi and the port of Haiphong have not actually been denied either by the Pentagon or the White House.

A correspondent of Agence France-Presse reported from Hanoi Nov. 23 that he had personally seen craters of U.S. Navy Shrike missiles in civilian-populated areas near Hanoi (*New York Times*, Nov. 24).

The U.S. Secretary of Defense unashamedly boasted that in the midst of this giant bombing attack, U.S. forces landed 23 miles from Hanoi, supposedly to "rescue" American prisoners of war.

The renewed bombing of North Vietnam constitutes a major escalation of the war. It ominously points toward further indiscriminate bombing of North Vietnamese population centers, supposedly ended in 1968. It even hints at a full-scale invasion of North Vietnam by U.S. divisions.

Washington spokesmen did nothing to counteract such impressions. On the contrary, they made it clear that this escalation, like the ones before it, has one central purpose: bludgeoning the revolutionary forces into surrendering, regardless of the cost in human life.

"The bombing episode . . . indicates once again that President Nixon's goal in Vietnam is not a political settlement but military victory by another name," *New York Times* correspondent Anthony Lewis wrote Nov. 23.

From Lyndon Johnson's first landing of U.S. combat troops in Danang in 1965 down to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia last May, the purposes of Washington's escalations have been the same: on one hand, to deliver military blows against the forces of revolution on the battlefield; on the other hand, to deceive the American people into believing that Washington is actually trying to "speed up" a peaceful solution of the war.

But Nixon's new bombing attack on North Vietnam should now make it clear beyond any possible misunderstanding that the administration's goal is military victory. "Vietnamization" and "gradual withdrawal," like the "secret peace plan" and "peace offensives" long since in the wastebasket, are lies from beginning to end.

Between the elections Nov. 3 and the Nov. 22 escalation, two former high administration officials had declared that "Vietnamization" is actually a plan for permanent war. W. Averell Harri-

man, former chief U.S. negotiator in Paris, wrote in the Nov. 17 issue of *Look* magazine:

"The administration's program of Vietnamization of the war is not in my opinion a program for peace but is a program for the perpetuation of the war."

Morton H. Halperin, a former member of the National Security Council Senior Staff under Nixon, warned about the impending escalation: "President Nixon's Vietnamization policy, far from getting us out of Vietnam, will at best lead to an indefinite presence in Vietnam of thousands of American troops."

"It could well drive the president to massive escalation, the mining of Haiphong Harbor, and saturation bombing of North Vietnam."

These views were corroborated in even stronger language by Maynard Parker, a reporter for *Newsweek* magazine, who had been stationed in Saigon until recently. "Far from staging a great retreat from Vietnam or Asia," Parker wrote, "I think Mr. Nixon is in Vietnam to stay. Vietnamization will permit substantial American withdrawals, but it is not a withdrawal strategy. The basic American objective of winning the war has remained unchanged." Parker's article, which appeared in the Nov. 23 issue of *Newsweek*, was also written before the new escalation.

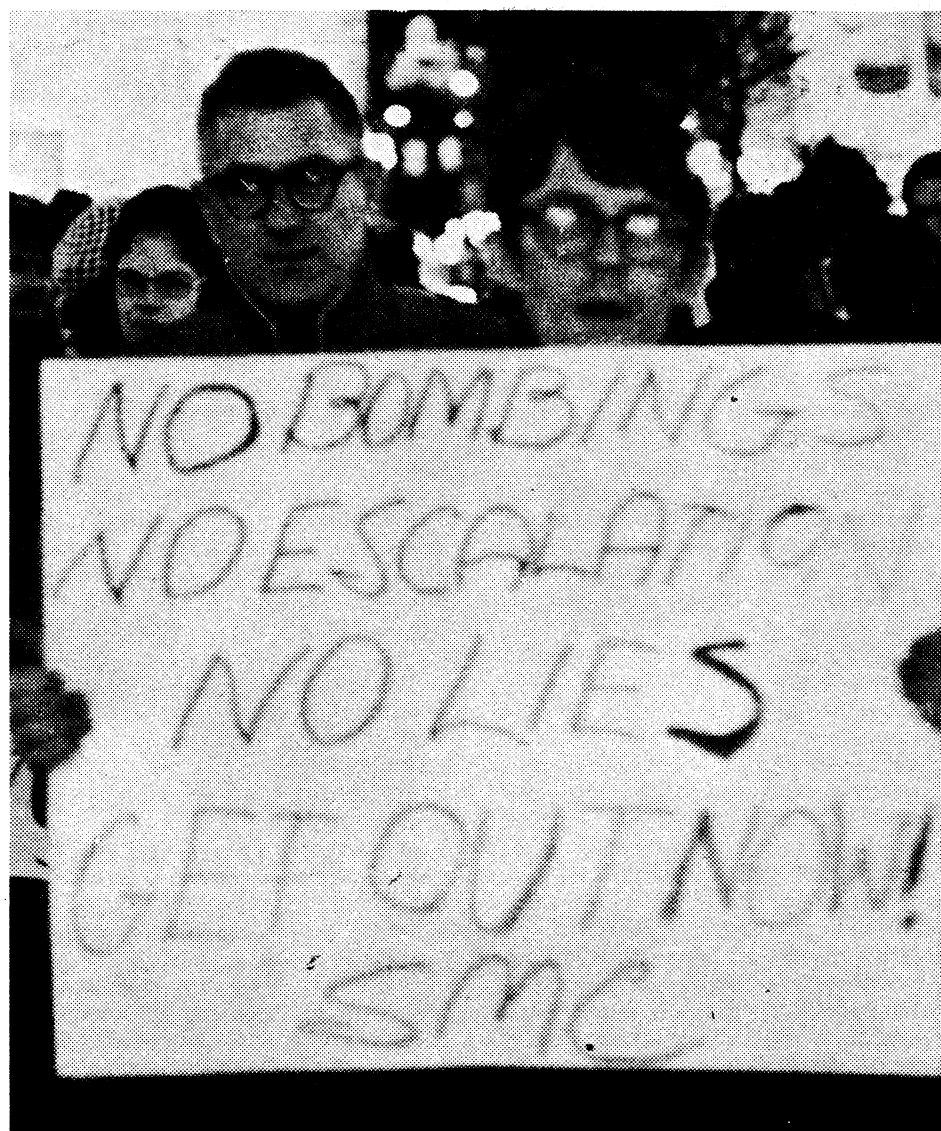
The fundamental factor is that Washington's puppet regime in Saigon has been unable to stabilize its rule, even with its million-man army and billions of dollars worth of U.S. weapons and financial support. Desertions from ARVN are now running at the rate of 10,000 to 12,000 a month, *New York Times* reporter Gloria Emerson revealed Nov. 22.

Thus it is utterly nonsensical to talk about "handing the war over to the South Vietnamese," which is what "Vietnamization" is supposed to mean. *Newsweek* reporter Parker estimated that pacification of the South Vietnamese countryside "will require a million-man South Vietnamese army and thousands of American troops." (Emphasis added.)

Parker believes that U.S. combat troops will be stationed in Vietnam ten years from now!

And this is not to speak of the fact that the same war is rapidly escalating to encompass all of Cambodia and Laos. These two countries have already been bombed at levels greater than any bombing in previous wars, including the 1965-68 bombing of North Vietnam.

Many authoritative observers of the evolution of the war in Cambodia since May, who also watched the escalation of the war in South Vietnam,



New York SMC demonstrator

Photo by Karl Bermann

have stated that it is inevitable that Cambodia will follow the same pattern. Today, U.S. officials do not deny that more than half the territory of both Laos and Cambodia are held by the revolutionary forces.

It is consequently completely utopian to believe that the regimes in either Pnompenh or Vientiane can be indefinitely propped up without major assistance from U.S. combat divisions.

The inner logic of the situation compels one to believe that, unless the situation is changed, the not too distant future will see thousands of GIs fighting in both Laos and Cambodia. There have already been disclosures of increased Special Forces activity in Laos.

The trickle of dispatches from these battlegrounds indicates that the pro-Washington regimes are in sorry shape, at best.

An Associated Press dispatch from Pnompenh declared Nov. 23: "Enemy troops moving out of the Elephant

Mountains seized Cambodia's only munitions factory and a six-mile stretch of the country's major highway to the sea, a government spokesman reported today."

The Associated Press reported from Saigon that the 73rd U.S. aircraft had been lost over Laos Nov. 22 when "as many as 400 Air Force and Navy combat planes . . . took part in raids across wide areas of Indochina."

Even if it were so that the bombing of North Vietnam was in response to the shooting down of a U.S. spy plane, it would be the most unspeakable kind of imperialist arrogance.

But even this Orwellian double-speak is a complete lie. Responsible observers agree the attack—aimed at supply and staging areas—was planned well ahead. Pointing to the loss of a plane on an illegal mission was but a lying pretext by a ruthless power that will keep striking at innocent people until its hand is stayed.

NCAWRR holds march, rally at UN to protest genocide

NEW YORK—About 1,800 people joined in a march and UN rally against genocide here Nov. 21. The event was the national fall action of the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, an outgrowth of the now defunct New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Billed as an act of "mass civil disobedience," the rally concluded with 26 persons stepping past a police barricade and being ushered into waiting police vans.

A good number of those present had apparently come to hear Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton, the advertised principal speaker. But Newton was not there and by the time the last speaker, Rennie Davis, stepped to the platform, only about 200 people were left.

Other speakers included Jack Spiegel of the Chicago Peace Action Council; Prof. Sidney Peck of the NCAWRR; William Patterson of the Communist Party; Janet Washington of the City-Wide Welfare Rights Organization;

Rev. James Bevel; Denise Oliver of the Young Lords; and Charlene Mitchell, Communist Party spokeswoman and a coordinator of the Angela Davis Defense Committee.

Rennie Davis advised that if the government failed to stop the war by May 1, "we are going to stop the government."

He called for people to set up "tribes" of eight to 10 and buy cars to be driven to Washington and break down May 4.

Then NCAWRR coordinator William Dothard announced that the civil disobedience would begin. The group of 26 who stepped through the barricades and into the vans were led by pacifist Brad Lytle.

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Nov. 24 was the seventy-fifth birthday of Peng Shu-tse, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party and of the International Left Opposition. The Left Opposition opposed the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in Communist parties around the world and eventually developed into the Fourth International of today.

As part of the celebration of Peng Shu-tse's 75th birthday by the revolutionary-socialist movement, Intercontinental Press has published an account of his life and political contributions. The account was written in November 1965 by his companion Peng Pilan and has been published in four installments in the Nov. 2, 9, 16 and 23 issues of IP.

Militant readers interested in reading this fascinating account of the life of this veteran of the revolutionary-socialist movement can write for the issues to Intercontinental Press, P. O. Box 635, Madison Square Sta., N. Y., N. Y., 10010. The cost is 50 cents each.

The staff of *The Militant* takes this opportunity to extend its warmest fraternal birthday greetings to a revolutionary fighter whose example is an inspiration to all of us.

AN EDITORIAL

Escalation and the antiwar forces

The renewed bombing of North Vietnam and the sinister commando adventure provide an ominous warning of the danger of even further escalation. They add to the long list of barbaric crimes committed by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people and they confirm that the government in Washington has been guilty of perpetrating one more cruel hoax on the American people.

Throughout the preelection period the administration carried through a carefully planned campaign of public deception designed to gull a war-weary people into believing that President Nixon had decided to end the war and was in the process of phasing it out. In this act of duplicity, the administration enjoyed the assistance of the Democratic and Republican "dove" politicians, who joined in assuring that Nixon's "peace" moves were genuine and that Vietnam was no longer really an issue.

And there can no longer be any mistake about it. All the preelection peace talk was a deliberate fraud designed to disarm the antiwar movement and defuse general antiwar sentiment. The present escalation was being mapped at the very time all the preelection talk about "peace," "phased withdrawal" and "Vietnamization" was going on.

The hoax was not new. Johnson too simultaneously talked peace and prepared new escalations, until he was finally driven from office. Nixon has followed the same course, with the Cambodian invasion being the previous outstanding example of this kind of crookedness.

The very notion that Washington has any other perspective than to try to wrest some kind of military victory in Vietnam constitutes the essential feature of the hoax. The present acts of aggression simply underline the fact that all of the talk about getting out is but a cloak for a stubborn determination to stay.

Most antiwar activists came to recognize a good while ago that the United States did not stumble into Vietnam as the result of some kind of "error," or that its continuing presence is explained by the psychotic stubbornness of one or another powerful individual.

What is involved is a course of action which is determined by the imperialist character of the U.S. It is the needs of U.S. imperialism for world hegemony that drives it to its furious efforts to crush the Vietnamese liberation forces, to seek to contain and roll back the revolutionary process throughout Southeast Asia.

It is those imperialist needs that have dictated the commitment of tremendous military forces, the expenditure of billions of dollars, and even the willingness to pay the very serious cost of an intensification of social conflict at home. In short, we are reminded again that U.S. imperialism is playing its deadly

Indochina game for keeps.

The present events also confirm what an invaluable contribution has been made by the National Peace Action Coalition in rebuilding and extending the antiwar coalition, carrying through the Oct. 31 demonstrations while so many others assured that the war was "no longer an issue" and, now, organizing the national antiwar conference slated for Dec. 4-6 in Chicago.

That conference now assumes an emergency character and will provide the vehicle for the necessary kind of massive response to the new escalation. The need for building a giant national spring demonstration against the war is indeed compelling.

While it is crucial that all those who are opposed to the war recognize that Washington is committed to trying to hang on there, it is equally vital to recognize that this does not mean it cannot be forced out.

French imperialism was also fully committed to hanging on in Indochina, but the power of the Vietnamese revolution and the pressure of the French people forced it out. The revolutionary capacity and determination of the Vietnamese to continue their resistance are by no means diminished. And the opposition to the war in the United States is more deeply rooted and widespread than ever. It remains to organize that sentiment and give it the kind of effective expression it needs—in the streets.

If all the forces that have now come into greater and greater opposition to the war—GIs, working people, Third World people, women—are brought together for a massive national demonstration, a major contribution will have been made to the continuing, urgent need to force U.S. withdrawal from Indochina.

Now more than ever: Bring the GIs home!



Strikes again

Atlanta socialists host education parley

By CLIFF CONNER

ATLANTA—A special feature of the Southwide Socialist Educational Conference held here Nov. 15-16 was a panel of Black and Chicano leaders discussing the prospects for independent political parties of oppressed national minorities in America.

Participating in the panel were Jose Angel Gutierrez, chairman of the Crystal City, Texas, school board and founder of the Raza Unida Party in Texas; Raleigh Jugger of the Malcolm

X Liberation Front in Florida; and Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party. Their reports indicate that recent developments in independent Black and Chicano politics are among the most significant events in recent American history.

Jugger described efforts to establish a Florida-wide Black party. He added: "The Republican and Democratic parties don't relate to Black people. Malcolm X taught us that. The same masters who control this country control the Republican and Democratic parties." Jugger discussed how the campaigns of a Black party can be used to agitate around the need for Black control of schools, housing and police in the Black community.

Gutierrez noted that one of the recent gains of the Raza Unida Party has been its rapid geographic growth, not only in Texas but throughout Aztlan.

"This Raza Unida Party is only nine months old right now," Gutierrez remarked. "But it's already captured the imagination of Chicanos in Texas." He cited the fact that the party had been on the ballot in Colorado and said steps are being taken toward set-

ting up parties in Washington, California, Michigan and Wisconsin.

A potentially powerful development cited by Gutierrez is the possibility of coordinated action in the political arena between the Chicano and Black communities in Texas, an alliance which Gutierrez said could deal severe blows to the existing political monopoly held by the Democratic Party.

Boutelle reported on preliminary steps currently being undertaken in New York City towards the formation of an independent Black political party and traced the history of other recent attempts at independent Black politics such as the Lowndes County Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party.

Also featured at the conference was a talk by Evelyn Reed on "How women lost control of their destiny and how they can regain it." Reed's session was covered by Atlanta television stations.

Activists from 12 areas in seven deep South states attended the conference, reflecting the growth of the Young Socialist Alliance throughout the South since campuses opened this fall.

Education meet held in Texas by socialists

By SHARON LEFF

AUSTIN, Texas—A Socialist Educational Conference was held on the University of Texas campus Nov. 20-22. Speakers included: Phil Courneyeur, member of La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, speaking on "Quebecois Self-Determination"; Peter Buch, Marxist scholar on the Mideast, who spoke "In Defense of the Palestinian Revolution"; Mariana Hernandez, senatorial candidate in the past Texas election, on "The Revolutionary Dynamics of La Raza Unida"; Evelyn Sell, a women's liberation movement activist, who discussed "Is Women's Liberation a Revolutionary Struggle or a Secondary Issue?"; and Tom Leonard, an SWP national committee member, on "The Coming American Revolution." Sessions were attended by 35-60 people.

A number of Chicanos from South Texas in town for the weekend came to talk with members of the YSA, in which they expressed interest. Peter Buch's speech attracted members of the Organization of Arab Students.

Advertisement

Leon Trotsky

on the Jewish Question

introduction by Peter Buch

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

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NPAC steering committee plans parley

CLEVELAND—The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) Steering Committee met at Case Western Reserve University Nov. 21 to lay final plans for the upcoming national convention of the U. S. antiwar movement. The conference will be held Dec. 4-6 in the Packinghouse Labor Center in Chicago.

Ruth Gage-Colby, NPAC coordinator and spokeswoman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, reported on the solid success of the NPAC Oct. 31 demonstrations in more than 30 cities across the United States and Canada. She noted that these NPAC-sponsored demonstrations were the largest and broadest antiwar actions ever mounted on the eve of an election and that NPAC affiliates were alone in raising an objective challenge to Nixon's phony "peace plans" and in voicing the majority sentiment for immediate withdrawal.

NPAC's organizational gains stemming from the success of Oct. 31 were registered early in the meeting as 10 activists were added to the NPAC Steering Committee, raising the membership of that body to well over 100. New steering committee members are Carol Lipman, West Coast SMC coordinator and former national executive

secretary of the SMC; Lou Renfrow, chairman of the Ohio New Party; Dick Cramer, chairman of the greater Cleveland Veterans for Peace in Vietnam; Bruce Kimball of the Columbus Peace Action Coalition; Joe Paul of the Trumbull County (Ohio) Peace Action Coalition; Jim Luggen of Peace, Power and People, a student group at the University of Dayton; Sue Vass of the University of Minnesota SMC; Sue Welch of the Macalester College SMC; Tom Snell, Augsburg College SMC; and Karen Kurth of the Minnetonka (Minn.) Peace Council. In addition, new Peace Action Coalitions in Columbus, Cincinnati and Trumbull County and the GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Wright Patterson Air Force Base affiliated with the National Peace Action Coalition.

NPAC coordinator Jim Lafferty reported that Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, A. A. (Sammie) Rayner, Black Democratic alderman in Chicago, Patrick Gorman, secretary treasurer of Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Carol Lipman of the SMC, and Dick Gregory had agreed to address the opening session of the Chicago convention Friday evening, Dec. 4.

Lafferty called on local activists to mount a campaign for convention endorsement and support. Lists of en-

dorsers can be phoned to the NPAC headquarters in Cleveland at (216) 621-6516.

Jerry Gordon, NPAC coordinator and chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, outlined the conference schedule. After the Friday evening keynote speeches, the Saturday session will be devoted to a plenary where proposals for antiwar actions in the spring will be presented. Workshops will take place Saturday evening, and, if necessary, another plenary session will be convened Sunday morning. The SMC is planning a National Steering Committee meeting Sunday afternoon.

Gordon emphasized that all proposals for spring actions against the war would be offered a hearing at the convention and that such proposals should be submitted to the NPAC national office, 2102 Euclid, Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

A statement on the significance of the U.S. bombing raids on North Vietnam was adopted unanimously. The statement declared that the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam "exposes the sham and hypocrisy of Nixon's 'peace plan' and underscores once again the great peril of a major escalation of the war. . . ." It called on the U.S. peace movement to mount protests against the escalation, and to mobilize for the NPAC Chi-



Ruth Gage-Colby

cago conference to map out future mass protests to bring the troops home now.

'It is no big thing here to refuse to go'

Following are excerpts from a letter written by a GI stationed at Cu Chi, South Vietnam, to a friend, Oct. 26. The letter was included in an article on GI rebelliousness by Fred Gardner, in the New York Times, Nov. 21.

They have set up separate companies for men who have refused to go out to the field. It is no big thing here anymore to refuse to go. If a man is ordered to go such and such place he no longer goes through the hassle of refusing; he just packs his shirt and goes to visit some buddies at another base camp.

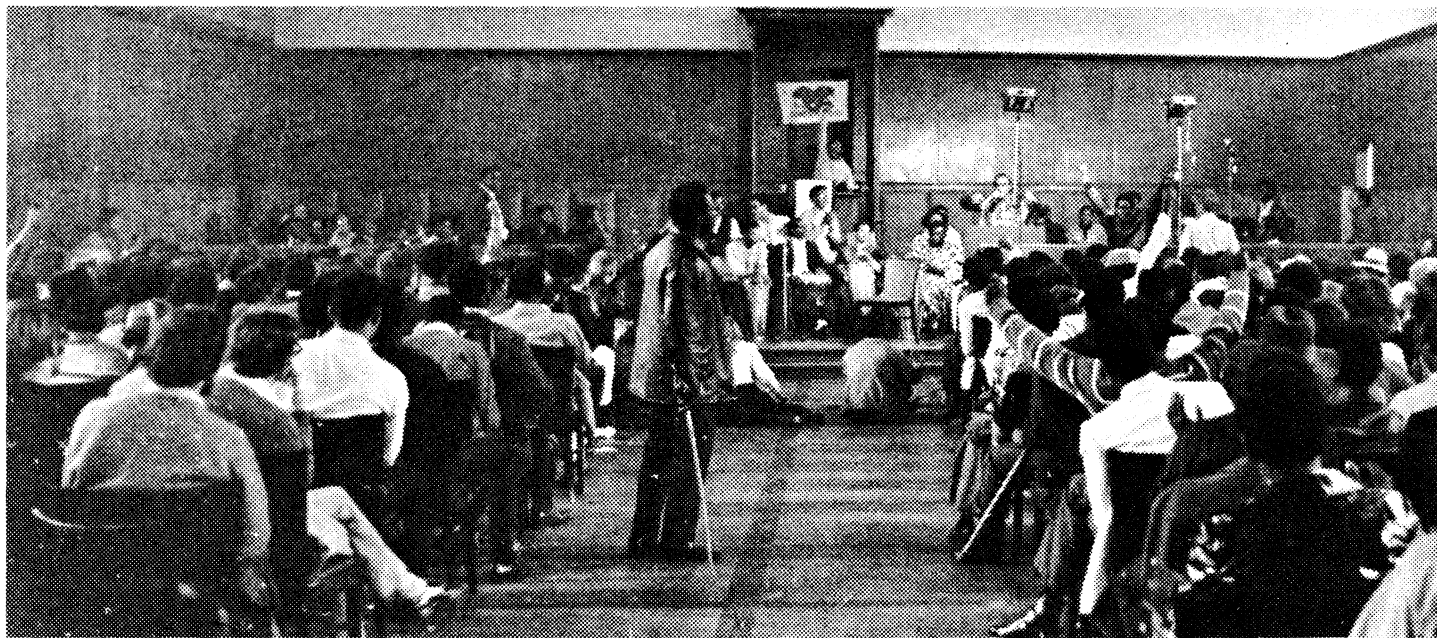
Operations have become incredibly ragtag; vehicles don't work for lack of maintenance; helicopters are just falling to the ground; airfields are falling apart. . . . Many guys don't even put on their uniforms anymore. I am almost always wearing a pair of keds, a blue tie-dye shirt and army pants I made into cut-offs. I put in an appearance sometimes to see if I've got any mail. . . .

When new guys come into our company we rap how we've taken over and turn them on. Lately they have been segregating new guys, whom they call "new meat." 90th Replacement Battalion, the main processing station for newly arrived personnel is off limits. They have barbed wire all around it.

You have to have a special pass to get in. It is also the out-processing station for men returning to the states. They have been strictly segregated from the "new meat."

The American garrisons on the larger bases are virtually unarmed. The lifers have taken our weapons from us and put them under lock and key. Theirs. One Black locked and loaded on the battalion CO recently because they were trying to send him into the field. About 10 other Blacks backed him up.

Antiwar GIs—factor in declining combat?



GI RALLY. A July 4 rally in Heidelberg called by Unsatisfied Black Soldiers, the GI group which was the subject of an extensive feature in the Nov. 23 New York Times. Photo originally appeared in The Militant July 31 with a report on the GI movement in Germany.

By DICK ROBERTS

The growing rebelliousness of GIs may be a factor leading to declining ground combat activity by U.S. troops in Vietnam, according to Fred Gardner, a correspondent who has closely followed GI antiwar activities.

Gardner's assertions appeared on the New York Times "opinion page," Nov. 21. "Refusal to take part in combat has grown so widespread that it need no longer be surreptitious. GIs leave their firebases with impunity; commanders fear that court-martialing them will undermine whatever remains of morale."

"Officers and NCOs who insist on ordering troops into the field are commonly 'fragged'—hit by a grenade rolled under their tent-flaps. Blatant racists are dealt with similarly. . . ."

Meanwhile the New York Times also devoted a lengthy article, Nov. 23, to the militant Black GI movement on U.S. bases in West Germany, based on a month of interviews of GIs of all ranks by correspondent Thomas A. Johnson.

Typical of the impressions Johnson reports is one with Sgt. Larry Tyler, a 20-year-old squad leader from Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Tyler asked: "How can you fight for America when every morning you read about Black people being killed?"

Johnson continues, "Sitting with Sgt. Anthony in a Third Infantry Division dining hall, Sgt. Tyler added coldly: 'You see pictures of them holding guns on Black kids. The kids stripped naked on the streets. You read about killings at Kent State, in Augusta, at Jackson State—my sister was in the dormitory at Jackson State when it was shot up. . . .'

"'You get tired of this mess. . . . You get damned tired of it. You get fed up with it.'"

The New York Times reporter confirmed that the military brass allows white racist groups to organize openly on the bases:

"At Kelly Barracks, Heidelberg, a center of Black protest and the housing area for many men who staff Seventh Army headquarters, the Con-

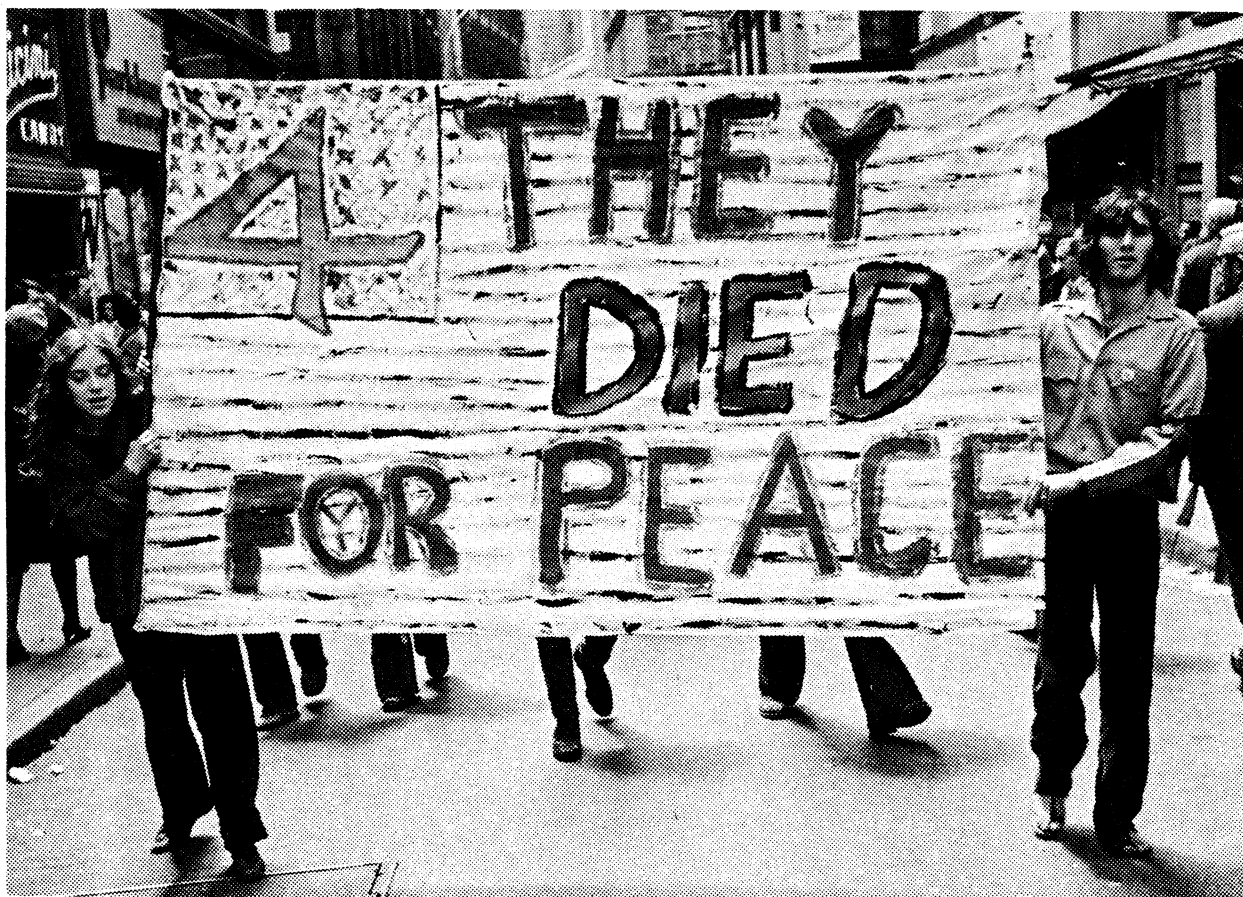
federate flag is prominently displayed in the window of the Military Police headquarters.

"White soldiers acknowledged that they had been approached by other whites to set up Ku Klux Klan units in Germany. The burnings of crosses on military bases has goaded the young Blacks."

Another source of irritation to the Black GIs—who have organized about 15 base defense and study groups—is the racism of West German landlords and bar owners. Sgt. Willie Jenkins stated, "America is the most powerful country in the world and you want me to believe she can't find a way to keep Germans from discriminating—the truth is she does not want to find a way."

While Johnson's article conveys something of the significance of the developing movement among Black GIs in Germany, the Times account conveys little in the way of factual information on the extent of organization, the actual demands, and the political level of this movement.

Hearings to bar prosecution of 'Kent State 25' open in Cleveland



New York memorial march for Kent 4

By RANDY FURST

CLEVELAND, Nov. 24 — An exceptionally important legal move to block the Portage County grand jury frame-up indictments of the "Kent State 25" went into federal court here yesterday.

The hearings on the request for an injunction could result in a judge's decision to stop further prosecution of the 25 students and faculty members who are being blamed for the National Guard murder of four Kent State students last May.

Even if they do not lead to such a favorable decision, however, the hearings themselves represent a major rebuff to the special grand jury's attempt to victimize and intimidate students. The hearings are an important stand against the whole Nixon administration campaign to silence campus dissent.

The basis for these extraordinary hearings is the little-known but historically significant U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the Dombrowski case of 1965. This key decision resulted from an attempted prosecution of a Southern Conference Educational Fund leader by the Louisiana state "Un-American Activities Committee."

Louisiana prosecutors arrested Dombrowski and two other SCEF workers in October 1963, raided their offices and seized their papers. They were charged with "racial agitation."

But civil-liberties attorneys Arthur Kinoy and William Kunstler were ultimately able to win an injunction restraining the state prosecution. Kinoy and Kunstler contended that the state prosecutors were acting in "bad faith."

CALENDAR

ATLANTA

I.B. TABATA will be speaking on THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA in the Atlanta area Dec. 2-4. For further information call (404) 876-2230.

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That is, argued the civil-liberties lawyers, the state prosecution was not aimed at securing "valid convictions." It was aimed at intimidating the civil rights activists.

Further, they pointed out, the state's prosecution could result in stifling First Amendment rights, not protecting them.

In the 1965, 5-2 ruling in Dombrowski's favor, Justice Brennan stated that a "chilling effect upon the exercise of First Amendment rights may derive from the fact of the prosecution, unaffected by the prospects of its success or failure." The Supreme Court also agreed that the prosecution had acted in "bad faith to impose continuing harassment in order to discourage appellants' activities."

The high court then issued an order "restraining prosecution of the pending indictments."

The applicability of this constitutional ruling to the Kent State case is evident. As in the Dombrowski case, it is clear that the special Ohio grand jury is out for more than punishing the 25 who were charged—as despicable a frame-up as this already is.

The grand jury hopes to whitewash the National Guard murderers and to do Nixon a favor by frightening the whole student movement with its vicious, unconstitutional arrests.

Robert Balyeat, the chief prosecutor of the grand jury, made his intentions clear in testimony, as the hearings opened in Cleveland Nov. 23. From the witness stand, yesterday, Balyeat attacked Kent State University's "laxity, permissiveness and looseness in allowing politically active groups to use university facilities."

The constitutional suit against Balyeat and the other members of the special grand jury was filed by 11 attorneys on behalf of the Kent State 25. The attorneys include Paul Scribner, of the New York Center for Constitutional Rights; Jerry Gordon, a leader of the antiwar movement and officer of the ACLU; Benjamin Sheerman, of the ACLU; and Gerald Messerman, a leading Cleveland lawyer. Messerman and Scribner alternated in questioning witnesses.

In opening the case for the Kent State plaintiffs, Scribner declared that the grand jury acted as a "grand censor of the moral and First Amendment rights of the Kent community."

Scribner charged that the grand jury report was "without foundation." "If that report falls," he told the Cleveland court, "the indictment falls."

The presiding judge in the hearings is federal judge William Thomas of the U.S. District Court of the Northeast District of Ohio, Eastern Division.

Judge Thomas' decision to hear the suit on the constitutional grounds of the Dombrowski ruling was itself an important victory for the Kent students.

Which way Judge Thomas will decide remains to be seen. But with only two days gone in a hearing that might last several weeks, the legal status of the grand jury report looked shaky indeed.

Paul Brown, Ohio state attorney general, who has been named as a codefendant in the suit against the special grand jury, was the chief spokesman for the state's case on the first day of the hearings. The broad smile on Brown's face had disappeared by mid-morning Nov. 23, as the extent of the charges against him were laid out by the Kent 25 attorneys.

By midafternoon as he sat in the witness chair, Brown's bias was a matter of court record. Brown admitted that he had appointed Seabury Ford, one of the special grand jury prosecutors, but told the court that it "doesn't make any difference" that Ford had also been a member of the National Guard and a member of the Guard's 177th cavalry, the unit that fired on Kent students May 4. "I consider that fact rather inconsequential," said Brown. "I consider I made wise choices in all three prosecutors."

Brown was queried on remarks attributed to Ford in a newspaper interview Oct. 23 with a reporter from the Detroit Free Press.

The comments were made shortly after the indictments against the 25 were announced. Ford stated that guardsmen "should have shot all" troublemakers, that guardsmen "would have been killed up there—if they hadn't turned around and fired," and that he agreed with the "average" opinion of most people in Ravenna, Ohio—meeting place of the special grand jury—in wondering "Why didn't the Guard shoot more of them?"

Brown admitted on the stand Nov. 24 to have returned to Portage County from "time to time" to help out the grand jury's proceedings. He said he agreed with the grand jury's decision to indict "student rioters" to the "maximum extent."

He added fuel to the controversy surrounding the grand jury's criticism of a Yippie rally and a concert of the Jefferson Airplane in October. If the "riot" was in May, Judge Thomas asked in disbelief, how could something that happened in October of this year have relevance?

Brown said that the grand jury's statement was a "warning" against future violence. The events that the judge

alluded to, said Brown, showed "ongoing permissiveness" that "led to lawlessness."

Was it normally in the purview of the grand jury to make a general sociological survey? the judge asked. Brown, who had ordered the grand jury investigation and had signed its findings, thought that it was.

Balyeat explained that he got a written police report on the Yippie rally and submitted it to the grand jury because it "was illustrative of the over-laxity in making the university available to some groups which might not be in the best interests of the university."

The grand jury apparently had its own notion of what interests it was serving. Balyeat admitted that the report of the grand jury had already been filed and was public prior to a special news conference, called by the grand jury, that drew some 100 reporters.

In an extraordinary act, the grand jury amended its own injunction that up to that time had prohibited all those appearing before the grand jury, including the prosecuting attorneys, from giving interviews to the press. The amendment permitted a news conference. The lawsuit accuses the grand jurors of attempting to get publicity for their case in order to counter publicity from other investigations that found the killings unnecessary and unwarranted.

Balyeat admitted that those investigations, including the FBI report and the report of the president's commission on campus unrest, had not been shown to the grand jurors. He also admitted that he wrote the first draft of the grand jury's report, thus showing the extent of the connivance between himself and the man who had selected him, the attorney general, in the indictments.

If Balyeat was showing the court that he barely had a leg to stand on, hardly a minute went by when he did not have his foot in his mouth.

He justified the grand jury's investigation into the nature of classroom discussions at Kent State in order to uncover the "negative approach" taken by some teachers "in certain matters; as opposed to the positive approach."

Prosecutor Balyeat offered as an example "an instructor saying the institutions of the United States are in a sorry state of disrepair," rather than making suggestions for improving the legislative process.

By the time Balyeat had finished testifying, a substantial body of evidence had been accumulated suggesting that "sorry state of disrepair" might have been altogether too generous a characterization.



The Pakistan disaster

By DAVID THORSTAD

While East Pakistani survivors of the Nov. 13 cyclone in the Bay of Bengal scanned the skies in vain for evidence that news of the catastrophe had reached the outside world and had set into motion a relief operation, the United States was mobilizing its military machine to turn loose a new wave of death and devastation against North Vietnam.

This is a cruel paradox. Many of the survivors of the storm might be saved from otherwise certain death by disease or starvation if only helicopters could be found to transport food, water, vaccines and clothing and tents to shelter them from the burning sun. And nobody has more helicopters than the United States.

The U.S. is, moreover, accustomed to parting with its helicopters. More than 4,100 have been lost in fighting in Vietnam. Its helicopter supply is being steadily replenished. It currently has 4,000 helicopters assigned to duty in Vietnam. Yet not one of these aircraft could be spared to help Pakistanis whose lives depended on them.

The U.S. had decided to step up its war in Vietnam. The helicopters would be needed for that. Of the half dozen it did agree to provide Pakistan, four had to be sent all the way from the United States.

The 150-mile-an-hour winds and 25-foot tidal wave that slammed into the Bay of Bengal coast left an estimated 1,000,000 dead and 2,500,000 homeless. For the survivors, the passing of

each hour makes it more likely that for them survival will mean no more than a postponement of an even crueler torment: death from disease and starvation, but with the foreknowledge that it could have all been avoided.

The most astonishing thing about the news reports that have multiplied since the disaster is the mounting evidence of official incompetence and unconcern.

Warnings that a possible cyclone was brewing were ignored by Pakistani officials despite the fact that they were received as early as one week before the storm hit.

There is only one Pakistani helicopter in service in East Pakistan, while the bulk of the country's air force, which includes helicopters, sits idle in West Pakistan. Relief Commissioner A.M. Anisuzzaman has said it was not possible to obtain the use of these helicopters but that he did not know why.

The government canceled leaves for all employees engaged in relief work only after angry student demonstrations focused on official laxity and indifference.

It took five days for the governor of East Pakistan to move his relief headquarters into the disaster zone.

Lack of communications and transportation prevents most help from reaching the survivors. On one island, with more than 250,000 inhabitants, there was no electricity and only one battery-powered radio. Children's clothes delivered to survivors in another area were found to be su-

perfluous because all the children had been killed.

Army trucks which could be used to deliver food to the starving are standing idle in barracks.

Aircraft essential to relief operations are being used to transport commercial cargo and passengers.

It took the first U.S. relief plane six days to arrive. When it did, U.S. ambassador James Farland, in a grotesque political flurry, flew in from Rawalpindi to be "on hand." "We are doing all we can," he later told reporters after flying over the devastated area.

Six days after the cyclone destroyed half of the island of Bhola, which had a population of 1,000,000, the first army engineering team reached it. The team's commanding officer did not know what, if any, building materials remained for his team to use.

Pakistani soldiers who could be burying decomposing bodies and animal carcasses in an effort to prevent the spread of disease are weeding garrison flower beds. For other troops, routine military training has not been disrupted.

The government has turned down West German offers to start rice drops to the starving and to fly in a 100-bed field hospital.

While the government's relief effort was bringing very little food, medicine or shelter to the living, it solemnly declared Nov. 20 a national day of mourning during which prayers would be offered for the dead.

Meanwhile, life becomes more and more precarious for the living. Dan-

ger of an epidemic of cholera or typhoid is growing. Wounds and scratches are festering and many who saved themselves by clutching to trees during the storm have developed gangrene where they were cut by bark.

Yet, "Dacca's mood is not one of crisis," reports the Nov. 23 *Washington Post*. "The capital of East Pakistan is carrying on business as usual, according to residents here, and only in a few offices in the crowded city are Pakistanis and foreigners trying to arrange for an adequate and sufficiently rapid relief program to prevent further great loss of life in the delta."

The indifference of the Pakistani government to the unimaginable human suffering brought on by this natural disaster is staggering. Yet there is a history of such indifference.

Storms and floods in the densely populated Ganges Delta have taken heavy tolls in lives in the past. In the past 10 years, eight major cyclones have hit the area. In October 1960, up to 50,000 were killed in two cyclones.

Yet in the 10 years since that disaster, the government undertook no precautions to prevent another one from occurring. It established no warning system. It built no high sanctuary platforms upon which people could take refuge if the sea rose, threatening to inundate the low farmland which characterizes the region. Despite repeated requests, sea walls were not constructed.

The first thing a capitalist government usually does in cases of natural catastrophe is send in the armed forces to protect what private property remains from being taken and used by the survivors. In East Pakistan not even that was done. It was apparently not necessary in a region that is horribly impoverished even in good times.

It is difficult to conceive a more telling indictment of a social system than the one provided by the tragedy in the Bay of Bengal. The utter indifference to human suffering of a system that places a higher value on profits than on human beings can only arouse the indignation and contempt of millions. The unwillingness and/or incapacity of such a system to mobilize its resources to help alleviate that suffering is itself perhaps the most compelling argument for replacing it with one that can.

How socialist Cuba responded to a hurricane

By EVA CHERTOV

I was living in Havana when one of the worst natural disasters in history hit Cuba in October 1963.

Days before Hurricane Flora hit, warnings were broadcast over radio and television alerting the population to the possible danger. Instructions were given on how to prepare for the event. In the cities, hardware stores were stocked with hurricane lamps, candles, barrels for drinking water, etc. In the countryside and mountainous areas, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) took charge of making sure that all the people in their district received supplies and instructions.

As soon as it became certain that the hurricane was heading toward Oriente Province, army rescue teams went into operation in an attempt to evacuate everyone from rural areas. Among those who needed to be evacu-

ated were thousands of secondary and high school students who were helping harvest the coffee in the mountains of Oriente. By the time the hurricane hit with full force, the rescue teams had been able to evacuate more than 35,000 people.

The morning after the storm struck (it was to continue ripping the island for five days), the Cuban people awakened to find that in one stroke the hurricane had wiped out years of arduous agricultural and construction work in one-half of the island: Oriente and Camaguey (the two largest, richest eastern provinces) were under water.

The entire leadership of the Cuban government was on its way to direct and participate in the rescue operations by the time the less afflicted areas of the island had heard the news.

Celia Sanchez, a leading figure in the revolution, put on her boots and uniform and led the first caravan of

food, clothing and medicine to one of the most devastated areas of Oriente where communications had been cut off.

Fidel headed up the amphibian tank rescue squad, which went into the most heavily flooded areas. In the process of these expeditions, he was nearly drowned three times.

A crucial factor in successfully meeting the enormous dislocation produced by the hurricane was the mobilization of the Cuban people as a whole to combat it. Immediately, in all cities, places of work and study, Red Battalions were formed whose purpose was to repair damages and save lives. The workers of the Ministry of Health set into motion a vaccination campaign against typhoid. The CDRs went door to door collecting food and clothing. The transport and communication workers worked around the clock to guarantee the arrival of relief supplies and the reestablishment of all

systems of communications as quickly as possible after the hurricane had passed.

The result was that more than 150,000 people were rescued, housed, fed and clothed. The epidemic of sickness which usually follows such catastrophes was averted. When the winds died down and the waters receded, the final death count was not much over 1,000. Most of the deaths occurred among campesinos [farmers] who lived in areas that had never flooded before and who, despite pleading and cajoling by their local CDRs, had not wanted to be evacuated.

These efforts by the Cuban government were without precedent in any Latin American nation. The extent of their success is dramatic when compared to Haiti, where the same storm lasted 24 hours. More than 5,000 died during the storm there, and many more from the epidemics that broke out afterward.

Women hold first cross-Canada conference

By CAROLINE LUND

SASKATOON, Canada—Over the Nov. 20-21 weekend between 200 and 300 women converged on the University of Saskatchewan for the first national conference of the Canadian women's liberation movement. The attendance and breadth of the conference were considered a great success by conference participants.

The conference was dominated by a debate over the nature and strategy of the women's movement, with some of the participants condemning the whole women's movement as it exists now as "middle-class" and "liberal."

Toward the end of the conference, however, when it became clear that the conference was in essence split, a workshop was held by women who were concerned that some coordinated, common action should come out of the conference. The workshop accepted a proposal for a campaign of activities on the issue of free abortion on demand, culminating in a day of protests across Canada on Feb. 14. This was the only action proposal to come out of the conference.

The keynote speaker invited by the Saskatoon Women's Liberation Group, which hosted the conference, was Marlene Dixon, who was ousted from the University of Chicago for her radical views and is now a professor at McGill University in Montreal. Although slated to speak on "The Political Economy of Women," Dixon instead centered her whole presentation on attacking the validity of the women's movement itself.

"Sisterhood is bullshit," she said. "It is impossible to try to unite all wom-

en." Later in the conference, she said that she was leaving the women's movement, but before she left, she was trying to split it "along class and race lines." She said that unless the women's movement became a revolutionary-socialist movement, it would be "a collaborator" with the oppressors.

She labeled the Aug. 26 demonstrations "a disaster" in its demands, its image, and in the numbers that turned out. She attacked the whole movement for having a perspective of what she called "liberal united fronts," "one-shot demonstrations," and "legislative action." Toward the end of the conference, she spoke in glowing terms of a "revolutionary underground," which the women's movement was presumably supposed to join. Her perspective for the movement boiled down to "serve the people," "urban guerrilla warfare," and "smashing the state" through blowing up and burning down buildings.

Marlene Dixon's perspective for the women's movement was echoed by the next main speaker at the conference, Peggy Morton, although she had also been asked to speak about the political economy of women. Peggy Morton is probably best known in this country for her article printed in *Leviathan*, "A Woman's Work Is Never Done."

In the discussion, a number of women said that they had only been in the women's movement a short time and were coming to think that socialism was the only answer to women's oppression. But, they pointed out, if the movement were to become exclusively socialist, there would be no move-

ment for those new women who were ready to fight against their oppression but who were not socialists.

This point seemed to be borne out in the course of the conference itself, since about 100 women did not show up the second day. The probable reason was that the keynote speeches and much of the discussion were very abstract and took a negative, defeatist approach to all the work the movement had been doing.

A number of participants who spoke strongly against Marlene Dixon and Peggy Morton's position and in defense of an independent women's movement were members of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action, Canadian revolutionary-socialist organizations.

Mary Trew, a Young Socialist member from the Vancouver Women's Alliance, spoke of the revolutionary significance of the fact that we are "seeing women begin to act, begin to take control of their lives." She felt that the Dixon-Morton position expressed "a fear of a mass movement for women's liberation and a fear of winning victories."

She asked Dixon and Morton, "Why are you afraid to unite with women who agree with you on a certain demand, like the right to free abortions on demand, and who want to fight for it?" She said, "This conference poses the question of the whole future of the movement. Are we going to retreat now, or are we going to go on to build a mass women's liberation movement to actually win the demands we have raised?"

A third position was expressed by Margaret Benston and others from the Vancouver Women's Caucus. She felt the women's movement should stop what she called "issue-organizing," such as the abortion campaign carried on by the Canadian women's movement last spring. The movement must turn to "organizing real constituencies," she said, and proposed building a "women's union" based on the model of the Industrial Workers of the World. She criticized the Morton-Dixon position somewhat, saying that the movement must deal with the concrete problems women face and not just make revolutionary rhetoric.

Area reports were made during the conference from women's liberation groups in 13 cities. Most of the groups reported that they had been concentrating on birth control and abortion

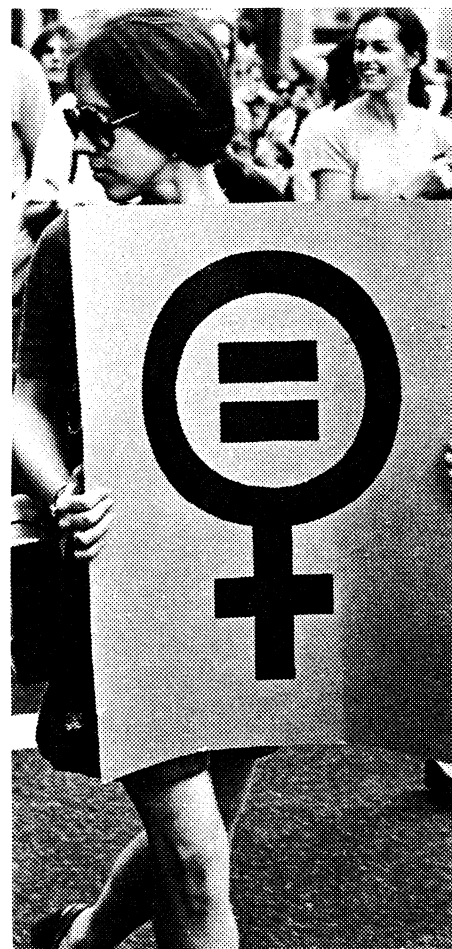


Photo by Howard Petrick

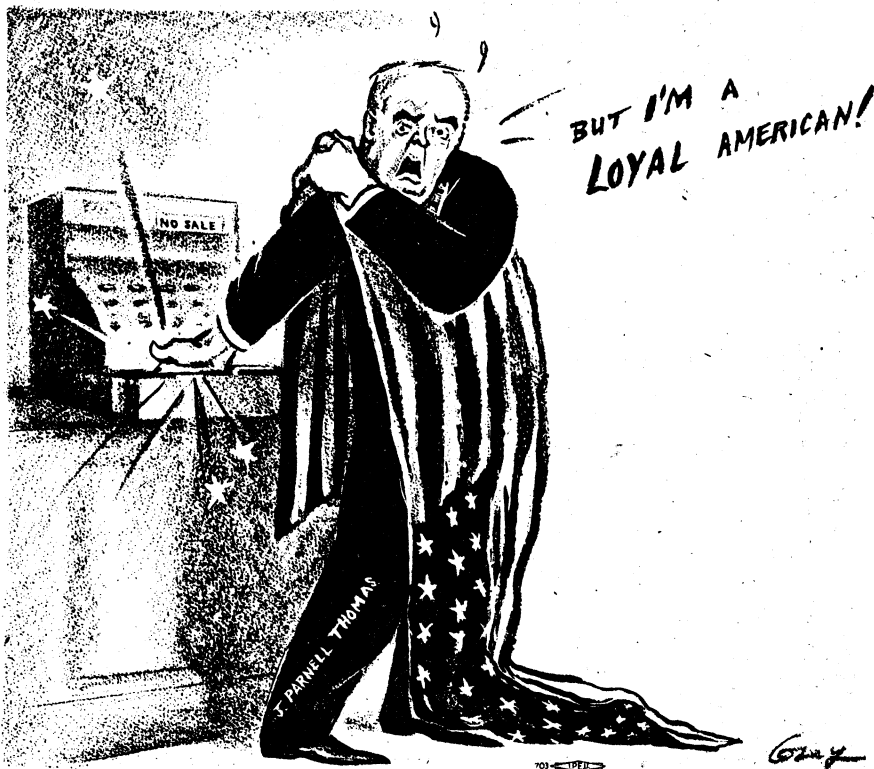
referral and information projects and university day-care centers, and expressed a frustration over a lack of perspective and a desire to reach out to women in the community.

The hope was expressed in the national abortion-campaign workshop that the abortion campaign could be a way of focusing the work of the movement, of drawing in new women, and of exerting the power of the movement to make some gains.

The abortion campaign projected by the workshop will raise the whole complex of demands relating to the right of women to control their own bodies: free abortion on demand, no forced sterilization, socialized medical care, and free contraceptive information and devices to all, including high school women.

Reports from across Canada on the progress of the abortion campaign will be carried in the women's liberation newspaper *The Velvet Fist*, P.O. Box 808, St. F, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.

Last Refuge of a Scoundrel



The Militant, Dec. 12, 1949

J. Parnell Thomas gained national notoriety as an anticommunist crusader during the witch-hunt that began in the late 1940s. The one-time congressman from New Jersey was not lacking in the arrogant mediocrity that has so often characterized his colleagues in Congress.

He became chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee and held that position during the witch-hunting Alger Hiss-Whittaker Chambers "spy" case in 1948.

Later that year, Thomas was indicted on charges, which he did not contest, of padding his payroll with the names of persons whose only job was to hand over their salaries to him. He was found guilty despite cries that it was "un-American" to pry into his graft and claims that such moves were a "Communist plot" to discredit his work.

Although he could have received up to 32 years in jail, he—privileged crook that he was—was sentenced to only 6-18 months, of which he served 9. This was less time than many of the victims of his committee's witch-hunting were obliged to serve.

Thomas was never indicted for the even more serious crime (one he shares with present officeholders) of robbing hundreds of Americans of their elementary civil liberties, reputations and livelihoods.

J. Parnell Thomas died Nov. 19 at the age of 75. Few will mourn his passing.

Seattle h.s. women meet

By KATHRYN HILLS

SEATTLE—A high school women's liberation conference was held Nov. 21 at the University of Washington sponsored by Campus Women's Liberation. Eight Seattle high schools were represented at the conference.

Speakers included Chris Robinson, a high school woman who is currently suing the State Board of Education on the issue of compulsory home economics requirements for women, and Sylvia Hernandez of the Chicano student movement, MECHA.

Hernandez pointed out that Chicanas are not only oppressed as women but as Third World people and as workers. She said that women and oppressed national minorities have much in common as they struggle to control their own destinies.

"Chicanos and Chicanas feel a need to form their own independent Chicano party," she said. "The Democratic and Republican parties serve the ruling class, and the ruling class doesn't have room for Chicanos, Negroes, Indios or Filipinos—or women. Women too must unite and build an

independent movement. As long as we rely on Democrats and Republicans, we will not be able to determine our own destiny."

In discussion groups following the speeches, the high school women decided to work with Campus Women's Liberation on building a Jan. 29 teach-in at the University of Washington. They also decided to demand the right to attend the teach-in without penalty for missing class.

That evening, Campus Women's Liberation presented a fund-raising dinner followed by Myrna Lamb's play "But What Have You Done For Me Lately?" performed by the Vancouver Women's Liberation Alliance. Over 250 people attended the play.

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Colo. Raza Unida spokesman: The po

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales, president of the Denver Crusade for Justice and a founder of the recently established Colorado Raza Unida Party, is a leading figure in the Chicano movement of Aztlan, that area of the Southwest which the Chicano people charge was stolen from them by the U.S. rulers.

Gonzales presently faces a framed-up weapons possession charge in Los Angeles stemming from the brutal police attack on the Aug. 29 Chicano Moratorium demonstration in that city.

In Denver, too, the Crusade for Justice and Raza Unida Party are under police attack. In the dawn hours of Nov. 4, immediately after the elections, the Denver police staged an unprovoked raid on a community school recently established by the Crusade.

In the election, the Raza Unida Party made an encouraging first showing for its slate of local and statewide candidates.

* * *

Camejo: What is your assessment of the Raza Unida campaign in Colorado?

Gonzales: We won the biggest number of votes that's ever been given to an independent party in the state of Colorado, and we've put on the line every social problem that the Mexican has. We were able to become a pressure group just by creating the party alone. Both (opposition) parties came out with more Chicano candidates than they've ever had in the history of the state.

This resulted in two Chicanos being elected to the state House of Representatives for the Democratic Party, and this is one more than they've ever had in the history of the state. We understand that this isn't a victory for us but a sign of the power we have.

People who voted for La Raza Unida were those who were committed to our platform. And remember, 55 to 60 percent of our people are under the age of 21. As you know, in this state the 19-year-old vote was killed. We feel that if that had changed, this would have strengthened La Raza Unida by about fourfold.

The actual percentage of the vote fell far below the 10 percent we need to establish ourselves on the ballot as a political party. However, that doesn't make any difference. We can still get on by petition. It's probably easier that way.

We feel that this was a first step, an experiment. We feel that people already know what the Raza Unida Party is all about. We didn't run any politicians. We ran activists, people who



Corky Gonzales

didn't have time to politic. They were busy out at picket lines and out at centers where they were having farm workers strikes. They were busy helping people. They were busy on the campuses. We had a tremendous range and variety of candidates who related to the problems whether they were urban or rural.

We had grassroots people, organizers like Magdaleno Avila, who organized the farm workers' strike in Center, Colo. We had some 25 candidates. Some of them were stopped. Objections against them were filed with the secretary of state by the Democratic Party and the Colorado Labor Council, and they had one of their malinches (traitors) submit the objection, but we won.

Camejo: What role did the Chicano students play in the campaign here?

Gonzales: The students were able to get us universities where we met and got the public together. We met at Boulder, we met at Adams State, at Alamosa, we met in Pueblo at the university. In fact, we had our first conference at a university. This was again provided by the students, who were able to latch onto the auditorium and the ballroom for fund raising, dances and meeting places. Plus we had students running. We had Marty Serna, who is chairman of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan) running on the ballot. We had Ricardo Falcon, who is one of the officers of UMAS (United Mexican American Students).

Another youth who was running from UMAS was killed in a car accident. We had a Brown Beret running for sheriff in Pueblo, and we had every facet of our community running.

Although we were limited because of lack of funds, we tried to go around and educate the different areas, from the south of the state to the north. We were able to go down to Alamosa, for instance, and get pretty good crowds there. We made a last-ditch stand in Pueblo where the Black Berets, a Chicano youth organization, got together and did all the handing out of flyers and door-to-door contacts.

Camejo: I saw the damage done to the interior of the Crusade building by the police raid. Is this tied to the fact that you ran a campaign statewide against the Democratic Party?

Gonzales: I see it in part as a result of the fact that we were organizing the Raza Unida Party and people were starting to identify with it. We created

a web of communication plus organization. We feel there is an all-around reactionary trend.

They came at 3 a.m. and held five of our young people incommunicado with guns at their heads. They refused to allow them to call any of us, any of the adults or the vice-chairman who has all the keys.

They just proceeded to have about two and a half hours of free time to bust over 50 doors in the school, go through all the closets, all the offices, the school rooms, our curio shop, bookstore, and art gallery, where they destroyed some works of art. They wouldn't allow any of the boys to go with them while they searched.

They came out of there with the claim they picked up a rifle. Then they came back and claimed they found another one. They picked up one of the girl's prop guns used in the Chicano ballet. They took tapes used for background music for the dancers. They also destroyed the film *I am Joaquin* and took some old membership files and some of our school records.

They also took money, about \$800. We had money in the bookstore, in the curio shop, in the silkscreen operation, and in my office, and all of this is missing.

Three of our people have made criminal complaints against the police for stealing. As soon as we get an estimate of all the damage, we'll be filing for that also.

Camejo: Do you think the police in Denver are trying to establish an environment where they can come in and raid, shoot the place up, and murder like they have been able to do to the Black Panthers?

Gonzales: Definitely so. In 1969, when the West Side High School blow-out occurred, we went down to support the youth. Many of the Crusaders, including myself, and student leaders were arrested.

The police had just come back from a conference where they were speaking about riot control. They came out to practice on us and the only thing was that they lost. We had sort of a Chicano "Battle of Algiers" and we won.

We also won in the courts by proving with a TV film that it was a police riot. Afterwards, the police chief came out with statements that they had to get rid of the Crusade and Gonzales, that we were dangerous.

The Rocky Mountain News, the racist Scripps-Howard newspaper, came out with an editorial that said, "Get rid of this man and the leadership

of the Crusade," which means to the racists, "Kill these people."

The repression is steering toward us. The police were then preparing the public's point of view that they must kill us or get rid of us. If myself or one of our leaders is found dead at the hands of a policeman, it gives them the right now to go to the people and say, "We had to bust into their place, they are very dangerous." We know that this is a move towards the right, a move to create a bad image, the wartime enemy image, to justify killing in the public eye.

Camejo: What is your general evaluation of the Chicano movement today nationally? What do you see developing in the movement in the coming year? We've seen the 30,000 demonstrate in Los Angeles. We saw the victory of the grape strike and the development of local Raza Unida parties.

Gonzales: We understood when we first got involved that we had to create a cultural awareness, a self-identification, a positive image of ourselves. And this is what the cultural renaissance is that has been taking place. You see Chicano studies being fought for at all the different universities. Of course this is just one phase, or one level. People start realizing that the next part of this is to escalate it into different areas, like economic development and political philosophy.

Our young people who identify with the movement want action. I have people coming up to me saying, "Well, we don't want to come to meetings because we don't want to talk. We want to do something." The young people at all levels are starting to identify with the movement and want guidance and guidelines. In the past, older people didn't give any guidelines except, "Be what I am," which sometimes meant being a political prostitute, in some cases a castrated Chicano.

I see the Chicano movement just mushrooming into the real positive force it's going to be, because it's just happening everywhere—in school blow-outs, sit-ins, in confrontations between students and university administrations. At Highland University in Las Vegas, N.M., which has the biggest percentage of Chicanos of any college in the United States, they forced the firing of an Anglo racist president. Now they're working to get a Chicano president.

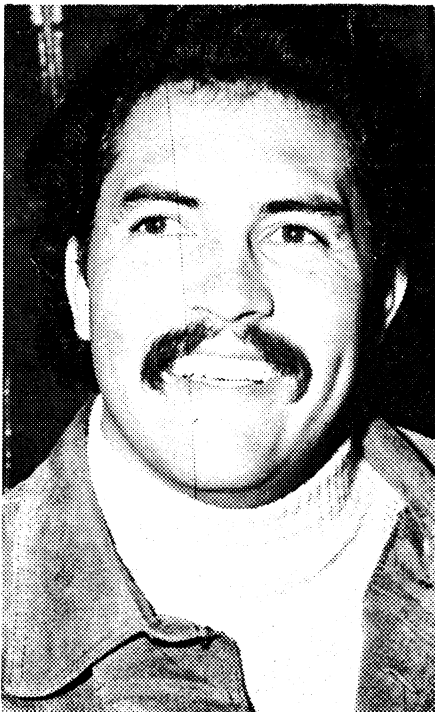
This even brought out the support of some very conservative people, which in turn nationalized, Chicano-

Raza Unida vote

The following are the vote totals credited to the statewide candidates of the Raza Unida Party in Colorado:

Al Gurule for governor and George Garcia for lieutenant governor, 5,230; Leo Valdez for state treasurer, 7,512; Marcella Trujillo for University of Colorado Board of Regents, 8,951; Marcus Saiz for U of Colorado Board of Regents, 7,011; Magdaleno Avila for secretary of state, 7,512.

After being nominated and placed on the ballot, Avila was forced to declare his withdrawal from the election when the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council threatened to withdraw its support from the lettuce strike of which Avila is a central organizer.



Albert Gurule



Marcella Trujillo

People are starting to move collectively

ized, them. And once they made a statement, they were committed to the movement. There was a sit-in at a very middle-class, moderate junior high school in Denver Nov. 7, and there'll be more.

When Chicanos and Anglos fight each other in schools, they send the Chicano home, they expel him, and they leave the Anglo in. And people are starting now to identify the problem and see what racism is.

Before they said it didn't exist because they were in a shell. Now they are recognizing it. This means also that the parents are taking part in it with the students. And this is the beautiful part because in the past the student was all alone. Of course, we have to realize that in the past it was also the parent that stood alone.

But today, young people and all people are starting to move collectively, which was a good sign at the Chicano Moratorium and is a good sign in the different areas that people are thinking together. They have come around a common denominator. I see the movement mushrooming.

I would say with a lot of remorse that although people have said there haven't been any Chicano martyrs, there are going to be a lot of Chicano martyrs because this nation is not just leaning toward but going downhill toward fascism and police statism.

The different break-and-enter laws they have made, the different law-and-order stands they've taken—law and order against whom? Law and order against the demonstrators and the students and protesters. This isn't stopping organized crime. It's possibly stopping individual crime, but it's organized to destroy the movement. Again, they are making the Chicano the bad guy. They did that with the Panthers and they hope to do that with us.

Camejo: How do you see the role of the Raza Unida Party in the struggle?

Gonzales: There is no real concrete movement until you have a political philosophy and ideology to align yourself behind. La Raza Unida says that. Those people who had the courage to become candidates, who have the courage to be involved, really make up the negotiators, the diplomats and the political leadership of the movement. We've created new faces of leadership across this state. No doubt this has also been done in South Texas and I think it's emerging in California.

I think it was a little premature to try to form the Congress of Aztlan last March at the youth conference (Second

Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, March 1970, out of which the Colorado Raza Unida Party was formed and the August 29 National Chicano Moratorium projected) because we didn't have the kind of organized units that could get together to form a real congress.

That wasn't really solid; it wasn't concrete. There were a lot of differences of opinion and there were no established Raza Unida candidates or representatives. I see it starting to develop now and out of this will come the Congress of Aztlan.

There isn't one problem on any level—whether it's education, employment, legislative problems, whether it's a police problem, whether it has to do with the parks and recreation, service agencies, schools, churches, all the way down to the bottom in our areas—that La Raza Unida will not be involved with and will not be the negotiating body for.

We see La Raza Unida as setting up the political philosophy. There are different levels of revolutionary action. We have to have those who are able to sit at those negotiation tables. The other level is the people who have to organize the necessary actions which give the political people the power with which to negotiate.

And that level is not just a matter of voting, but a matter of action. Some very tough measures have to be taken and we know that they have to be taken by people in the streets, by people in the community.

Camejo: What plans are projected for 1971?

Gonzales: We'll have municipal campaigns in 1971. La Raza Unida is born. It's learned to cry and now it's going to learn to crawl, until we start walking. We hope to have a mayoral candidate and candidates on all levels in the municipal elections in Denver, and we will be having people running all around the state.

Camejo: You mentioned that you have started a school here at the Crusade. Would you tell us about it?

Gonzales: The name of the school is Tlatelolco, La Plaza de las Tres Culturas (The Plaza of Three Cultures, the plaza on which 300 young students in Mexico were massacred by Diaz Ordaz in 1968). We created the school because we felt that sending our children into the establishment is really creating quite a problem for our children. Instead of sending them in there to be infected with cancer and having their self-image destroyed and then hoping that after they come out

we can cure them of this, we have started our school.

The worst we can do is send our children into the very institutions that are set up by the society we have. I think this is the first institution of its kind as far as Chicanos go. We have classes from preschool to college undergraduates. The college students gain their credits through teaching the secondary and primary students.

We're accredited under the law. We have a contract association with Goddard College in Vermont. They give us our accreditation insofar as our college students are concerned. Many parents were concerned about accreditation, concerned about class and grade standards at first. Now that the children are coming here they don't give a damn about whether the establishment cares or considers or whether we are accredited or not.

The fact is that our children are learning, our children are happy, our children are doing something they enjoy and are also being educated. They don't have to fight to maintain their identity and their self-image, which is the double struggle of Chicanos, or Blacks, in the school system.

It's not an experiment with somebody else's children either. Many people go out and get a nice bright idea and they go write up a proposal and send it to the OEO or HEW and get it funded. And then they go and experiment with Chicanos and Black children or Indian children.

In this organization, the students we have are our children. We're limited right now because of facilities and funds. We're not funded by anyone. Presently we have 167 students. We have set the total number at 200 by January. We haven't even announced that we are open. Just by word of mouth young people want to come in here. We get calls; we have a waiting list. We will build that up to 200 by January. We want to keep it at that because we won't have the services for more than 200.

After the L. A. problem (the National Chicano Moratorium and the ensuing police attack), we decided that we needed not only young people who were tough and had courage but young people who had brains and could administer, who could take care of business, who knew how to organize, how to teach and all of these things. We realize that we have this tremendous lack of polished leadership that can handle all facets of organizing and creating a movement and bringing it to a positive solution.

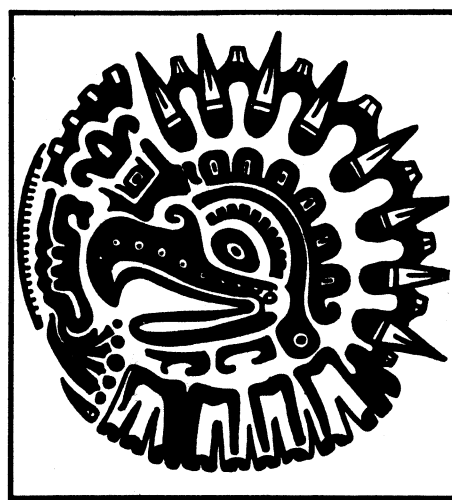
Camejo: Do you see the school as eliminating the need for fighting for community control of the establishment schools in the community?

Gonzales: No, definitely not. Our students at La Plaza de las Tres Culturas are from all areas of the community and they are the ones who are going to be the future teachers. It's like they're on a raft and the boat is sinking but we're going back to get our brothers.

Some of our students are seniors in sociology, seniors in political science. Some of them already have their degrees in education. And as we develop our resource people and our teachers, we will be able to send them into the school system.

No, we intend to nationalize every school in our community just as some of the parks in the city have been nationalized already. We intend to nationalize every service that's available, every institution that's in our area. Wherever we're a majority, we say we are going to control, that's a democratic principle.

Camejo: About your arrest in L. A. after the police riot Aug. 29. What



are the charges that are now against you and where does your trial stand?

Gonzales: The case goes to court soon. Al Gurule, myself and 27 of us were picked up and charged with robbery. The robbery charge was dropped. Charges of holding a concealed weapon were kept on myself and Al Gurule, who ran for governor here in Colorado. We felt it was a conspiracy to destroy the Raza Unida Party in this area. Our defense will be based on the California statutes which give you the right to have protection; they give you the right to protect yourself if you have a business. Our business is the Chicano movement.

The other statute gives you the right to protect yourself if your life is in danger. Our life is always in danger. We hope to do it legitimately. We're not going to make up a fantastic story. We're going to get a ruling. We hope to gain a ruling that legitimizes the protection of people who are willing to speak up on behalf of the movement. This is what I have discussed with my lawyer. We hope to make it a political issue, not a criminal issue.

Oscar Zeta Acosta will be our lawyer and he will have help from other people. He told me he thinks it's going to be a 20- or 30-day trial.

We're now setting up a Chicano defense fund because we know many of our people are going to be facing problems in this city and across the Southwest. We have set up the defense fund to try to pick up money for transportation since we have difficulties in getting our witnesses back and forth and lodging them in California.

Acosta is talking about bringing in different civil rights leaders and revolutionary leaders. I talked to Huey Newton and other leaders in the country about coming to testify in our behalf on the question of the right to defend your own life. Los Angeles is looking towards trying to indict me for crossing interstate lines to "incite riots." It took them a year to hit the Chicago Eight. If they go out and absolve the Kent guardsmen who shot students who were Anglos and now they're arresting 25 students and teachers, you know the Los Angeles Police Department and Sheriff's Department is going to try to save face and blame someone else for inciting to riot.

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Magdaleno Avila



Leo Valdez

Roots of Mideast conflict (V)

Goals of Palestinian resistance forces

By GUS HOROWITZ and
BARRY SHEPPARD
(Fifth of a series)

The struggle of the Palestinian Arabs for their national liberation is part of the struggle of all the Arab people to free themselves completely from the domination of the Western imperialist powers. This Arab struggle is directed against both the imperialists and the state of Israel, which is an imperialist beachhead in the Arab world.

The Palestinian fight for national liberation, while part of the struggle of the Arab people as a whole, has its own special characteristics and goals, although these goals are also in the interests of the broader Arab struggle.

After the British Mandate was established over Palestine at the end of World War I, Palestinian Arab opposition to British rule became manifest. Palestinian uprisings occurred in the 1920s and 1930s, culminating in the 1936-39 uprising, which was finally put down.

Anti-Zionist protests occur in Israel

Effectively squelching the Israeli government's claim to near unanimous popular support for its racist policies, 1,000 demonstrators turned out in Tel Aviv Nov. 17 for an anti-Zionist rally. Sponsored by a group of Hebrew University students, the rally urged support "for the national rights of the Palestinians," reports the Nov. 19 New York Times. It was marked by a brief clash with supporters of the Zionist regime.

For several days preceding the rally student activists "have been involved in fist fights and public arguments on the campus over their attempts to display the Palestinian flag," the Times also reported.

Thus the Palestinians had their own history of struggles against imperialism, as did the Algerians, Syrians, Egyptians and the other Arab peoples. But the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 was to give special meaning to the Palestinian struggle and shape its course and objectives.

In the past few years, the world has seen a startling upsurge in Palestinian nationalism—or to state it more accurately, the burgeoning nationalism of the oppressed Palestinians has begun to surface in a visible way, in an organized struggle.

The roots of this upsurge in Palestinian nationalism lie in the special oppression the Palestinians suffered as a result of the creation and extension of Israel. The setting up of the exclusively Jewish settler-state of Israel meant the expulsion of a whole people from their homes, to become refugees in the Arab states surrounding Israel, or internal refugees and second-class citizens within Israel. Since its foundation, Israeli expansionism has resulted in increased numbers of refugees and Palestinians living under Israeli military rule in the occupied territories.

The motor force of Palestinian nationalism is the drive to right this historical crime.

The Palestinians are fighting to regain their homeland and to end their status as "refugees," outcasts forced to exist on charity, without rights, always fearful of new Israeli aggressions and crimes. Consequently, the struggle for Palestinian national liberation is necessarily a struggle against the Israeli state, the instrument of the oppression of the Palestinians and the military force which occupies their land.

As might be expected, the growth of Palestinian nationalism has been strongest in the refugee camps, where hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have been doomed to live in tents and hovels, on miserable handouts from the United Nations. It has been in the refugee camps that the various



Palestine Liberation Organization/LNS photo

A Palestinian refugee begins to pick up the pieces in Wahdat Camp following brutal assault by Jordanian troops last September.

national liberation organizations have developed their mass base.

The goal of the Palestinian struggle as outlined by the major Palestinian struggle organizations is the replacement of the present state of Israel with a democratic and secular Palestine. The displaced Palestinians would be able to return to their land as full citizens in a democratic state along with the Jewish masses now living in Israel. This state, as contrasted to the exclusively Jewish Israeli state, would oppress neither Arabs nor Jews. It would be secular—neither a Moslem nor a Christian nor a Jewish clerical state nor even a state divided into religious "houses" like Lebanon.

The fight of the Palestinians for self-determination is a struggle of one of the most oppressed peoples in the world. It is a struggle which revolutionary socialists give their wholehearted and complete support to, regardless of the strengths or weaknesses of its current leadership.

It's in this sense that revolutionary socialists support the struggle for a democratic and secular Palestine—as the current goal of the Palestinian fight for national liberation and self-determination. The essence of the idea contained in the slogan for a democratic and secular Palestine—the overthrow of the present exclusively Jewish state of Israel and the establishment of a state in the region which eliminates national oppression of any group—is essential for the winning of Palestinian self-determination.

As this goal of the Palestinian struggle becomes better known, it will help expose the fraudulent claims of the Zionists that Israel represents an "outpost of democracy" in the Mideast. The true nature of the Israeli state is indicated by its implacable opposition to the political and social goals of a democratic and secular Palestine.

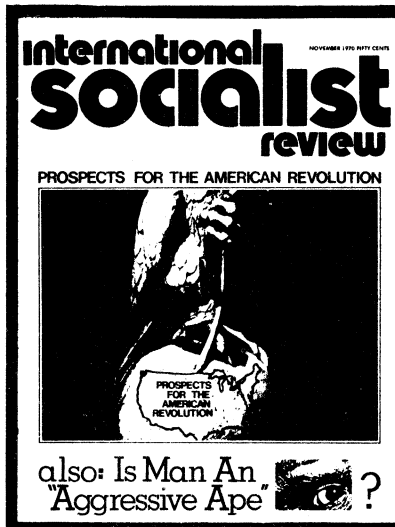
The idea of replacing the exclusively Jewish state with a democratic state with equal rights for all can also eventually win the support of the Jewish masses in Israel seeking a road to peace and a more just society.

The present state of Israel was founded on the oppression of the Palestinians and can only exist in perpetual hostility to the surrounding Arab peoples. Its destruction and replacement by a democratic, secular state would open the way to winning full rights for the Palestinians and would enable the Israeli Jewish masses to join the Arab masses as equals, not as oppressors. It would also deal a severe blow to imperialism in the Middle East by removing its Israeli beachhead. Thus, the right of the Palestinians for their national self-determination is one of the key pivots of the whole Arab revolution.

(To be continued)

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A recent major political statement by Al Fateh, the largest Palestinian commando organization, declared itself in favor of a democratic, secular Palestine that would assure the rights of both Arabs and Jews. Entitled "Toward a Democratic State in Palestine," the document was published in two installments in The Militant of Oct. 9 and 16. A limited number of these issues are still available and may be obtained by sending 40 cents to cover publication price and postage to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

How labor party will be sparked in the U.S.

By FRANK LOVELL
(Seventh of a series)

A very high percentage of union men and women today have the idea that they have been played for suckers for too long by the big-money politicians and the labor officialdom. This cuts into voter registration and political-action contributions.

Union ranks shun the ballot because "there is no one to vote for," or they register their dissatisfaction by crossing over party lines and seeking to vote for "the best man." On occasion they demand of their unions a new kind of politics.

Resolutions for a labor party used to be regularly passed by locals of the United Auto Workers prior to 1954. A labor party resolution is occasionally adopted now by some maverick AFL-CIO central labor council. A few lodges of the Machinists union on the West Coast adopted resolutions demanding that their international officers organize a labor party when Congress began in 1966 to talk about special legislation against the strike of airline mechanics that tied up the air service for several weeks.

All labor party resolutions over the years have been duly noted and carefully filed by the union officialdom—underlining that a labor party will not come into being by resolution alone. Conversely, neither are the strident, abstract calls by radical sects outside the union movement who proclaim themselves "revolutionists" likely to bring forth a labor party.

The labor party movement may well be sparked by the successful efforts of the Raza Unida Party or the organization of an independent all-Black mass party. Such parties will score impressive victories in the electoral arena and can be the precursors of a labor party in this country.

In Texas, La Raza Unida has demonstrated that such parties representing national minorities are of a different kind from those of the Democrats and Republicans. They are different because they are organized by oppressed people to make changes, whereas the capitalist parties are organized to prevent changes. Another difference is the need for these parties of the oppressed to mobilize their constituents in order to get what is rightfully theirs under existing laws. This happened in southwest Texas, where Chicanos are a majority and where La Raza Unida elected a majority to local government. The newly elected local officials had to call out the community to force the local white ruling class to respect the law.

The Democratic and Republican parties call only for voters, never for strikers. The parties of the employing class are electoral machines, not representative mass organizations. The capitalist parties are visible only at election time. Mass parties of minority peoples must operate as daily defense



organizations to protect and extend the gains they make in electoral politics.

The example of their successes will influence the ranks of the union movement, providing living proof that independent political action is possible, different, necessary, and useful.

The labor party will most likely develop within the union movement, and probably through the political machinery already established by the unions, led by rank-and-file militants and serious worker revolutionaries. It may be that the first signs of a genuine labor party development will appear in the form of labor party clubs to campaign in local union elections for more politically conscious union officials.

History offers various examples. The British Labor Party began differently, developing from local independent labor parties in the 1890s when the employing class undertook to crush the unions of that day. These independent local labor party formations, organized by Marxian socialists, challenged the two-party system of Liberals and Tories and won some local elections.

In 1893 a national Independent Labor Party was formed by the socialists with the aim of winning the union movement away from the capitalist Liberal and Tory parties and for independent political action. Not until 1900, when some unions established the Labor Representation Committee was there any organizational tie between the unions and the ILP. More unions were pushed into the labor party movement by antiunion laws and court rulings, but some of the most powerful unions remained tied to the Liberal Party until 1910. The British Labor Party was 20 years in the making.

In one respect, the labor party movement in this country has been longer in emerging because the broadest union support for it was in the 1930s, but the movement was thwarted and its energies diverted into the Democratic Party, principally by the reformist Communist and Socialist parties. This did not kill the labor party idea, and the present vacuum in electoral politics will revive the movement.

The need for a labor party is as urgent now as was the need for the

Republican Party more than 100 years ago. The times are somewhat analogous.

The Republican Party of the northern industrial capitalists, organized in the 1850s, was the product of a national crisis and an instrument for coping with it.

This was a class party, representing the most vigorous sector of a rapidly expanding capitalism. Its avowed purpose was to take control of government, to rearrange all the priorities in support of the class it represented. It turned out that this class was able to put together a coalition of other social forces which together comprised a majority and which then challenged the minority rule of the southern slaveholders in Washington.

This is what is needed today. A class party representing the working class and its allies, the national minorities, the youth, the intellectuals, the small business people—all those who are victims of monopoly control of the economy and the political superstructure—is the necessary instrument for coping with the present social and economic crisis.

The avowed purpose of the labor party must be that of any serious political party: to take control of government. The corporate giants today control all branches of government—the presidency, Congress, the Supreme Court, and the armed forces.

If government is to serve the needs of the vast majority, all branches of government must come under the control of that majority, which can accomplish this only if it has its own political party designed for that specific purpose.

The union movement is the already organized base for the labor party. Unions were built in the first place because there is a fundamental conflict of interest between workers and the employers, with workers seeking to raise the standard of living and employers searching for cheap labor. Unions exist only because they are independent class organizations, not under the control of the employers. If they were not independent of the employing class, they could not call a strike.

This principle of independent class action applied to electoral politics indicates the necessity for a labor party.

The rightward shift of the capitalist parties in the 1970 general election, at a time when the mass radicalization is deepening, creates a political vacuum for the labor party to fill.

(Last of a series)

New deadline nearing on railroad contract

By PAUL DAVIDSON

CHICAGO—Midnight Dec. 10 is the latest in a string of deadlines that have been set in the course of more than 10 months of bargaining for a new contract in the railroad industry.

The new deadline was created by President Nixon when he successfully stalled a possible nationwide rail shutdown last September by appointing an emergency board under the provisions of the National Railway Labor Act. The board reported its findings Nov. 9. Under terms of the act, the unions are free to strike 30 days after the board has presented its report.

In an assessment of the board's report, the Right to Vote Committee of the United Transportation Union stated Nov. 12 that "the proposed contract falls far short of what we need because of the soaring inflation. The board proposes a wage increase that is 53 cents an hour less than the Teamsters won in their national con-

tract. That's over \$20 a week. . . We will be making nearly \$1 an hour less than the Teamsters at the end of our contract according to the board recommendation!"

The statement further noted: "Earlier this year the railroads said we would be forced to pay for any wage increase negotiated by giving up many of our jobs and working conditions. The special presidential board set up to 'study' the railroad union demands, and to recommend the terms of any national wage and work-rule settlement, have proposed that we do exactly that."

The board's proposal also omits a cost-of-living clause and freezes present fringe benefits, the committee points out.

At a news conference Nov. 9, C. L. Dennis, president of the 250,000-member Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), commented on the proposed contract: "The carriers have been talking in the area of a 7-percent wage increase, and it is clear-

ly insufficient," he said. "To determine what happens next requires a crystal ball."

"BRAC will make its own decisions," he continued, suggesting the union might resort to strike action. "We will reject any emergency board recommendations which do not treat us on a par with all other transportation industry workers."

Two days later he had already changed his tune. At a Nov. 11 news conference he assured that in case of a strike a work force would be provided to run "all passenger trains, suburban, interurban, cross-country and so on." His union would provide enough manpower to move essential military supplies, as well as coal used for generating electricity, he promised. "We do not want to shut down the cities," he exclaimed.

The heads of the other railroad unions involved, especially the key United Transportation Union, have not yet spoken out on the emergency board's report.

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Book review

Writings of an outstanding revolutionist

ROSA LUXEMBURG SPEAKS. Edited and with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. Pathfinder Press, Inc. 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. 480 pp. \$10 cloth, \$3.95 paper.

The publication of *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks* makes available in one paperback volume all of Rosa Luxemburg's major pamphlets, as well as most of her shorter writings which have been translated into English.

Luxemburg's writings are arranged in chronological order with an introduction to the volume and a series of brief historical backgrounds to each writing by Mary-Alice Waters, managing editor of *The Militant*.

In addition, Waters' introduction outlines the main political differences between Rosa Luxemburg and the Bolshevik Party. An appendix to the book contains one selection and one article by Lenin and two articles by Trotsky which amplify these differences and evaluate Rosa Luxemburg's contributions to the international socialist movement.

To put it briefly: *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks* is a publication of great value to revolutionists.

Lenin states in one of the selections in the appendix, written three years after Rosa Luxemburg's death: "...not only will Communists all over the world cherish her memory, but her biography and her complete works (the publication of which the German Communists are inordinately delaying, which can only be partly excused by the tremendous losses they are suffering in their severe struggle) will serve as useful manuals for training many generations of Communists all over the world."

And Lenin continues by quoting Luxemburg, "'Since August 4, 1914, German social democracy has been a stinking corpse'—this statement will make Rosa Luxemburg's name famous in the history of the international working-class movement."

Lenin singles out Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against the reformist leadership of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD).

This mass socialist party was the biggest party in, and undisputed leader of, the Second International, the world socialist organization founded with Engels' participation in 1889.

The SPD had led workers' struggles in Germany, gaining the leadership



Rosa Luxemburg

of the union movement and drawing into its ranks tens of thousands of workers. SPD votes in German elections ran into the hundreds of thousands. Its leaders held many seats in the Reichstag and key posts in the central and provincial governments.

The SPD proclaimed a Marxist program, socialist and internationalist.

Yet on Aug. 4, 1914, at the outset of World War I, the SPD leadership capitulated to German capitalism. It voted for funds to fuel the German armies; it propagandized for a "German victory."

The interimperialist holocaust—which had as its central aim the redivision of colonies and world markets between the imperialist powers—was described in SPD newspapers as "the struggle of civilization against barbarism. . . ."

This treachery of the German social democratic leadership was only matched by the leaderships of other parties of the Second International

which similarly heralded the cause of "their own" bourgeoisies.

The world party of socialism led the workers of the world into the imperialist holocaust. What had happened?

Rosa Luxemburg was one of the first leaders of the socialist movement to correctly diagnose the disease: social-democratic *reformism*. This is the concept that capitalism can be gradually and peacefully reformed to socialism.

Reformists preach "working within the system" and "getting out the vote." They are implacable opponents of revolution.

Beginning with the writings of Eduard Bernstein in 1897, the press of the SPD began to include more and more reformist material. This corresponded to the ever-more-widespread practice of reformist policies in the SPD's political and trade-union activity.

Rosa Luxemburg stood up to oppose every deviation of the SPD from its revolutionary heritage. She brilliantly polemicized against the errors

of the reformist theoreticians. She fought reformism in practice, from its first manifestations down to its fatal consequences in the first world war and the betrayal of revolution in Germany in 1918-19.

When she recognized that the SPD could not be changed—that reformism was the disease itself and not just a symptom of it—she declared the social democracy dead and allied herself with the handful of other European socialists who were assembling cadres to build a new, revolutionary international.

She recognized the vanguard role of the Russian Bolsheviks in the work of rebuilding international socialism. From a prison cell in Germany, Rosa Luxemburg wrote of the Bolsheviks' 1917 victory:

"Whatever a party could offer of courage, revolutionary farsightedness and consistency in a historic hour, Lenin, Trotsky and the other comrades have given in good measure."

"All the revolutionary honor and capacity which western social democracy lacked were represented by the Bolsheviks. Their October uprising was not only the actual salvation of the Russian Revolution; it was also the salvation of the honor of international socialism."

Rosa Luxemburg Speaks contains the fiery pages of a crucial turning point in history. It is the text of the struggle against the degeneration of the German Social Democratic Party by one of the foremost leaders of that struggle.

The volume also contains several writings that are not, strictly speaking, on political topics: "What is Economics?," an easy-to-follow introduction to Marxist economics which exposes the apologetic character of bourgeois economics; "The Spirit of Russian Literature: Life of Koreolenko," a tremendously moving analysis of prerevolutionary Russian literature; and several shorter works.

In these writings as in Rosa Luxemburg's main political polemics, the class struggle is the central inspiring force. Luxemburg's profound sympathy for the oppressed masses of the world, her unflinching defense of the oppressed against the ruling-class exploiters and her insistence on the necessity of waging a war to victory against these oppressors will leave a deep impression on any reader.

—DICK ROBERTS

Nationalist play debunks myth of Black matriarchy



Alice Childress

By MYRNA HILL

Wine in the Wilderness, by Black playwright Alice Childress and performed in New York by the New Heritage Repertory Company, is a feminist statement that this viewer feels has been long overdue.

Although it is billed as a comedy-drama, this two-act play directed by Roger Furman has too much political impact to be dismissed as lighthearted entertainment. But the play makes its points with a humor that draws the audience into warm sympathy with the characters before dealing its blows to the prejudices and high-handedness that often mark today's male Black nationalists' dealings with the Black—particularly the Black female—masses.

The scene is Harlem during the 1964 rebellion. Bill, a Black nationalist painter played by John Bird, is involved in producing a three-part work, called a triptych, about the Black woman. The three parts show her as a child, in her glory as a Black Queen of the Universe, and as

a "messed-up chick," the Black woman in America today. The model chosen for the final portrait of the triptych is the main character, "Tommie" (short for "Tomorrow-Marie"), movingly portrayed by actress Georgia Gowan.

In the course of the often hilarious encounter between Bill and Tommie, every biased cliché about the "unfeminine" American Black woman comes out of the male lead's mouth, only to be exposed by Tommie for what it is, the misdirected hostility of the chauvinist Black male who only loves "the Black woman" in the abstract—as his mind conceives she should be—but is too blind to see the flesh-and-blood Black woman as a human being, and is too eager to dominate her to tolerate her behaving as such.

The myth of the Black matriarchy—the notion of the "unfeminine and unfathomable" Black woman's aggressiveness and "ornery ways"—are debunked in such a way that even the males in the audience couldn't fail to get the point.

A representative of the Black middle

class, Cynthia, played by Christine Anderson, explains to Tommie that Black men give her such a hard way to go because of something called "the matriarchal family," and counsels her to act softer, more dependent, and to defer to male strength, and all will be well. Tommie counters with the truth that she has always been forced to look out for herself, and that if she didn't, no one else would.

Playwright Childress also shows herself to be adept at pointing out other contradictions of the nationalist scene. For instance, Tommie, speaking of the Harlem riot, says, "They kept yelling, 'Get Whitey! Get Whitey!' But who did they burn out? Me! All I had in the world, gone. . . ."

The arrogant painter Bill rails at Tommie for having so little understanding that "Black is Beautiful" that she wears a wig. Tommie responds, "It's you men who like that long, straight, silky hair," pointing out that if more nationalist men had their heads together, more Black women would have their hair together.

Meaning of feminist consciousness

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK—A panel of feminists discussed perspectives for the women's liberation movement at a session of the New York Region Socialist Educational Conference here Nov. 21. Panelists included Ivy Bottini, president of the New York National Organization for Women; Vicky Myers from the Feminists; Susan Brownmiller, writer, member of New York Radical Feminists and an organizer of the *Ladies Home Journal* sit-in; and Ruthann Miller of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

In making their initial presentations, the panelists expressed their agreement on the necessity for an autonomous women's movement to struggle for women's demands and develop strategy to deal with every form of oppression women face. Each of the panelists cited the tremendous impact it has had on women to join together in their own movement.

Referring to the total liberation feminists are now seeking, Bottini noted, "We've never been there before. No one has ever tried to get there before. It's all so new to us." The discussion period, which was the highpoint of the panel, reflected this mood of excitement and radical questioning of new areas.

Panelists were asked whether they felt living with a man was contradictory to a feminist consciousness. Brownmiller responded, "Everything we do is contradictory, isn't it? It is traditionally the woman's role to pacify and smooth over relationships. As feminists," she added, "we don't want to do that anymore."

Miller said she felt that "when women find their energy being drained from the women's liberation movement into holding a relationship with a man together, then there is an obvious contradiction."

Expressing the position of the Feminists, Myers said her group encour-



New York, Aug. 26

ages women to leave men as a first step toward their liberation. "We can't find equal relationships with men," she added. "It's a political relationship in this society. When he stands there before you, he has the whole male sex lined up behind him."

Bottini pointed out that although she felt it should be up to individual women to decide whether to leave men, "the women's liberation movement is enabling women who want to make that decision to do so." She mentioned that a marriage adjustment committee set up by NOW has evolved into a divorce counseling service.

Bottini agreed that all groups should continue to attack the oppression of women in whatever way they think is most effective but gave support to coalition actions as a way of reaching out and drawing millions of potential feminists into our movement.

Another part of the discussion dealt with the question of coalitions as a way of uniting masses of women in action around our demands.

Brownmiller agreed that coalition actions on specific issues were "impressive," but said she felt the diffusion of the feminist movement was one of its strengths and that "every woman working for her own perspective was more important than marching."

"We forget there are women out in Mt. Kisco who are just starting to awaken from a very deep sleep. We can't ignore them. Through coalitions," Bottini continued, "built around demands that have broad mass appeal and by us rapping the media for a change, we can reach them."

Miller agreed, citing the upcoming Dec. 12 action in New York for child care and abortion as a way women can continue the momentum of the Aug. 26 strike and confront the government with their "united power."

Ruthann Miller was asked why she, as a feminist, was also in a "male dominated" socialist group. Miller replied, "My view of feminism includes socialism, and my view of socialism includes feminism. So I belong to both the women's liberation movement and the SWP."

She added that the two groups have very different functions to perform. "The SWP's role is to unite and help organize all the independent movements for change, but the strategies must be determined by the movements themselves. The role of the feminist movement is to carry out the women's struggle, and it must be an independent force."

Miller pointed out that the question of whether or not a feminist can function in the SWP, or any other social-

ist party, has to do with its political program, not the fact that men are in the organization.

Reacting against the SWP's unconditional support to the independent feminist movement, a man from the Worker's League, a small sect claiming to be Trotskyist, literally leapt to his feet and launched into an angry polemic.

"Comrade Miller," he shouted, "you are a feminist!" He proceeded to attack feminism as a counterrevolutionary struggle which splits the working class.

Miller drew applause from the audience when she replied, "This man is not a comrade of mine. Anyone who doesn't see the revolutionary potential of feminism, and sees that there will be no revolution without women, doesn't understand what socialism is."

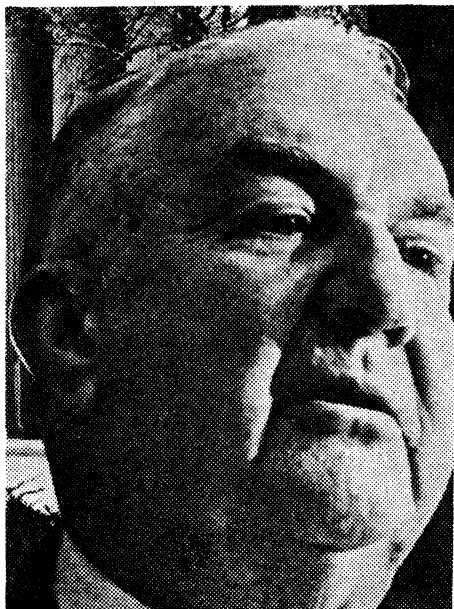
As the women's liberation movement grows in strength and numbers, serious debates are emerging on many questions. This panel, attended by women from many different groups in the New York area who were able to question each other on their perspectives, was a model of how this debate can best be carried on.

Those present at the panel voted to allow WPIX-TV to film part of the session.



Women's liberation notes

Actress Shirley MacLaine, who is currently in New York completing a film, has just endorsed the Dec. 12 mass demonstration in New York City protesting all restrictions on abortion and demanding child-care centers. MacLaine indicated that after Dec. 5, when the movie is finished, she will spend her time publicizing the demonstration and raising money for it.



Senator Ervin

Barnard College Women's Liberation is organizing a week of women's liberation activity to lead up to the Dec. 12 demonstration.

The week will be kicked off Dec. 5 by a picket line at a private abortion referral agency which is notorious for the tremendous profits it makes. The slogan of the demonstration will be "Stop making money off the blood of our sisters. Free abortions now!" Leaflets telling women where they can get low-cost abortions will be distributed.

Other events of the week will include a basketball game between the women's liberation group and male faculty members, complete with feminist "cheerleaders," consciousness-raising sessions in the dorms, a feminist film festival, and several panels. The group is preparing a satirical issue of the school paper, *The Barnard Bulletin*, renamed *The Barnard Bull*. The morning of the Dec. 12 demonstration, Barnard and Columbia women will hold a rally on campus and march as a contingent to the action.

Last week this column discussed the trial of Dr. Jane Hodgson, the St. Paul gynecologist who made a test case by having herself arrested for performing an abortion on a woman who had German measles. On Nov. 19, Dr. Hodgson was convicted of

performing an illegal abortion.

In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, Hodgson said she was "delighted" with her conviction since this means she can appeal the case in Supreme Court. She waived her right to a jury. "My case is so good and the law so antiquated I was afraid the jury might acquit me and then I couldn't have taken the case higher up."

* * *

George Washington University Women's Liberation has just issued a statement attempting "to deal with the old men in the Senate who have essentially killed the Equal Rights Amendment" by attaching the Ervin rider which exempts women from military service.

Attacking Senator Ervin's cynical brand of protection, which perpetrates "an elitist, sexist attitude of the superior capability of men," the statement also deplores the proposition implied by certain senators that "if we demand equality of rights, we deserve the punishment of the draft."

Pointing out that women do not want to die in Vietnam any more than men do, the statement suggests "the potential power of doubling the number of draft-age persons, those persons being young sisters who would swell the

resistance movement and bring unparalleled pressure on the system to end the draft and the war."

Although it is probably too late for groups like this to save the Equal Rights Amendment this time around from the obfuscating attempts of the Senate, it is a tribute to the growing strength of the feminist movement that for the first time since it was introduced in 1923, the amendment at least passed in the House.

* * *

The fall issue of *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, focusing on women and the arts, is now out. Included are articles on the lives of women writers such as George Sand, Virginia Woolf, Kate Chopin (the reason you have never heard of her is that her radical attacks on marriage led to the suppression of her works) and Louisa May Alcott, who was a feminist. There are also articles on the men, from Shakespeare to Joyce, who have written about us, an attack on "sexism set to music," i.e., rock, and the relation of art to liberation struggles.

A subscription to the *Journal* is \$4 for four issues from 3028 Greenmount Avenue, Baltimore, Md. 21218. The theme of the upcoming winter issue will be "How We Live, and With Whom."

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

The Black Panthers, an assessment (II)

Retreat from a strategy of mass action

By DERRICK MORRISON
(Second of a series)

Last week we discussed the response of the Black Panther Party to the ruling-class efforts to wipe it out. We said that at the outset the Panther leadership had organized mass-action defense campaigns—the best examples being the 1968 Newton and Cleaver defense efforts. But later there followed a haphazard, hit-and-miss organization of defense, combined with profuse rhetoric about "picking up the gun," "the People will free Bobby," and "you can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail the revolution."

The evolution of the Panther defense policy is but a reflection of the Panther Party's attitude toward struggle in general.

At the time of the Newton and Cleaver defense campaigns, the Panthers were immersed in the task of organizing and educating masses of Black people around the struggle for self-determination. This was the case in terms of the Black student movement, the community self-defense campaigns, and to a certain degree in the electoral arena, which the Panthers were talking about entering to combat Black illusions about the Democratic Party.

But in each of these struggles, withdrawal occurred as soon as the Panthers confronted but found themselves unable to politically defeat the reformists, who seek to keep the masses fastened to the organizational machinery of the capitalist state.

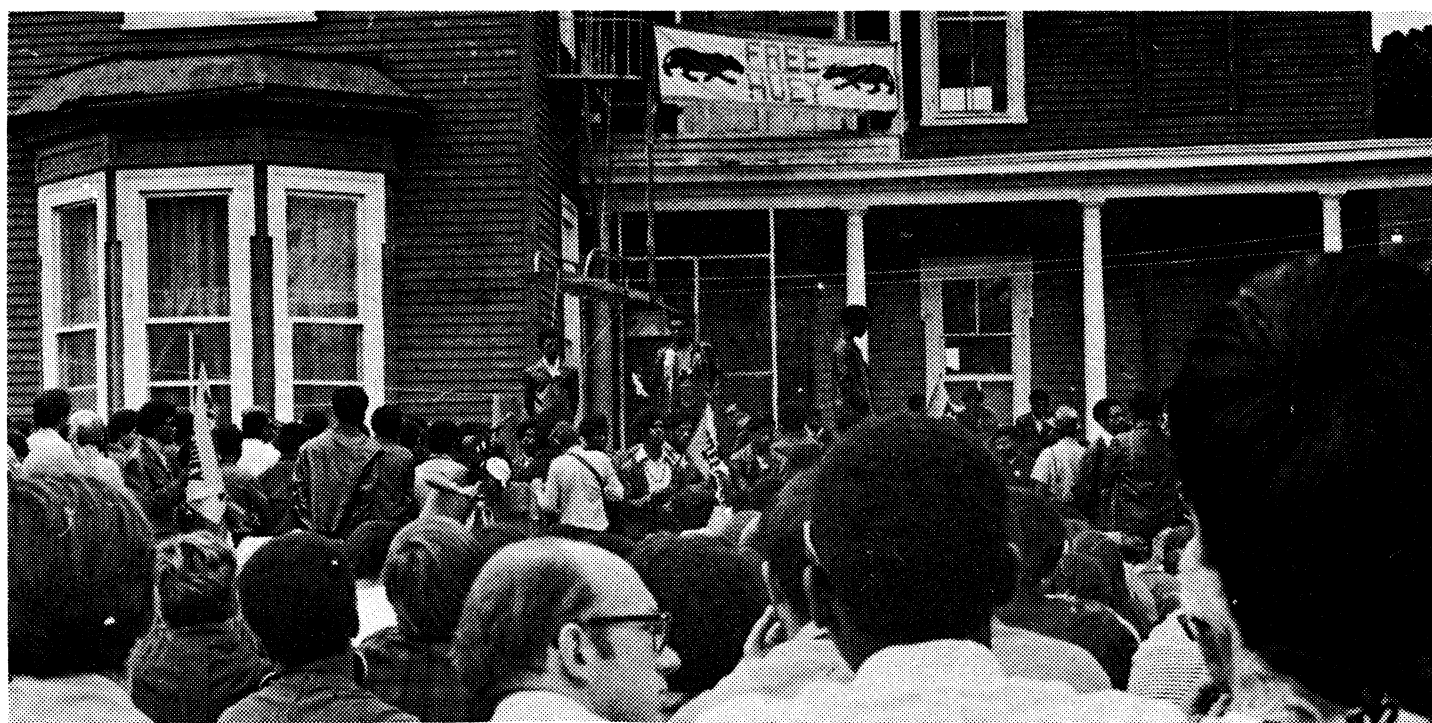
In the case of the Black student movement, the Panther withdrawal began in January 1969. It was in this month that the Panther Party was engaged in struggle with Ron Karenga's US organization for leadership of the Black Student Union at UCLA. At issue was who would determine the shape of the Afro-American studies program slated for the campus. At the point that the Panthers were gaining the upper hand, the US organization assassinated two BSU leaders who were members of the Panther Party.

The Panthers couldn't respond militarily to this heinous act because that would have only played into the hands of the police, who were looking for an excuse to attack the Panther Party. The fact that the police were implicitly backing US created a relationship of forces that negated a response with arms.

The only other response possible was to embark upon a mass-action campaign of demonstrations, mass meetings, tribunals—both in and outside of the Black community—that would have politically isolated US.

But this incident seemed to paralyze the Panther Party, bringing to a halt its involvement in the campus struggle. Instead of waging a broad defense campaign that could have mobilized their many supporters, they lapsed into rhetorical positions of denouncing "cultural nationalism" in general with talk about "picking up the gun." Instead of seeking the widest possible support, they began to counterpose the community to the campus.

But in the Black community, the Panther Party's self-defense campaigns did not go very far. The reason lay in the inability of the party to go from education to the actual organization of united-front formations to mobilize other Black organizations and the masses of Black people against the occupation army in blue. Such a test—in the crucible of action—would have exposed reformists of all shades—Black Democrats and Republicans, poverty agents and Ford Foundation types. Thus the way would have been cleared for the rise of mass independent organizations in the Black community. The masses have to be convinced in action, not just by rhetoric,



Stokely Carmichael addressing Free Huey rally of 4,000 held in Oakland Black community in August 1968. Free Huey Campaign was nonexclusionist, welcomed all supporters.

that they must go beyond reformism.

This lack of a strategy for community self-defense also characterized the moves by the Panther Party into the electoral arena. While talking about breaking Black people from the Democratic Party, the Panther Party actually hindered that effort by running electoral campaigns through the Peace and Freedom Party in 1968, rather than striking out independently and clearly posing the alternative of the Panther to the jackass and the elephant. The Peace and Freedom Party, composed of fainthearted white liberals and disoriented radicals, did not constitute a genuine break with capitalist politics.

Given these setbacks—in the student movement, the community, and the electoral arena—the Panther Party withdrew more and more from meaningful action into talk of armed struggle and "revolution."

What revolutionary-minded militants have to realize today is that revolution—a word thrown about very loosely—is nothing but uninterrupted mass action. This is the case in Vietnam, Palestine, and Cuba, where masses of people are thinking, acting, and organizing to take their destiny into their own hands.

To reach this uninterrupted stage of mass action in the United States, revolutionists must carry out the tasks of helping to build mass actions against the war in Vietnam to bring the troops home now, and mass actions by Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans to take control of their communities. These are the concrete issues on which people can be moved.

Pursuing these actions will give rise to mass independent parties in the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities. And eventually, the working class as a whole—Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian-American, Native American and white—will see the need for independent, anticapitalist political action. Already, through actions against the war in Vietnam and for community control, Chicanos are realizing and organizing their independent strength through the Raza Unida Party in Texas and in Colorado.

These actions today, which go in a generally anticapitalist direction, but are not yet socialist in consciousness, are of a *transitional* character. The demands sparking and flowing out of these actions constitute what is known as a transitional program, a program designed to break the reformist illusions of the masses and begin to pose the need for a fundamental reorganization of society—to get rid of prob-

lems like war, racial and sexist oppression, and pollution.

The veering away of the Panther Party from the road of mass struggle was reflected in an article written by Huey P. Newton in the June 13 *Black Panther*. Written while he was in prison, it is entitled "Towards a New Constitution." The article contains the reasons for calling a Revolutionary People's Constitution Convention.

In it, Newton outlines the history of Black people in relation to capitalism.

After discussing the disenfranchisement and exploitation of Black people under capitalism, he concludes, "We see that as far as autonomy of our community in any respect, as far as self-governing our institutions; this cannot exist under capitalism... because capitalism, the capitalistic system, is dictated by the small ruling class, approximately 76 companies that control the whole industry and the whole wealth of this country. That's General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, General Dynamics, Lockheed, Standard Oil, DuPont, Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of America, and so on down the line."

"The only way that we can now get freedom is to change that system that led us into slavery... We feel that the only way that we can get freedom at this time, after observing and experiencing the conditions of the country, is to have a Proportional Representation in a socialist framework. This means that the industries that now are held by a small ruling circle should be nationalized."

In respect to action, Newton writes that "any compromise" with the freedom of Black people is "suicidal."

Newton states further that compromise "would be what I call reactionary suicide... Reactionary Suicide means that the conditions, the reactionary conditions, would be the cause of our suicide. If we stand and do nothing, it would be self-murder. I would rather choose the reverse, if it becomes necessary, and that is Revolutionary Suicide. That's suicide motivated by the desire to change the system, or else die trying. To change the reactionary conditions. But this is a freedom of choice. And I would choose this for the generation to come and I would choose it for my own integrity, for the simple reason that I refuse, our generation refuses, to live as slaves."

A rather lofty statement, but still a statement containing no prescription as to how to move in 1970, in the United States, a highly industrialized and urban terrain.

After all this talk about "revolution-

ary suicide," Newton writes, "... we are demanding a Constitution."

So outside of committing "revolutionary suicide," the Panthers offer the alternative of writing a new constitution!

A constitution changes when society changes. A revolutionary constitution comes after, not prior to, the social revolution. Twelve years after taking state power, the Cubans still don't have a constitution. This should give us an indication as to the relative importance of such a document.

But in any event, the masses of people in this country cannot relate to either "revolutionary suicide" or writing a new constitution. Neither alternative relates to the movement to end the Vietnam war, the fight for community control, or the struggle for women's liberation.

It is the growth and deepening of these key struggles that are helping to build the revolutionary vanguard party, the Socialist Workers Party. This is the case because none of the struggles mentioned above can be fought to completion under capitalism. Capitalism can't end imperialist wars; nor can it grant self-determination or abolish sexism. Thus, each struggle is imbued with an objectively anticapitalist dynamic, leading its participants to consciousness of this process and so advancing them into the revolutionary party.

Because the unreal alternatives of the Panthers—writing a new constitution or "revolutionary suicide"—amount to a negation of mass action, it is also a negation of what the Panthers claim to be seeking, namely, revolution.

(To be continued)

Advertisement

"Today we can seriously set about destroying capitalism once and for all."

Rosa Luxemburg Speaks

Rosa Luxemburg Speaks
introduction by Mary-Alice Waters

PATHFINDER PRESS
873 BROADWAY, N.Y., N.Y. 10003
paper & cloth 480 pgs \$3.95—\$10.00

Blacks call on U.S. to stop all aid to Israel

By ALEX HARTE

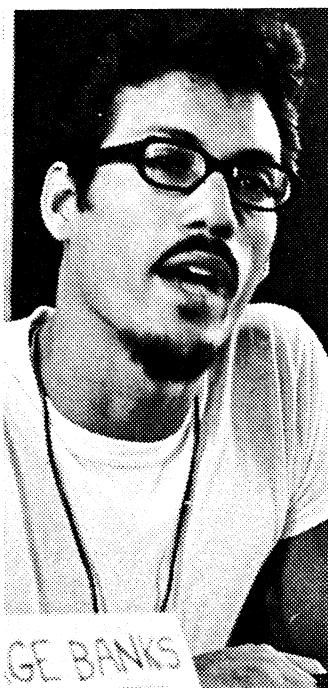
On Sunday, Nov. 8, the *New York Times* featured a letter whose purpose was to respond to an anti-Zionist ad placed in the *Times* by a long list of Blacks one week earlier. The target of the letter, signed by H. Carl Moultrie I, past president of the Washington, D. C., chapter of the NAACP, and Charles L. Warren, executive director of the Greater Washington Council of Churches, was an "Appeal by Black Americans Against United States Support of the Zionist Government of Israel," sponsored by the Committee of Black Americans for Truth about the Middle East (COBATAME).

Moultrie and Warren spare nothing in an effort to discredit and disparage the ad. "Only the passion of rabid prejudice could have authored such a diatribe in which a whole people, Israel, is slandered, its history twisted, its sufferings ignored, and its achievements dismissed," they charge. "This is more than racism. It is political sadism."

Such a description bears no relation to the ad in question, however. The COBATAME statement is straightforward and is accompanied by irrefutable documentation.

"We stand with the Palestinian people in their efforts to preserve their revolution, and oppose its attempted destruction by American imperialism aided by Zionists and Arab reactionaries," the ad states.

"We state that we are not anti-Jewish. We are anti-Zionist and against the Zionist state of Israel, the outpost of American imperialism in the Middle East. Zionism is a reactionary, racist ideology that justifies the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homes and lands, and attempts to enlist the Jewish masses of Israel and elsewhere in the service of imperialism to hold back the Middle East revolution."



GEORGE BANKS



Photo by Michael Hardy



Among signers of anti-Zionist ad in *New York Times* were, from left to right, George Banks, Florynce Kennedy, Frances Beal, and Paul Boutelle.

Once the signers have unequivocally stated their point of view, the ad proceeds to document, often from Zionist sources, the counterrevolutionary role of Israel not only in the Mideast, but also with regard to Africa and Vietnam.

After calling attention to the position of the Palestinian revolutionists in favor of a democratic, secular, nonracial state to replace the current state of Israel, the ad summarizes Israel's history of pro-imperialist foreign policy:

"We state that Israel supported the United States in the Korean War; aided France and the terrorist Secret Army Organization in Algeria against the Algerian revolution; opposed the anticolonial independence movements

in Morocco, Tunisia, Indonesia and elsewhere; trained the counterrevolutionary paracommandos of General Mobutu, who was one of the persons responsible for the murder of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo; and presently provides arms and other equipment to the Portuguese troops fighting against the Angolan and Mozambican freedom fighters."

It concludes by demanding that all military aid or assistance of any kind to Israel stop.

"We do not know who are the members of the Committee of Black Americans for Truth About the Middle East," Moultrie and Warren state at the beginning of their letter. Yet all the signatories, many of whom are prominent Afro-Americans, are clearly identified by organization and city of residence.

Among them were Hannibal Ahmed, chairman of the Harlem Youth Federation; George Banks, president, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, Berkeley; Frances Beal, Third World Women's Alliance, New York; James Boggs, writer; Paul Boutelle, chairman, COBATAME; Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Detroit; Ella Collins, Organization of Afro-American Unity, New York; Phil Hutchings, former chairman of SNCC; Florynce Kennedy, attorney, New York; Conrad Lynn, attorney, New York; Lewis H. Michaux, National Memorial Bookstore, Harlem; A. B. Spellman, co-editor, Rhythm Magazine, Atlanta; and Robert F. Williams, Detroit.

The national picket line

Contract negotiations in can industry may set pattern

Negotiators representing the United Steelworkers of America and the four major can manufacturing corporations began preliminary negotiations for a new contract Nov. 11 and then adjourned until Jan. 9, 1971. The current contract expires Feb. 14, 1971. Involved are 40,000 workers, 18,000 employed by the American Can Company, 16,000 by Continental Can, 4,000 by National Can and 2,000 by Crown, Cork & Seal Co.

Unemployment soars in Calif.

Jobless California workers have good reason to wonder if the Nixon administration is waging war on inflation or on them. The California unemployment rate, reports the Nov. 6 *San Francisco Examiner*, jumped to 7.2 percent in October, the highest rate since 1961 and an increase of 2.6 percent over just last year.

Factory workers who still have jobs may also have some doubts about the government's interest in their welfare. Latest statistics released by the California Department of Industrial Relations indicate that though factory wages rose to a record high in October, the buying power of a family of four actually decreased by 1.7 percent over the same period last year. Higher prices and taxes are to blame, they say.

All USWA contracts — basic steel, aluminum, copper, can and nonferrous companies — expire during the next year.

Locals in each industry have begun formulating basic demands. These include "very, very substantial wage increases," full protection of wages against "erosion caused by continuing increases in the cost of living" (an escalator clause based on the federal cost-of-living index), premium pay for weekend work, more protection against a reduced work week, broad insurance gains, and an annual two-week shut down of all mills for vacations during the summer months.

Since the General Motors settlement, with its cost-of-living increase in hourly wages, based on the Labor Department's living cost index, the USWA national leadership will find itself under extreme pressure from the workers in all sections of the industry for a similar cost-of-living clause. According to I.W. Abel, USWA negotiators will demand wages and conditions already won by the auto workers.

The summer vacation shutdown is particularly popular with young steel workers. Under the present arrangements, vacationtime is awarded by seniority. This means that young family men are forced to take their vacations during the fall and winter periods — when it is impossible to take their children — and equally impossible, because of the cost of having them cared for, for the parents to get away. Work in hot steel mills is ener-

vating at any time of the year but during the heat of the summer it is especially bad.

The can negotiations are being watched carefully by the whole steel industry. Since these contracts fall due first in each contract negotiations year, they generally set the pattern for the rest of the industry.

Recently R. Heath Larry, vice-chairman of the United States Steel Corporation and basic steel's chief negotiator, called on all employers to stiffen their opposition, to end "intolerable" labor cost trends. Corporation heads in can, copper, aluminum, and nonferrous sections of the industry are also reported to be taking a strong stand against large wage and benefits increases.

It will be especially informative to watch I.W. Abel — to see what rank-and-file pressure accomplishes in the face of his reputed ironfisted control over the steel union. Right now he is talking a good fight. But we have heard him talk before. All reports indicate that the steelworkers are trying to really make their voices heard this time.

* * *

There have been two important developments in the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO) strike in the Salinas Valley, Calif.

Cesar Chavez has announced the opening of a Chicago headquarters to head up a nationwide boycott against all lettuce which does not bear

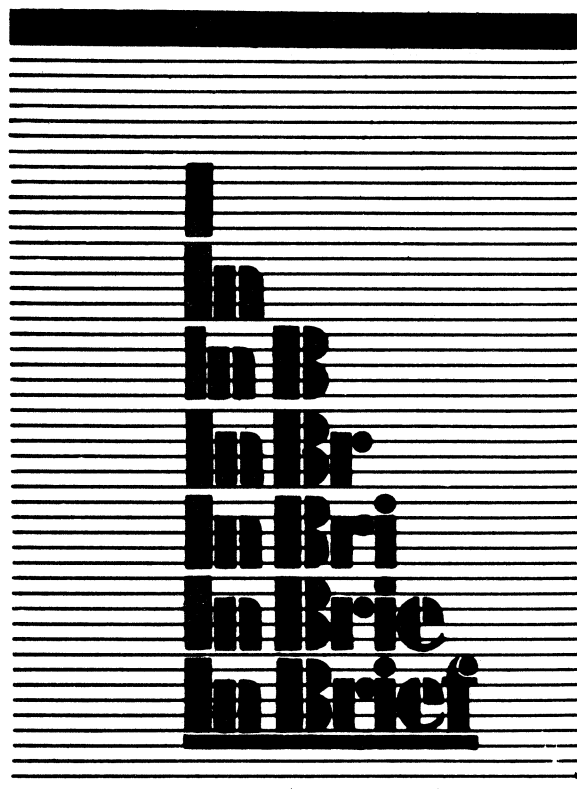
the Black Aztec symbol of the UFWOC. Only two large growers have signed with the union and bear these labels: Inter-Harvest and Fresh-Pick.

The 25 International Brotherhood of Teamsters locals in Salinas County, who had signed sweetheart contracts with the remaining growers to block UFWOC from getting a legitimate contract, have announced that they have abrogated their contracts and no longer represent the lettuce workers in the struck fields.

After the Teamsters' treachery against the farm workers was made public, the scandal inside and outside the organized labor movement mounted to the point where AFL-CIO president George Meany held an unprecedented meeting with Frank Fitzsimmons, acting head of the IBT. At that meeting, according to Ed Townsend, labor correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, the jurisdictional dispute was ironed out and the IBT locals withdrew from the field.

The growers, however, refuse to recognize that their sweetheart contracts with the IBT have been canceled. They are continuing to check off dues. William Grami, director of organizing for the Western Conference of Teamsters, says his office is still holding the check-off dues paid them by the growers until "further disputed issues between the IBT and the UFWOC are settled."

—MARVEL SCHOLL



HIGH COURT TURNS DOWN DRAFT APPEAL: The U.S. Supreme Court has refused to review the case of Walter Collins, a Black draft resister from New Orleans who faces a five-year prison term. Collins, a field worker for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, is challenging the right of white draft boards like his own to decide whether Blacks should be sent to die in war. His attorney intends to ask the court to reconsider its ruling.

PEACE CORPS STATISTIC: Remember when President John Kennedy launched the Peace Corps? Plenty of young idealists fell for the missionary operation that sent Americans overseas to pacify the radicalizing peoples in the underdeveloped nations under the yoke of U.S. imperialism. Also calculated to syphon off radicalizing students, it helped radicalize them further as corps veterans returned not only angry at the extent of poverty they saw but disenchanted with the Peace Corps. Word gets around. The Washington Post reported Nov. 15 that applications to join the overseas organization have fallen from 42,000 in 1966 to 19,000 in 1970.

STATISTICS ON BLACK VETERANS: A study of Blacks back from Vietnam war duty has found that service to their country has not done much for them personally. There are some 100,000 Black Vietnam vets, and according to a survey published in the March issue of Trans-Action magazine, their median income is less than \$100 a week with 13 percent unemployed and 51 percent holding down semiskilled or unskilled jobs. Fighting to bolster white capitalism, then coming home to the USA, appears to be a most radicalizing experience. Seventy-seven percent of the Black veterans interviewed believe this nation is more concerned with "law and order" than with justice; 67 percent believe the concept of equal opportunity is a myth. What is to be done? A full 39 percent of Black vets favor Blacks running their own schools; 38 percent feel Blacks should work separately, outside the Democratic and Republican parties, in order to gain more political power; 36 percent agree that violence is the only way for Blacks to obtain their rights. And 65 percent of Black vets identify themselves first as Black men, and then as Americans. Nationalist consciousness has indeed gripped Black veterans hard. Right on.



ELECTION STATISTICS: Reports on campaign expenditures in the 1970 elections reveal that candidates for the capitalist parties appear to have spent as much time running to the bank as they did for office. The following figures come from Time magazine, Nov. 23: The average official cost of a House race ranged from \$40,000 to \$70,000 for winner and loser alike. A governor of a populous state spent at least \$1,000,000 to win the state house. The battle for a Senate seat in a major state comes to an average of \$1,500,000 per candidate. Bury those illusions that those small-time \$2 contributions from the man-on-the-street pay for the extravagant campaigns of Democrats and Republicans. On the contrary, says Time, "it is estimated that 90 percent of political funds are donated by 1 percent of the population." Some of the big spenders: New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who shelled out \$7,000,000 to \$10,000,000 to win reelection to a fourth term. Rocky's Democratic opponent, Arthur Goldberg, spent a paltry \$2,000,000. The race for the Senate was also preposterous. Democrat Richard Ottinger spent \$3,500,000, most of which he got from his mother. Republican Charles Goodell laid out a cool \$1,000,000. Conservative James Buckley spent \$1,500,000 in a surprise victory proving that even the son of a millionaire can be elected to the U.S. Senate.

STATISTICS ON THE WHITE PRESS: What's white and read all over? Answer: The capitalist press. That's the conclusion that emerges from a study of major daily newspapers by Dr. Edward Traves at Temple University. Dr. Traves surveyed 196 of 958 U.S. dailies with circulations of over 10,000. The staffs of American newspapers, he found, were virtually all white. Some of his findings: Of the 7,152 news executives, deskmen, reporters and photographers, 111 or 1.55 percent are Black. Of 1,219 news executive positions, assistant city editor through editor, only five or .41 percent are Black. Of 1,467 copy, makeup and picture editing positions, only eight or .55 percent are Black. And of 3,691 reporters, 83 or 2.25 percent are Black.

SOME STATISTICS ON MALE SUPREMACY: The oppression of women is not an abstraction cooked up by radicals, as some antifeminist spokesmen would have us believe. For documentation of gross inequality, we turn to the bourgeoisie's own statistics. They show, for example, a massive wage gap between men and women. That gap is not closing. It is getting wider. "At the present time there are more than 30 million women in the total work force," writes columnist Roscoe Drummond from Washington in the Nov. 11 Christian Science Monitor, "and they account for 38 percent of all labor. It is estimated that paying full-time, year-round women workers the same as men would add \$59-billion to the total annual payroll."

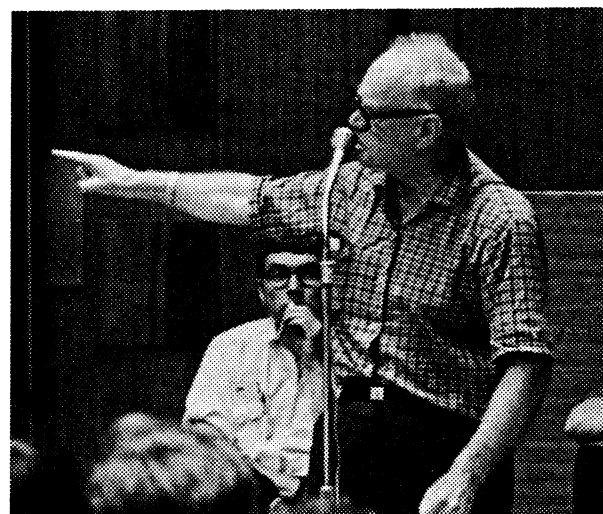
Drummond quotes a study by economists at the Chase Manhattan Bank. They learned that in 1968 the median income of women employed full-time was only 58 percent of the median male paycheck. That figure represents a sizable drop from 1955 when the median wage of working women was 64 percent of that of men. By 1968, despite rising wages, women were further behind. The proportions ranged from a high of 66 percent of men's wages for women in professional and technical occupations to a low of 40 percent for sales workers. Sixty-three percent of all working women are clerical, service or sales workers, Drummond reported, while only 20 percent of U.S. men hold such jobs.

And though women comprise 38 percent of the work force, they account for only 1 percent of the engineers, 2 percent of executive personnel, 3 percent of all craftsmen, 7 percent of physicians, 13 percent of proprietors outside retail trade, and 15 percent of salaried managers and officials.

DATA ON POVERTY IN MICHIGAN: Federal officials released statistics Oct. 27 showing that in a survey of 4,000 low-income persons in Wayne County, some 40 percent had nutritional deficiencies. . . . **WOMEN'S SURVEY:** "Are you aware of discrimination against women in employment?" some 400 teenagers at YWCA leadership conferences were asked this summer. Seventy-four percent said yes. Some 60 percent agreed that men should help with the housework and 61 percent answered no to the question, "Should the husband's identity be given priority over the wife's?" Also, 25 percent did not think a woman should take her husband's name at marriage. Mrs. Helen F. Southard, summing up the findings in Parade magazine, Nov. 1, said that the results "show that we're dealing with young people who are activists and agree with many of the platforms of adult contemporary feminists."

STATISTICS ON CHICANOS: Although 14 percent of all pupils in California are Mexicanos, a lengthy study published Aug. 21 by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, shows that only 2 percent of the teachers are Mexican-American. "They are even more underrepresented as principals," says the report. Although 17 percent of all pupils in the Southwest are Chicanos, only about 3 percent of the principals are. However, 30 percent of the custodians in Southwestern schools are Mexicanos, with the figure rising to as high as 70 percent in New Mexico, according to the study. "On the whole," says the report, "Mexican-Americans are underrepresented on boards of education. Proportionately, Mexican-Americans make up almost three times as much of the school enrollment as they do of school board membership." The greatest disparity exists in Texas, where 10.3 percent of the school board members and 43.4 percent of the school population is Chicano.

ANTIWAR SENTIMENT: When opinion analyst George Gallup asked Americans in August 1965 whether they thought the war was a mistake, only 24 percent said yes, while 61 percent thought not. By December 1967, 45 percent called it a mistake and 46 percent said it was not. The latest poll shows 56 percent think it a mistake. . . . **FAVOR CONFRONTATION:** A study conducted by two researchers at the Center of Research and Development in Higher Education in Berkeley found that 99 percent of 1,542 college seniors surveyed at 10 institutions think confrontation of some kind is necessary to change the society. Almost three-fourths of those polled agreed with the statement that "Basically, the United States is a racist society," with only 17 percent disagreeing. Only 12 percent favored excluding communists from teaching in college. A significant 87 percent of the students agreed with the statement, "A person who advocates unpopular actions or holds unpopular ideas, no matter how extreme, should be allowed to speak to students."



Arnold Johnson

INDICTED: Arnold Johnson, public relations director of the Communist Party, has pleaded not guilty to a Federal grand jury indictment for contempt of Congress. The federal government action was announced by Attorney General John N. Mitchell. Johnson is charged with refusing to testify before a subcommittee of the House Internal Security Committee on his involvement in the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. HISC is the witch-hunting successor to the House Un-American Activities Committee. . . . **ARRESTED:** Two sellers of the Daily World, the Communist Party newspaper, were arrested in Mahwah, N.J., in October for illegal solicitation. The two, Scarlett Patrick and Alfred Donnarumma charged at a hearing that they weren't soliciting and besides, the local law was unconstitutional.

KEEP ABREAST IN CANADA: Follow the news in Canada through Labor Challenge, a revolutionary socialist biweekly. The paper is currently offering an introductory subscription of four months for \$1. Send to Labor Challenge, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto, 1, Ontario. . . . **TOLEDO PANTHERS:** The violent police attack on the Toledo Black Panther Party headquarters occurred two months ago, but the victimization continues unabated. Two Panthers, John McClellan and Mike Cross, remain in jail. Cross is held on \$20,000 bail. Attorney Robert Kaplan calls the indictments for murder and firearms possession unconstitutional. His clients will plead innocent. The defense needs money, "and how!" says Kaplan—for court transcripts and bond. Send to Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 3514, Toledo, Ohio 43608.

— RANDY FURST

The great society

That's why it's so expensive—A group of Louisiana Holiday Inns feature motel chapels and "meditation gardens." "We operate with Christ as a partner," one of the owners explained.

Needed scorecard—Retiring Marine Corps general Lewis Walt says one reason things have gone badly in Vietnam is that the military failed to "make the war understandable" to the American people. He said this is partly because they didn't quite get it themselves. Like, when he first got there the general interviewed a man he presumed to be a village chief who assured him things were going fine. Then, the general said, a woman slipped him a note saying that the man was the regional guerrilla chief.

Contemporary culture dep't—"Father: What do you think of the Indianapolis 500? Son: I think they should be acquitted!" — *The Pawn*/Fredrick, Md., GIs United.

Chutzpah, they call it—Cereal manufacturers, whose products were recently established as having approximately the food value of shredded newspaper, now have nearly 400 million cereal boxes with side panels featuring messages on the importance of a balanced diet.

Just don't give a damn—Warning of the danger to the planet, Neil Armstrong, first man on the moon, said that those responsible for the functioning of modern technology weren't out to be deliberately destructive. He said they're just apathetic.

Hook 'em early—Johnson and Johnson will be marketing "No More Tangles," the first creme hair rinse for little girls.

March of civilization—The Pentagon awarded a \$600,000 contract to the University of Missouri for research on the possibilities of using crows, ravens, hawks, vultures and other birds for such aspects of warfare as aerial photography, gunnery, guiding missiles, etc. One scientist, who apparently assumes we reside in a sane world, commented, "It's insane."

First vice-president in charge of pollution?—Responding to mounting public concern about industry's responsibility for pollution, American Can has appointed a vice-president of corporate environmental affairs.

Makes it a duet—A new ashtray is so designed that tamping out a coffin nail activates a battery-charged 18-second coughing spell.

Happenstance—That British doctor who said he had gathered evidence establishing that Jack the Ripper had royal blood died shortly thereafter. His son burned the evidence.

Ask-a-foolish-question dep't—If they caught a North Vietnamese spy in Washington, accompanied by a couple of armed bodyguards, would they let him go because he was unarmed?

— HARRY RING

in passing...

"On March 30 of this year, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam submitted documents to us implicating American social scientists in counterinsurgency activities in Thailand," writes Eric R. Wolf and Joseph G. Jorgensen in opening their featured article in the Nov. 19 issue of *The New York Review of Books*.

In their article, "Anthropology on the Warpath in Thailand," the authors explain that the SMC made copies of these documents available to them just prior to the SMC's national press conference that made public the startling documents that had come into its possession.

At the time, the authors were the chairman and a member of the Ethics Committee of the American Anthropological Association.

When the Ethics Committee made a statement protesting the use of social scientists in counterinsurgency research, the executive board of the Anthropological Association reprimanded the Ethics Committee and instructed it to limit itself "to recommendations on its future role and functions."

Wolf and Jorgensen resigned from the Ethics Committee in protest over this bureaucratic measure.

The authors summarize the import of the documents obtained by the SMC. These documents (transcripts of meetings, contracts, etc.) indicate that social scientists at colleges across the country are engaging in research organized by the U. S. government aimed at helping the Thai monarchy hold its power against revolutionary opposition.

Interestingly enough, most of the recommendations from these "objective" scientists are along the lines of how to strengthen and train the army and police to control the rural peasantry.

The secret Thai researchers do not neglect to note that whatever they come up with will have applications elsewhere in the world. The United States, for example.

Wolf and Jorgensen go beyond the Thailand project and summarize the history of Washington-sponsored counterinsurgency research and the effect it has had both with regard to the populations researched and to the profession of social science.

American social scientists working abroad are being looked on with increasing suspicion. Counterinsurgency research has legitimized the question: Is this an honest social scientist or just a glorified spy?

At the time SMC first exposed this reactionary project, it brought home to a number of social scientists the pervasiveness of the government drive to increasingly enlist the academic world in its global counterrevolutionary drive. With *The New York Review of Books* now putting a spot-

light on the issue, consciousness will deepen of the need to free the academic world from the grip of the war machine.

The newest collection of Pogo cartoons, *Impollutable Pogo*, continues in the best traditions of Walt Kelly's comic strip (as opposed to its worst traditions, such as Kelly's anticommunism).

The book takes off on environmental pollution and Agnew, or vice versa. This is certainly not smashing, slashing social satire but it is good gentle fun which performs the important task of helping to demystify our current crop of head rulers.

Kelly dresses his Agnew character in that White House guard uniform that Nixon picked out (the one that looks like something out of a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta).

Naturally, our antihero goes off in hot pursuit of law and order, declaring that it has prevailed when the entire local population is safely locked up in jail.

(*Impollutable Pogo*. By Walt Kelly. Simon & Schuster. 128 pages. \$1.95 paperback.)



If you were an apologist for the status quo and had to explain why there was hunger, poverty, pollution and wars, how could you avoid blaming it all on the capitalist system?

You might try arguing that it's the people's own fault—they're overcrowding the planet with rampant reproduction and there just isn't enough wealth, space and natural resources to take care of so many people in a decent way. Thus we have the myth of the "population explosion." In *The "Population Explosion": How Socialists View It*, by Joseph Hansen, this line of claptrap is rebutted in fine detail.

No, it is not a problem of too many babies, but rather it is a problem of too many capitalists.

(*The "Population Explosion": How Socialists View It*. By Joseph Hansen. Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. 47 pages. 65 cents.)

—MALACHI CONSTANT

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: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, 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 Dave Zielinski, 446 1/2 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, 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, c/o Bill Siegel, Box 1470, 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, 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 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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

New York City: SWP, 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) 982-5940.

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

Columbus: c/o Julie Bingham, 1612 Summit, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

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 Ruth Getts, 2205 S.E. Ivon, Portland, Ore. 97202.

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.

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San Franciscans ready 'reception' for Ky

SAN FRANCISCO—On Nov. 3, 52 percent of San Francisco voters supported the referendum for immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam. On Dec. 1, Saigon dictator Nguyen Cao Ky will appear here before the Commonwealth Club, the city's exclusive businessmen's group.

The announcement of Ky's visit several weeks ago has inspired the formation of a broad-based Antiwar Coalition for a Demonstration Against Ky.

Bonnie Sheppard, a demonstration coordinator, told *The Militant* that Ky's visit has "galvanized and united the antiwar movement in this area so that we believe there will be a massive demonstration against Ky and the war he represents."

Among the groups building the demonstration are the Student Mobilization Committee, Downtown Peace Coalition, antiwar coalitions in cities throughout northern California, the San Francisco chapter of the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Peace and Freedom Party, Northern California Americans for Democratic Action, Concerned Democratic Council in San Francisco, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Numerous well-known individuals have associated themselves with the action and urged support for it. Among them are Rev. Douglas Siden, president of the San Francisco Council of Churches; James Ballard, president, Local 61, San Francisco Federation of Teachers; Vincent Hallinan, prominent attorney; Bob Rohatch, president, Local 10, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; and state assemblymen John Burton and Willy Brown.

The demonstration has already re-

ceived extensive coverage in the Bay Area press.

The three slogans for the demonstrations are "No Support to Thieu-Ky"; "GIs and Vietnamese Die for Thieu-Ky"; and "Self-Determination is not Thieu-Ky Puppets." Each is followed by the central demand to Bring the Troops Home Now.

In the spirit of the recent majority popular vote for immediate withdrawal, the Antiwar Coalition has demanded that Ky not be given an official welcome or ceremony by any representative of the city government.

An attempt was made by the coalition to have the Board of Supervisors (city council) publicly inform Ky of the results of the recent referendum. However, a motion to this effect was not acted upon by the supervisors at a meeting where they nonetheless found time to support a petition against "North Vietnamese treatment of U.S. prisoners."

According to Howard Wallace, a participant in the delegation to the supervisors' meeting, "Not one of the supervisors was willing to make a motion to inform Ky of the antiwar stand taken by the voters of this city."

Wallace said that several board members tried to get off the hook by privately promising that Ky would not be given an official welcome since the State Department is reportedly advising city governments not to play up his visit.

The Antiwar Coalition rejected the suggestion by some that it carry out a campaign to pressure the city into not permitting Ky to speak at all. The majority of the coalition felt that the most effective way to demonstrate opposition to Ky was to focus on the war he represents. "We do not want to establish the precedent where the city takes away the right to speak,



Ky and wife

which it could then use against the antiwar movement." Bonnie Sheppard told *The Militant*. "Our task is to do everything possible to mobilize massive opposition to Ky and to the war."

The demonstration is being orga-

nized out of the Peace Center, 992 Valencia, headquarters of the recent referendum and Oct. 31 antiwar demonstration. The center is open from morning until night. Its phone number is 282-8160.

Phila. Malcolm X high-schoolers fight victimization

By DAVE ODEN

PHILADELPHIA—In an attempt by school authorities to suppress the Black student movement at Malcolm X High School in Philadelphia, six student leaders have recently been transferred to schools scattered throughout the city. As a justification for the transfers, officials alleged that the six led a "disruptive" rally at the school on Oct. 27.

However, in a *Militant* interview with two of the transferred students, West "Mumia" Cook and Oscar Lee, it was clear that this was the latest in a series of moves designed to stifle student political activity. In the past, school authorities have been successful in maintaining a relatively low level of student activism at Malcolm X by disciplining and threatening individual students and faculty. No organization of Black students officially exists at the school because militant teachers have been threatened with loss of their jobs if they attempt to serve as the required faculty sponsor of such an organization.

School authorities have also been successful in maintaining a sympathetic front, while carrying out the oppressive policies of the Philadelphia school system. When two-thirds of the students voted to change the name of the school from Benjamin Franklin to Malcolm X High, the school princi-

pal gave verbal support, but failed to exert any real pressure when the issue was discussed by the Board of Education. Thus, the name of a racist slaveholder remains the official title of the predominantly Black school.

However, the true character of the administration has been publicly exposed by the recent move to disperse the militant Black leadership in the



MALCOLM X: Philadelphia students fight in his tradition

school. The Oct. 27 rally resulted from the refusal of school officials to allow Oscar Lee to campaign for student government office.

At the time Lee announced his candidacy for vice-president of the Student Association, he met the single requirement for the office: a petition signed by a required number of students. Following his announcement, the school vice-principal established a series of academic, attendance and other criteria which Lee did not meet, and pressured other candidates into accepting them as legitimate requirements. One of the most restrictive of these requirements is that students who work during part of the school day may not hold office.

In the interview with *The Militant*, Lee and Cook maintained that these new guidelines were established to ensure that offices would be held only by a selected type of student: those who were sympathetic to administration policies.

On Oct. 27, Lee attempted to appeal his exclusion directly to the student body by distributing leaflets at an assembly held to hear candidates' statements. However, school officials confiscated the leaflets. The "disruption" which led to the punitive transfers occurred when the school disciplinarian physically attacked West Cook, the candidate for president of

the junior class, as he attempted to read the text of Lee's leaflet to the assembly.

Order was restored when Cook, Lee and other Black activists finally succeeded in addressing the assembly, which by then had spilled out into the halls of the school. The speakers urged the students to end the rally quietly and set an example by returning to class themselves. They were informed later in the day that they were to be transferred from Malcolm X because of their "disruptive" activities.

A suit has been filed in the Philadelphia courts by the six students in an attempt to gain reinstatement. The case has had a significant impact on the students at Malcolm X, as indicated when nearly half the student body demonstrated outside the court during preliminary hearings on Nov. 17.

In addition, the conference on high school student rights sponsored by the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee on Nov. 21 pledged full support to the case. Pending the decision of the court, discussions are underway on the organization of a public defense campaign in conjunction with the efforts of the Student Mobilization Committee to establish the High School Bill of Rights as official policy in Philadelphia high schools.