

THE MILITANT

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

Jenness blasts attack on rights

Nixon carries out anti-Arab witch-hunt

The following statement was released by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness at a news conference in Austin, Texas, Oct. 10.

The Nixon administration has announced it is "screening" all Arabs living in this country or traveling through the U. S. What does this mean? Representatives of various Arab organizations in the U. S. have reported that FBI or other government agents have been following them around, holding them for interrogation, fingerprinting them, and issuing threats of unspecified reprisals against them.

Freedom of travel for all non-citizens, but especially Arabs, has

been infringed, with the U. S. now requiring visas even for people simply stopping here to change planes in transit to some other country. All Arabs face special screening at airports.

Another repressive move was the congressional passage of a bill authorizing the death penalty for airplane hijackers, even though the Supreme Court has declared the death penalty unconstitutional.

These moves pose grave dangers for democratic rights in this country.

In the first place, they represent blatant racism against the Arab peoples. All Arabs are being subjected to harassment and restrictions on freedom to travel, not



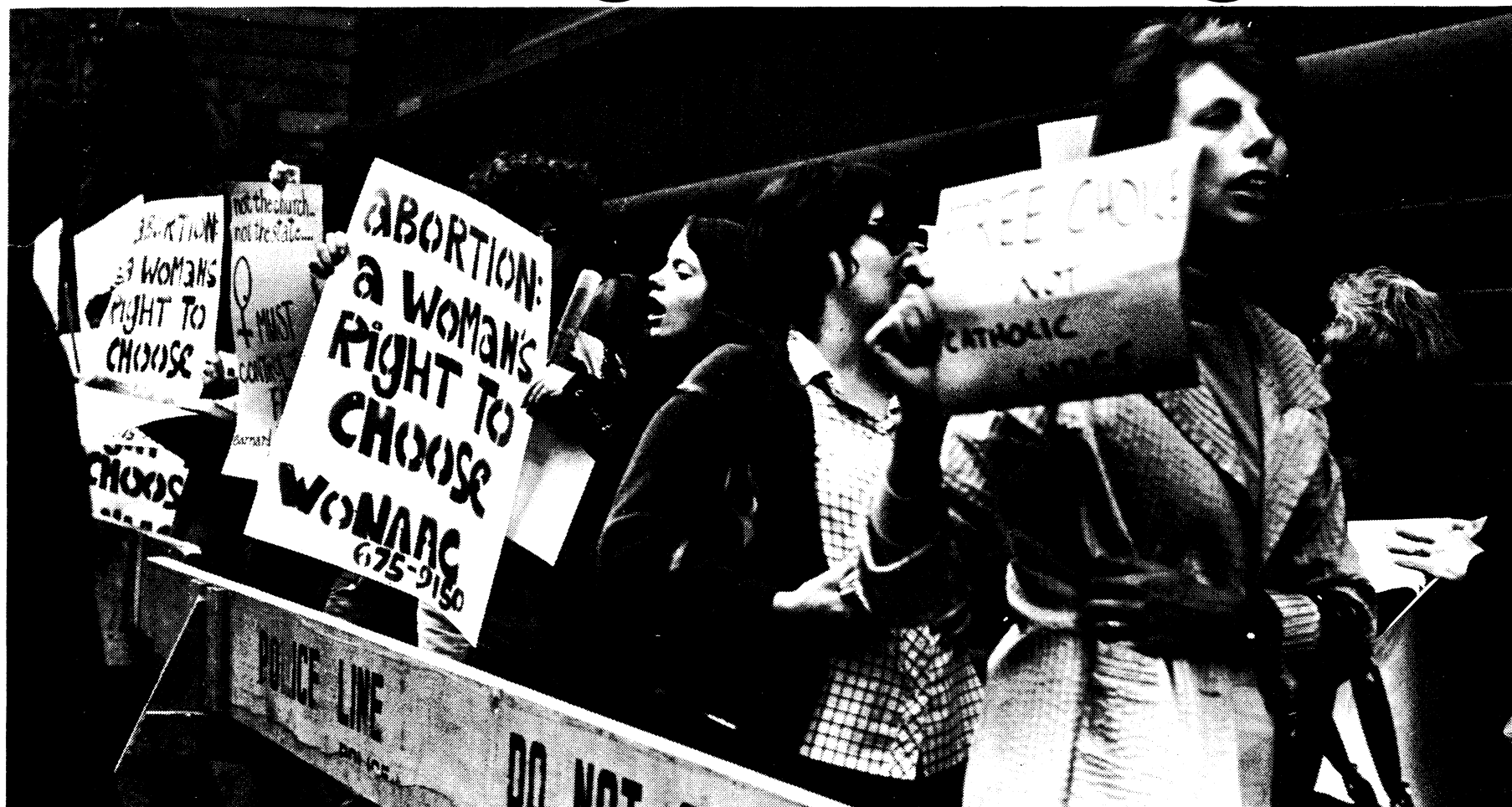
because of any illegal actions, but simply because they are Arabs.

If these measures are allowed to continue without protest the government could well move to more drastic measures, such as deportations or detention in this country. During World War II similar racist treatment against Japanese-Americans culminated in the incarceration of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps.

Second, such measures as surveillance, detention, interrogation, and travel restrictions are infringements on civil rights guaranteed in the Constitution. They set the precedent for even more severe police-state policies.

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Abortion rights hearings set



Militant/Carol Lipman

Women's National Abortion Action Coalition picket of New York anti-abortion headquarters Oct. 2. Abortion hearings are set for 13 cities on Oct. 21 and 28 weekends.—See page 16.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 36/ NUMBER 38
OCTOBER 20, 1972
CLOSING NEWS DATE—OCT. 11, 1972

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

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

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

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

ISLANDERS FAIL TO APPRECIATE BLESSINGS OF U.S. RULE: Robert Trumbull reports in the Oct. 9 New York Times that the U.S. has broken off talks on the future of Micronesia "for an indefinite period" due to a Micronesian request that the talks "be broadened to include independence as a possible alternative to political association with the United States."

The U.S. was offering the 100,000 islanders, who came under U.S. rule as a result of World War II, the right to independence after an interim period of internal autonomy. But even in an "independent" Micronesian state, the U.S. would have maintained its exclusive military rights.

Among the benefits that have accrued to the islanders in the years of U.S. rule have been the airfields on Tinian Island, which were used to launch the atomic attacks against Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the destruction of Bikini and Eniwetok, which were used as test areas for atomic weapons—the population was allowed to leave first; and the introduction of American-style Jim Crow.

In an article in the Dec. 24, 1971, Times, Trumbull explains the U.S. concern about Micronesia by quoting Rear Admiral Paul E. Pugh. Pugh pointed out that "Contingency operations like the war in Vietnam still need forward supply bases."

FARM WORKERS MARCH AGAINST ANTIUNION PROPOSAL: More than 1,000 demonstrators led by United Farm Workers Union (UFW) head Cesar Chavez marched in San Francisco on Sept. 30 to show their opposition to Proposition 22. This vicious antilabor proposal, which will be on the California ballot in November, would effectively prevent the existence of a union among farm workers if passed.

According to our correspondent Dave Warren, the fighting spirit of some 300 farm workers bused up to San Francisco from Delano to lead the march set the tone of the assembly, which was cosponsored by the UFW and the Committee of Grassroots McGovern Volunteers.



Calif. farm workers march against Proposition 22

CHALLENGE TO PROPOSITION 22 FAILS: On Oct. 6 a California Superior Court judge rejected the suit filed by Secretary of State Edmund Brown to remove Proposition 22 from the ballot because of widespread fraud used in obtaining the petition signatures necessary to qualify for the ballot.

The judge said his decision was not based on the merits of the case but on alleged lack of time to resolve the issue before the elections. Brown said he would not appeal the decision.

ATLANTA FORUM TALK PUBLISHED: The Oct. 9 issue of The Great Speckled Bird, an underground newspaper published in Atlanta, reprints the first half of a talk by Joel Aber of the Socialist Workers Party on "Munich and the Mideast." The Bird promises to reprint the second half of the talk, which was given at the Militant Bookstore Forum in Atlanta, in its next issue.

REPORTERS CHALLENGE BAN ON INTERVIEWS WITH PRISONERS: Twenty-six reporters from newspapers and magazines across the country have filed suit charging that the rules in California's prisons that prohibit reporters from interviewing prisoners are unconstitutional. The suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Northern California. It grew out of the ban on press interviews with Ruchell Magee, who is facing charges stemming from the same courthouse shoot-out that was used to frame Angela Davis.

The U.S. district court in Washington, D.C., has already ruled unconstitutional a similar ban on prison interviews.

The plaintiffs in the suit include: Joel Dryfus of the New York Post; Nicholas Von Hoffman of the Washington Post; Tom Wicker of the New York Times; Min S. Yee of Ramparts; Michael Schreiber of The Militant; Carlton Goodlet of the San Francisco Sun Reporter; and Tom Siporin of the Berkeley Barb.

NEW ATTACKS AGAINST BLACKS IN CAIRO, ILL.: A further attempt to suppress the ongoing struggle of the Black community in Cairo, Ill., was reported at an Oct. 2 rally there. The demands of the Black community against racist violence and for jobs have been backed up by a three-year boycott of white-owned businesses.

Most recently the Cairo United Front, the organization leading the struggle, received notice from Bishop Albert Zuroweste that it faces eviction from its headquarters in the St. Columba Church.

AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE FORMED: The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) has been formed as the successor to the temporary coalition that sponsored the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Toronto, and the Caribbean. Owusu Sadaukai, president of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C., was elected chairman of the ALSC. The committee has announced that it will begin an educational campaign on the conditions in the Southern African countries ruled by minority, white-controlled regimes.

CREDIBILITY GAP: "... the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is to assure that the liberation forces in Indochina will get everything they need and ask for. This is an absolute principle. ..." Gus Hall, quoted by Conrad Komorowski in the June 30, 1972, Daily World.

"While Soviet technology is understood to have kept pace with the passing years, relatively few Soviet anti-aircraft innovations seem to have been passed on to Hanoi. By all indications, the Russians have been far more helpful to Arab defenses against the Israeli Air Force than they have to the North Vietnamese."

From an article in the Aug. 20 New York Times that explained it now takes 84 SAM-2 missiles to bring down one U.S. plane, compared to 15 in 1966. The article pointed out that the SAM-2 is "considered by its Soviet makers as obsolete. ..."

BIRDS OF A FEATHER: On Sept. 29 Rabbi Meir Kahane, head of the right-wing Jewish Defense League, announced that the Mafia had offered him its help in his projected war against Arabs in the U.S. and Europe. An Associated Press dispatch quoted the good rabbi as saying, "You shouldn't think that I am too happy having connections with Colombo. But I must say that it was this murderer and criminal who has helped us, never asking for anything in return."

CAMPAIGN SPENDING LAW A THREAT TO FREE SPEECH AND PRESS: Although touted as a reform designed to lessen the influence of the rich in elections, the 1971 law limiting campaign spending is a good example of the type of cure that is the specialty of the politicians in Washington. It's worse than the ailment, and what's more, it's no cure at all.

There are all kinds of ways that those who want to contribute huge sums of money to some capitalist candidate can do so and still remain anonymous. However, the provision that all who give more than \$100 to political organizations must be identified can be used to intimidate supporters of radical organizations or groups organizing in opposition to the government on one or another issue.

Lawrence Meyer, writing on another aspect of this law in the Oct. 3 Washington Post, states, "Any media expenditure that influences the election of a candidate directly or indirectly can be charged against his statutory limitation and therefore, under the 1971 law, can be refused by the candidate."

Thus, a candidate claiming to be against the war could maintain that an advertisement submitted for publication by an antiwar organization would influence his election, and on that basis sue to prevent its publication! The ACLU has filed suit asking that these aspects of the law be held unconstitutional.

LAWYERS CALL FOR EQUAL HIRING: Among the resolutions passed by the annual convention of the American Bar Association in San Francisco in August was one calling on law schools to close their placement offices to law firms that refuse to consider women lawyers on an equal basis with men in hiring.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Scores Congress on welfare Jenness campaigns for workers' needs

By PEGGY BRUNDY

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 9 — While George Meany and local labor officials here quibbled over whether the California AFL-CIO would be allowed to continue its "Defeat Nixon" campaign, Linda Jenness, SWP presidential nominee, accused Nixon and McGovern of betraying the real interests of working people in this country.

"If all of the working people are stuck in the hip pockets of the Democratic and Republican parties," she said at a news conference here Oct. 4, "the lowering of our standard of living and the deterioration of the quality of our lives are going to continue. The labor movement must break away from these two parties and build a party that can fight for all the demands of working people."

Recent maneuvers by so-called labor leaders giving backhanded support to Nixon's reelection, coupled with polls showing many lifelong Democrats plan to vote Republican for the first time, have produced widespread speculation that labor is moving to the right and that many working people see Nixon as a meaningful alternative to McGovern.

Jenness rebutted this argument at a meeting of more than 220 at the University of California at Berkeley:

"Rank-and-file union members are not rallying to either the Nixon or McGovern campaign with any enthusiasm. The majority of the American people know that there will not be any significant changes in our lives if either Nixon or McGovern wins. Neither candidate represents our interests."

"In my campaign I am calling for an end to the war in Southeast Asia as a major step toward stopping inflation; cost-of-living clauses in all contracts and social security payments; a reduced workweek with no reduction in wages to help get rid of unemployment; and equal pay and job opportunities for women, and for Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities."

This was Jenness's second campaign tour of Northern California. During her spring 1972 tour here "Support McGovern" buttons flourished on campuses, and students often rose to defend McGovern's policies and integrity after her speeches. This time, one had to look hard to find two or three McGovern buttons in audiences ranging from 100 to 250 people.

Discussion and questions at her meetings center on the proposals Jenness is making to solve the crises facing this country. In several places, for example, people noted that Congress had recently failed to pass a welfare bill guaranteeing a \$2,400 minimum yearly income to families of four and asked Jenness to comment.

"The National Welfare Rights Organization is fighting for a \$6,500 per

year income for a family of four. In my opinion, even that's not adequate. McGovern settled on a platform calling for \$3,400 per year, and now Congress can't even pass a bill for \$2,400. That's disgraceful.

"People who are forced to be on welfare in this country don't want to be. Being on welfare is a very degrading experience for most people because their lives are open books. They are open for investigation by any Tom, Dick, or Harry in the government who wants to do it. People are forced to be on welfare because society hasn't provided the basic social necessities, such as jobs, child-care centers, and adequate facilities for old and disabled people."

After one long discussion on welfare, unemployment, and the war in Vietnam, which was televised on KOUR-TV in Sacramento, a viewer called in and said: "I am a 60-year-old woman, and I want Mrs. Jenness to know how much I admire her. First of all because she is a woman running for president and because she is so articulate. She is the only candidate I've heard that I can give my support to."

At an Oct. 6 outdoor rally of about 250 people at the University of California in Sacramento, Jenness reiterated her support for the Palestinian liberation struggle.

I interviewed a Syrian student who came to the rally. "I think [Jenness is] the only person I've seen in years who's got the guts to stand up there and say what really needs to be said about the Middle East," he told me.

He said he had lived in the U.S. for five and a half years. Recently he was stopped on the street by the police. They made him wait while they called the police station to find out everything about him — his visa, passport, and so forth.

Jenness was also interviewed on KQED-TV, an educational station, by Wafa Barfazah, a Palestinian living in this country. Barfazah expressed his respect for the SWP campaign's forthright defense of the Palestinian struggle.

About \$500 was collected in campaign fund-raising events jointly sponsored by the Northern California SWP campaign committees.

NEW YORK, Oct. 10 — In a statement released by her national campaign headquarters here tonight, Jenness responded to McGovern's televised Vietnam statement by challenging him to support the upcoming antiwar demonstrations.

"Americans who want peace can't rely on election-eve promises of Democratic and Republican politicians who want to be president," Jenness said.

If McGovern were "serious about ending the war," Jenness charged, "he would call on the American people to join in the peace demonstrations scheduled for Oct. 26 and Nov. 18."

Jenness to speak at Boston's Fanueil Hall

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness will speak at Boston's Fanueil Hall at 7:30 p.m. on Oct. 20.

Fanueil Hall has a long tradition as a meeting place for American revolutionaries. In 1768 Sam Adams called a meeting there to arm the citizens when Great Britain first announced its intention to garrison two regiments in Boston.

Fifty years after the American revolution, a giant meeting was called in Fanueil Hall to protest the brutal killing of Elijah Lovejoy, a young Ohio abolitionist editor, who was murdered defending his printing press against a pro-slavery mob.

To this day Fanueil Hall has kept its doors open to antiwar and radical groups.

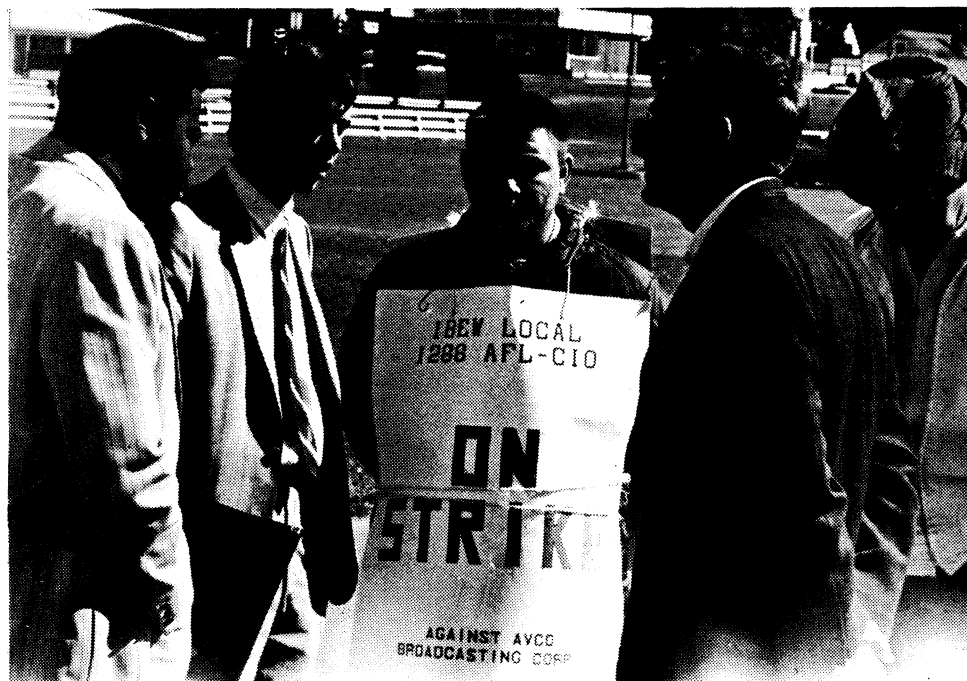
Supports striking TV workers Pulley: McGov can't meet Black demands

By DERRICK MORRISON

DAYTON, Ohio, Oct. 10 — When Andrew Pulley arrived here yesterday to appear on the Phil Donahue Show, a nationally syndicated TV program, he found pickets from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) outside the station. The workers had gone on strike over a contract dispute on Oct. 6, and were joined by workers at stations in Cincinnati and Indianapolis.

Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, solidarized his campaign with the strike and refused to cross the picket line. He held a news conference outside the station and discussed his campaign with the striking workers. They indicated their appreciation of the fact that the SWP vice-presidential nominee had honored their picket line.

The producer of the show, Avco Broadcasting, went to the lengths of proposing that the program be taped in a hotel room. Pulley refused, pointing out that scab technician crews would be used.



Militant/Derrick Morrison

Striking TV technicians in Dayton, Ohio, expressing their appreciation to Andrew Pulley when he refused to cross their picket line for a scheduled appearance on TV show.

Avco had invited Pulley to appear on the Donahue Show in compliance with equal-time provisions. (Democratic vice-presidential candidate Sargent Shriver had previously been on the program.) The national SWP campaign headquarters said today it is asking that the show be rescheduled after the strike is settled.

Pulley flew to Dayton after a tour stop in Minnesota. He held a news conference Oct. 6 in Minneapolis, where he blasted George McGovern for not offering a program to end the miserable conditions in the country's Black communities.

"Whatever he may say, McGovern is a law-and-order candidate. He has consistently voted for increased appropriations for law enforcement, most of which goes toward building up police occupation of the ghettos and barrios," Pulley said.

"Is McGovern really a candidate of the people?" Pulley asked. "We read with a mixture of amusement and disgust his comments to a group of New York policemen that if he were elected, police everywhere 'would have a friend in the White House.'"

The following day, Pulley and Mary Hillery, the Minnesota SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, spoke to a campaign rally of 90 people in Minneapolis.

Hillery's speech picked up on a recent charge by Minneapolis Mayor

Charles Stenvig (a former cop) that there are "Communists" in the government. She remarked, "There are no SWP members in the government at this time, but I assure you—and Stenvig—that if we were in the government, you'd know it! . . . A socialist in Minnesota government wouldn't stand by when Mayor Stenvig calls out the cops and the canine corps against the Black community, as he did this past August at the Aquatennial parade. The SWP calls for Black control of the police as well as Black control of housing, schools, hospitals, and federal funds in the Black community."

Hillery, 25, is presently fighting for a spot on the ballot. Minnesota Secretary of State Arlen Erdahl disqualified her on the basis that she is "too young" to run. Hillery has been stumping the state to publicize the facts in her case and has filed suit in the Minnesota Supreme Court. Recently, she spoke to more than 500 students at a high school "Meet the Candidates"

program in St. Cloud, Minn.

Before traveling to the Midwest, Pulley wrapped up his tour of New York with a campaign meeting at the Abraham Lincoln Housing Project in Harlem on Oct. 4. At this meeting Pulley spoke along with B.R. Washington, the SWP candidate in the 19th Congressional District (Harlem).

Washington cited the wretched conditions in the 19th C.D. — from housing, schools, and unemployment to the fact that officials say half the nation's drug addicts are in Harlem — to illustrate the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party. For the last 24 years, Democrats have represented the 19th C.D. in Congress. Democrat Charles Rangel, the incumbent, has proved there is no difference between the capitalist parties in New York City, the Democratic, Republican, and Liberal, by grabbing the nominations of all three for his reelection.

Washington said that if he were elected he would use his office to mobilize the Harlem community against such ills as the war in Southeast Asia and drugs, and by so doing would pave the way for independent Black political organization.

Three young Blacks who attended the meeting asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance. One is a former member of the Young Workers Liberation League.

Nixon presses witch-hunt against Arabs

By CAROLINE LUND

The U. S. government's so-called anti-terrorist campaign has moved to a much more serious plane, as indicated by the announcement Oct. 4 of a nationwide effort to "screen" all Arabs living in this country or entering this country.

According to the Oct. 5 *New York Times*, all federal agencies concerned either with travel or with "suppression of terrorist activities" will cooperate in this effort, including the State Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The *Times* reported that the government refused to explain exactly what steps they were taking in this anti-Arab campaign, only saying that the operation was "very touchy."

Hints at what this secret operation involves were provided by reports from representatives of Arab organizations. Employees of the Arab Information Service in Washington, D. C., told of being followed wherever they went by FBI agents.

One Palestinian official of the League of Arab States in Washington told the *New York Times* that FBI agents had taken him to their office, fingerprinted him, and interrogated him.

"They said, 'You are terrorists, you are planning violence'—they made some kind of threat that if something should ever happen all of you will be in trouble, things like that."

In addition, a federal order was put into effect Sept. 27 requiring visas for everyone entering the U. S., except Canadians, even if only to change planes in transit to some other country.

The purpose of these measures is not to fight "terrorism," but to crack down on all supporters of the Arab liberation movement. As the Oct. 5 *New York Times* admitted, "There have been no known acts of terrorism attributable to Arab groups in this country so far. . . ." There have been numerous acts of violence by the Jewish Defense League, a right-

wing Zionist organization, but the U. S. government is undertaking no special steps to apprehend Zionist or right-wing terrorists.

The anti-Arab racism underlying these moves by the Nixon administration and the Congress was suggested by an Oct. 5 statement released by the supposedly liberal Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The statement said the Munich and Lod airport incidents were neither "isolated nor surprising phenomena" but rather "part of an Arab history and tradition of extremism and violence which has contributed the word 'assassin' to international lexicons."

Branding the entire Arab people as responsible for the Munich and Tel Aviv killings, B'nai B'rith stated: "It will be tragic if Jews—and the rest of the world—are led to believe that Arab extremists are a tiny minority in the Arab world and that they do not reflect the real feeling of the Arab masses."

Thus B'nai B'rith portrays the Arab people as by nature bloodthirsty, anti-social, and uncivilized. In this way they try to prejudice people against the just striving for liberty from colonial oppression that underlies the sympathy of Arab people with the Palestinian resistance movement.

This hysteria against the entire Arab people was condemned by an Arab-American in Brooklyn interviewed by the *New York Times* Oct. 7. Referring to Senator George McGovern's call for sanctions against Egypt and Lebanon for harboring Palestinian resistance forces, he told *Times* reporter John Hess: "That statement by McGovern was just outrageous, to blame Lebanon and Egypt for what happened in Munich. Sheltering someone who has no shelter—this becomes a crime?"

In its campaign against Arabs and "terrorists," the U. S. is trying to revoke democratic rights both in this country and internationally. Examples are the resolution and "convention" against terrorism that the U. S. has

proposed in the United Nations. The resolution calls for automatic extradition or prosecution of "terrorists" and international sanctions against any country allowing terrorists or supporters of terrorism to have training facilities or sanctuary.

In defining what is meant by "terrorists," the draft "convention," or treaty, states that "An 'alleged offender' means a person as to whom there are grounds to believe that he has committed one or more of the offenses of international significance set forth in this article." (Emphasis added.)

Thus persons are assumed to be guilty of terrorism, with no provision for due process. And in addition, "supporters" of such "terrorists" are also subject to sanctions.

The witch-hunt terminology in this proposed resolution and convention means that the entire colonial libera-

tion struggle can be declared in violation of international law.

Meanwhile, the international anti-Arab campaign continues in other countries as well. On Oct. 4 a Palestinian bookstore in Paris was bombed. A note was left at the scene saying, "To anti-Semite terror, Jewish terror will respond. This is our first warning."

The West German government announced the same day that it had banned two Palestinian organizations—the General Union of Palestinian Students, with 800 members, and the General Union of Palestinian Workers, with 1,000 members.

The German Interior Minister admitted that close to 100 Arabs have been expelled from West Germany since the Munich incident, and that 1,990 Arab travelers have been turned away at the German border.

Who perfected the letter bombs?

Much has been made in the news media about the death of one Israeli diplomat in London from a letter bomb Sept. 19. Fifty-one additional letter bombs were discovered that had been sent to Israeli diplomats around the world. The mail bombs have been widely cited in the media as proof of the criminal mentality of Palestinian Arab liberation fighters.

An exposé in the London *Sunday Times* of Sept. 24 explains, however, that mail bombs had long been utilized by the Stern Gang and the Irgun Zvai Leumi, two right-wing Zionist organizations, as well as by the Israeli government itself. In 1963 four Egyptian technicians were killed by such a bomb, with the head of Israeli security implicated in the operation. In 1967 two more Egyptian officials were killed by book bombs. In July of 1972, says the *Sunday Times*, the Israelis

sent 10 letter bombs to Palestinian and other Arab guerilla leaders in Beirut.

The *Sunday Times* exposé also raises questions about attributing the recent letter bombs to the Palestinian organization Black September, despite the leaflets signed "Black September" found in several unexploded envelopes. Among the questions it raises is this: "In a technically first class operation, it seems an oddly erratic means for Black September to choose to inform the world of its 'triumph.' Why put the leaflets inside letters which, hopefully, would disintegrate in the blast?"

A full summary of the information contained in the *Sunday Times* exposé can be obtained in an article "Who Perfected the Letter Bomb?" in the Oct. 9 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Send 50 cents for a copy to: IP, Box 116, Village Station, New York, N. Y. 10014.

'Economist' joins in slander of Fourth Int'l

By TONY THOMAS

"The Trotskyite Fourth International, with its headquarters in Brussels, is said to have helped with transport and supplies and to have co-ordinated the complex operation that flew Japanese terrorists from the Red Army Fraction around Europe and supplied them with the Czech weapons they used to mow down passengers at Lydda airport in May" (Sept. 23 London *Economist*).

These slanderous charges are part of an international campaign world imperialism has launched against movements for national and social revolution following the death on Sept. 5 of Israelis held captive in Munich by the Black September Palestinian resistance group.

The revolutionary Marxist Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, was singled out as one of the targets of this campaign. The Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party (which is in political solidarity with the Fourth International but due to reactionary U. S. legislation is barred from membership) support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

In this context, the *Economist* has attempted to claim that the Fourth International took part in the organization of a terrorist attack by members of the Japanese Red Army Organization on Lydda airport in Israel. In this attack three Japanese ter-

rorists killed 25 tourists and wounded more than 70. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)—a resistance group that has specialized in spectacular terrorist actions—publicly took credit for organizing the action.

The *Economist's* charge that the Fourth International was connected with the Lydda action is patently false. Trotskyists are opposed to the tactics of individual terrorism. Although we admire the heroism and dedication to the cause of Palestinian liberation

of these terrorists, we believe that only the broad masses, not such tiny handfuls of individuals, can change society.

Acts of terrorism are not only ineffective, they hamper the struggle. They can create a political mood favorable for a reactionary repression of revolutionists; they lead to the unnecessary death or victimization of revolutionary militants; and most important, they weaken the revolutionary struggle by substituting the actions of a tiny handful for the active involvement of the masses.

As well as disregarding the basic positions of revolutionary socialism in regard to individual terror, the *Economist's* slander falls flat on its face when the positions taken by the Trotskyist movement on the Lydda incident are cited.

The Militant, which reflects the views of the Socialist Workers Party, published an editorial on the Lydda incident in its June 16 issue. It first pointed out the hypocrisy of the statements of the Israeli and U. S. governments on Lydda, since both had been carrying out massive terror against the peoples of the Middle East and Indochina. The editorial then went on to say:

"This struggle against the imperialist-backed rulers in Israel is the struggle of an oppressed people. To be successful it must mobilize the power of the Palestinian masses. . . . Individual acts of terrorism, such as kidnappings and assassinations, do not help this struggle. In fact, they are an obstacle to building a mass movement to win a democratic, secular Palestine for both the Arab and Jewish people.

"The killing of 25 people, including 14 Puerto Ricans, in the Lydda airport . . . did not aid the Palestinian struggle.

"The goals of the action were not clear. By killing innocent people who



Der Spiegel

Results of recent Israeli attack on Lebanon, part of the mass terror perpetrated by the proimperialist governments.

Continued on page 22

Nixon aims unchanged

U.S. presses war as negotiations continue

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 10—World attention is riveted on the secret talks between presidential adviser Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese politburo member Le Duc Tho. Never have there been such intensive negotiations between the two sides, nor have the rumors of impending peace been so persistent.

Two weeks ago, when Kissinger and Le Duc Tho held their first extended two-day meeting, *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Robert Keatley wrote from Washington, "there is a growing feeling here that they are discussing, probably more seriously than ever before, matters that could bring agreement on key aspects of a Vietnam peace settlement by the Nov. 7 election."

Since then Kissinger's special representative, Major General Alexander Haig, has conferred with South Vietnamese President Thieu; President Nixon has held talks with Moscow's foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko; and Kissinger and Le Duc Tho have held a new meeting in Paris that was extended to four days.

Nevertheless, Hanoi has consistently denied that Nixon is negotiating seriously. While talks were taking place in Paris between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, Professor George Kahin of Cornell University was in Hanoi, Sept. 23-30. He was told by Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh that the secret talks are "stuck on dead center and they don't think that Nixon is serious about negotiating before the election."

Washington Post correspondent Murray Marder pointed out on Oct. 9, "The press, as a whole, is unlikely to provide great clarification to distinguish between what is real and what is illusory in this melange of information and disinformation. For the competitive press itself is both victim and vehicle in the secret diplomacy now being played out, sucked into a can-you-top-this brand of journalism."

Marder could have added that the latest peace rumors in the press are seized by the public because it is the profound hope of the vast majority of Americans that the war come to

an end. But the war is very much going on.

For Nixon's aim remains what it has been from the outset—to buy time from the American public to continue pressing the U.S. military effort. The bombing of Southeast Asia today is at the highest level in history.

Writing from Paris Oct. 10, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Takashi Oka declared that probably "both sides are still at the stage of exchanging extremely detailed questions and answers about each other's positions, without necessarily surrendering their own claims."

"The core question, after all, is what guarantees each side can offer the other against elimination of the two Vietnamese antagonists—the Hanoi-supported Viet Cong, and the American-supported Saigon regime."

This has always been the central question, and it will remain so even if a cease-fire is agreed upon. Should South Vietnam be ruled by the pro-imperialist military clique in Saigon or by a democratic government of workers and peasants? This is the question being fought out day after day on the Indochina battlefields. The U.S. bombardment of Vietnam is designed to keep South Vietnam under the rule of the capitalist-landlords.

A detailed report from the battlefield appeared on the front page of the Oct. 4 *Wall Street Journal*. It was subtitled "Death Marches On." Staff reporter Peter Kann contended, "the most realistic outlook, according to the majority of observers here, is more months of intensive combat and quite possibly more years of protracted war."

Kann emphasized the crucial role of U.S. air power in maintaining the Saigon regime against the seven-month-old revolutionary offensive. "Among supporters and critics of U.S. policy here, the consensus is that South Vietnam would have fared much worse—and perhaps collapsed—had it not been for American air support. 'If it weren't for air power, there would be no South Vietnam—it's that simple,' Air Force Gen. Lucius D. Clay Jr. was recently quoted as saying in

the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*."

Thus—and this was the case in 1965 when President Johnson first ordered the massive U.S. escalation of the war—the Saigon regime stands only by virtue of U.S. military power. Kann details how areas of South Vietnam that had been kept on the government side by U.S. occupation have now gone over to the revolutionary side.

"Statistics tell only a bit of the story, but there now are over 1,000 Vietcong-controlled hamlets, compared with seven before the offensive, according to American figures. There are, of course, 14,000 hamlets in South Vietnam. But besides the increased number of Vietcong-controlled hamlets, there are also more 'contested' hamlets and fewer 'secured' hamlets than six months ago. The sensitivity of the situation in the countryside may be indicated by the fact that American Hamlet Evaluation System statistics, once highly publicized as indicators of pacification progress, now are classified."

The statistics actually tell much. At the height of U.S. combat troop participation in the war, with massive "search and destroy" campaigns, numbering thousands of U.S. troops, with tanks, heavy artillery, flamethrowers, and napalm bombing, whole villages and towns were burnt to the ground. The survivors were herded into refugee concentration camps. These were the "secured" hamlets U.S. generals once boasted about.

Today revolutionary forces are contending for control of the countryside from the Mekong Delta in the south to the northernmost province of Quangtri, where Saigon holds only the totally destroyed provincial capital. This life and death struggle cannot be resolved by a cease-fire.

Journal reporter Kann noted an unusually candid comment by a "Vietnamese who is a relative of President Thieu and one of the president's very closest advisers." The official stated: "The Communists don't want a cease-fire in place because they know that it would take a year of talks to work



Afrique Asie

Effects of defoliation methods by U.S. in Vietnam.

out the modalities, and while we talk of modalities, we would also be retaking territory. They are afraid that one night, while we are talking about modalities, we would go out and arrest and kill all their cadre."

It is true. And the fundamental reason is that the Saigon butchers remain in office only because of U.S. military backing. Without that support, there could be no question of their taking advantage of a cease-fire to step up their repression. With that support, they will continue to attempt to crush the revolution no matter what it takes.

It is impossible to determine what the outcome of the secret talks will be, and the antiwar movement must proceed from what is certain, not guesswork. The certainty is that peace cannot be achieved in Indochina until all U.S. military forces are withdrawn.

Cuban, N. Viet, stands on Munich events

By TONY THOMAS

The Sept. 29 issue of *United Nations Report*, a weekly newsletter edited by Afro-American journalist Winston Berry, reports the opposition of several African states and Cuba to putting the U.S.-proposed item against "terrorism" on the UN General Assembly's agenda.

The clearest statement on this subject was that of Cuba's representative, Ricardo Alarcón Quesada. He explained the hypocritical nature of imperialism's "antiterrorism" campaign:

"To speak of terrorism and violence in September 1972 as if they were phenomena that had recently emerged and were limited to acts against isolated individuals, particular diplomats and the official representatives of some governments, is merely to disregard the realities of our contemporary world.

"Those inhabitants of territories subject to colonial domination, or living in slavery under apartheid, are they not the objects of the worst expression of terrorism? Children, women and old people of Vietnam who have lived and resisted over the last decade under the savage American aggression—is anyone aware of the fact that the Americans have already launched against these peoples a volume of bombs greater than all those used in the Second World War?

"What right has this organization to discuss only those aspects of violence that are of concern to the imperialists, while it remains deaf and dumb in the face of the crimes, the barbarism and destruction imposed by imperialism upon so many? What authority would it have to do so, and what results could be expected of such debate, except to increase the lack of confidence in this organization among the peoples who are the victims of imperialism and colonialism?"

Berry also reported opposition to U.S. "antiterrorism" among African delegates to the U.N. Many African states that have given refuge or assistance to guerrillas from Portuguese, Rhodesian, or South African territories could become targets of reprisal campaigns under the "antiterrorism" atmosphere Washington is attempting to create.

Berry quotes a diplomat from the Republic of Guinea who pointed out that Portugal claims that sections of the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau liberated by African freedom fighters were "occupied by terrorists." Moulaye el Hassan of Mauritania said that those who "struggle to recover the freedom of their motherland" could not be described as terrorists or saboteurs.

While 17 African states opposed the inclusion of the item on the UN agenda, Berry pointed out that 11 ab-

stained and six (Chad, Kenya, Liberia, Rwanda, Swaziland, and Togo) voted for its inclusion.

Also in regard to the "antiterrorism" campaign, the Sept. 21 *Congressional Record* quoted an article in the Sept. 19 issue of *Nhan Dan*, Hanoi's largest newspaper, which seemed to indicate the attitude of the leaders of North Vietnam:

"The peoples of the Arab countries and the entire peace and justice-loving human race have realized that they must unite in support of the Palestinian people's struggle . . . Public opinion in the world, and the very acts of aggression in the Middle East, have smashed the allegations of the U.S. and Israeli pirates, who are using the bloody event in Munich to make black white and to sling mud at the just resistance of the Palestinian people. The US-Israeli aggressors are guilty of sabotage of peace. They have caused all the suffering of the nations in the Middle East. They are terrorists. As such, they must be condemned by the whole [of] mankind."

These statements greatly differ from those made by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, who denounced the Palestinian resistance group Black September as "criminals" and who has been reported to be "not unfriendly" to a U.S.-backed "antiterrorism" treaty.

McGov's 'peace' plan

In his nationwide television speech Oct. 10, presidential candidate George McGovern asked the American people to elect him if they want to end the Vietnam war. Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon promised the same thing in order to get elected in 1964 and 1968. But the war has continued.

The past eight years of the Vietnam war have shown that the American people cannot depend on election-eve promises to end this war. What *has* affected the course of the war are the demonstrations and other expressions of the antiwar sentiment of the majority of the American people, including the GIs. This is the force that made Nixon withdraw from his 1970 invasion of Cambodia and pull out 500,000 troops from Vietnam. This is the force that has persuaded Democrats like McGovern that an antiwar image is the best for one's political future.

Contrary to McGovern's assertion that he has "publicly opposed this war for nine years," he has become a "dove" only recently, under pressure from the antiwar movement. Almost without exception he voted for military appropriations, including for the Vietnam war, throughout the 1960s. In October of 1965 McGovern was saying that it was "too late to turn back now. Our nation has decided that we must stay and fight to stop the communists from taking over."

The fact that McGovern now makes stronger antiwar statements than LBJ or Nixon did does not mean that he is fundamentally different from them, only that antiwar sentiment has become stronger. McGovern's speech contained some true statements in condemnation of the slaughter in Vietnam. He pointed out that 500,000 U. S. troops still remain in the Pacific, Thailand, and Guam to carry on the war. He stated that the war is not over; that Vietnamese and GIs are still dying.

These are truths the antiwar movement has been telling the American people for a long time. These are truths antiwar GIs and veterans have helped bring to public attention.

Now McGovern comes along trying desperately to refurbish his image as "the peace candidate"—after back-tracking so much on all his positions that he is trailing badly in the polls. He tells us to elect him and trust him to end the war.

Why doesn't he encourage the American people and the GIs in Vietnam to unite in massive actions against the war, since this has been the most effective deterrent to the war-makers? Why has he in fact *opposed* demonstrations calling for an end to the war? If he thinks the U. S. has no right in Vietnam, why does he vow to keep U. S. bases, troops, bombers, and warships in Thailand and surrounding seas until all American POWs are returned and all missing in action accounted for?

If he really feels horror at the inhuman, genocidal destruction the U. S. has brought to Vietnam for eight years, why did he say in his speech that "we must oppose any so-called war crimes trials" of those responsible for the U. S. crimes in Vietnam? Why does he attempt in this way to cover up for the responsibility that his party, the Democratic Party, bears for this war?

We urge antiwar Americans not to be taken in again by vote-catching, election-eve promises of the Democrats or Republicans. Support Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party, and support the national antiwar mobilizations called by the National Peace Action Coalition for Oct. 26 and Nov. 18.

PCPJ backs McGov

At its national interim committee meeting Sept. 29-30, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice passed a resolution with the central theme: "We believe that the antiwar movement throughout the country should, independently and through its own forms of organization, help to ensure the most massive vote for George McGovern."

It is deplorable that an organization that has claimed to be in some respects an antiwar coalition has thus decided to become a support group for the McGovern campaign. By backing McGovern, PCPJ excludes from its antiwar activities the many opponents of the war who mistakenly support Richard Nixon, or those supporting neither Nixon or McGovern.

In openly becoming a McGovern support group, PCPJ completes its evolution away from functioning as an independent antiwar organization. With this decision PCPJ is again and more definitively denying that there is a crucial need for organizations that can unite in action *all* opponents of the war. It denies the need for coalitions that will expose and criticize Democratic and Republican politicians alike, who don't support immediate and unconditional U. S. withdrawal from Indochina.

Ziegler explains U. S. bombing

When presidential press secretary Ronald Ziegler held an informal press conference Sept. 22 at Northern Kentucky State College, 80 student antiwar protesters were waiting to greet him. As he walked through the demonstrators they began shouting "Out Now!"

At the press conference I asked Zeigler "to what lengths" was Nixon prepared to go "to crush the Vietnamese struggle for freedom and independence." Ziegler replied by stating that the bombing would continue indefinitely. He ended by saying, "The other side must have the incentive to negotiate."

If bombing an entire nation back into the Stone Age is merely "incen-tive," what is the U. S. going to do if it decides to get tough?

Charles R. Mitts
St. Bernard, Ohio

Medical care

I'm one of two working-class Puerto Ricans accepted to Harvard Medical School this year, and one of only three in the school altogether. As it stands, all three of us are politically oriented and come from the South Bronx and Bedford-Stuyvesant [areas of New York City].

Although previously exposed to your paper, I was surprised to find a brother selling it in front of the Medical School parking lot, where he was mostly ignored except for a few of the hundreds who make use of the lot.

In time these attitudes will change, but presently I feel that you should include in your issues news and analysis of problems in the fields of health and community medicine, of which there are many, and some in your own backyard (Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx, for example).

Many thanks, and may you do well in this year's campaign.

Jaime Rivera
Boston, Mass.

Women's Political Caucus

On Sept. 30 I attended a meeting of the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus where a discussion took place that will be of interest to *Militant* readers. Between 150 and 200 women were at this meeting.

Gloria Steinem gave a report on the Democratic Convention. Following her report a discussion ensued on the pros and cons of supporting George McGovern. (The Caucus eventually voted not to endorse any candidates.)

Dissatisfaction with McGovern's backsliding on women's rights was clear in this discussion. One woman raised the possibility of boycotting the elections and organizing a "no vote" campaign.

A woman from the newspaper *Majority Report* and the National Organization for Women (NOW) suggested that women vote for Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. "Jenness is not afraid to raise the abortion issue," she said. Unlike McGovern, she continued, Jenness does not waver on women's issues.

A member of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley pointed out that the SWP campaign supports and builds the independent feminist movement. Only by organizing masses of women in action independent of the Democrats and Republicans can women's demands be won, she said.

Gloria Steinem agreed that the women's liberation movement must remain

independent but said she would give the system one more chance this year. Maybe in another four years, she said, she would be ready for an alternative to the two-party system.

Another part of the Caucus meeting was a panel of women candidates, which included Joanna Misnik, the SWP candidate for U. S. Congress in the 20th C. D., and her Republican opponent, Annette Levy. *Ruth Robinett*
New York, N. Y.

Requests exchange sub

I am an American living in Rome and a sympathizer of the Fourth International. I now write for a small Italian weekly. My primary task is to demystify the politics of the USA and to comment on the various aspects of American life.

The only tools, however, that I have are the *Herald Tribune*, *Newsweek*, and the like, plus dated copies of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* that I get from friends. Of course, I have at my disposition the newspapers of the left, which do a relatively good job, but even they have, for example, left McGovern unscratched. In fact, at this moment I am trying to help get people straight about McGovern and the need to build a socialist party in the USA.

This is a problem not only for our reading public but also for the majority of Italian militants. Ignorance of America is rampant, and the news that does arrive is controlled by the bourgeois press or the bureaucratic left. Thus, for example, the McGovern truth kit I have read about would be of significant value.

It is my hope that we might establish an exchange of weeklies. We will benefit in having a continuous, up-to-date flow of alternative information from the USA. I hope you find sufficient benefit in having an extended voice in Italy and among the Italian immigrants spread out in Europe.

C. C.
Rome, Italy

PRG 7-point program

At the July antiwar convention in Los Angeles, hosted by the National Peace Action Coalition, I sat in on the workshop on the seven-point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. I was interested to hear Irving Sarnoff of the Peace Action Council, an affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, explain why he felt the antiwar movement should raise the demand "Support the seven-point program of the PRG."

Sarnoff declared that the American people would respond to the seven-point program better than to a simple demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal because the seven-point program shows the "reasonableness" of the Vietnamese liberation fighters. Specifically, Sarnoff lauded the section that promises to set up a three-part coalition government.

By making this promise, Sarnoff argued, the seven-point program speaks to the fears of many Americans that there will be a "Communist take-over" in Vietnam if the U. S. withdraws. The seven-point program, he felt, can reassure these people and lead them to support an American withdrawal on the basis of these guarantees.



The American Way of Life

Ernest Harsch

Voting rights struggle not over

In my opinion this is the crux of the difference between NPAC and PCPJ on this question. Sarnoff believes that by emphasizing the seven-point program we can assure the American people that the price for a U.S. withdrawal from Indochina will not be a "Communist take-over." NPAC does not believe it is the job of the antiwar movement to make that assurance. We think the American people must be convinced that the U.S. should unconditionally withdraw from Vietnam no matter what kind of government is then set up. The demand for U.S. withdrawal must be independent of approval or disapproval of the plans of the Vietnamese people for their own future.

It is not the job of the antiwar movement to pass judgement on the plans of the Vietnamese liberation fighters. Our job is to get the U.S. out of their country. It is vital that all antiwar forces work together to accomplish that task. I hope that PCPJ and PAC will work with NPAC to build the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 actions.

Stephanie Coontz
Former NPAC coordinator
Brooklyn, N. Y.

'Young Lenin' review

I wish to call the attention of readers of *The Militant* to a review of Leon Trotsky's *The Young Lenin* in *The New Republic* of Sept. 23, 1972. The author, George Charney, has written a perceptive and moving review.

Charney was for many years a leading figure in the Communist Party. A victim of the witch-hunt of the 1950s, he left the CP after the Khrushchev revelations of some of Stalin's crimes at the 1956 Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

In his review of *The Young Lenin*, Charney describes this recently published book (by Doubleday) as "superb biography." He also calls it "a beautiful and moving tribute" (to Lenin). These descriptions are entirely in order, and I agree with them completely. It is a pity that we will be forever deprived of the pleasure and benefit of what Trotsky planned to do in completing his work on the life of Lenin. Only his assassination by a Stalinist agent in 1940 prevented him from writing the rest of the biography.

I particularly want to compliment George Charney publicly for writing this fine review as my own review of his political autobiography, *The Long Journey* (Quadrangle Books, 1968), published in the *International Socialist Review* in 1969, was severely critical of both him and the Communist Party.

But the George Charney of today is certainly not the one of the 25-year period he spent in the CP and not even the one who wrote *The Long Journey*.

Milton Alvin
Los Angeles, Calif.

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

I recently visited an exhibition in Washington, D. C., at the Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology entitled "The Right to Vote." It portrays the struggle of women, Blacks, soldiers, Indians, and young people to win the vote. The unmistakable thread running through the posters, songs, slide show, and documents that make up the exhibition is that it took struggle—long, bitter, often bloody struggles—to win the vote for the majority of people in this country.

One display mentions the first Women's Rights Convention. Organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott in Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848, the convention passed the "Declaration of Sentiments" demanding the right to vote for women. Another exhibits copies of *The Revolution*, published from 1868 to 1870 by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Stanton. The first sentence of one issue reads, "North, South, East, West, Pacific coast, all! have you heard the call, and are you heeding it to organize at once in behalf of the great cause of Women's Enfranchisement?"

From the beginnings of the suffrage movement, to the presidential campaign of Victoria Woodhull in 1872, to the passage of the Suffrage Amendment in 1919, the methods of struggle were quite evident: "automobile tours, parades, protest marches, picketing the White House amid dramatic confrontations with citizens and police."

Black people didn't win the right to vote, even on paper, until after the four bloody years of the Civil War and the destruction of chattel slavery in the South. Within the first few days after the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted, more than a million Blacks registered to vote, and in the elections the first Black representatives and senators were elected.

Within several years, however, when the reactionaries once more took control of the state governments, more and more obstacles were put in the

path of Black participation in the voting process. Such restrictions as poll and property taxes, outrageous literacy tests, and residence requirements once more effectively disenfranchised Blacks in the South.

Not until Black people began to take to the streets in the 1950s and early 1960s—in the Montgomery bus boycott, in the 1963 March on Washington, in the sit-ins, and in the Voting Rights March from Selma to Montgomery—did these restrictions begin to get knocked off the books.

The exhibition also mentions that residents of Washington, D. C., which is more than 70 percent Black, couldn't even vote for president or vice-president until 1964 and didn't get a delegate (nonvoting) to Congress until 1971.

The passage of the Twenty-sixth Amendment in 1971 gave the vote to 25 million young people. The exhibition briefly mentions the deepening politicization among youth and their participation in the civil rights movement and the antiwar movement as impetuses behind the passage of the amendment.

The main failing of the exhibition, and this was to be expected, is that it views the struggle for voting rights as a finished process. It implies that everything's completely democratic now that most people (forgetting prisoners) have the vote. But what about the restrictive ballot laws still on the books in most states?

Loyalty oaths, petitioning requirements, age and residency requirements, and filing fees are all designed to keep smaller parties off the ballot, allowing the Democratic and Republican parties to monopolize it. The next important step in broadening the rights of voters is to fight for completely opening the ballot to all parties and providing access to the public media.



National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

Minimum wage boost squelched

Social issues such as housing, medical insurance, welfare, and minimum wages make good political fodder for capitalist politicians during off-year paigns. But these issues generally fall by the wayside in favor of "big" issues during presidential campaigns. The "big" issue between the major parties this year is simple—each is accusing the other of being a bigger bunch of crooks. And each gang has plenty of evidence against the other.

Take the issue of minimum wage levels—an issue both parties don't want to talk about.

Early this year the House passed a new administration-sponsored minimum wage act. The companion bill was passed by the Senate in July.

The two bills were widely divergent. The House bill, backed by President Nixon, would have raised the current \$1.60 per hour minimum wage to \$1.80 for this year and to \$2 for 1973. It would not have extended coverage to workers not now covered and would have allowed a lower minimum pay level for anyone under 18 or for full-time students over 18.

The Senate bill would have raised the minimum to \$2 this year and to \$2.20 in 1974. It would have increased the coverage to millions of workers, including domestics and government employees. The Senate measure would have allowed below-minimum pay for students only.

The two bills were sent to conference several times but no compromise was arrived at. Then on Oct. 4 the House passed by a vote of 196 to 188 a bill banning any further compromise conferences. This killed all possibility of any minimum wage increase being passed in the current session of Congress.

This vote is interesting because the Democrats—supposedly more liberal than the Republicans—hold a majority in the House. Since the Republican minority led the fight to kill any minimum wage increases, it would appear they had a lot of lousy liberals in their corner. To me there is no dirtier word in our language than "liberal." It means a character who can talk a good fight but when the fence he or she is perched on begins to sway, then the liberal

quickly jumps onto the side of reaction.

The Republican House leaders who won this fight claim they based their battle on the fact that the Democratic conference committee members from the House had all voted against the Nixon-backed bill and would therefore be more easily swayed to compromise in favor of the Senate bill than for the administration's position.

Now, under parliamentary rules, the House has no choice but to vote for or against a conference agreement. It cannot send it back to conference for revisions. Had a conference on the Senate and House bills met and proposed an agreement, it would probably have been close to the more liberal Senate bill. The legislators would have had to record their vote, pro or con.

This would have put all the members of the House of Representatives, along with those senators who are also up for reelection, in a precarious position. On one hand, workers, women, minorities, and students make up the majority of all voters. And a huge proportion of these voters work for minimum wages—and live on the poverty level.

On the other hand, the candidates need money to conduct their campaigns. And they get that money from the *employing* class. But no boss, however small, wants to reelect, let alone finance, a candidate who has voted to increase wage levels.

Ironically, it is to these Republican politicians that George Meany and some of his cohorts are pledging the American working-class support. And equally ironic is the fact that many other top union officials have jumped onto the Democratic bandwagon and are promising to deliver their memberships' votes to the Democrats.

That would leave the vast majority of the American population with a choice—between Tweedledee and Tweedledum. Except, of course, in those states where the Socialist Workers Party is running its candidates.

SWP candidates don't make wild promises that are promptly filed in the waste basket *after* the elections. They tell it like it is and offer the only solution to all the social, economic, and political ills—socialism.



Cokexistence—Polish factories are pouring out Coca Cola under license. A Warsaw daily commented: "For many years Coca Cola has had a reputation of being the symbol of American life or repulsive dollar imperialism. . . . It has finally reached Poland not as a sinful thing but as the fruit of peaceful coexistence." Now if the Moscow bureaucrats get a similar deal, they can revive the old Trinidad Calypso tune, "Drinking Rum and Coca Cola," with its refrain, "Mother and daughter working for the Yankee dollar."

Almost made it—While some Poles were corroding their dentures with Coke, residents of the city of Bydgoszcz thought the socialist millennium had arrived when frothy lager beer began running from their water taps. Because of a valve fault, the

local brewery had emptied its vats into the municipal water system.

Recognized him immediately—"McGovern Calls Nixon Ally of Business"—headline in the *New York Times*.

Mum's the word—A State Department representative assured a Senate committee that the number of North Vietnamese schools, hospitals, and churches being hit by U.S. bombs is quite small but declined to give a number. He explained we didn't want the North Vietnamese to know too much about what we're doing.

Comedians—The ITT ad in the Republican convention journal quoted from Lincoln's second inaugural address: "With malice toward none, with charity for all. . . ."

Premium blend—The government

says an "unacceptable" residue of DDT and other pesticides is showing up in some Southern tobacco.

Funniest story of the week—It's only Americans who think American medical care stinks, says AMA President C.A. Hoffman. Just back from abroad, the good doctor confided that everywhere else the U.S. "is recognized as Mecca," medicinewise. Soviet medicine has come a long way, he reported, the only question being "how far they might have come if they had had the free enterprise system we have." That's the reverse of asking how long the patient would have lived if he hadn't died.

Most startling story of the week—Internal Revenue Commissioner J.M. Walters disclosed the IRS has unearthed "shocking" instances of fraud

and tax evasion by giant corporations. "It is unbelievable that large, publicly held corporations engage in such schemes," the unnerved revenue said.

The Old Double Cross—The KKK, which is administering lie detector tests to weed out FBI plants and other prevaricators, now admits it may be deceptive advertising to talk of cross burnings. Actually they don't burn crosses, concedes the Ohio grand dragon, just the flammable wrapping around the cross. Next we'll find out those bedsheets are really straitjackets.

Thought for the week—"Caveat emptor" has never had more profound significance than today, whether someone is trying to sell us war, God, anti-communism, or a new, improved deodorant.—John P. Cohane, a retired advertising agency executive.

Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Women's liberation in Italy

"The obstacles facing the women's liberation movement in the United States seem paltry in comparison with the barriers that exist in Italy," says Diana Loercher in a special report in the Sept. 11 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Loercher explains that traditional attitudes in Italy, heavily influenced by the Catholic Church hierarchy, have kept women in an extremely backward position. She mentions the abysmal lack of information on birth control, the illegality of abortions, severe job discrimination, and the almost total absence of child-care centers.

Most interesting is her interview with Liliana Merlini, a leader of the Women's Liberation Movement (MLD—Movimento di Liberazione della Donna).

The MLD, formed in 1970, is currently petitioning to collect 50,000 signatures calling for women's right to abortion. The petitions will be turned over to parliament.

"MLD concentrates on action," Merlini told Loercher, "because we live in such an oppressive structure that we can't take the time to free ourselves on a personal level. In this respect we are closer to the American movements."

"The essence of the MLD philosophy," writes

Loercher, "is that men per se are not the enemy but, like women, are victims of a calcified social and political system that must change." According to Merlini, the MLD is "fighting all the authorities of society: capitalist, clerical, fascist, and patriarchal, so there is much more at stake than equality for the sexes."

Although Loercher just touches on the question of divorce in her article, this is one of the most controversial issues in Italian politics today. Under a law passed in 1970 divorce became legal, but only after five years' official separation. Although still very restrictive, the law has generated tremendous opposition from the Catholic Church hierarchy, the fascists, and the Christian Democrats.

Antidivorce groups collected enough signatures last year to place a referendum on the divorce law on the ballot. The date has not yet been set for the referendum.

When the referendum does come up for a vote, there is sure to be a big battle between divorce opponents and supporters. Recent reports indicate that the Italian Communist Party, which officially supports the present divorce law, is not too eager to be in the thick of the fighting.

For one thing, a considerable number of Italians who belong to the Communist Party oppose divorce. Many women party members in the South, according to Paul Hofmann in the Jan. 31 *New York Times*, oppose divorce because "in a male-dominated system that has few jobs for women, marriage means lifetime security for many of them."

Although the *Times* may be exaggerating female opposition to divorce, the issue is obviously one that challenges very deep-seated traditions among all Italians. According to Hoffmann, the Communist Party has opportunistically avoided taking too strong a stand in favor of the present divorce law so as not to rock the boat among its own members.

In addition, Hofmann says in the Oct. 1 *Times* that "militant divorce advocates . . . suspect the Communist party of seeking an accord with the Christian Democrats to seek new legislation that would make divorce much more difficult than it is now and thereby avoid a referendum on repeal."

" . . . an understanding with the Christian Democrats and the church . . . might eventually make [the Communist Party] eligible as a partner in government," Hofmann concludes.

By Any Means Necessary

John Hawkins



Black GIs cleared 66 years late

On Sept. 28 Secretary of the Army Robert Froehlke cleared the records of 167 Black soldiers framed 66 years ago in connection with a Texas shooting incident. The soldiers, members of the all-Black First Battalion of the 25th Infantry, were ordered "discharged without honor" by President Theodore Roosevelt on Nov. 5, 1906, without even the benefit of a military trial. Froehlke's decision to grant the 167 soldiers honorable discharges comes more than a year after Representative Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) introduced a bill into Congress to exonerate them.

The incident that led to the frame-up occurred Aug. 13, 1906. According to what was accepted until recently as the official version of the "Brownsville Affray," 16 to 20 armed riders swept through the white section of town at midnight. Several persons were wounded and one killed. This raid, according to the official version, came in the wake of a fight between a white merchant and a Black soldier of the First Battalion, stationed at nearby Fort Brown. As a result of this scuffle the town was placed off limits to the Black troops.

However, the real facts behind "The Browns-

ville Affray" are quite different. In the book *The Brownsville Raid*, published in 1971, author John D. Weaver traces the shooting incident to a white woman's claim that a Black soldier had tried to rape her. Thrown into a racist hysteria by the woman's claim, the town was unsafe for the soldiers of the First Battalion and was placed off limits to them to protect their lives. According to Weaver, on the night of Aug. 13 shots were fired outside Fort Brown. Both the soldiers and the townspeople assumed they were under attack by the other and returned the fire.

The incident received national publicity, and Roosevelt ordered an investigation. Unable to turn up any evidence other than the claims of the townspeople, the Army brass assembled companies B, C, and D of the First Battalion on the parade ground at the fort. They threatened the three companies with mass dishonorable discharge if the "guilty" did not step forward and identify themselves.

No one stepped forward, and a few days later the three companies were transferred to Oklahoma. Three months after their transfer, Roosevelt or-

dered the three companies "discharged without honor."

Froehlke's reversal of Roosevelt's 1906 decision comes at a time of both increased Black opposition to Army racism and increased Army use of frame-ups against Black GIs. Among the many examples that could be cited is Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. In 1969, along with seven other GIs, Pulley was confined to the Fort Jackson, S.C., stockade and received a dishonorable discharge for his role in organizing GIs against the war and racism.

A more recent case is that of Billy Dean Smith, currently on trial for a "fragging" that occurred in Vietnam in 1971. He is an outspoken opponent of racism within the armed forces and of the war.

The fact that Froehlke felt compelled after 66 years to publicly exonerate the 167 Black soldiers framed in 1906 indicates the growing pressure on the armed forces to repair their traditional racist image. But there's still a great deal more to be done.

Backhanded McGov supporter lectures SWP on reformism

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign sounds pretty good if you read the first third of Carl Davidson's article on it in the Sept. 27 *Guardian*. Davidson explains that the SWP has collected some 500,000 signatures and expects to be on the ballot in 25-30 states this November. He mentions the two million pieces of literature distributed by campaign supporters, the media coverage gained by the campaign, and the hundreds of meetings candidates addressed throughout the country.

"Every political crisis and national issue . . . is taken advantage of, with the SWP candidates issuing statements, press releases and demanding air time to put forward their viewpoint," Davidson says.

Nevertheless, Davidson doesn't like the SWP campaign. He believes that "the SWP plays the role within the U.S.

Certainly one of the most pressing political questions facing those in the U.S. who are interested in changing society is whether such change can come about through the Democratic Party, and whether to support George McGovern in 1972. The SWP has a very clear position—it opposes McGovern and the Democrats just as much as it opposes Nixon and the Republicans. The *Guardian*, on the other hand, disagrees with this position. It sees Nixon as the main enemy and is giving backhanded support to McGovern.

Davidson talks about "smashing the old bourgeois state apparatus," a formulation he complains is "totally absent" from the SWP's campaign literature. He overlooks the fact that voting for McGovern and smashing the state are contradictory aspirations.

The reality of the political situation in the U.S. today is not that socialists

ical cheerleader for the Maoist regime in China.

Davidson's criticisms of the SWP campaign are too numerous to answer here. His opposition to Black nationalism and feminism, which he falsely counterposes to class consciousness, could each be the subject of a separate article. One example of his technique, in which bits and pieces of the SWP election platform are taken out of context, is the one-paragraph critique devoted to the SWP's program for labor.

Charging that "its viewpoint is entirely within the outlook of trade union reformism," and that the SWP fails to mention the role of the labor aristocracy, Davidson implies that the SWP subordinates its program to the union bureaucracy.

He criticizes the SWP's demand "For equal rights in the unions and on the job for Black and Raza workers and for women, and for full union support to their struggles," in isolation from its overall position on these struggles. Davidson tries to give the false impression that SWP campaign literature directed at trade unionists "is ignoring the struggle for democracy outside the work-place. . . ."

A similar distortion would be to attack the demand for Black, Raza, and women's studies departments on campuses because such a specific demand, raised within a specific context, is "ignoring the struggle for democracy outside the campus."

The innuendo that the SWP adapts to the union bureaucracy is of similar quality. The SWP campaign presents a program that could serve as a basis for mobilizing the workers in the U.S. to fight the government and the employers on the key questions confronting them today—inflation, wage controls, unemployment, and layoffs. The trade-union bureaucrats are bitterly opposed to any such fight, and the SWP's program for mobilizing the ranks of labor would be strongly opposed by them.

Consider the SWP demands for such things as "cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts," which would deal with inflation by requiring that wages rise with prices, or "for committees of the unions and consumer groups with the power to regulate prices." While addressed to an immediate problem faced by working people, they would require a sharp struggle against the union bureaucrats before they could become the policy of the unions. Davidson fails to mention these and other demands of this type that are part of the SWP program.

At the same time that it presents a general program for the development of a left wing in the trade unions, the SWP attempts to link the struggle inside the unions to other manifestations of the radicalization. It does this by raising demands of the antiwar, women's liberation, Black, and Chicano movements, and by showing how they are applicable inside the trade unions and in union demands on the bosses.

It may be that Davidson disagrees with the SWP's method and program for forming a left wing in the unions, but he advances no alternative. His failure to do this, and his cheap distortion of the SWP program on the fight against the oppression of women and national minorities in the unions leave the reader with the impression that Davidson is more interested in justifying the *Guardian's* refusal to endorse the SWP campaign than in presenting a serious view of what should be done.



Militant/Bruce Cline

Guardian writer thinks SWP position on antiwar movement is 'a capitulation to the lowest common denominator of the united front.'

left of a petty bourgeois radical democracy," which is "reformist at best and reactionary at its worst." The SWP's position of building a mass antiwar movement around actions for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia, for instance, "is hardly sufficient for communists acting independently with the purpose of raising the class consciousness of the proletariat."

No doubt the SWP campaign could take a hint or two from the uncompromising, no-nonsense approach of the editors of the *Guardian*, who refuse to endorse any of the candidates for president, but who "do not oppose the growing trend of those among the masses who intend to vote for McGovern. . . ."

In listing his catalog of disagreements and grievances concerning the program of the SWP campaign, Davidson fails to state what he thinks a socialist election campaign in the U.S. today should seek to accomplish. This is not an unimportant question for someone who wants to evaluate such a campaign. Socialists don't run election campaigns in the abstract but attempt to make them directly relevant to the actual political struggles taking place and to the major questions facing the working class and the population as a whole.

The fundamental aims of the SWP campaign are to help in the process of breaking the American people away from their reliance on and subordination to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties; to encourage mass anticapitalist struggles; and to build the revolutionary socialist movement in the U.S.

are faced with the imminent prospect of a struggle for state power; there are, however, tens of thousands of young activists who are engaged in the work of the antiwar, Black, women's, and Chicano movements and are interested in listening to what socialists have to say.

Most of these activists still believe that such problems as war, racial and sexual oppression, and pollution can be eliminated short of a revolution, and that this process may well be possible through the Democratic Party. The effect of Davidson's position is to confirm these illusions while indulging in verbal fireworks about the need to smash the state.

While presuming to lecture the SWP on its supposed reformism, Davidson, the shame-faced supporter of McGovern, even has the nerve to preach to us from Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* Unfortunately for Davidson, Lenin's main point in that book was the necessity of building a nationally organized, centralized Marxist party—a necessity that the *Guardian* recognizes in theory but ignores in practice. It is precisely this task that the SWP election campaign is concerned with. It is building the nucleus of the future mass revolutionary party.

What about the *Guardian*? Since it disagrees with the politics of the SWP, what organization does it suggest that revolutionaries join and build? Lenin had some words about the role of a revolutionary newspaper in the process of building a party, but apparently the editors of the *Guardian* don't think them applicable to their paper; they are not building any organization. Instead the *Guardian* is content to play the role of an uncrit-

U.S. tries to deport Iranian student

By HELEN MYERS

SEATTLE—The U.S. Immigration Service has reopened its witch-hunt against Babak Zahraie, an Iranian student at the University of Washington. Last February the Immigration Service attempted to deport Zahraie, claiming he was a "subversive." Zahraie has been active in the antiwar movement, in opposing tuition increases at UW, and in exposing conditions in Iran under the Shah's dictatorship.

The government failed to make its charge of subversion stick, but Zahraie has once again been ordered excluded from the U.S. If he is deported to his native Iran he is certain to face either execution or a jail term.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie called a well-attended news conference Oct. 3 to demand a halt to the deportation order and that Zahraie be granted permanent residence status in the U.S.

At the news conference were Zahraie and his wife, Kathy; Professor Paul Diedrickson of the UW philosophy department; Mike Withey of Seattle, one of Zahraie's attorneys; and Professor Aubrey Armstrong of the UW faculty, representing the Thai Binh Coalition (a group formed after the murder of Vietnamese UW student Nguyen Thai Binh last summer).

Zahraie's case had been on appeal to the Immigration Service divisional headquarters in Minneapolis. This body upheld the lower ruling to deport Zahraie without hearing the oral arguments requested by Zahraie's attorneys. The attorneys have now asked Minneapolis to reopen the hearing, this time allowing oral argument.

If this fails the case will be taken to federal court to prove that Zahraie has met all qualifications for permanent residency status and to demand that it be granted.

Leonard Boudin, a nationally known constitutional lawyer, has entered the case as a consulting attorney.

At the news conference, Professor Diedrickson reiterated the key question of this fight: "Do foreign students have the right to discuss and speak out for ideas of their choice?"

Professor Armstrong stated that "most foreign students on this campus are scared to be at a press conference at this time, and most were scared to be at the Thai Binh memorial service."

Zahraie stated, "We are determined to fight for our rights to the highest courts of this country."

Funds are needed to continue the appeal in Minneapolis. Donations should be sent to the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, c/o University of Washington "Hub," Seattle, Wash. 98195.



Babak Zahraie

[The following interview with Nahuel Moreno was obtained by *The Militant* last month in Buenos Aires. Moreno is a member of the executive committee of the Argentine Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Argentino—PSA). He is well known on the Argentine left as a leader of the Trotskyist movement since the 1940s.

[The interview refers to the elections that have been promised by Argentine dictator Alejandro Lanusse for 1973. Through the elections Lanusse hopes to unite the various capitalist parties and draw the trade-union movement, led by followers of Perón,

Interview with leader of Argentine Socialist Party

into collaboration with, and support of, a new "constitutional" government. As part of this election maneuver, Lanusse has invited Perón back to Argentina from his exile in Spain.

[The Argentine Socialist Party has taken advantage of the government's promise of elections to try to build the revolutionary movement by confronting the procapitalist candidates in the electoral arena. The party was able to register 33,000 persons to meet the requirements for ballot status. The PSA has offered use of its ballot status to other forces on the left who want to campaign against the capitalist parties and for a socialist Argentina.

[It was in the context of the Lanusse regime's promise of "democratization" that on Aug. 22 guards at the Trelew naval base prison shot down 19 political prisoners. Of the 16 killed, 13 were members of the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army, the most prominent guerrilla organization in Argentina), two were members of the Montoneros (a left-Peronist guerrilla group), and one belonged to the FAR (Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas—Peronist Armed Forces).

[The three prisoners who were

wounded but survived the massacre have reported that the guards opened fire on the prisoners in cold blood with no provocation. Lanusse had gone on nationwide radio and TV to claim that they were shot in an escape attempt. The survivors' story has not gotten out to the Argentine public, however, because of strict government censorship of all news.]

Militant: What were some of the forms of protest in the aftermath of the Trelew massacre?

Moreno: The entire working class and the majority of the country were indignant at the government slaughter and felt great sympathy for the martyrs. The organized mass protests, however, were not as great as they should have been, or could have been, had all the political tendencies worked together to build united protest actions. Still, there were many acts of repudiation of the government.

The CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor) in Córdoba, offered their headquarters for a memorial service for the slain guerrillas from that city and also carried out a day-long general strike against the government.

The mood of repudiation of the government and sympathy with the martyrs was indicated in a meeting at Luna Park (similar to Madison Square Garden) that was scheduled as a musical festival with Theodorakis (a popular Greek musician). Because of the repressive laws banning public meetings, Young Socialists from the PSA helped to transform the festival into a public memorial for the martyrs, condemning the murderous government and also calling for the release of Hugo Blanco (the Peruvian revolutionary-socialist peasant leader presently being held in an Argentine prison).

They shouted slogans and raised a large banner with the names of the martyrs and a huge "Z," which in Greek means "life," or "live on!" The entire audience solidarized with us.

The PSA sought to mobilize protest against the government by attempting to build united-front actions with other left currents. We succeeded in various factories, schools, and offices. One of the most important of these was the minute of silence requested by our comrades at the Banco Nación in Buenos Aires. The Banco Nación represents the largest concentration of employees in the country, with more than 6,000 workers.

There were probably other public meetings and acts of repudiation that I don't know of. There are hundreds of factories, offices, and schools where we don't have contacts.

About 2,000 attended the memorial service held by the Peronists in Córdoba. As was to be expected, they used the service to sing the Peronist hymn and to hail Perón—although the majority of the slain comrades were not Peronists but members of

the ERP.

The Peronists had police permission to mourn the dead until six in the evening and to make public statements previously agreed to by the military and the government in keeping with a Christian service and burial. Conspicuous for its absence was the five-pointed-star ERP banner, symbol of the organization of the majority of the fallen heroes.

Militant: What effect did the events surrounding the Trelew massacre have on the relationship between Lanusse and Perón?

Moreno: Their relationship has deteriorated but not broken in the last several months as a result of the radicalization and the economic crisis. These two things convinced Perón that if he continued his alliance with Lanusse he would soon lose authority among the workers.

Consequently Perón pulled back and began to flirt with the guerrilla groups, while at the same time continuing to consolidate his bureaucracy in the trade unions. We think this is one of the reasons for the relative growth of the Montoneros, a Peronist urban guerrilla group; Perón and the official Peronist leaders insist that their guerrilla organizations are an important part of their movement.

Militant: Did the Trelew events bring a change in the government's projections for "democratization" and elections in 1973?

Moreno: We don't think so. There will very probably be elections. The Argentine capitalist class as a whole—as represented in the military and the various procapitalist parties (including Peronism) are convinced that the working class and the masses of Argentina will not stand for a government like the Brazilian military dictatorship.

But there is still a contradiction the ruling class has not been able to resolve. All sectors of the ruling class agree that the election maneuver should be used to try to harness and co-opt the workers movement, but at the same time each of the antagonistic bourgeois sectors—mainly the rural and the industrial ones—wants to capitalize for itself on this attempt to tame the workers.

This is a difficult problem for them to solve because it encompasses Perón's delicate situation—balancing between his role as a representative of a sector of the capitalist class who has to protect the general interests of the exploiters, and, on the other hand, his need to retain political control over the working class because this is the only way to guarantee stability of the capitalist system in Argentina.

Militant: What is your evaluation of the series of massive uprisings and political strikes that have occurred in Argentina in recent years? Do you believe Argentina is in a prerevolutionary situation?

Moreno: The uprisings have been among the most important in the history of Argentina. They were probably only surpassed by the "Tragic Week" of January 1919, when all of Buenos Aires was in the hands of the workers movement.

The semi-insurrections in Córdoba, Rosario, Mendoza, Tucumán, and Roca have shown a consistent line of development, with each new rising surpassing the preceding one. I say "semi-insurrection" because the masses in struggle were consciously moving against the government and its policies. In each case the working class and the populace won significant victories.

During the last uprising, called the "Rocazo,"* the masses were careful to avoid a confrontation with the army, and were able to neutralize the troops through mass pressure. An example of this was when everyone in the streets turned their backs on the army as it paraded through Roca.



Nahuel Moreno teaching a class on socialism for Young Socialist supporters of the PSA. Banners on walls say "Workers Power," and "At the service of a workers and popular government."

Argentina has no doubt entered a prerevolutionary situation, as indicated by the confusion and crisis among the exploiting classes, the left turn by the middle classes, and the large mobilizations of the working class and populace.

Unfortunately, two factors are complicating the process. Because of a lack of leadership, the workers movement subsided somewhat at the beginning of the year. This appears to be about over. The lack of a revolutionary leadership in the Argentine labor movement is what blocks the prerevolutionary situation from becoming directly revolutionary. Without a mass revolutionary socialist party there is much less chance that a revolutionary situation will be at-

several key areas in which to run several hundred candidates. We will not be able to run for all of the offices. This would only be possible if a real united front of all workers organizations were formed for the elections.

Militant: Will you receive radio and television coverage?

Moreno: Without a doubt. We have already received some in the interior of the country, but have yet to be granted some in the federal capital. Whatever form it takes, the coverage will be very limited, however, since the monopolies controlling the radio and TV and the government view us as the "extreme left" and until now have waged a national campaign of

which publishes the newspaper *El Combatiente*) has not answered our call for support. But in one of the latest issues of their newspaper, they raised the possibility that it will be necessary for the popular and "socialist" parties to intervene in and use the elections. As yet they have not made clear their position on the elections.

Militant: What is the circulation of your newspaper, Avanzada Socialista, and how many local branches does the PSA have?

Moreno: We print 10,000 copies, almost all of which are sold in the streets. In this way we are able to meet many contacts and sell to sympathizers.

Moreno: There is no doubt that its program and theory are Trotskyist. Ninety-five percent of our members are convinced Trotskyists. At our next congress we plan to take up the question of our political solidarity with the international Trotskyist movement.

Militant: What is the situation with the defense campaign for Hugo Blanco?

Moreno: An intense campaign has been launched, which includes a broad petition campaign. We have only been able to organize a few scattered public protests because such actions demanding the restoration of civil liberties are illegal.

We were also able to pressure the CGT into issuing an open letter to the government in support of Blanco's right to remain in Argentina. So far the government has made no answer.

Militant: What is the situation with political prisoners in Argentina?

Moreno: Under the military rule, political prisoners are at the mercy of the authorities. Arrests are made at random, and prisoners have no channel for legal defense. The guerrillas and other political prisoners who are tried under the reactionary laws are subjected to a national tribunal, notorious for its hasty and severe sentences.

It is hard to estimate how many political prisoners there are. Some of the defense lawyers speak in terms of thousands. My estimate is that there are about 1,000.

Militant: Is there an organization fighting to defend these prisoners?

Moreno: There are various organizations — of the families of prisoners, the lawyers' guild, and similar organizations. Unfortunately each of them is tied in with a political tendency and they fight among themselves. Attempts to unite all groups that defend the rights of political prisoners into a common front have met with very limited success up to now. In our newspaper and general work, the PSA has consistently pressed for the formation of such a united front.

*"Rocazo" is the popular term for an explosive rebellion in the city of General Roca in south-central Argentina. On July 4 of this year a 10-day general work and business stoppage was called at a mass meeting sponsored by local civic organizations to protest actions of the Provincial Court that were harmful to the local economy. Workers and students joined the protest and broadened the demands. City government was taken over by a "provisional government" chosen by the masses. This government declared itself independent of the provincial government. The army attempted to occupy the city but was unable to "restore order" for several days, and only after making several concessions to the popular demands.



Ten of the 19 Argentine political prisoners who gave themselves up to authorities after an aborted escape attempt. One week later they were all shot down in cold blood by prison guards, with 16 killed. Slaughter of these prisoners showed hollowness of the Lanusse dictatorship's promise to 'democratize' the country through elections.

tained, or, if one occurs, that it would be victorious.

Bolivia and Argentina today serve as lessons for other Latin American countries. Situations like the one in Bolivia under General Juan José Torres (from October 1970 to August 1971), and the one now developing in Argentina will continue to occur throughout Latin America. We can expect more and more Cordobazos and Rosarioz in Latin America. But for victory we need to develop a revolutionary leadership of the masses and their organizations.

Militant: What kind of opportunities will the PSA have during the election campaign?

Moreno: We will be able to publicize and defend our revolutionary program, our denunciation of the reactionary dictatorship, the capitalist and semicolonial regime, from one end of Argentina to the other. In Buenos Aires we are thinking of going factory-to-factory and house-to-house to speak with working people. As a legal party, we are now also able to hold public meetings.

The electoral maneuver of the rulers creates contradictions for them that will help us in this effort. For example, the election laws say that because the PSA is a legal party, the government has to give us a whole series of "rights," including free transportation for our organizers on public facilities, as well as some free telephone and postal services.

Militant: How many candidates will the PSA field, and for what offices?

Moreno: There are hundreds of posts to be contested — president and vice-president, governors, senators and national deputies, mayors and town councilors. We will have to choose

silence against us. But the regime has opened up a crack that we are utilizing as much as possible, given the lack of experience we have in legal work. (The Trotskyist movement has been forced to operate underground since its founding prior to World War II).

Militant: What has been the response from other workers and socialist organizations to the PSA's call for a workers and socialist pole in the elections?

Moreno: Not very warm. With the exception of some diplomatic feelers, no left-wing party has yet accepted the platform of our campaign. The entire left is very confused. Some groups have a position against participating in elections. Others would like to form a front along the lines of the Chilean Popular Unity or the Uruguayan Broad Front, so as to build "an election campaign that would have a chance to win."

Militant: What has been the attitude of the Communist Party and the guerrilla organizations toward your campaign?

Moreno: The Communist Party has a policy that runs directly counter to a "workers and socialist pole" in the elections. They are the most fervent advocates of the perspective exemplified by the Uruguayan Broad Front — a union of workers parties with parties of the so-called progressive bourgeoisie. Thus the CP is the main supporter of the ENA (Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos — National Encounter of Argentines), a front of Peronist and liberal bourgeois leaders.

The PRT (Combatiente) (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores — Revolutionary Party of the Workers,

We are expanding our circulation beyond Buenos Aires to almost every province. We have 20 branches in Buenos Aires, each with its own public headquarters, and 20 more offices in other cities of the country.

Militant: You have become known as a leader of the PRT (La Verdad) (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores — Revolutionary Party of the Workers, which published the newspaper La Verdad). What is the relationship between the PRT (La Verdad) and the PSA?

Moreno: The two organizations have fused, so the PRT no longer exists as a separate organization. The new leadership of the PSA includes a large number of former leaders of the PRT.

Militant: Is the PSA a Trotskyist party?

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Board of Regents ban challenged

YSA fights for Florida campus recognition

By MALIK MIAH

"I would close by saying that the YSA is, has been, and apparently will be a Trotsky-oriented communist group that is dedicated to revolution. Such an organization cannot have the sanction of a state university in the State of Florida."

This quote is taken from a letter the chairman of the Florida Board of Regents, D. Burke Kibler III, sent to the president of the University of Florida in Gainesville and circulated to every university in Florida. Since this letter was issued on March 6, 1970, the Young Socialist Alliance has

refused to hear the case on its constitutional merits.

The YSA then appealed to the circuit court in New Orleans, which ordered Middlebrooks to hear the case. On June 14, 1972, Judge Middlebrooks finally held a nonjury trial. He ruled July 11 that the YSA represented, as the attorneys for the board had argued, a "clear and present danger" to Florida's educational system, and that the YSA is a "violent" organization.

Proof? None whatsoever. In an effort to prove that the YSA is a threat to Florida's universities, Kibler stated at the June 14 trial, "I think it was

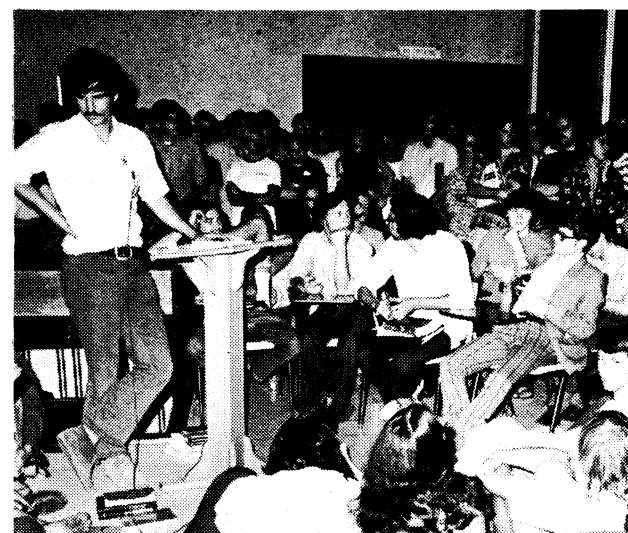
radical organization, has the democratic right to freely assemble and organize on any state campus. Kibler thinks they don't. He states in his letter quoted earlier:

"Is it appropriate for a state university to recognize an organization that is revolutionary in character and has identity and relationship with a subversive organization (Socialist Workers Party) with a history of communist activity?"

"I would answer this question by saying that an organization that is dedicated to the principle of revolution has no place on a college campus;



Authorities hope campus ban on YSA and other radical groups will stem growing radicalization in Florida. However, witch-hunt measures did not prevent antiwar march of more than 1,500 in Tampa, Fla., on Nov. 6, 1971 (l), or hundreds of Florida State University (Tallahassee) students from attending classes on 'How to Make a Revolution' taught by YSA leader Jack Lieberman (r).



been denied campus recognition at each Florida state university where it has applied.

History of the case

The Kibler letter laid the basis for denying the YSA campus recognition—including denial of its right to assemble, organize activities, and gain access to the facilities available at the universities.

Since this letter was issued, more than two years ago, the YSA has conducted a vigorous campaign to defend its rights. The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FA-

PEEC) was formed and has been publicizing the defense campaign. The Florida American Civil Liberties Union, which is handling the legal defense, is presently appealing the YSA's case to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

The question of civil liberties and democratic rights is not only of concern to YSA members in Florida but to all students. This is not the first time Florida students have had their democratic rights trampled on—the Students for a Democratic Society and the Southern Student Organizing Committee were banned from state campuses a year earlier than the YSA. It is thus especially important that the civil liberties of the YSA be defended.

The YSA is recognized on campuses in every other state where it has applied. Why not Florida? Because the Board of Regents believes that the witch-hunt atmosphere of the 1950s is still predominant in Florida and that their attempts at political repression won't be opposed.

However, students and other young people today are criticizing and demonstrating against the abuses they see around them. McCarthyite tactics don't work the way they used to. Major struggles have occurred, and the lessons drawn from them during the past decade have undermined the witch-hunt atmosphere.

Major civil rights demonstrations occurred in the early 1960s, and for the past seven years massive antiwar demonstrations have involved nearly every sector of the American population. The 1964 Berkeley Free Speech Movement mobilized thousands of students to protest the abrogation of democratic rights at the University of California at Berkeley. This involved the administration's decision to prevent campus groups from holding meetings on campus to organize off-campus activities, to recruit members, or to collect funds on university property.

At City College in New York a similar struggle took place in 1969, when Black and Puerto Rican students organized to gain Black and Puerto Rican studies and open admissions.

The tradition of the labor movement that "an injury to one is an injury to all," a slogan popularized by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), has proved to be the most effective perspective in building the broad-based campaigns necessary to defend and extend democratic rights. This is the kind of campaign FAPEEC is organizing to defeat the reactionary policy of the Florida Board of Regents.

What is at stake?

The fundamental question posed by the Florida Board of Regents is whether the YSA, or any

and anyone who argues that the YSA is not a revolutionary organization does not know his facts."

Kibler further states, "I am well aware that campuses have, since their existence, attracted revolutionary and anarchistic thought, and it is not my purpose to rid our campuses of people that hold these unpopular and unhealthy beliefs. However, it is my purpose to prevent the university from aiding or abetting these people in their revolutionary activities. Nor is it my intention in any way to inhibit or impede free expression of ideas on your campus or any other university campus within the state. However there is a vast difference between sanctioning the expression of controversial ideas and sanctioning a student organization dedicated to revolution."

What is the YSA?

Why does the Board of Regents fear the YSA? What crime has the YSA committed?

The YSA grew out of the militant struggles of the 1960s against racial oppression and the war in Vietnam, and in defense of the Cuban revolution and student rights. It is an outgrowth of the radicalization among youth that has swept across the U.S. and around the world. It fights for the working people and the oppressed and against the inhumanity and violence of the capitalists who run and control this country.

The YSA is an active builder and supporter of the antiwar movement, the struggles of young workers, the women's liberation movement, the Black and Chicano liberation movements, and the rights of gays and other oppressed sectors of society.

This is what the Board of Regents is opposed to—the radicalization, which the YSA is a part of, that runs against their reactionary ideology.

A victory has not yet been won in Florida. It is therefore extremely important that the entire student movement wage the broadest possible defense campaign to support the YSA's right to campus recognition.

What you can do

The Committee on Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEEC) urgently needs the help of all who believe in democracy, free speech, and free assembly. Funds are needed to publicize the case.

For more information, write to FAPEEC. Statements of support, letters of protest from student governments and campus organizations, and contributions can be mailed to FAPEEC, P. O. Box 6693, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

FSU students support YSA's campus rights

By SARAH RYAN

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Oct. 4—More than 500 students here at Florida State University (FSU) signed petitions this week in support of the Young Socialist Alliance's right to campus recognition.

The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEEC) is organizing the petition drive. The Committee is also sponsoring a referendum on YSA recognition during the fall elections for student government.

The first fall meeting of FAPEEC at FSU, scheduled for Oct. 11, will discuss plans to launch a statewide petition drive in support of the YSA's right to be a recognized student organization. The meeting will also discuss the campaign to gain prominent endorsers of FAPEEC.

Individuals and organizations that have already endorsed FAPEEC include Danny Pietrodangelo, FSU student body president; the Reverend C. K. Steele Jr., first national vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC); the Tallahassee Gay Liberation Front; and several FSU professors.

FAPEEC will hold a news conference in Tallahassee on Oct. 12. Speakers will include Dr. Roy Odum, chairman of FAPEEC; David Bouffard, FAPEEC secretary; Dr. Thomas Lockridge, FAPEEC treasurer; and Sam Manuel, YSA National Committee member.

PEEC) was formed and has been publicizing the defense campaign. The Florida American Civil Liberties Union, which is handling the legal defense, is presently appealing the YSA's case to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

A brief look at the history of the case sheds some light on the seriousness the Board of Regents is giving it. After the YSA filed a suit against the board in the fall of 1970, Judge David Middlebrooks of the federal district court in Tallahassee

World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 20, 1972

Mexico's interrupted revolution

[The following review appeared in the August issue of *Bandera Roja*, the journal of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista, a Mexican group that adheres to the Fourth International. The book under review, *La Revolución Interrumpida* by Adolfo Gilly, has received considerable attention in Mexico, and it is to be expected that an English translation will be forthcoming before long.

[Gilly wrote the book in Lecumberri prison while serving time as a political prisoner. Arrested and tortured in April 1966, he was not released until March 2 of this year.

[The translation of the review is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

La Revolución Interrumpida by Adolfo Gilly. Ediciones "El Caballito," Mexico, D.F., Mexico. 401 pp. 55 pesos. 1971.

La Revolución Interrumpida is the first essay on the Mexican revolution of 1910 that considers it from a scientific point of view as a process and not as a completed stage of which only the memory remains, plus a caste that has held and exploited power for decades in the name of what they call "the Mexican Revolution."

To write history is to become involved with the present in a critical way. Unless the historian follows a scientific method, takes the Marxist approach and a partisan position, prejudices of a class nature will stand in the way of an objective analysis. Gilly states: "To understand the revolution is to understand the historical illegitimacy and the inevitable coming disappearance of the Mexican bourgeoisie."

From this it is clear that whoever meekly accepts the system, its bureaucratic hierarchies, its structural dependency, will find it difficult to bare its causes in the framework of the class struggle, that is, beyond the limits of the dominant ideology and the official history.

"The history of a revolution," Trotsky said, "is . . . a history of the forcible entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny."¹ To understand this, as Gilly does in his book, is to understand that individual champions do not play the main role in the history of the masses. This concept is alien to the bourgeois mind. The bour-

geoisie prefer to believe that history is made by an individual taken in the abstract—the leader—who is not, as they see it, an organizer but a willpower standing above the masses and their struggle.

Traditional history views the Mexican revolution as the product of the will of Madero, Villa, Carranza, Zapata, and Obregon; it is not interested in the contradictions among them, still less in viewing each of them as representatives of specific class interests. Zapata and Villa as leaders of the peasant masses represented their struggle for land and governmental power. This struggle, this violent irruption—and only this—was the Mexican revolution.

It was a struggle, as Gilly affirms, that has not been concluded, that has only been interrupted, suspended like a menacing sword of Damocles over the neck of the national bourgeoisie.

One of Gilly's main merits is to present the Mexican revolution as part of the world revolution. This view, naturally, is not a fantasy as Octavio Paz makes out. "The international character of the socialist revolution, which constitutes the third aspect of the theory of the permanent revolution," Trotsky says, "flows from the present state of economy and the social structure of humanity. Internationalism is no abstract principle but a theoretical and political reflection of the character of world economy, of the world development of productive forces and the world scale of the class struggle."²

Gilly demolishes the petty-bourgeois and Stalinist interpretation of the Mexican revolution as a nationalist democratic revolution:

"The history of all the revolutions, whether victorious or defeated, from the Russian revolution up to now," he says, "has without a single exception belied this theory, demonstrating to the contrary that in the social development of capitalism there is no historic gap between the agrarian and anti-imperialist tasks with which the revolution in the so-called backward countries begins and their transformation in the course of the revolutionary process into socialist objectives and the struggle for workers power."

In Mexico this process of transforming the agrarian and anti-imperialist tasks—which without any doubt were written on the banners

of the peasantry in arms—into socialist objectives was interrupted because of the absence of a proletarian leadership.

Whereas the Stalinists maintain that the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible only after the stage of bourgeois democracy has reached its culmination, the Mexican example confirms the revolutionary Marxist view that democracy in the backward countries becomes possible only when the masses have taken power.

An especially fine chapter in Gilly's book is the one devoted to analyzing the Cárdenas period, which reflected the profound capitalist crisis of the thirties, coinciding with a militant upsurge of the masses on an international scale. In Mexico the pressure of the masses impelled the Cárdenas leadership to take "radical" measures—nationalization of the oil industry, distribution of the land, socialist education, and an international policy of solidarity with popular struggles. At the same time, in contradiction to this, dialectically and a little paradoxically, this was the period in which the bases of the future development of the national bourgeoisie were established.

Gilly does not specify with great precision the type of government that emerged after the revolution. Nonetheless he provides all the elements necessary to define it as a bourgeois regime of exceptional nature; more concretely, it was Bonapartist in nature. It played the role of arbiter in the conflict between classes, a role that served always to strengthen the ruling class. As a result the only historical alternative open to the country will be the masses, as Gilly maintains—and along with this, the proletarian vanguard, lacking from 1910 to 1940, which will pick up the thread of a revolution interrupted in its development toward socialism.

This review is intended to offer only a rough idea of Gilly's book, which covers many subjects other than those I have indicated of vital importance to understanding historic developments in Mexico in recent decades.

It is necessary to say, however, that *La Revolución Interrumpida* is the work of one of the best-known members of the Posadist movement, a pseudo-Trotskyist tendency with which we of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista disagree in principle. On the theoretical level we disagree, among other things, with the Third World position held by the Posadist tendency, which is no more than a

reflection of revisionist speculations of the kind held by Marcuse, giving priority within the world context to revolutions in the underdeveloped countries. We hold that in the process of the permanent revolution there are no priorities, but a dialectical interrelationship between the three focal centers of the world revolution—the imperialist countries, the degenerated or bureaucratized workers states, and the colonial and semicolonial countries.

The July 3 and Sept. 25 issues of *Intercontinental Press* contain a series of two articles by George Novack that will be of special interest to some *Militant* readers. The two articles—"A Malignant Case of Sectarianism in Philosophy," and "Healyite Revisionism in the Field of Philosophy"—dissect the false views of Marxist philosophy held by followers of Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League in Britain and of Tim Wohlforth of the Workers League in the U.S.

In his articles Novack explains the relationship between materialism, empiricism, and idealism, and why empirical data is primary in the method of scientific socialism.

These two issues can be ordered by sending \$1 (50 cents each) to Intercontinental Press, Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

It appears to me that this unilateral and mechanistic position of the Posadists explains one of the main shortcomings of the book, that is, its failure to analyze the crisis of the capitalist system in this epoch, which in some imperialist countries has brought about prerevolutionary situations. It is a crisis that has plunged the world powers into global conflagrations, a phenomenon that is not only parallel to our revolutionary process but fully converges with it.

Finally it must be pointed out that the majority of the reviews and critical appraisals in Mexico have not been very serious. They attack the fundamental point that Gilly stresses—the applicability of the theory of the permanent revolution to the process of the Mexican revolution. I will return to these criticisms in future articles to better clarify the Trotskyist methodology. In my opinion *La Revolución Interrumpida* is required reading for revolutionists, for activists, and for all those desirous of an objective view of the dynamics of the class struggle in Mexico. □

1. *The History of the Russian Revolution*, p. xvii. — IP

2. *The Permanent Revolution & Results and Prospects*, p. 133. — IP

Norway deals a blow to the Common Market

By David Thorstad

On the eve of the referendum on Norway's entry into the Common Market, fires were kept burning on mountaintops throughout the country. The ancient Norse warning that a foreign enemy was invading was the culminating gesture of a vigorous two-year campaign by anti-Market forces. By mustering a decisive "no" vote they succeeded in dealing the Common Market a considerable setback.

Common Market officials in Brussels called the result of the referendum a clear "defeat for Europe."

The *New York Times* termed it "a heavy blow at the whole concept of European integration and Atlantic co-operation."

"Even before becoming a reality," editorialized *Le Monde* September 27, "the idea of a 'Europe of the Ten' has thus been returned to the archives of history."

"Some very important people in this country woke up with a headache," said Arne Haugestad, the head of the main anti-Market group, Folkebevegelsen mot EF (People's Movement Against the European Common Market), the day after the vote. "This was a historic victory for ordinary citizens against the state."

The vote rejecting the treaty of accession to the Common Market negotiated by the Labor government of Trygve Bratteli was decisive—53.9% to 46.1%. Balloting in the two-day referendum was heavy, with more than 75% of the 2,600,000 eligible voters casting votes.

The vote swung decisively against entry only in the late hours of tabulation. The first editions of the September 26 newspapers came out around 1:30 a.m. announcing a pro-entry victory. But by that time it was already clear that the voters had rejected the proposal.

At 2:30 a.m., between 200 and 300 students demonstrated in front of the university in Oslo, singing "Victory Is Ours," the song of the Norwegian partisans during World War II.

Although the vote was only advisory, the Labor and Conservative parties—which both supported entry—pledged to abide by it.

A definite split between town and country was apparent. In the northern and central regions, early returns were 60-70% opposed to entry, whereas Oslo voted 55-65% in favor. In the fashionable Bygbo section of the capital, the "yes" vote reached 80%.

Out of a population of 3,900,000, some 200,000 activists on both sides of the question were mobilized during the final days of the campaign to ring doorbells and buttonhole neighbors, reported *New York Times* correspondent Michael Stern from Oslo September 22. "Arguments for and against the Market dominate broadcasting, fill the news columns of the newspapers and seem to be the only thing people want to talk about," he wrote.

"In Oslo, sound trucks are blaring slogans through the crisp autumn air. Youths are marching up and down the main avenues wearing shoulder-to-knee placards front and back. Lapel button sellers and leaflet distributors block almost every downtown corner and try to draw passersby into conversation and debate."

The anti-Market forces were a disparate coalition of forces that had never before found common cause. Some 130,000 of them paid 10 kroner (\$1.60) to join the Folkebevegelse, and of these 50,000 became "proselytizing activists," in the words of *Washington Post* correspondent Bernard Nossiter. The fact that seventeen members of parliament joined the grass-roots movement gave it what Haugestad referred to as "the necessary minimum of respectability."

Farmers—who constitute only 10% of the work force, but who pumped more than \$1,000,000 into the Folkebevegelse—were a key component of the opposition. They opposed entry because the market's rules would force the government to revise the current pricing system, which assures them an income almost equal to that of city workers.

The country's 50,000 fishermen in the biggest fish-producing country in Europe feared an invasion of their rich fishing grounds by the strong fleets of Great Britain and Germany. They also resented what they considered the excessive bureaucracy of a Brussels decision—made before Norway even began to negotiate its terms of Common Market membership—to set a "community" fisheries policy. "A policy on fishing rights that Norway would have to adhere to even though she did not participate in its creation," noted Clyde Farnsworth in the September 28 *New York Times*, "was considered by Norwegians—and all Scandinavians—in the same passionate terms as the policy of taxation without representation that colonial Americans rebelled against in 1776."

Also active in the anti-Market movement were the ecology-minded, who were concerned over what the Common Market's stress on bigness and growth would do to Norway's environment and natural beauty; radical youth; pan-Scandinavians, who were afraid that entry would further estrange them from Sweden and Finland, which have decided not to enter; left-wing trade unionists; conservative Lutherans, worried about close association with predominantly Roman Catholic countries like France and Italy; and conservative nationalists.

Nossiter reported in the September 27 *Washington Post* that Haugestad "is defensive about the obviously nationalist appeal of his movement, its reliance on the flag and its play on emotions that amounted to a scarcely disguised anti-German and anti-Italian feeling in some segments."

"'You will find we had some groups that were negative in a nationalistic sense,' he acknowledged. 'I disagree

with them. We used the flag because it ties together all groups, because it symbolizes the independence of Norway. The main point is who is going to rule, Brussels or the Norwegian people.'"

For many, fear that the quality of life in Norway would become submerged in the mediocrity of "bigness" was an important factor in their decision to vote "no." Not atypical of this attitude was the comment of a schoolteacher in the semirural town of Ski, who told Michael Stern of the *Times* that he voted "no" because he thought the Common Market would lead to more urbanization. "If you look at the treaty," he said, "you will see that it contains many good things for businessmen, industrialists, for capitalists."

"But what will they do with their opportunities? They will expand factories and build new businesses and draw more and more people into big cities. They will encourage centralization and the people won't be able to live where they were born, where they belong. The land will get empty and much that is good in Norway will disappear."

Another factor that probably helped more than one Norwegian decide to vote "no" was a statement by French President Georges Pompidou during the week preceding the referendum indicating that he firmly favored Spain joining the Market. The Franco regime is very unpopular in Norway.

Arrayed against the Folkebevegelse was virtually the entire Norwegian establishment. In addition to the two major parties, the pro-Market forces included the official trade-union leadership (who provided 30,000 door-to-door canvassers), big and small businessmen, much of the civil service (which is not insignificant in a "welfare state" like Norway), the state television, the Federation of Norwegian Industries, bankers, financiers, and 90% of the 200 newspapers.

The advice of this powerful alliance was rejected in spite of the predictable difficulties that would arise out of a "no" vote. One of these was the possibility that the Common Market would decide to go slow on signing a trade agreement with a nonmember Norway. Indeed, the day after the referendum, the Common Market Commission in Brussels rejected Norway's request for early negotiations on such an agreement. The agreement is important because Norway's exports—mainly fish and agricultural products—to the now nine projected Market countries (including Denmark, where a referendum on membership is to take place on October 2) account for 65% of its total exports.

The vote also created a political crisis in Norway, where the Labor government had said it would resign if the vote was negative. Bratteli has since indicated that his government will do so on October 6. Since neither the Labor party nor the Conservatives will participate in an anti-Market government, it will probably be up to the Center party (which opposed entry) to attempt to form a new coalition government with other minority parties. According to the Norwegian constitution, new elections cannot be held before September 1973, so the prospect is for a year of a weak, caretaker government of the Center party, the Liberals, and the Christian Popular party.

Bratteli is expected to propose to the king that the head of the Center party, Per Borten, succeed him as premier. However, Michael Stern noted in the September 27 *New York Times* that the problem may be complicated by the fact that Borten "was forced out as Premier in 1971 after he admitted

that he had lied in a case involving the leakage of an ambassador's report on the progress of the Common Market negotiations. There is widespread doubt that he would be able to gather enough support to form a government."

The coming year is apt to be one of intense political activity in Norway leading up to the elections. The Labor party, which has dominated Norwegian political life for around a quarter century, and the labor confederation, tens of thousands of whose members broke with their leadership over the Market issue, will probably go through a period of reevaluation. Changes in the leadership of both would not be unexpected.

A reassessment of Norway's membership in NATO is a possible by-product of the anti-Market campaign. It is a possibility that the *New York Times* editors on September 28 called to the attention of the Center party. While noting that its leaders may not be opposed to NATO, it warned them that "the energetic allies they picked up in the campaign against the Community will try to use this result as the opening wedge for prying Norway loose from all formal ties with the West, beginning with NATO."

The impact of the Norwegian vote will be felt for a long time. Its most immediate effect will be on the Danish referendum, by putting new wind in the sails of anti-Market forces. Whether the gust will be strong enough to blow Denmark out of the Market, too, is not yet clear.

Sweden and Finland are now considering another effort to revive a proposed economic union between the five Scandinavian countries, Nordek. This is almost certain to be done if Denmark votes against membership in the Market.

The "no" vote in Norway is also expected to be felt in England, which had been counting on Norway as an ally in the Market. Although the decision to enter has already been made in England, anti-Market forces may now press for a referendum on the matter. In addition, according to John Allan May in the September 27 *Christian Science Monitor*, a "no" vote by the British Labour party at its annual conference in Blackpool at the beginning of October becomes "a very likely development." If Prime Minister Heath, who is becoming less and less popular, should lose the next elections, it would mean that the next government would be committed to renegotiating the terms of Britain's entry (Harold Wilson's position) or to taking Britain out of the Market altogether. □



The monopolists, bankers, and monarchs are s always be plenty of workers.' 'EEC' is Europea Folkets Avis, published by socialists in Denmark.

Denmark vote a bitter victory for pro-Market forces

By David Thorstad

"A 'yes' vote is not in the interest of the working class, but now we'll have to make sure that the government makes good on everything it has promised. This 'yes' vote better bring some results," Copenhagen dockworkers' representative Erik Hansen told the daily *Ekstra Bladet* after the majority of the Danish voters decided to join the Common Market in the October 2 referendum.

And if the Marketeers do not make good on their promises? he was asked. "Then we'll have to go on strike . . .," came the reply.

The statement was both a reflection of the deep divisions the referendum caused in the Danish electorate and a warning of the potential unrest that may be a by-product.

Voter turnout was the highest in nearly twenty years, with 89.8% participating. Of these, 1,955,932 (63.5%) voted in favor of joining the Market, and 1,124,106 (36.5%) voted against. Greenland, which has been a Danish province since 1953, voted overwhelmingly against—9,386 to 3,905.

Supporters of the Market included some powerful forces—among them the ruling Social Democratic party and the three bourgeois parties that constituted the previous government—known as the VKR-bloc for their initials (Venstre-Konservative-Radikale—Liberals-Conservatives-Radical Left). They had the backing of 80% of the newspapers and received huge amounts of money, much of it from a series of big banks and businesses that made no effort to hide their generosity. They tended to play down the political implications of the Market's growth fixation and focused on economic aspects.

They claimed that Denmark had to join if it was to keep its most important customer, Britain, which takes

half of Denmark's farm exports and almost 25% of its industrial exports, and which will become a member in January. Toward the end, they even resorted to scare tactics in an attempt to stampede the voters into the Market.

Premier Jens Otto Krag, for instance, said a devaluation would inevitably result from a "no" vote—some marketeers said it could be as much as 25%.

Le Monde correspondent Camille Olsen reported in the October 1-2 issue of the Paris daily that Market supporters "zealously went about describing the misfortunes that would befall Denmark if it refused to join the EEC: unemployment, lower buying power, an increase in taxes, etc. Business executives went so far as to threaten their employees with massive layoffs—even complete plant shut-downs—if the vote was negative."

Anti-Market forces found themselves virtually shut out of radio and television, since the air waves were reserved exclusively to the parties represented in the Folketing and those with enough members to be officially recognized. "These disparities," Olsen noted, "have not failed to make an impact on the public as a whole. Little by little, the battle around the referendum has, for many, taken on the look of a battle of the poor against the rich, of the weak against the strong, of the silent and stifled majority against the powers that be. The scars of this situation will inevitably be left when it is all over."

It would be quite wrong to deduce from the vote that the opposition forces, led by the Folkebevægelse mod EEC (People's Movement Against the EEC) with its more than ninety member organizations, did not pack a punch. The fact that it did can be seen in the demonstration of more than 100,000 persons that it organized in Copenhagen the day before the vote together with the Social Democrats Against the EEC—the largest political demonstration in nearly two decades.

It began with a march of some 30,000 through the city to the biggest square, Raadhushplassen, where the rally had to be postponed for an hour while tens of thousands kept pouring in. Speakers included author Carl Scharnberg; head of general planning Kai Lemberg, who charged that the Treaty of Rome was written by old men who believed in the continued economic growth of capitalist society and were not interested in things like joint management, plant democracy, and women's liberation; and John Molgaard, education secretary for the country's biggest union, the DASF (Dansk Arbejdsmands og Specialarbejder Forbund—Danish Unskilled and Semiskilled Workers' Union), who reminded the crowd that his union had said "no" to Danish membership with a big margin.

Demonstrations took place in other cities, too, among them Aarhus, where 15,000 participated in one of the big-

gest demonstrations in the city's history.

A week earlier, on September 24, anti-Market forces had organized what *Le Monde* correspondent Olsen called a "gigantic popular meeting" and "the biggest and most colorful political 'happening'" in the past two decades.

"We already spent more than three centuries trying to get out from under the Hanseatic League. . .," the prominent historian Palle Lauring told the crowd. "Are we today going to voluntarily place ourselves under the yoke of this new Hansa represented by the 'Rome union'?"

Former British Labour minister Douglas Jay said that if a similar referendum were held in Great Britain "the response would be negative, and by a large margin."

The president of the Association of Young Greenlanders in Denmark told how the inhabitants of Thule had been deported to the far north so the Americans could build a military base. "There you've got a nice foretaste of what growth could mean for us," he observed.

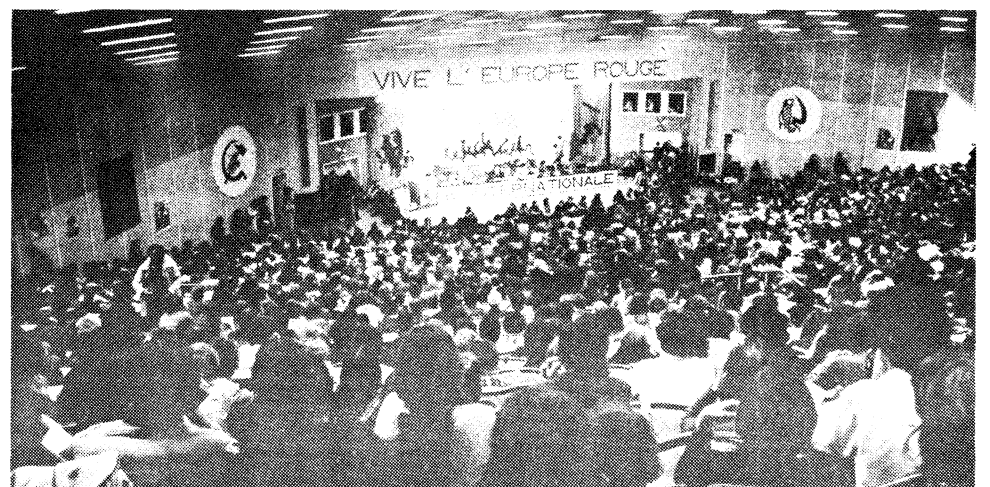
The *New York Times* editors called the vote a "tribute to the leadership

sions. This could lead to elections in the near future, according to some observers.

The consultative arrangement with the SF broke down toward the end of the Market campaign. There was no contact between the two parties in the final days leading up to the vote, and the SF's feathers were ruffled by the fact that Krag made his speech threatening devaluation without even consulting his ally. One of the first tasks now facing the Social Democrats, in addition to healing the deep wounds within their own party, is to smooth over the SF's feathers.

These are tasks for which Krag was not considered to be the best suited. For while the vote was a victory for Krag the Market politician, it was not such a victory for Krag the Social Democratic leader. And so he abruptly resigned the day after the referendum.

Selected to replace him was DASF leader Anker Jorgensen, who was in a minority in his own union on the Market issue. In spite of this, it is hoped that his qualifications as a trade-union leader and a member of his party's left wing will facilitate his tasks.



Rouge

Conference of revolutionary socialists in Brussels in November of 1970 called for a 'red Europe,' meaning a United Socialist States of Europe, as opposed to a Europe united around the interests of the capitalists through the Common Market.

of Premier Jens Otto Krag" and his "greatest political triumph." This was the Eastern U.S. imperialist establishment's thanks for a job well done.

Krag's victory, however, was a bitter one—the "kind of victory it's rather hard to take," said *Ekstra Bladet* October 3. For it was a victory won with the solid backing of the VKR-bloc and the enormous propaganda campaign of the business community, not the workers or even his own party. Indeed, it is estimated that around half of the Social Democratic membership ignored his appeals and voted "no." And in Copenhagen, the workers reportedly voted 58.8% against entry.

The Social Democrats constitute a minority government—they enjoy a mere one-vote majority in the Folketing only because of the backing of the anti-Market Socialistisk Folkeparti (SF—Socialist People's party) with its seventeen votes. If the VKR-bloc has kept the Social Democratic minority government in power since the September 1971 elections, asserted Søren Jakobsen in the October 3 *Ekstra Bladet*, it is "because of the trio's feeling that a Social Democratic government had a better chance than a bourgeois government of bringing Denmark into the Common Market."

The sizable "no" vote in the population, however, is not reflected in the Folketing, and as a result the SF (which has been calling for democracy in the plants, changes in the distribution of capital, and public representatives in the banks) can be expected to sharpen its stance vis-à-vis the Social Democracy and press for some conces-

Among other things, Danes were promised full employment, a stable currency, and improved results from collective bargaining if they joined the Market. "The workers will know how to make the politicians make good on the glittering things they promised us if we enter the Common Market's paradise," Bent Fjellerad, the head of the Copenhagen local of the metalworkers' union, told his membership.

Another problem facing the Social Democrats will be the political relationship with Greenland in view of its "no" vote. The majority of its provincial government is opposed to the Market and is demanding a fishing limit of fifty nautical miles, which stands in conflict with the Market's policy.

The Danish vote will undoubtedly create new problems for Norway. Many anti-Market people there had been hoping for a revival of plans for a Nordic economic union as an alternative to the Common Market, but this now seems unlikely, at least in the foreseeable future.

On October 7, following the resignation of Trygve Bratteli's Labor government, Lars Korvald, head of the Christian Popular party, announced that he would attempt to form a new government.

In a related development, just after the Norwegian vote against joining the Market, a Labor party member of the Storting, Arne Kielland, left the party for the anti-Market Sosialistisk Folkeparti, which has not had anyone in the Storting since 1969. □



ing, 'Lord, God, bless this meal, and may there Economic Community. Cartoon is reprinted from

Yugoslavia

Letter from student imprisoned for 'Trotskyism'

[We publish below the text of a letter written by Milan Nikolic which was smuggled out of a Yugoslav prison. Nikolic, a student in Belgrade, was sentenced in August to two years in prison on charges of having engaged in a "Trotskyist plot" to "reconstruct the Fourth International in Yugoslavia." Also sentenced after a trial that was held in August, while most students and many workers were on vacation, were P. Imsirovic (two years) and Jelka Kljajic (one and a half years).

[None of the allegedly subversive materials produced by the defendants have been published in Yugoslavia. The following letter is the first statement by the defendants received in the West since the trial. We have translated it from the September 9 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.]

Milan Nikolic and P. Imsirovic have been in prison since January 7, 1972, and Jelka Kljajic since January 21, 1972, all convicted of having "during 1970 organized a group, with which they worked both in Yugoslavia and abroad until their arrest in January 1972, with the objective of converting it into an enemy party aimed at overthrowing, by violent and anticonstitutional means, the regime of the working people and their legally elected representatives and executive po-

litical organs. To this end they acted publicly, wrote, produced, and distributed material of an enemy character in the form of an information program, communiqués, and tracts, all giving a malevolent and mendacious picture of the reality in the country and calling for an unconstitutional overturn by force. . . ." (Extract from the indictment.)

The public prosecutor accused us of "associating with the enemy," of having carried on "counterrevolutionary activities," and of having spread "enemy propaganda." He claimed that in getting together and distributing leaflets, the three of us wanted "to overthrow the regime of the working people and their legal representatives."

To try to justify this assertion he invented a mythical "enemy group" having relations with "foreign organizations that are enemies of Yugoslavia." The various pamphlets we put out were said to be "tracts containing proposals harmful to the country," and our regular activity in the Union of Students, and especially in the school of philosophy's free "Red Horse" forum, was denounced as "enemy activity" and "propagation of ideas hostile to the country."

Those who accuse us think that the more absurd a lie is the more credible it will be, the more useful it can be when combined with a huge clamor from the press. During all this time, we could do nothing to counteract

the lies being spread against us. We have been locked up for four months now [four at the time the letter was written; by now six months]. Our hands are tied and our mouths are gagged. Those who accuse us are well aware that if they let us speak freely all their accusations would burst like so many soap bubbles. That is why they seize our letters, will not let us prepare our defense outside prison—no doubt to prevent us from again committing the crime that we never committed in the first place—and that is why they forbid the press to publish our denials and explanations.

In reality, we were tried for the crime of heretical thinking, because we proclaimed: There can be no socialism and no truly human relationships among people under a market economy subject to the savage play of competition. Socialist democracy and self-management cannot be built while the political and economic role of the state continuously expands; workers' self-management cannot be said to have been achieved when the workers are not making the most important social decisions and when even in the only existing party the role and number of workers is less and less significant.

We were tried because we are convinced that it is possible, even indispensable, to undertake henceforth to create a totally integrated self-man-

aging system—from the factory level up through the federal level—in which it would be possible for the largest number of workers and other citizens to take charge of society's destiny and to eliminate the professional politicians. We were tried because we are convinced that it is possible to create an extremely profitable and balanced economy with full employment of all workers based on a scientific analysis of society's needs and of its available resources, allocated under a democratically decided plan.

We were hauled before the court because we thought critically, because we freely expressed our opinions, which are contrary to the official conception of socialism. We will not be the last to be tried for this offense.

My friends and I believe that humane and democratic socialism and workers' self-management can be built only by releasing all the creative energies of the people. And this presupposes complete freedom of scientific investigation, the expansion of scientific knowledge, and the right to express freely differing opinions and varying conceptions of the road to progressive development of society.

Any other course is objectively in basic opposition to socialism, because it would smother development. That is exactly what we consider the measures taken against my friends and me to be—police intrigues against freedom of thought and expression. □

Great Britain

Unionists debate how to fight antilabor law

London

The way British trade unionists are to fight the Industrial Relations Act was at the top of the agenda of this year's Trades Union Congress—one of the most turbulent in the TUC's 104-year history.

On the first day at Brighton the delegates voted overwhelmingly to suspend thirty-two unions that have thus far defied the TUC's instructions to withdraw from the government's register of trade unions. The thirty-two have a combined membership of nearly 500,000—about 5 percent of the TUC's total membership.

The suspension of the thirty-two needs to be seen in the context of the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act. This has been mounting during the past eighteen months, culminating in July in a strike of 170,000 dockworkers that won release for five imprisoned members of the union.

At last year's congress, an opposition led by Hugh Scanlon, left-wing

leader of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, succeeded in persuading delegates to adopt the line that affiliate unions should deregister in protest against the legislation. Writing in the September 3 *Observer*, David Wilson summarized what happened afterward:

"Until last July the response was mixed. Moderate unions like the National and Local Government Officers' Association and the General and Municipal Workers did deregister, but forty wavered, including some big ones. Then the dockers went to Pentonville [a London prison] and Scanlon was vindicated; three big unions fell into line quickly—the iron and steel trades, shopworkers, and electricians—and only 700,000 people, instead of 1,600,000, were left outside the TUC fold."

Without a fight over registration, opposition to the act undoubtedly would have collapsed. But the question remains as to how well the TUC's General Council is giving leadership in this struggle.

Mr. George Smith, in his presidential address, defended the TUC's tripartite talks with the government and employers and warned the congress that the trade-union movement must never imagine it was an alternative form of government.

Before the opening of business on the first day, the General Council voted by twenty to eleven to oppose a composite resolution of the engineering union calling on unions to boycott the reactionary labor law altogether.

The resolution, which called for "solidarity," including industrial action if unions or workers are victimized, and the setting up of a special fund for

finances, had the support of many unions including the AEUW with 1.4 million workers, and the 1.6 million-strong Transport and General Workers' union. However, the more militant line was defeated at the congress by 5,677,000 to 3,479,000.

The congress also adopted the ambiguous economic-policy recommendation of the General Council which simultaneously was critical of the government but conciliatory towards efforts to negotiate a wages policy. While "rejecting wage restraints in any form," the congress left the door open for continued tripartite talks on curbing inflation with senior ministers and the Confederation of British Industries.

In view of the government's economic record over the past year—the loss in real wages for at least one-third of the country's 10 million organized workers, the rise of unemployment to near the one million mark, and the likelihood that retail prices, which are climbing this year by 7 or 8 percent, will rise more sharply next year—an intransigent approach toward the Tory government would have been appropriate.

A motion declaring opposition to British entry into the Common Market on principle was greeted by cheers from the delegates, but a second motion on Europe seemed to admit the possibility of entry on better terms.

A ban which, for twenty years, has prevented Communist party members from being elected delegates to the annual conference of trades councils was lifted by the congress.

The moderate line of the General Council on the major policy issues carried at the congress. But the mood of the delegates as a whole was one

of militancy and great determination to bring down the present Tory government and repeal its Industrial Relations Act. This reflected the defeats suffered by the government at the hands of the miners, railwaymen, and dockers in the previous six months or so. □

How Nixon is 'Vietnamizing' mass murder

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CPers uneasy about Hall-Tyner ticket

The Communist Party hustles for McGovern

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—There are few occupations more draining than that of the petty larceny crook. I was struck by this in New York watching the pitchmen who prey on low-income shoppers along Fourteenth Street. Peddling worthless merchandise, they had to simultaneously keep an eye peeled for customers and cops. They had to make sure their competitor didn't have a better location and that their partner wasn't pocketing some of the loot. Watching them with a certain detached sympathy, I used to feel they'd find it easier doing honest work.

I'm reminded of all this by the presidential election campaign of the Communist Party.

The CP campaign for Gus Hall and his running mate, Jarvis Tyner, is a thinly disguised stalking-horse campaign in behalf of George McGovern. Party hacks enter occasional denials. (Hall called the editors of the *Guardian* "liars" because they indicated they were beginning to suspect this was the case.) But the fact that the CP really is supporting McGovern is quite easily established. Even members of the Communist Party realize it.

There is little profit in candidly informing the electorate you're running one ticket but support another. That's why the stalking-horse strategy is by definition a crooked one. Consequently, the Communist Party leadership is now beset by many of the difficulties that are the occupational hazards of petty larcenists.

While formally denying they support McGovern, the big lag in his campaign has worked as pressure on them to come out ever more openly in his behalf.

In addition, as McGovern moved steadily to the right the CP felt compelled to "criticize" him—that is, to try to persuade him that this was not the way to win. At the same time, the desire to help him win has led them to water down their own program, which was milk-and-water reformism to begin with.

Meanwhile, party members who really take the line seriously are getting deeper into the Democratic Party, and apparently some are forgetting their allegiance to their own party.

Thus, the CP hacks have had to berate party members for opportunism above and beyond the call of duty. At the same time, they have had to spend a good deal of time apologizing for the Hall-Tyner campaign, assuring all concerned that the campaign is not intended to, and will not, injure the campaign of George McGovern.

The reality of CP support for McGovern becomes quickly evident with even a skimming of its national voice, the *Daily World*, and its West Coast counterpart, the *People's World*. The following headlines are from one page of the Sept. 21 *DW*, an issue selected at random:

"30 Philly labor locals set up McG committee," "38 unions are listed as backing McGovern," "Unions in Wash-

Nixon. There is already much evidence of this. . . .

"These negative aspects," Lightfoot assured, "are not presented for the purpose of weakening the pro-McGovern movement. Rather, they are presented to show that it is not enough



Gus Hall

Militant/Flax Hermes

to simply proclaim, 'Defeat Nixon and elect McGovern.'"

Yet while complaining of McGovern's backsliding, the CP has been doing a bit of the same.

For example, it is instructive to note the political role of the CP, and those forces it influences, in the antiwar demonstration of 15,000 that greeted Nixon when he appeared here in Los Angeles Sept. 27.

Those familiar with the politics of the antiwar movement know that in recent months the Communist Party has been vociferous in its insistence that the seven-point peace program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam must be made the central programmatic demand of the U.S. peace movement.

Those who argue that the demand for immediate withdrawal is a far more effective way of building the movement are demagogically assailed by the CP as "racists" and opponents of self-determination for the Vietnamese.

Last April, when a major antiwar demonstration was organized here by the National Peace Action Coalition, the CP and the Peace Action Council, an antiwar organization in which the CP is influential, initially called for a boycott of that action. The principal justification it gave for that disgraceful stand was that NPAC would not make the seven-point program the central demand of the demonstration.

Yet, curiously, at the planning meeting for the recent Nixon demonstration, where there was extensive discussion on what the political demands of the demonstration should be, the seven-point program was not even mentioned! And a generous number of CPers and supporters were present.

The reason the CP dropped the seven-point program during the Nixon demonstration was because it was intent on involving the McGovern machine and, in fact, to make the action pro-McGovern rather than antiwar. They figured that McGovern and his machine would not touch the seven-point program. Since the McGovern staff repudiated the antiwar demonstration anyway, it was a case of

futile, if crass, opportunist adaptation to the Democratic Party.

Yet the CP leadership gets upset when, not at all surprisingly, some of its members carry the logic of playing footsie with the Democratic Party a bit further.

The extent of the problem was indicated by a series of articles written for the *Daily World* by veteran party hack William Weinstone.

The initial article, Sept. 8, entitled "Dispelling illusions about Democrats," began with this paragraph:

"There is an opinion among many progressive forces and some Communists that, as a result of its convention and the nomination of McGovern for President, the Democratic Party has changed fundamentally and become a people's party. This is a harmful illusion."

Weinstone goes on to prove the rather elementary fact that the Democratic Party is really a capitalist party. This doesn't mean, he quickly assures, that the CP shouldn't support McGovern, the candidate of a capitalist party. The trick, he says, is not to get lost in the Democratic Party while doing so. A Communist Party is still needed, he advises his readers, even if only to keep the Democrats "honest."

Apparently a significant number of party members and supporters aren't too impressed by this argument. This is evident from the whole series of editorials justifying the Hall-Tyner campaign.

Thus an Aug. 19 editorial in the *World Magazine*, a supplement to both the *Daily World* and *People's World*, declared:

". . . the Communist election campaign is crucial.

"It is unfortunate that some view this campaign as inhibiting the fight against Nixon. We don't agree. . . .

"The Communist Party brings ideological and political perspective to the various movements working for the defeat of Nixon—both inside and outside the Democratic Party. It can best do this from the platforms, TV and radio appearances and newspaper coverage accorded candidates. Far from inhibiting the fight against Nixon, the Communist Party, by its presence on the ballot, will enhance it."

The fact that many party members don't seem to agree was most strikingly illustrated when the CP leaders decided to make a political demonstration of gathering 110,000 signatures on nominating petitions to place Hall and Tyner on the ballot in New York. Twenty-thousand signatures are required, but it did not seem unreasonable for the CP to project a goal of 110,000 since New York is a major party stronghold.

Yet as the petition campaign progressed, the goal was regularly pared down—without explanation. Finally, only 37,000 signatures were filed.

The argument that the CP is needed to keep McGovern "honest" apparently persuades party members least of all. Maybe some of them remember that Latin adage: *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* Who will guard the guards themselves?

DAILY WORLD

Vol. IV, No. 257 New York, Friday, July 14, 1972 Daily except Sun., Mon. and major holidays 10 CENTS

McG FORCES SEEK WIDE BASE TO DEFEAT NIXON

This headline from the *Daily World* appeared two days after McGovern won Democratic nomination.

For a number of reasons the CP chose not to formally endorse the Democratic nominee. For one thing, they felt it would embarrass him. For another, he might make a red-baiting repudiation of such an endorsement.

There were other considerations as well. The Socialist Workers Party, which the CP rightly regards as its principal rival on the left, has made significant gains as a result of its electoral activity. A CP ticket might help cut into that.

Further, even if it actually campaigned for its candidates, the CP assumed it would receive only a negligible number of votes that would not likely cost the Democrats the election. And—by focusing its fire on Nixon—the Hall-Tyner campaign could actually win votes for McGovern. As a bonus, it could also win some recruits for the CP and help reverse its long isolation.

Sounds pretty slick, right?

But politics aren't that simple, not even unprincipled politics.

These are some of the problems that have developed for the party hacks:

ington State set up McG drive apparatus."

Needless to say, all the articles make clear these are deemed to be positive developments.

Even the "criticism" of various right-wing, cold-war stands by McGovern are carefully spelled out as supportive of him.

Daily World executive editor Simon Gerson wrote last Aug. 31:

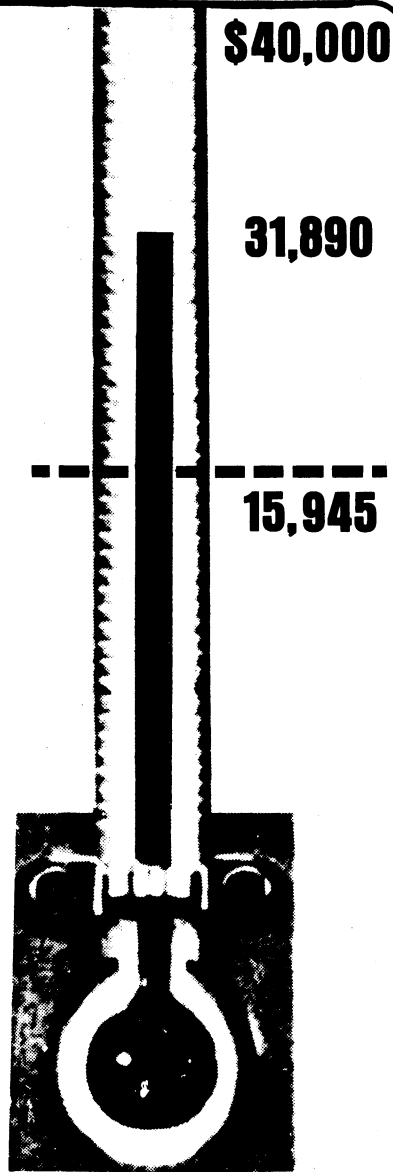
"Many critics among his own following argue vigorously that McGovern is courting disaster by his growing vacillation toward the right since his nomination. . . .

"This, they warn, will 'turn off' millions of young people and large sections of the peace movement who are the real sources of McGovern's strength."

This was echoed Sept. 9 by CP political committee member Claude Lightfoot: ". . . unless strong mass pressure is brought to bear upon McGovern, he will compromise and retreat from principled [!] positions and thereby negate the possibility to defeat

**The Truth
about the
Communist
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Order from Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund Fund drive vital to legal battles

OCT. 9 — The Socialist Workers campaign has challenged a number of restrictions aimed at preventing smaller parties from reaching the American people. These challenges include the right to campaign at military installations, lawsuits demanding enforcement of equal-time laws, and court actions aimed at removing reactionary restrictions on the ballot.

Building public support for these crucial legal actions takes money, and your contributions to the Matching Fund can make the difference.

This week 35 individual campaign supporters sent in donations to the Matching Fund totaling \$564.00.

In addition, 40 percent of collections taken in Minneapolis and the San Francisco Bay Area was credited to the Matching Fund. The \$615.60 that came as a result of these collections brings this week's total gain for the Matching Fund to \$1,179.60.

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

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



'72 Socialist Campaign

Larry Seigle

The war, the candidates, and the polls

If the American people want an end to the war, and if George McGovern is the "peace candidate," why is Nixon so far ahead in all the polls?

This is the question that must be keeping Gary Hart and Frank McKiewicz awake long past the late-night newscasts. But it is also a question of interest to socialists and other radicals, who must relate their actions and propaganda to the level of consciousness of the masses of American people. Does McGovern's poor showing thus far reflect a change in the level of antiwar sentiment, or perhaps a decrease in the relative importance the American people attach to the war issue?

Recent polls indicate that this is not so. They show that antiwar sentiment is at least as great as ever, and that the war remains the most important issue in the minds of most people.

But the polls reveal another factor: faced with the choice of picking the "real peace candidate" from the two alternatives offered, many antiwar voters opt for Nixon as the most likely to end the war. For example, a recent Harris poll showed a 76 percent to 21 percent majority for total withdrawal from Vietnam. But this poll also showed that, by 51 to 33, voters agreed more with Nixon in his "approach to bringing home U. S. troops, naval and air forces."

A *New York Times*/Yankelovich poll asked voters, "Generally, who would you say is the real peace candidate—Nixon or McGovern?" About half picked Nixon, a third named McGovern, and the rest weren't sure.

These bits of evidence indicate that McGovern's problem isn't lack of antiwar sentiment. His problem is that he hasn't succeeded in convincing people that he's more likely to end the war than Nixon is.

What is the root of McGovern's identity crisis as "peace candidate"? Take a look at some of his recent statements. He announced at the Democratic Party convention that he would keep military might in "Thailand and on the seas" to force the release of the POWs. He pitched his Miami Beach acceptance speech around the theme of keeping "U. S. defenses alert and fully sufficient to meet any danger." He has told his campaign offices to boycott antiwar demonstrations and refuses to support them himself. And he has even gone so far as to try to rehabilitate LBJ: "He inherited the war. He didn't start it," says McGovern, echoing Hubert Humphrey's famous losing formula from 1968.

(One McGovern volunteer was recently quoted as murmuring, "I'm disappointed in him. If we wanted Hubert Humphrey, we would have nominated the original.")

In addition, because of McGovern's fancy footwork in dancing around the other issues, he suffers a credibility gap even greater than Tricky Dick's. Among voters under 30, Nixon leads McGovern by a 2 to 1 margin on the believability scale.

It is significant that even among McGovern's own backers, nearly a third have "no opinion" on the question, "Which candidate do you think is more sincere, believable?" Even though McGovern's main attraction to his followers is his alleged antiwar record, many antiwar activists are no doubt wondering if he can be trusted even on that issue, since he has betrayed them on other questions.

As Anthony Lewis wrote in the *New*

York Times on Sept. 16, "People who feel strongly about the war and detest the vacuous oiliness of the present Administration are heard to say that they are not going to bother to vote."

McGovern has obviously been grappling with the problem of how to improve his image and convince Americans that he is a true and sincere "peace candidate."

Our interest here, unlike that of some McGovern supporters such as those in the Communist Party, is not to offer advice to the senator on how to run a better campaign. Some McGovern backers, including Gus Hall, CP candidate for president, have been pointing to McGovern's weakness on the war issue to show him how he could win the election, to "pressure"

high that the "real peace candidate" has to be the Democrat. After all, Nixon succeeded in 1968 to a large degree because, as the "peace candidate," he was able to link Humphrey to Johnson's war policy. And Nixon was merely repeating the lesson he learned from Eisenhower in 1952 when the GOP ran a "peace" campaign that capitalized on the mass sentiment against the Korean war.

Nixon, to be sure, has the embarrassing disadvantage of being the incumbent who is waging the most vicious war in human history, against the clearly expressed wishes of the majority of the American people. McGovern may yet be able to capitalize on that fact.

Socialists realize that the massive



Such things as McGovern's apology for LBJ's war policy ('He inherited the war. He didn't start it.') have helped tarnish McGovern's vote-catching 'peace candidate' image.

him to stand up straight and stop sniveling.

Our objective in pointing up his weaknesses is to expose him for the fraud that he is. We encourage people to break with him and his party, and to do so by casting a vote for the Socialist Workers Party on Nov. 7.

The simple fact of the matter is that those voters who mistakenly view McGovern as the real "peace candidate" are making just as serious a blunder as those who think Nixon is the "peace candidate."

Either Nixon or McGovern could make a peace settlement in Vietnam if they were compelled to do so by powerful enough forces—the Vietnamese freedom fighters, massive American antiwar actions, or a closing of the ranks by China and the Soviet Union in defense of Vietnam.

It is equally true that either Nixon or McGovern could continue the war.

To those who believe that a McGovern victory in November would be a "mandate" for peace that he could not afford to ignore, one need only point to the "mandate for peace" that was handed to Lyndon Johnson with his landslide victory over Goldwater in 1964. That so-called peace mandate came in the form of the Johnson "consensus," and it was that "consensus" that gave LBJ a free hand to escalate the war. It would be naive to believe that George McGovern isn't ready to do everything in his power to preserve the interests of America's ruling class in Southeast Asia, including the use of military force if he can get away with it.

It has never been ordained from on

antiwar sentiment can find only a distorted expression in the elections this year because of the electoral monopoly held by the two imperialist parties. If there were in this country a mass communist or socialist party, or a labor party based on the unions, opposition to the war might reflect itself in a shift away from the two parties that share equal responsibility for the war in Vietnam. Lacking such a vehicle, however, the peace vote will go to the capitalist candidate who does the best in the "image" game.

Because of the undemocratic nature of the elections in the U. S.—such as the reactionary ballot laws, widespread denial of access to the media, and the extent to which private bank-rolls control all aspects of the campaign—the vote for the radical parties will not accurately reflect the widespread disgust with the capitalist parties.

Many American voters will not be aware that there are real peace candidates not tied to the Democrats and Republicans. And if they are aware of that fact, in many states they will not find their names listed on the ballot. These are the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party—Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

Their peace plank includes the call for immediate and total withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia and the dismantling of all U. S. bases around the world. They call for an end to all war spending.

They are the candidates who deserve the votes of all who genuinely want peace in Vietnam and peace on a world scale.

Black socialist in Calif. race for Congress

BERKELEY, Calif. — Ken Miliner, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from California's 7th C. D., is running a vigorous campaign for the seat now held by Black Democrat Ron Dellums.

Miliner was recently interviewed for one-half hour by representatives of the Black and Raza communities on KGO-TV. He contrasted what he would do, as a socialist congressman, to the verbal support Dellums gives to the demands of Blacks and Chicanos.

If he is elected, Miliner said, his staff would include full-time organizers helping to support struggles in the Black and Raza communities. He would make his office available to help build antiwar actions and would use his authority to investigate every incident of police brutality.

Miliner also appeared on KQED-TV for one-half hour as part of a round table discussion that centered on the history of betrayals of Blacks, Chicanos, women, and labor by the Democratic and Republican parties.

At a Sept. 29 SWP campaign rally at the University of California at Berkeley, Miliner called for a "no" vote on Proposition 17, the state ballot initiative calling for reinstatement of the death penalty.

Miliner has also spoken at several Black high schools in the past month.

By contrast, Ron Dellums has spoken in public as little as possible during the campaign. Recently, when he did take a public stand on an issue, he lost support in the Black Student Union at UC Berkeley.

Ali Sharrieff, a past leader of the BSU, endorsed Miliner's campaign after Dellums stated that his support to Israel was second to none. Dellums's pro-Zionist statement was in response to an attack from Peter Hannaford, his Republican opponent. Hannaford had attacked Dellums for not voting in favor of defense appropriations to Israel.

Miliner has frequently called on Dellums to debate him, but so far Dellums has refused.

An article in the Sept. 30 *People's World*, the West Coast voice of the Communist Party, covered the 7th C.D. race without mentioning the campaign of Miliner. The article focused on the candidacy of Dellums and also mentioned the campaigns of Hannaford and Frank Cortese, the American Independent Party candidate.

In an open letter of protest to the *People's World*, the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee stated: "We call on you to . . . tell your readers that along with Dellums, Hannaford and Cortese there is a Black socialist, Ken Miliner, running in the 7th Congressional District. Your uncritical support for Congressman Ron Dellums, despite his outspoken support for the Zionist government of Israel, should not lead you to ignore the only socialist candidate in the 7th Congressional District. If you oppose the Miliner campaign, tell your readers why, and let them judge for themselves whether your objections are valid."

D.C. news conference to focus on rights of young candidates

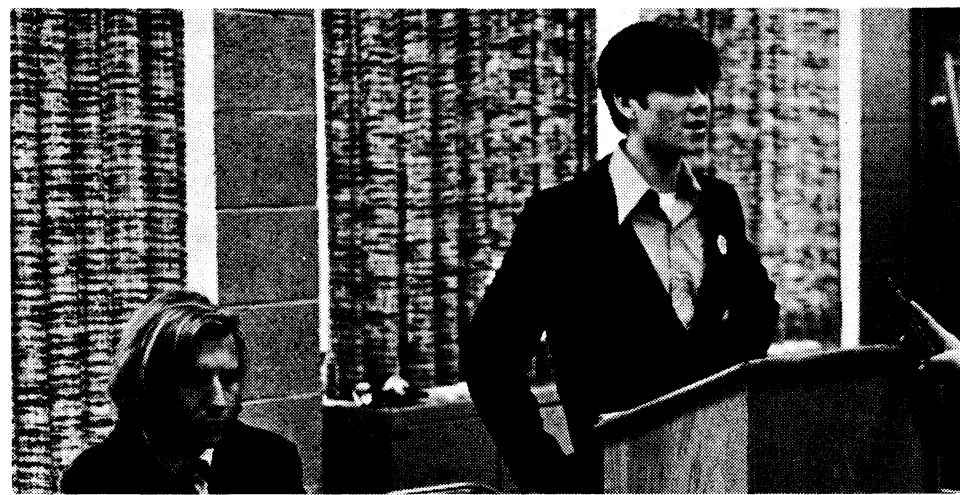
By JUDY UHL

OCT. 10 — The battle for the right of young people to run for office has gained new momentum with the announcement of a national news conference to be held in Washington, D. C., on Oct. 18. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) will host the news conference.

Statements supporting Linda Jenness's right to run for office and be on the ballot will be released at the news conference. Jenness is the 31-year-old presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Ohio and Illinois officials have refused to place her on their ballots because she is not yet 35, the age for holding the office of president according to the U. S. Constitution.

The news conference will also protest the National Broadcasting Company's refusal to grant Jenness equal time because she is, in their view, not a "legally qualified" candidate. The Federal Communications Commission is expected to rule this week on whether Jenness is entitled to equal time.

CoDEL has issued a special edition of its newsletter, *CoDEL Briefs*, on the issue of the right of young people to run for office and to vote for their peers. In addition to listing the facts in the Jenness case, this special issue contains some of the hundreds of messages of support for Jenness's rights. These include letters from U. S. representatives Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), Charles Rangel (D-N. Y.), Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.), William Clay (D-Mo.), and John Conyers (D-Mich.).



Militant/Joanna Rohrbough

At an Oct. 4 news conference in Durham, N. H., Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley representative Mark Valentine announced that the SWP ticket had been certified for the New Hampshire ballot. John Powers (l), Massachusetts SWP candidate for U. S. Congress, also spoke at the news conference.

The student government at Cleveland State University has already voted to send a telegram of support to the news conference.

Appeals in the Jenness case have now been filed in both Illinois and Ohio courts. These suits seek to overturn earlier federal court decisions that no law was violated and no rights were abridged when Jenness was denied ballot status.

Benjamin Sheerer is representing Linda Jenness in Ohio, and Herb Adams is the attorney for the Socialist

On Oct. 5, Louisiana became the twenty-third state to place the Socialist Workers Party on its ballot. Certification in Louisiana followed a ruling by Attorney General William Guste that the slate of presidential electors could not be kept off the ballot, even though they did not sign Louisiana's restrictive loyalty oath.

Workers Party in Illinois. Ron Reosti, CoDEL legal director, is assisting counsel in both suits.

Before the federal ruling in Ohio ballots were printed with the names of both Jenness and SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. Jim Marsh, assistant to Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown, told representatives of the Socialist Workers Party this week that his office has not yet decided what to do about this.

Statements of support for Linda Jenness, to be released at the news conference Oct. 18, should be sent to: CoDEL, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Review of truth kits

The Nixon, Gus Hall campaigns

Two new magazine-format pamphlets have just been added to the arsenal of the 1972 Socialist Workers election campaign. Produced by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, the two new publications are *Making Richard Nixon perfectly clear . . .* by Syd Stapleton and *The Truth about the 1972 Communist Party Election Campaign* by Fred Feldman. (Available for 25 cents each from SWP National Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.)

The first of these is a scathing thumbnail political portrait of the man who presently occupies the White House and hopes to stay there four more years. Nixon's early career as a sensationalist anticommunist crusader is briefly sketched. His role on the House Un-American Activities Committee in the Alger Hiss smear, his red-baiting and anti-Semitic campaign for the Senate in 1950, his collaboration with Joseph McCarthy after his election to the Senate, are all touched on.

Stapleton also quotes the delicate way in which Nixon first chided the Wisconsin witch-hunter as the tide was turning in 1954. Then vice-president, Nixon said: "Some of our red-hunters feel that communists deserve to be shot like rats. Well, I'll agree; they're a bunch of rats, but just remember this. When you go out to shoot rats, you have to shoot straight, because when you shoot wildly, it not only means that the rats may get away more easily, you make it easier on

the rat, but you might hit someone else who's trying to shoot rats too."

The pamphlet takes up the deceit the U. S. president used in his unsuccessful bid for that office in 1960 and his lying promise to end the war when he ran successfully four years ago.

Nixon's record in the last four years on the war, labor, civil liberties, women's rights, and Black liberation is taken up. Then, in a section headed "Nixon and the Democrats," Stapleton spells out the reasons why McGovern and the Democrats are not an effective alternative to Nixon.

"Nixon and McGovern," Stapleton writes, "each have prototypes in the conservatives and liberals, the Hoovers and Kennedys of the past. There has been just as much war, poverty, inflation, recession and oppression under Democratic presidents as under the Republicans."

The Truth about the 1972 Communist Party Election Campaign is a masterful argument, built almost entirely on quotations from the Communist Party itself, showing that the CP's outlook depends on sucking up to one or another so-called progressive capitalist candidate. The front page carries in large type Gus Hall's claim that the Communist Party "actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did."

Feldman traces the origins of the Communist Party's 1972 tactic to the CP campaign in 1936 when Communist candidate Earl Browder used his

nominal "independent" campaign to hustle votes for FDR. The CP employed the same tactic in 1968 and is doing it again this year. During the long interval between 1936 and 1968, Feldman points out, most of the time the CP was openly embracing the Democrats with no pretense of "independence."

Feldman explains why Marxists reject placing any reliance whatsoever on the Democratic or Republican parties: "The Democratic and Republican parties both belong wholly to the capitalist ruling class. . . . Their aim is to undermine the independence of anti-establishment movements, demobilize their participants, and convince them to rely on a capitalist politician."

Feldman also takes up the kowtowing of the CP before the bureaucratic governing clique in the Kremlin. He contrasts, for example, Hall's blasts at the rulers in Peking for their collaboration with Nixon to his apologies for the red-carpet welcome Moscow gave the U. S. president just after he imposed a blockade on North Vietnam.

The pamphlet also documents the CP's opposition to Black nationalism. And in a section on the labor movement, it points out that for all of Hall's bluster about the CP's working-class campaign, the CP tries to use its negligible influence in the trade unions simply to line unionists up behind the Democratic Party.

— LEE SMITH

Injunction won against Mich. law

Support grows for tribunals on women's right to abortion

By CINDY JAQUITH

OCT. 10 — In the face of growing support for the right to abortion in his state, Judge Charles Kaufman ruled Oct. 5 that Michigan's anti-abortion law "trespasses unjustifiably on the personal privacy and liberty of [Michigan's] female citizens."

The Wayne County Circuit Court judge issued an injunction barring enforcement of Michigan's 126-year-old abortion law until a decision is reached in a class-action suit challenging the law's constitutionality. The suit, which has more than 1,000 plaintiffs, was initiated by women in June 1971.

Kaufman's decision is an important partial victory in the Michigan abortion rights struggle. It follows shortly after a *Detroit News* abortion poll showed that the majority of Detroit residents support Proposition B, a referendum on Michigan's abortion law. Proposition B would make abortions legal through the twentieth week of pregnancy. The initiative will be on the Nov. 7 ballot.

The state may appeal Kaufman's decision. In the meantime, the injunction has made it possible for women to obtain abortions legally in Michigan.

Two days after the Michigan court victory, New York Health Services Administrator Gordon Chase issued a report showing that the legalization of abortion in New York has saved many women's lives. Chase's report covered the period from July 1, 1970, to June 30, 1972—the first two years under the state's liberalized abortion law. During

Chase said. Complications from abortions dropped from 8.5 per 1,000 abortions in the first year to 7.2 in the second.

Chase's report should intensify interest in the Oct. 20-21 debate and hearings on abortion in New York, sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). ABC-TV newscaster Melba Tolliver has agreed to moderate the Oct. 20 debate between WONAAC national coordinator Dr. Barbara Roberts and two opponents of the right to abortion, Father Lynaugh and Dr. Carl Klinges.

The debate, which will be held at the New York University Law School auditorium, kicks off the day-long hearings and panels on abortion, contraception, and forced sterilization that will follow on Saturday, Oct. 21. Author Alix Kates Shulman and attorney Florynce Kennedy will be two members of the panel of judges during the hearings.

Other prominent individuals who will participate in the tribunal are New York State Senator Sidney Von Luther; Rachel Fruchter, longtime abortion activist; Dr. Christopher Tietze of Population Council; Dr. Elizabeth Connell; New York State Assemblyman Franz Leichter; and Dr. Sherwin Kaufman, Planned Parenthood medical director.

Tribunals on the abortion issue, initiated by local affiliates of WONAAC, are planned in other cities as well during the next three weeks. The Women's Abortion Coalition in the Bay Area is sponsoring an abortion speak-out Oct. 27-28 at the University of California in Berkeley.

Initial endorsers of the speak-out include the National Organization for Women (NOW) chapters in Berkeley, San Francisco, Sacramento, and Solano; Barbara MacNab, Northern California Women's Political Caucus; Louise Stoll, Berkeley Board of Education; Helen Little, president, San Francisco Welfare Rights Organization; Ying Kelley of the Asian-American Community Alliance; Musician Malvina Reynolds; Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Mayor Richard McLean of Boulder, Colo., has declared Oct. 18 "Day of Denunciation of Crimes Against Women." McLean's proclamation says in part, "whereas, only in collective strength and political action will we overcome the oppression of women . . . and whereas the Boulder Chapter of the Mountain States Women's Abortion Coalition is sponsoring a Crimes Against Women Tribunal . . . I do declare, Wednesday, October 18, 1972, to be designated Day of Denunciation of Crimes Against Women."

For more information on the abortion hearings scheduled around the country, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 315, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

still suffering from a host of disturbances such as surgical shock, resumption of the hormonal balance due to the loss of one ovary, severe anemia, and a postoperative yeast infection."

"It is time that our traditionally male-oriented society begins to recognize its part and responsibility for the disabilities connected with pregnancy and to extend benefits to working women whose families suffer loss of income," said Bobbette Sommers, a law clerk working with the waitresses union.

Sommers exposed the discriminatory nature of Section 2626, revealing that the code *does* provide disability benefits for medical problems that only affect men, such as circumcision or prostate operations.

The California AFL-CIO, the California Culinary Alliance, and Locals 3 and 29 of the Office and Professional Employees Union are also supporting the fight against Section 2626.

A bill has been introduced into the California legislature to extend disability benefits to pregnant women workers. The Senate Finance Committee, however, has already amended the bill to exclude benefits for women with "normal" pregnancies.

The news conference was organized by Women's Job Rights.

Suit contests D.C. abortion statutes

By TOBA SINGER

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 4 — At a heated news conference held here today, Josephine Hulett, representing the National Committee of Household Employees, displayed a clipping about the death of Sandra Martin, a local 17-year-old Black woman. Martin died from a back-alley abortion.

"I'm here today to see that this never happens again," Hulett said. "I'm here to counter the myth, that Black women are not concerned about the issue of abortion."

The news conference, sponsored by the D.C. Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), announced the filing of a class-action suit against recent abortion regulations enacted by the D.C. city council. One of the regulations says that women must wait 24 hours after their initial examinations by clinics before obtaining abortions. This rule is aimed at making it very difficult for nonresidents to come to D. C. to obtain abortions.

WONAAC and four abortion clinics in the D.C. area, Preterm, Prebirth, Laurel, and Summit, are plaintiffs in the suit.

Attorney David Seifman, representing Preterm Clinic at the news conference, called the regulation a "violation of a woman's right to privacy, especially since it is applied only to women and is a flagrant violation of due process."

Ellen Peck, author of *The Baby Trap* and an endorser of WONAAC, told reporters, "There is nothing so destructive in a woman's life as an ill-timed pregnancy."

Dr. Barbara Roberts, national coordinator of WONAAC, stated: "These regulations prevent women from controlling their own reproductive lives. They explicitly state that they are intended to lower the number of abortions performed in Washington, D. C."

"The regulations also prevent physicians from practicing medicine as they see fit. If these regulations were applied to any other surgical procedure, the American Medical Association would be out picketing. In this case, it's up to women to act."

For further information, write to: D.C. WONAAC, 1346 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C. 20036. Telephone (202) 785-4769.

Filipinos in U.S. protest Marcos' martial law

By HANNA TAKASHIGE

SAN FRANCISCO — Two hundred fifty people, mainly young Filipinos, picketed outside the Philippine consulate in San Francisco Oct. 6 to protest the imposition of martial law in the Philippines by President Ferdinand Marcos. The action was one of several demonstrations around the country sponsored by the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines.

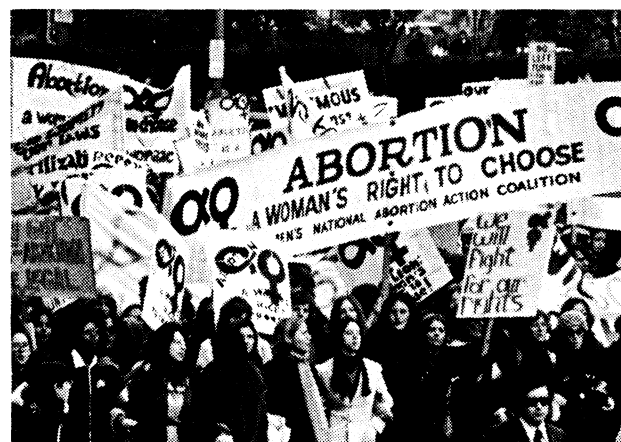
The committee calls for an end to martial law, restoration of civil liberties, freedom for political prisoners, and demands that the U. S. government abandon its support for the Marcos regime. Ongoing activities are planned to educate the Filipino community and build mass demonstrations.

Among the slogans chanted by the demonstrators were: "Ibagsak fi [Marcos, Down with Marcos]," "Laban ang batas militar [Oppose martial law]," and "Nixon, Thieu, now Marcos too."

Kathryn Pon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California's 8th and 11th state senatorial districts, stated her support in a news release: "Mass action by Filipinos in the United States to protest the military repression in the Philippines can be an important force in stopping the terrorist actions of Marcos."

"Marcos has become the richest man in Asia by upholding U. S. interests. And it is with U. S. military support that he is repressing the Filipino people, who have become more and more militant as the crises of poverty, inflation, and the disaster caused by recent floods are aggravated under Marcos's rule."

The address of the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines for the San Francisco Bay Area is: 852 Kearney St., San Francisco, Calif. 94108. Telephone: (415) 986-7098.



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

this time 402,059 abortions were performed in New York City.

The most dramatic figure announced by Chase was a 28 percent drop in the maternal death rate since the new law went into effect—from 52.2 per 100,000 live births to 37.7.

The death rate from abortions in New York City has declined from 4.6 per 100,000 abortions in the first year to 3.5 per 100,000 in the second year,

S.F. waitresses union sues to gain maternity benefits

By CAROLE SEIDMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — Two suits have been filed in federal court to protect the rights of pregnant working women. The suits aim to halt enforcement of Section 2626 of the California Unemployment Insurance Code—the section prohibiting women from collecting disability benefits during pregnancy and 28 days thereafter.

At a news conference here Sept. 21 Carolyn Aiello and Jacqueline Jaramillo, plaintiffs in the suits, and Bobbette Sommers, a legal representative of Local 48 of the San Francisco Waitresses Union, explained why they are taking this action.

Jaramillo described her experience trying to get disability benefits. She is nine months pregnant and expected the birth of her baby three weeks ago. She has been forced to keep working despite her doctor's request that she stop because she is the sole support of her family. She is also ineligible for welfare and will have to return to work as soon as her baby is born.

Carolyn Aiello was denied disability benefits for the major surgery she underwent for a tubal pregnancy. She has been working for 13 years, five of those in California, and regularly paying into the disability fund.

"In view of my immediate financial need," she said, she went back to work, "even though I was

B'klyn College YSA grows fast

By LAURA MILLER

OCT. 8 — In the fall of 1971, Brooklyn College, the largest branch of the City University of New York, numbered one member of the Young Socialist Alliance among its students. This fall, the Brooklyn College YSA is 18 strong, and four more activists will be joining the YSA this week.

Laura Miller is the YSA's national organizational secretary.

"That's the kind of rapid progress that demonstrates the potential of radical organizing on this campus," said Anita Bennett, a leader of the group. "The growth of the YSA here is even more inspiring when you consider that less than a year ago the student government and the political life of Brook-

lyn College were dominated by the Jewish Defense League and similar right-wing groups. We're helping to change all that."

One indication of the impact the YSA is having is the major struggle that has arisen on campus over the allocation of student government funds to political groups. YSAers are becoming well known for their participation in budget hearings, in writing articles for the school paper, and in other forums demanding the right of antiwar, women's liberation, socialist, and other radical groups to be funded. This kind of activity is drawing many new people to the YSA.

"It didn't take me long to decide that I wanted to be a YSAer," said Diane Shur, a 20-year-old antiwar activist and new YSA member. "When I saw the YSA in action during last spring's antiwar upsurge, I could see that the YSA was the only radical group on campus with a really effective program."

YSA activists have been busy putting that program into action since classes began in September. Mark Friedman, the Brooklyn organizer of the YSA, explained: "The first thing we did this fall was set up literature tables every day during registration. Hundreds of students stopped by the tables, picked up our literature, and got to know who we are. We've involved a lot of these people in various activities and have sold more than 150 subscriptions to *The Militant* so far. We sell a lot of copies of the *Young Socialist* too."

Brooklyn College YSAers helped organize a local chapter of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, the national youth support group for the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Paul Massas, a leader of the Third World Federation who was recently elected to head the student government, is a leading YSJPer, and he keeps the student government offices well stocked with literature about Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

The YSJP recently sponsored a noontime rally for Andrew Pulley that drew more than 200 people, most of them African-American and Puerto Rican students. The group is also building support for John Hawkins, the young Black SWP candidate for Congress from the 12th C.D. Shur estimates that more than 100 Brooklyn College students have signed cards endorsing the socialist campaign.

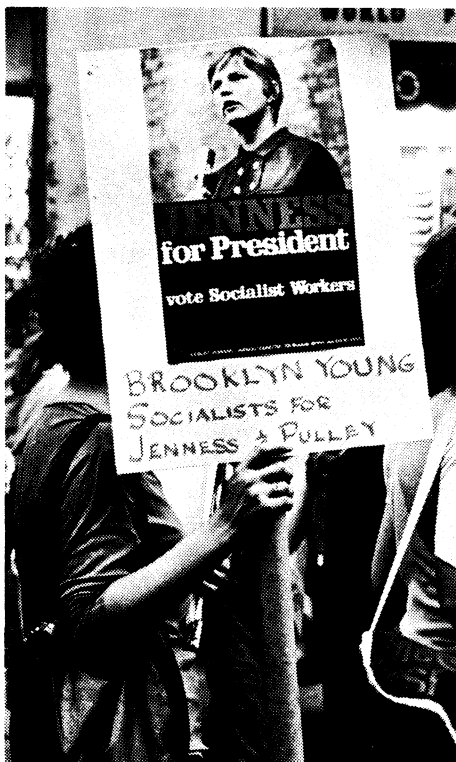
YSAers are active in the campus chapter of the Student Mobilization Committee and participated in organizing a meeting of more than 4,000 people for Jane Fonda that publicized the effects of U.S. bombing on the people of Indochina. YSAers also joined the SMC in mobilizing students to take part in a demonstration against the war when Nixon spoke recently in New York.

YSA members participate in Brooklyn College Women's Liberation, which is planning a campus film-

showing and speak-out on abortion Oct. 18, as well as working toward the formation of a women's studies department at the school.

The Brooklyn College YSA is devoting much energy toward getting campus activists to attend the Young Socialist National Convention in Cleveland, Nov. 23-26. So far, YSAers have distributed more than 1,000 copies of a wallposter publicizing the convention. They plan to contribute ads and articles to the school paper, send out a mailing about the convention to Brooklyn College students, and issue a bilingual convention leaflet for distribution to youth in the Puerto Rican community. Anita Bennett pointed out:

"The student government has already allocated funds to pay for Brooklyn College students to attend the convention, which is just one indication of the interest the Young Socialist convention is generating on this campus."



Militant/Mark Satinoff

lyn College were dominated by the Jewish Defense League and similar right-wing groups. We're helping to change all that."

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Indian activists in car caravans to D.C.

By LEE SMITH

OCT. 6 — Car caravans of Native Americans started out on the "Trail of Broken Treaties" today from a number of cities in the U. S. and Canada. Organized as the Pan-American Natives' Quest for Justice, the project is backed by a broad coalition of Indian organizations. It will culminate in a Washington, D.C., demonstration, aimed at the Democratic and Republican parties, on Nov. 1.

Teams are leaving from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland, Ore., American Indian Movement Media Director Bill War Soldier told *The Militant* in a telephone interview from AIM's Denver office today.

"They will be taking Southern, Middle, and Northern routes, hitting almost all the reservations," War Soldier said. "They will be stopping on the way and holding news conferences. And taking along the peace pipe. What we'll actually be doing is smoking the pipe again the same way it was smoked when all these broken treaties were signed," War Soldier explained.

Each caravan will also carry along a drum, the AIM representative said, and march through each town where they stop, singing songs, such as the AIM song and religious songs.

All of the caravans will converge on Oct. 22 in Minneapolis and St. Paul for the AIM national convention. This includes caravans beginning in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and other Canadian cities.

War Soldier said tens of thousands of people were expected to attend the AIM convention from Oct. 22 to Oct. 29. But the Trail of Broken Treaties is far broader than just AIM, he said.

Some of the other groups involved in the project are the National Indian Brotherhood, Native American Rights Fund, National American Indian Council, National Indian Youth Council, National Council on Indian Work, American Indian Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, National Indian Leadership Training, Native American Women's Action Council, United Native Americans, and the Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards.

From the AIM convention, all the caravans and many thousands of others will go to Washington to confront Nixon and McGovern on Nov. 1, War Soldier said.

"We're just going to lay it on the line, lay the Native situation before the Republican and Democratic parties," he said. "We want to exact firm pledges that Indian treaties will be enforced to the letter. You know, these treaties say, 'As long as the sun shall shine and the grass shall grow.' Well, the sun's still shining. The grass is still growing. We want that land."

In addition to stopping at reservations and in cities with large Indian populations, the Trail of Broken Treaties caravans will stop at the sites of some of the historic atrocities committed against Indians, such as the Sand Creek and Wounded Knee massacres, War Soldier said.

1972 and beyond... help build the socialist alternative

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Clip and mail to: Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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☐ Enclosed is my contribution toward the YSA National fund drive.

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Army rests case in Smith trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 11 — The prosecution rested Oct. 5 after 15 days of inconclusive testimony in the court-martial of Billy Dean Smith. The Army has constructed its case on circumstantial evidence in an attempt to prove that the Black antiwar GI murdered two officers by detonating a fragmentation grenade at Bien Hoa, Vietnam, on March 15, 1971.

None of the 18 witnesses presented by the prosecution recalled seeing Smith at the scene of the "fragging." One witness, Bradley Curtis, told the court-martial board on Sept. 20 that Billy Dean Smith was definitely *not* the man he saw running away following the explosion. Curtis admitted that his pretrial statements to the prosecution were lies.

On Oct. 3, Smith's former bunkmate, Luther Howard, testified that he also lied to Army investigators when he told them Smith had said he had "plans to kill his commanding officers." Howard revealed in cross-examination that it was he and not Smith who had

asked other GIs where he could get another fragmentation grenade to "get" Captain Randall Rigby. Howard said that he attributed his own statements to Smith because the Army told him that Smith had confessed to the fragging and was trying to implicate Howard as an accomplice.

Earlier on Oct. 3, Samuel Bailey Jr. told the court-martial board that he was imprisoned with Billy Dean Smith in the stockade a few hours after the fragging. When a third cell mate asked the defendant, "Did you do it?" Smith replied, "Yeah," according to Bailey.

Bailey admitted that he was awaiting trial for stabbing a person in Pennsylvania. He testified three times for charges including passing \$25,000 in fraudulent checks and possession of heroin. He said he had reenlisted twice under assumed names.

The final witness in the Army's case against Billy Dean Smith was Chief Warrant Officer Otis Hensley, who supervised laboratory tests on a grenade pin that was allegedly found in

Smith's pocket. Staff Sergeant Harold Hazard had testified on Sept. 14 that Smith publicly protested that the pin was planted on him when he was arrested at 2:30 a.m. on the night of the fragging.

Chief defense counsel Luke McKissack argued that Hensley's method of grenade identification, which relied on the examination of small and standardized objects, had never before been verified for use in a court of law. Judge Rawles Frazier denied the defense motion to rule Hensley's testimony out of evidence.

More than one witness for the prosecution testified that many GIs in Smith's artillery company were disturbed by the war and Army conditions, and that talk of fragging officers was common.

Defense lawyers indicated that when the trial resumes after a week's recess they will try to prove Smith was framed on murder charges to serve as an example for other GIs who are outspoken in their opposition to the war and to racism in the Army.

By DICK ROBERTS

Oct. 6—Three months have elapsed since the June shake-up of the international monetary system, and the world capitalist economy is still functioning. This and several other factors have created a kind of euphoria in financial circles that prevailed at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund, held in Washington, D. C., last week.

For the first time since President Nixon announced the New Economic Policy more than a year ago, the White House advanced concrete proposals for reforming international finance. The editors of the *New York Times* declared Sept. 27, "There is now reason to hope that, before next year's annual meeting of the I.M.F. in Nairobi, the main part of the job

the central problem in Europe. "Governor Leslie O'Brien of the Bank of England recently said inflation was largely responsible for 'the present industrial strife on a scale not seen in this country since the 1920s.'

"To avoid such social and political tensions, bankers in Zurich say, governments will have to adopt anti-inflation measures. The result: more controls, less freedom for business, slower economic growth and less improvement in living standards than in the past decade."

With little modification these observations could be applied to the United States. American workers have faced inflationary erosion of their wages since the escalation of the Vietnam war in 1965, and they are saddled with government-backed wage controls allegedly aimed at stemming inflation. The prospect of "slower eco-

For roughly the first two decades following World War II, world capitalism as a whole was able to expand without serious crises because of the devastation of Europe and Japan. These areas provided lucrative markets for investment. The European and Japanese "boom" absorbed U. S. goods and capital.

The process inevitably reached a turning point when Europe and Japan had been "rebuilt." Developing these economies often meant developing industry on a technological par with, or more advanced than, U. S. industry. At the same time wage rates in Europe and Japan were, and still are, considerably lower than wage rates in the United States and Canada.

This meant that the relative demand for U. S. goods—which virtually monopolized world markets 25 years ago—declined. At the same time more

Intensified competition is an international problem for all capitalists, not just for those in the United States. British Prime Minister Heath, for example, was in Tokyo on Sept. 19 threatening protectionist measures against Japanese goods. Capital demanding markets stalks the economies of all the advanced nations.

World inflation

This intensified competition is a spur to international inflation. Under the conditions of monopoly capitalism there is a continual extension of credit on all levels. Corporations borrow to increase their investments; private individuals borrow to purchase the increasing volume of goods that are produced; governments borrow to finance their deficits.

But the situation of generalized overproduction constantly threatens to cut off arenas for productive investment. Capital flows into unproductive spheres—in the United States, above all, into arms production. There is a sharp increase of speculation. Billions flow into advertising.

These unproductive investments are inflationary because the goods that are produced are not sold to consumers. When the United States buys a bomb, for example, this is exploded on the peoples of Southeast Asia. It is not sold to consumers, nor does it lead to the production of consumer goods.

But the money the government spent purchasing the bomb does circulate in the U. S. economy and inflates it. This is all the more the case when the government is deficit spending, that is, when it is spending more than it takes in in taxes.

As the purchasing power of the economy increases, the monopolists can respond by raising prices instead of increasing production. Thus there is the paradox that the threat of overproduction exists side by side with a stagnation in actual production and the inflation this produces.

The "privilege" of the national monopolies to inflate the prices of their own products is, in turn, gravely threatened by the invasion of foreign goods. This is why the U. S. steel corporations can, at one and the same time, scream for protective tariffs and import quotas against cheaper foreign steel—and raise the prices of U. S. steel.

To a certain extent, the war-primed U. S. inflation has been "exported." The massive flow of capital abroad—in order to find profitable investment outlets—pours inflationary "extra" purchasing power into the foreign economies. This is a hotly disputed subject in international banking circles.

But the increasing tendency of European governments to step up federal spending when their economies face politically dangerous recessions is just as inflationary as the predominantly military spending of the United States government. Whether a bomb or a school is built, the expense is unproductive from the standpoint of the capitalist economy. It puts money into circulation that doesn't lead to the production of consumer goods.

Moreover, the pressures of potential overproduction are forcing continuous expansion of private credit abroad as at home. The result is a world inflation which is today proceeding more rapidly in Europe and Japan than in the United States. The Sept. 26 *Wall Street Journal* gave these figures: During 1972, the purchasing power of the dollar is declining at an annual average of 3.2 percent; comparable rates for currencies in other countries are: Japan, 4.1 percent; Canada, 4.4 percent; Germany, 5.2 percent; France, 5.3 percent; United Kingdom, 6.7 percent.

These relative differences in the rates of inflation are one of the factors presently strengthening the dollar in world finance and contributing to the fleeting sense of security in world

Continued on page 22

Internat'l monetary crisis

The roots of world inflation



Zurich exchange. International monetary problems originate in the explosive combination of world overproduction and inflation.

of negotiating a better world monetary system will have been achieved." This is wishful thinking at best.

World capitalism faces its deepest financial crisis since the economic collapse of the 1930s. Not a single step was taken in Washington last week toward resolving this crisis.

A more sober appraisal of the situation appeared in an account of European business in the Sept. 18 issue of *U. S. News & World Report*. "Workers are pressing for higher and higher pay increases . . . while labor morale is declining," the magazine complained. "Young people are less interested in management jobs. Public opinion is turning against private enterprise."

"Labor relations have been worsening all over Europe in recent years. Italy is struggling with deep-seated social malaise and strikes that go back to the autumn of 1969. Britain's economy has been hit by the worst labor conflicts since prewar times. Walkouts have become more and more frequent even in countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany that used to be virtually strike-free."

U. S. News pinpoints inflation as

economic growth and less improvement in living standards" is a universal problem of capitalism. It is not limited to Europe.

It is recognized no less in Senator McGovern's proposed economic programs than in Nixon's "wage and price controls." McGovern's top economic adviser, Walter Heller, described McGovern's program in the Oct. 5 *Wall Street Journal* as "wage-price guideposts with clout." The words are a little different but they mean the same thing: wages are under attack.

World overproduction

Why should this be? After a quarter of a century of postwar growth in the advanced capitalist nations—why not another quarter of a century of growth? The fundamental problem is overproduction.

Capitalism produces goods for a profit—not for their usefulness to society. Under the spur of competition, each monopoly tries to sell the most goods at the best profit margins. This inevitably threatens to saturate markets with too many goods. Capital surpluses develop that cry out for investment outlets in other markets.

and more foreign goods poured into the U. S. market. Witness the remarks in *U. S. News & World Report*, Sept. 18:

"A flood of goods from abroad that keeps growing is raising this question:

"Is the U. S., once a nation that enjoyed huge trade surpluses, undergoing a basic shift in its trade position that is likely to become permanent?"

"Last year, imports rose so rapidly—and exports so slowly—that this country ran up its first trade deficit in nearly 70 years. All told, the U. S. bought 2 billion dollars' more goods from other countries than it sold them."

"This year, things are getting worse. The over-all trade deficit in 1972 promises to exceed 6 billion dollars."

U. S. News provides these dramatic statistics on increased sales of foreign goods in the U. S. since 1962, a decade ago: textiles up 277 percent; clothing up 354 percent; iron and steel up 379 percent; footwear up 574 percent; machinery (nonelectrical) up 748 percent; computers, office machinery, up 790 percent; radio, TV sets, up 927 percent; transportation equipment up 1,284 percent; autos up 1,295 percent.

Subs sold all over Brooklyn; Teams active on many fronts

By NANCY COLE

OCT. 11 — The Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party took a combined quota of 1,250 for this fall's *Militant* subscription drive. To the two groups—who opened a joint headquarters only a year and a half ago—this quota appears to be just what they need. They plan to use the subscription drive to publicize their bookstore and weekly forum series, and to campaign for their local SWP candidates throughout Brooklyn, the fourth largest city in the U. S.

With only two college dormitories of any significant size in all of Brooklyn, sub sellers have had to use imagination and persistence in their efforts to reach young people with *The Militant*. So far they've succeeded admirably, with 470 subs and 37.6 percent of their quota completed.

According to SWP sub drive director Judy Kleinberg, they went into the drive knowing there were no "super" sales locations where they could get large numbers of subscriptions easily. Nor did they want to rely on a few extraordinary sellers. "We based our subscription-getting plans on the simple principle that the number of subscriptions

Los Angeles sets record

Forty people from Los Angeles organized a sub-getting trip to the University of California at Santa Barbara last week. The results: 268 *Militant* and 32 *ISR* subscriptions in one day!

sold would depend on the number of people asked to subscribe. The more people selling, the more people asked. We've depended on *regular* day, night, and weekend sales."

The daytime sales at commuter schools have brought in more than 150 subscriptions thus far—128 at Brooklyn College and 23 from New York City Community College. At Brooklyn College, sellers "tour" the campus, selling to students on the lawn, in the cafeteria, or wherever they find them. A campaign/*Militant* table in the student union serves as a dispatch table for subscription kits and is also a good place to sell subs.

The weekend campaign/subscription tables in the community have netted 55 subscriptions. Brooklyn Heights, a community with a liberal reputation and made up primarily of young people, has been the most lucrative area for these tables. However, subs have also been sold at tables outside the public library, in a large park, and in other areas.

Approximately 40 subscriptions have been sold in apartment buildings. Some of these were buildings around universities; others, where *Militant* supporters live or where a number of young people live.

Selling door-to-door in apartment buildings was a new experience for many veteran sub sellers. But according to Kleinberg, it's worked much like selling in dorms. Last Sunday when she knocked on a door that sported a huge McGovern poster, she found *The Militant* greeted enthusiastically by a woman who had just finished watching Linda Jenness on TV. She bought a subscription and agreed to do some thinking about her support for McGovern.

The subscription campaign has also boosted sales of single copies of *The Militant*—1,000 were sold in September in Brooklyn.

When you consider the tasks of each Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley subscription team, it's readily apparent that it's no easy job to be on one of these 17 teams this fall. Besides selling subscriptions to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*, they are hawking single copies of *The Militant*, *ISR*, and the new *Young Socialist*; selling pamphlets and books from literature tables; distributing and posting SWP campaign literature; signing up SWP campaign endorsers; publicizing the Young Socialist national convention; confront-

ing capitalist candidates and their representatives; and speaking at meetings and classes.

The Seattle/Portland team has added the spirit of competition to this list. According to team captain Bob Frantz, they intend to be the top sub-selling team. That should be considered a challenge, and so far their total of 233 is matched only by the Cleveland team, which had a head start, and by the national Midwest team.

First stop for the Seattle/Portland team was Yakima Valley College in Yakima, Wash., a school with fewer than 3,000 students. Despite the lack of any sizable dormitory, they sold 26 *Militant* and two *ISR* subscriptions, and signed up seven campaign endorsers in two days.

In the process of being interviewed by the campus newspaper, they convinced the editor to endorse the campaign. She's now making plans to attend the Young Socialist convention as a reporter for her paper.

The first New York regional team was on the road for 10 days before a car accident forced them back to New York City. But those 10 days are just a preview of what they expect to do as their tour resumes this week. At Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J., they arranged to have team member Sara Johnstun participate in a debate on the 1972 elections with representatives from the Young Republicans and the People's Party.

Selling from literature tables, in dorms, lounges, and cafeterias at three campuses in New Jersey brought in 197 subscriptions for the New York team. They also sold 200 single *Militants*, 50 McGovern truth kits, and signed up 23 campaign endorsers.

So far the national Midwest team has signed up 52 endorsers and recruited four people to the YSA. At Indiana University/Purdue University at Indianapolis they sold 34 *Militant* subscriptions and signed up the president and several members of the Black student union as campaign endorsers.

While in Indianapolis they called a news conference to announce their arrival. Four TV stations and two campus papers attended.

All the teams have devoted special attention to presenting McGovern supporters with the truth about his politics and pledges. As a result of the Midwest team's stop at the university in Indianapolis, one former McGovern supporter is now running on the YSJP slate for student government. The McGovern truth kits have proved to be best sellers—last week approximately 450 were sold by all the teams.

The teams have sold a total of 2,500 single *Militants* and signed up 507 campaign endorsers.

Special offer- 20 weeks of The Militant- one dollar

- () \$1 for a 20-week introductory subscription.
() \$2.50 for a six-month subscription.
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The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Oxford, Ohio	10	26	260.0
Edinboro, Pa.	60	54	90.0
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	21	84.0
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	10	66.7
Madison, Wis.	200	133	66.5
Boulder, Colo.	175	105	60.0
Portland, Ore.	700	356	50.8
Cleveland, Ohio	1,300	633	48.7
Seattle, Wash.	950	433	45.6
Nashville, Tenn.	20	9	45.0
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,700	753	44.3
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,900	800	41.6
Champaign, Ill.	10	4	40.0
Saranac Lake, N.Y.	25	10	40.0
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	470	37.6
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	802	36.4
Storrs, Conn.	25	9	36.0
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	434	34.7
Bloomington, Ind.	350	121	34.6
Providence, R.I.	125	44	35.2
Denver, Colo.	1,250	424	33.9
Tallahassee, Fla.	150	50	33.3
San Francisco, Calif.	2,050	663	32.3
Chicago, Ill.	2,500	781	31.2
Celina, Ohio	10	3	30.0
Detroit, Mich.	1,500	448	29.8
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	373	29.8
Hartford, Conn.	125	37	29.6
Corvallis, Ore.	33	9	27.3
Cedar Falls, Iowa	30	8	26.7
Boston, Mass.	2,500	656	26.2
Austin, Texas	550	139	25.3
Youngstown, Ohio	20	5	25.0
San Diego, Calif.	400	99	24.7
Lexington, Ky.	25	6	24.0
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	47	23.5
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050	243	23.1
St. Louis, Mo.	120	27	22.5
Atlanta, Ga.	1,250	262	21.0
Huntington, W. Va.	40	7	17.5
Houston, Texas	1,050	173	16.5
Burlington, Vt.	25	4	16.0
New Haven, Conn.	25	4	16.0
Sarasota, Fla.	25	4	16.0
Washington, D.C.	900	120	13.3
Cincinnati, Ohio	100	12	12.0
College Park, Md.	175	19	10.9
Durham, N. H.	50	5	10.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	30	3	10.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	5	10.0
Binghamton, N.Y.	200	19	9.5
Allentown, Pa.	50	2	4.0
Long Island, N.Y.	100	4	4.0
San Antonio, Texas	50	2	4.0
Worcester, Mass.	175	5	2.9
Kansas City, Mo.	150	4	2.7
Santa Barbara, Calif.	75	2	2.7
Gary, Ind.	100	2	2.0
Red Bank, N.J.	50	1	2.0
Amherst, Mass.	150	2	1.3
Alfred, N.Y.	10	0	0
Augusta, Me.	10	0	0
Bethlehem, Pa.	10	0	0
Buffalo, N.Y.	20	0	0
National Teams	1,400	392	28.0
General	500	95	19.0
TOTAL TO DATE		10,403	31.7
SHOULD BE		11,566	35.0
GOAL		33,000	100.0

TEAM	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Cleveland	800	359	44.9
Denver	560	209	37.3
National Midwest	700	249	35.6
Seattle/Portland	700	233	33.3
Detroit	700	226	32.3
New York #1	700	197	28.1
Twin Cities	700	167	23.9
Chicago	700	157	22.4
National South	700	143	20.4
Boston	700	142	30.3
Oakland-Berkeley	700	128	18.3
San Francisco	700	81	11.6
Atlanta	700	64	9.1
Philadelphia/Washington, D.C.	700	41	5.9
Los Angeles	700	21	3.0
New York #2	700	7	1.0
Texas	700	0	0
TOTAL RECEIVED FROM TEAMS		2,424	20.2
SHOULD BE		3,331	27.8
GOAL		12,000	100.0

In Review

Books Tanzania

Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle by Issa G. Shivji, John Saul, Walter Rodney, and T. Szentes. A Zenit Reprint. Box 1156, Lund 1, Sweden. 5 kr. (\$1. U.S.).

The ideology of African Socialism, as developed by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and others, denies the existence of classes in African societies. However, the essay by Issa G. Shivji, the major piece in *Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle*, specifically examines the Tanzanian situation and thoroughly disproves this notion.

When the booklet was originally published in Tanzania it caused quite a stir, as the following excerpt from its introduction explains: "After the publi-



Julius Nyerere

cation of *Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle*, the Tanzanian authorities reacted by banning *Cheche* magazine [where the article originally appeared] and the organization behind it, USARF [a student organization]. The official reason given was that *Cheche* was a copy of Lenin's paper *Iskra* thus proving that the students were trying to import 'Russian socialism' instead of 'true Tanzanian socialism.'"

In addition to Shivji's essay, the booklet contains three essays by individuals connected with the University College of Dar es Salaam, who offer comments both for and against the main thrust of Shivji's argument.

Many have pointed to Tanzania's nationalizations and some of its foreign policy decisions as "proof" of its "socialism." Nyerere's support to the liberation movements in southern Africa, his friendly relations with the workers states, and his frequent denunciations of imperialist maneuvers are often given as examples of Tanzania's progress.

Shivji, however, establishes that the Tanzanian economy—based largely around the growth and export of cash crops, mineral extraction and export, a large dairy and livestock industry, and tourism—still remains locked in the grip of world capitalism. He proves that the nationalizations carried out by the Nyerere regime have by no means made Tanzania a workers state.

The National Development Corporation (NDC), the governmental body that deals with economic matters, can be looked to for examples. Is there any evidence to warrant calling Tanzania "socialist"? To the contrary, Shivji demonstrates that much of NDC policy has been directed to stimulating neocolonial interests. Tourism, hotels, entertainment houses, breweries, etc., have loomed large in government investment policy, overshadowing consumer necessities or industrial growth.

The NDC enters into direct partnerships with foreign corporations, which manage many of its projects. This is done in the form of mixed enterprises with both government and private investment. Although foreign capitalists invest only a portion of the total capital, they are able to maintain control of the key decisions and increase their economic strength within the country. Shivji cites numerous examples of imperialist control of large enterprises in such industries as dairy, hotel, transportation, cement, sugar, and oil.

Shivji concentrates on Tanzania's economic deals with imperialism. But to some extent he maintains illusions in the Nyerere regime, implying that it might be capable of carrying out the sweeping changes his essay proposes. There are other weaknesses in his work. He does not point out that a socialist transformation of an underdeveloped country requires a radical land reform (not yet accomplished in Tanzania), as well as control of the state apparatus by the workers and peasants.

But these shortcomings do not prevent Shivji from analyzing Tanzania's economy and proving, in detail, that domestic and foreign capitalists dominate the country. This was the first such thorough study published in Tanzania, and the value of Shivji's work is shown by the fact that it provoked controversy and discussion throughout Africa.

The general conclusion to be drawn from *Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle* is that the African revolution can only free itself from the world capitalist economy with a socialist revolution, based on the workers and peasants. No amount of anti-imperialist denunciations and radical phrasemongering by leaders such as Nyerere can substitute for the arduous task of assembling a mass party of revolutionary-minded cadres for this crucial struggle.

—BAXTER SMITH

Female suffrage

Women's Suffrage in New Zealand by Patricia Grimshaw. Auckland University Press. Auckland, New Zealand, 1972. 151 pp. \$5.25 N.Z. (\$6.40 U.S.).

[The following review appeared in the September 15 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary socialist fortnightly published in Wellington.]

[New Zealand was the first country in the world in which women won the franchise. The question of the role of women in the suffrage movement and the value of the struggle itself have been debated among the new women's liberation groups that have arisen since the new upsurge of feminism began in New Zealand in 1970.]

Patricia Grimshaw's *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand* throws new light on the early feminist movement in this country, a movement that has often been misunderstood and underrated. Grimshaw gives ample proof that the women's franchise, introduced in 1893, was not merely the result of political manoeuvrings in the parliament of the day, or of antiliquor lobbying. The vote was won through consistent campaigning over a period of several years by a women's movement that was undoubtedly feminist in character.

Before this book appeared, the only detailed investigation of suffrage agitation was in W.P. Reeves's *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, published in 1902.

Reeves discounted the role of feminism in winning the franchise, claiming that the temperance issue was the central focus of the campaign. But while the Women's Christian Temperance Union [WCTU] was the organizational base around which the suffrage movement first formed, Grimshaw shows that the temperance cause was by no means the only issue that motivated the women in the Union. WCTU women played an active part in developing preschool child care, and in agitating for female unionism, equal pay for women, equal divorce laws, the right of women to full sexual knowledge—in fact, a broad range of issues concerning women's rights.

In Reeves's view, the suffrage movement was not widely supported by the women of New Zealand. However, Patricia Grimshaw's well-documented history gives quite a different picture. Wherever the suffragists took their petitions they were met with overwhelming support, particularly from working women. The largest numbers of signatures were obtained in Otago, where the greatest concentration of women workers was to be found. The

final petition, presented to parliament in 1893, had 30,000 women's signatures, which represented about a quarter of the adult female population.

With the active backing of women workers and nontemperance feminists, the WCTU was able to launch public meetings that, in the cities, attracted very large audiences.

But the most obvious sign of women's support came when they voted for the first time in the elections of 1893. Only a few short weeks lay between the passage of the Suffrage Bill on September 19 and election day, November 28. In this period the suffragists worked tirelessly to ensure that women were registered on the electoral rolls and thus able to vote. By the end of election day, an inspiring seventy percent of the entire adult female population had voted.

Quotes from opponents of women's suffrage are sprinkled throughout Grimshaw's study. They give an amusing reflection of the reactions which the early feminist movement provoked. G.G. Stead, a former chairman of the board of directors of the *Christchurch Press*, feared the female franchise would "make the country more communistic than it is already . . . I have been amongst the poor in Christchurch quite lately and it is among the women that one hears the most democratic and revolutionary theories . . ."

The real motives of the politicians also receive good exposure. Their support for women's suffrage depended upon their estimation of the direction in which the women's vote would go. Much speculation arose concerning the political leanings of the female population and consequently there were members on both sides of the House in favour of the franchise, though for opposite reasons. It was only because the women's movement was independent and drew massive popular support that it was able to succeed in winning this important gain for women.

Patricia Grimshaw apparently wrote the history as an M.A. thesis and though it was published only this year, it was actually completed before the current women's liberation movement began in New Zealand; that is, before 1970. In the last few lines, she says: "The feminist movement may well be poised on the verge of yet another move forward. Perhaps this time its wider objective, the full acceptance of women as equals of men, will be achieved."

This history of local feminism will encourage further progress toward that end; it shows the positive results of united action by women.

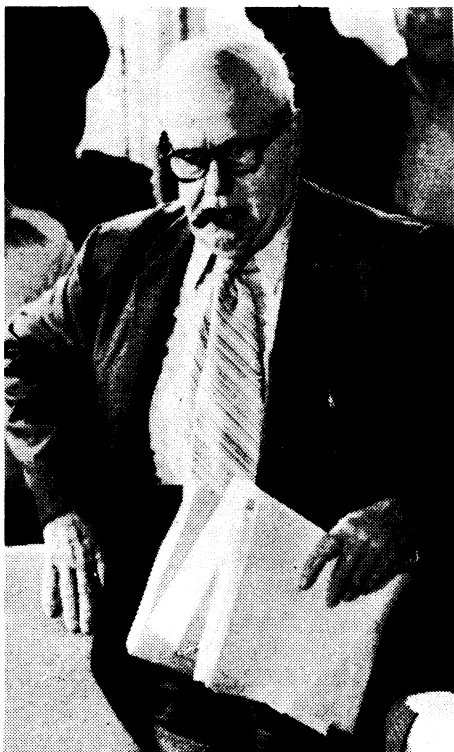
—Kay Goodger



1972 abortion law repeal demonstration in Wellington, New Zealand

Socialist Action

AFL-CIO officials squabble over elections



AFL-CIO head George Meany backs Nixon under guise of 'neutrality.'

By FRANK LOVELL

The series of squabbles within the AFL-CIO structure over which of the two capitalist candidates to support reveals the limited mentality of the trade-union bureaucracy more than the sentiment of union members.

The stand of the Colorado Labor Council, which officially endorsed McGovern in defiance of AFL-CIO President George Meany's "neutrality" order, has become a test case for the union officials who disagree with Meany.

After the Colorado federation took its stand, Meany dispatched a crew of three "investigators" headed by Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union, a Nixon supporter. They dutifully found that the Colorado affiliate had violated the AFL-CIO constitution.

Meany then suspended the Colorado charter and appointed Daniel Healy, AFL-CIO regional director for Illinois and Iowa, the trustee "to take charge of and conduct the business" of the Colorado council during the suspension. Meany's suspension order applies to Colorado state council President Herrick Roth, Secretary-Treasurer A. Toffoli, and all members of the council's executive board.

The next move was up to these officers. They appealed to the U.S. district court in Denver, and on Oct. 2 a federal judge ruled that Meany had falsely interpreted the AFL-CIO constitution and had exceeded his authority. The court issued a preliminary injunction against the Meany "trusteeship" in order to allow the Colorado Labor Council to proceed with a special convention.

The special convention was held Oct. 5. The nearly 300 delegates, most of them local union officers, voted overwhelmingly to support the executive board's earlier endorsement of McGovern. They cheered a speech by McGovern's running mate, Sargent Shriver, and denounced Meany's pro-Nixon actions. Council President Roth called on all other state federations to follow Colorado's example.

Several other state federations, while not openly defying Meany's "neutrality" edict as Colorado did, have independently voted "to work for the defeat of Nixon," or have otherwise expressed a preference for McGovern. These include those in California, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Texas, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Massachusetts.

Meany has retaliated by ordering state federations in California, Oklahoma, and North Carolina to rescind their official declarations "to work for the defeat of Nixon." The order may be extended to other state bodies as well.

In California, state AFL-CIO President John Henning has called an emergency convention for Oct. 19 in Sacramento to act on Meany's order to drop the anti-Nixon campaign.

This revolt against the "neutral" position of Meany and the national AFL-CIO executive council reflects the division within the executive council itself. This body consists of 33 presidents of the major unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO, plus Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland. Most of these affiliated unions, which represent more than nine million of the AFL-CIO's 14 million members, have officially endorsed McGovern. These include all the major unions except the Steelworkers.

The AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department has formally endorsed the "neutral" position of Meany, and nine presidents of the 17 building-trades unions have come out for Nixon as "individuals." The nine represent such crafts as Iron Workers, Plumbers, Lathers, Bricklayers, Operating Engineers, and include Peter Fosco of the Laborers. They issued a joint statement declaring "President Nixon is committed to keeping America strong both externally and internally," and will serve the interests "of our members as Americans and building tradesmen."

The division between the two factions within the top bureaucracy is developing into a power struggle. Joseph Beirne, onetime Meany pal and sometimes mentioned as a possible successor to the AFL-CIO presidency, is head of the Communications Workers of America and an ardent McGovern supporter. *Los Angeles Times* labor writer Harry Bernstein quotes Beirne as saying, "The AFL-CIO will never be the same, that's for sure, and a lot of people think Meany will be through if McGovern wins."

When Machinist Vice-President William Winpisinger spoke at the special convention of the Colorado Labor Council Oct. 5 he directed his remarks against Meany, in keeping with the circumstances of the occasion. Winpisinger stated that "a labor movement that stays neutral forfeits any claim to moral leadership."

Meany, for his part, is not worried at this stage that McGovern will win,

and he never gave a thought to moral leadership. At 78, Meany can't change his ingrained, lifetime habits. He has always been an organization man adept at manipulating the union apparatus by means of his close association and collaboration with the employers. He thinks Nixon will win the election and hopes his present course will give him a side-door entrance to the White House after the election.

The present division within the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is not likely to be bridged after the presidential election, regardless of the outcome. Two processes are set in motion by the developing power struggle. One is the loosening of the bureaucratic grip on the unions, which is reflected in Meany's challengers' call for special conventions in Colorado and California to mobilize a broader base of support for themselves within the union movement. They are forced to do this even though they prefer to rely on appeals to the courts to uphold a semblance of democratic procedure within the union structure.

The other side of this is the development of a more fundamental policy discussion within the unions. Those who challenge Meany and his craft-conscious, business-minded cronies are trying to continue the political policy adopted by the union movement after the rise of the CIO in the 1930s.

This was the political policy initiated by John L. Lewis. It sought to organize the political power of the burgeoning union movement of that time as part of the vote-catching coalition behind the Roosevelt New Deal and the Democratic Party. It was a departure from the old Gompers policy of throwing support to "labor's friends" in both the established parties of the employing class. The CIO's policy sought to organize union men and women as an independent voting bloc within the Democratic Party, with the aim of exercising some measure of control on its decisions and elected politicians.

As the debate over political policy develops, this whole past policy of supporting the political parties of the employing class will be reviewed, further deepening the split in the union bureaucracy. The sentiment of the union membership for independent class action will find expression by new leaders in the union movement who will reject the support to capitalist candidates urged by both Meany and his critics.

On heels of Norwood settlement

UAW threatens to strike GM in 3 cities

OCT. 10—On Oct. 6 United Auto Workers Local 25 in St. Louis notified General Motors plant management in that city of intent to strike in five days.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported that it had learned "from other sources" that similar letters of intent to strike would be delivered on the same date by UAW locals to GM plant management in Doraville, Ga., and Mansfield, Ohio.

The Mansfield parts plant supplies nearly all GM assembly plants in the nation, and a strike called there would effectively cripple GM operations.

These coordinated moves by UAW locals in different cities against General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plants appear to be the union response to a series of provocations by the assembly division of the giant corporation.

Company provocations followed a pattern that developed when GM merged its Fisher Body and Chevrolet assembly divisions to form GMAD. The new setup was designed "to elimi-

nate duplication and streamline the assembly operation," according to GM representatives.

Some plants were hit harder than others, and management was obviously following a plan to test its speedup operations in a series of selective actions.

First came Lordstown, Ohio, where GM chose to make the first test, followed by another at Norwood, Ohio. St. Louis appeared to be third on the list.

At Lordstown, where a work force of 3,500 was employed, the company provoked a 22-day strike earlier this year by laying off 670 workers in a period of a few months while maintaining the same production schedule. At Norwood, where about 4,000 were employed, 749 jobs were eliminated and production schedules remained the same. The same company practice was introduced at the huge St. Louis plant, where nearly 1,000 have been laid off.

The Norwood strike began April 7, before the settlement at Lordstown. This became the longest strike in GM

history, lasting 174 days. When a settlement was finally negotiated in Detroit on Sept. 27 between International UAW officers and top GM management, there was no mention of what the union had won. UAW President Leonard Woodcock said, "The tragedy of Norwood is that the workers are going to wind up exactly where they began."

The company has given no indication following the settlement of the Norwood strike of any change in its speedup policy. Under terms of the settlement, no promises were made about restoring jobs, and the prospects were that there would be fewer jobs because of a switch in 1973 models eliminating Chevrolet's Nova line.

When the vote to end the strike was taken at UAW Local 674 in Norwood, 74 percent of the production-line workers accepted it but 26 percent were opposed. Workers interviewed by *Militant* correspondent Charles Mitts said they voted to end the strike but were opposed to the settlement. Local 674

President Richard Minton refused comment, saying he was not at liberty to make a statement to the press.

Only a small part of the work force has been called back at Norwood because of model changeover. Most workers thought it was wise to end the strike when they did because they can now qualify for unemployment compensation. Long lines signed up for it at union headquarters, where tables were set up by the state employment bureau.

On Sept. 29, shortly after the Norwood workers voted to end their strike, the UAW called a meeting in Detroit of its 325-member GM Council to decide what action would be necessary to force GM to respect collective bargaining agreements signed with the union. If the notices of strike action sent to the corporation at its key plants in St. Louis, Doraville, and Mansfield indicate that the UAW is now prepared to close down GMAD nationally, it is in response to the demand for such action by UAW assembly workers.

Calendar

BOSTON

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak on Fri., Oct. 20, 7:30 p.m. at Fanueil Hall, Boston. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CLEVELAND

WHICH WAY FOR WOMEN IN THE '72 ELECTIONS? A panel discussion with representatives of the Jenness, McGovern, and Nixon campaigns. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES

CAMPAIGN BANQUET WITH ANDREW PULLEY, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 29. Refreshments, 5 p.m.; international buffet, 6 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. Boces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont. Donation: \$5, h.s. students \$3. For more information or reservations call (213) 461-8131.

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

PHILADELPHIA

LINDA JENNESS, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak on Tues., Oct. 24, 8 p.m., at the University of Pennsylvania, Fine Arts Auditorium.

CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Featuring Linda Jenness. Wed., Oct. 25. Dinner, 7 p.m.; rally, 8:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$4; \$1.50, rally only. Half-price for h.s. students. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

SEATTLE

CAMPAIGN RALLY. With Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate; and George Novack, Marxist scholar. Sat., Oct. 21, 8 p.m. Sherwood Motor Inn, Purple Room, 400 N.E. 45 St., Seattle. Donation: \$1.50, h.s. students 75c. For more information contact Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Tel: (206) 523-4449.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

REPORT FROM THE MIDDLE EAST. Speaker: Bonnie Usan, just returned from Israel; Ghalib Abdulrahman, Egyptian student at University of Minnesota. Fri., Oct. 20, 7:30 p.m. Junior Ballroom, Coffman Union, University of Minnesota, Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Sponsored by YSA, Arab-American Club, Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee. Fri., Oct. 20, 8 p.m. 746 9th St. N.W. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

...Arabs

Continued from page 1

These are precisely the same kind of measures that were instituted during the McCarthyite witch-hunt period in the 1950s. Members of my party, for example, were denied the right to travel. They were denied passports, not because of any illegal acts, but simply because of our political views.

We can expect that the Nixon administration will continue as far as it can in extending these repressive measures not only to Arabs but to all supporters of the Arab liberation movement and to other movements fighting for social change. Nixon will extend these undemocratic measures until he is confronted with an outcry of protest making it clear the American people will not put up with any such abrogation of our civil rights.

So far my Democratic opponent, George McGovern, has said nothing about whether he supports these anti-Arab, antidemocratic measures by the Nixon administration. McGovern's calls for international sanctions against the Arab liberation movement, and his all-out support of Zionist Israel against the Palestinians fighting for a democratic, secular Palestine, raise serious doubts about his support for the democratic rights of Arabs on the question of these new measures.

I challenge George McGovern to say where he stands on this question of civil liberties. Does he support the racist "screening" of all Arabs? Does he support Nixon's restrictions on freedom to travel? Does he support the death penalty against hijackers?

I urge all supporters of democratic rights—whether they support McGovern, Nixon or myself—to unite in defense of any persons victimized by these new measures and to speak

out immediately against these measures before they lead to even greater restrictions on our rights.

...slander

Continued from page 4

have nothing to do with the oppression of Palestinians, the real enemies of Palestinian self-determination were not defined."

Rouge, the newspaper of the Communist League in France, the largest organization in the Fourth International, also condemned the Lydda action.

In an article in the June 10 issue of *Rouge*, Gérard Vergeat, a central leader of the Communist League, wrote that the Lydda action "must be condemned," and that the "terrorist form of action is to be condemned." Vergeat pointed out that the Lydda action blocked the struggle for Palestinian liberation by reducing the Palestinian and Arab masses "to the role of spectators."

The French Trotskyist pointed out that these actions could have been used by reactionary forces "to create a climate of fear and insecurity locally [in the Middle East] and internationally in order to make acceptable witch-hunts and police measures restricting fundamental democratic liberties."

The *Economist's* aim is not to present the real facts of the Fourth International's attitude to the Lydda incident. It seeks to utilize slander to create conditions for attacks on the fundamental democratic rights not only of the Trotskyist movement but of all supporters of the Palestinian liberation struggle and other struggles for national and social liberation around the globe.

The *Economist's* claim that the Fourth International supplied the Red Army Organization with "Czech weapons" is also false. First of all, as Vergeat pointed out in his article, the PFLP had received large amounts of aid from the Arab capitalist states before Lydda and hardly needed to beg the Fourth International with its meager resources for arms.

Second, the attitude of the Czechoslovak government to the Fourth International is widely known to be completely hostile. In that country any association with the Fourth International is a crime punishable by imprisonment. Petr Uhl and other sup-

porters of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia were sentenced to prison last year for allegedly being in contact with the world Trotskyist movement. The *Economist* doesn't explain this, or how in this situation the Fourth International would have been able to supply the PFLP or the Red Army Group with "Czech weapons."

The *Economist* reflects the views of British imperialism. It has greeted terrorist actions supported by imperialism, such as Hussein's slaughter of thousands of Palestinians in September 1970, without a word of criticism. Its slanders against the Fourth International have only one aim—to bolster the position of the most barbarous terrorists in world history, the rulers of the imperialist countries who daily bomb, starve, and oppress people throughout the world.

...crisis

Continued from page 18

monetary meetings.

Here the important aspect to keep in mind is the explosive character of the combination of threatened world overproduction and world inflation. Credit cannot be expanded indefinitely. At some point in the chain of transactions goods have to be sold, profits made, surplus value realized. Otherwise the production process screams to a halt. Capitalists do not make goods when they can't sell them for profits, and creditors do not lend money that cannot be profitably repaid.

The expansion of credit is consequently a further spur to the battle for markets. It doesn't "solve" the problem of potential world overproduction, it ultimately exacerbates it. It forces monopoly, all the more in need of cash at hand, to repay debts, and thus to fight all the more rapaciously for markets.

The crisis of the world monetary system is an expression of these combustible elements. International finance must somehow accommodate itself to the anarchy of competing national capitalism, the threat of world overproduction and international inflation. The fact that no serious upsets have occurred in money markets for the last three months is far from being convincing evidence that this accommodation has been reached.

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THE MILITANT

Raza Unida Party campaigns in Texas

By TANK BARRERA

HOUSTON, Oct. 9—With four weeks to go until election day, the Texas Raza Unida Party is conducting a vigorous campaign for 56 candidates for state and local offices. Ramsey Muñiz, candidate for governor, and José Angel Gutiérrez, chairman of the national Congreso de Aztlán, have been touring Texas and other parts of the country popularizing the ideas of the Chicano party.

An article in the current issue of *Chicano Times*, a San Antonio bi-weekly, covered Gutiérrez's recent tour in Dallas. "José Gutiérrez, leader of the Raza Unida Party, says that this Mexican-American political faction can destroy the Democrats and completely

for their presidential contenders.

"The Crystal City native said the party, in line with the position it took at its national convention in El Paso earlier this month, is discouraging Chicanos from voting for either President Nixon or Senator George S. McGovern. That will be the party's posture through the Nov. 7 election, he predicted."

The *Post* further quoted Gutiérrez as saying: "Our problems are the same whether Nixon is president or McGovern is president."

An article in the Oct. 8 *Houston Chronicle* covered a Muñiz speech at Los Angeles City College. The *Chronicle* said Muñiz "is openly hostile to the Democratic Party." It quotes Muñiz as saying: "The Democrats have done nothing for Mexicans in Texas or anywhere else."

The unusually reactionary nature of the Texas Democratic Party and its gubernatorial candidate Dolph Briscoe has increased the interest in the Raza Unida campaign and given rise to speculations in the press here of a sizable vote for Muñiz.

Briscoe is notorious for his statement at the Democratic Party national convention in support of George Wallace and in support of segregation. Because of this, Muñiz has drawn support from some liberal Democrats, such as Paul Moreno, state representative from El Paso; Mickey Leland, Black Democratic candidate for state representative in Houston; and others.

The response to Muñiz's speeches reflect the popularity of his campaign among young people in the state. He has spoken at most of the major college campuses in Texas and has received endorsement from several student body presidents, including Paul Rogers of the University of Houston and the student body presidents at the University of Texas in Austin, the University of Texas in El Paso, and Pan American University in Edinburg, Texas.

Speaking at the University of Houston and at Texas Southern University, Muñiz denounced the Democrats and



Ramsey Muñiz

Militant/ Antonio Camejo

eliminate the Republicans. . . .

"Both political parties are solely interested in promoting their own interests," said Gutiérrez, referring to Senator George McGovern, President Nixon, and all the other 'animales' [animals]."

The Sept. 29 *Houston Post* reported that Gutiérrez "discounted hopes of either Democrats or Republicans that Spanish-speaking Americans will vote



Militant/ Antonio Camejo

Jose Angel Gutierrez speaking at national Raza Unida Party conference in El Paso.

Republicans of Texas, stating that "the only difference between the Democratic and Republican parties is the spelling."

In a further attack on Briscoe, he stated: "The only difference between Briscoe and Wallace is that Briscoe wears glasses."

Muñiz is not the only Raza Unida candidate running a vigorous campaign. For example, in San Antonio, Alberto Peña II (son of Alberto Peña Jr., a Democrat), candidate for state representative in District 57J, is quoted in the *Chicano Times* as saying that he is "running against the Democratic Party because it treats Mexican-Americans as 'hip-pocket' votes."

Rubén Sandoval, candidate for state representative in District 57A, stated:

"When we began, many people thought that we were a joke, a farce. The Republican or the Democrat has always given us tokenism to get the *mexicano* vote, and yet these parties have never done anything to help our people."

The Raza Unida Party has been under intense pressure from Democrats to step away from its generally independent course. Gutiérrez told the *Chicano Times*, "Right now they [the liberal Democrats] are asking us to support McGovern, but they don't want to support the candidacy of Ramsey Muñiz."

Despite his attacks on the Democratic Party, Muñiz continues to say that he would endorse McGovern if McGovern endorsed him.

Meetings boost Oct. 26 antiwar actions

BOSTON, Oct. 8—The steering committees of two national antiwar organizations met here this weekend to prepare for antiwar demonstrations around the country on Oct. 26 and Nov. 18. The National Peace Action Coalition, which called the actions, and the Student Mobilization Committee, which has helped organize support for them, both held meetings at Boston University. More than 100 representatives attended each of the meetings.

The delegates from 25 cities at the NPAC steering committee meeting heard national and local reports on support for the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 demonstrations.

Jerry Gordon, an NPAC coordinator, assessed the state of the war and the antiwar movement. Nixon's diplomatic maneuvers, Gordon said, are aimed at fortifying his military objectives while creating the illusion that the war is ending.

The elections Nov. 7 will not be a referendum on the war, Gordon emphasized, because opponents of the war will vote for both Nixon and McGovern, as well as for other can-

didates, and some will not vote at all.

Gordon said he expects the size of the actions this fall to be modest because the attention of many people is concentrated on the elections. But because the elections are not a way to end the war and mass independent action is the way to end it, the fall actions are extremely important, Gordon said.

A guest speaker, Dr. Matt Meselson of Harvard, described for the NPAC meeting U.S. destruction of crops and forests in Vietnam.

The meeting passed a resolution condemning the recently exposed action of the Atlanta police in compiling and circulating a list of so-called "extremist" groups. The Atlanta Peace Action Coalition, NPAC's affiliate in that city, was among the groups the cops listed.

Yesterday, 161 representatives from 49 colleges and high schools took part in an expanded steering committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee.

SMC National Coordinator Fred

Lovgren addressed the meeting. He contrasted the insubstantial current "peace rumors" with the savage reality of the saturation bombing that is raining two tons of explosives per minute on the peoples of Indochina.

The SMC must continue its emphasis on the demand for immediate, total, and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and war materiel from Indochina, Lovgren said. No other demand is "fully consistent with self-determination for the people of Vietnam."

By organizing actions like those Oct. 26 and Nov. 18, Lovgren said, the SMC helps "lead the way for Americans from all sections of society to express their opposition to the war in the streets."

Barry Godson, a representative of the newly formed Canadian SMC, brought greetings from Canada's antiwar movement. Godson reported the Canadian SMC's plans for its first cross-country conference to be held Nov. 4-5 in Toronto.

Reports and workshops focused on the usefulness of printed material such

as the *Student Mobilizer* and of films, slide shows, and speaker's bureaus in the SMC's campaign to educate students about the escalation of the air war and campus complicity with the war.

Debate on 7-point plan

"Seven-Point Peace Plan—the Way to End the War?" will be the topic of a three-way discussion at Brooklyn College at noon Oct. 16.

Participants will be Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, Professor Art Myers of the Medical Aid Committee for Indochina, and Irwin Silber of the *Guardian*.

The program is sponsored by Hoa Binh, Youth for McGovern, Medical Aid Committee for Indochina, the Student Mobilization Committee, and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

For information on exact location, call Brooklyn College YSJP at (212) 596-2849.