

THE MILITANT

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

Vote Socialist!

The Militant urges its readers to vote for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party.

The most burning issue facing the American people is the need to stop the U.S. government's aggression against the people of Vietnam. Jenness and Pulley are the only presidential and vice-presidential candidates who have campaigned for immediate and unconditional U.S. withdrawal from all of Indochina and for the right of the Indochinese people to self-determination.

Nixon is trying to make it appear that he will achieve "peace" in Vietnam before or soon after the elections; his aim is to trick Americans into voting for him again as a "peace candidate."

Actually Nixon's brutal bombing campaign, his trips to Peking and Moscow, and the current "negotiations" by Henry Kissinger all have one aim: to maintain an imperialist foothold in Vietnam.

George McGovern's fundamental goals concerning Vietnam are the same as Nixon's; he fully supports the capitalist system and the defense of that system around the world against popular revolutionary struggles.

McGovern fears the consequences of domestic opposition to the war, and he feels that the long years of U.S. war against the Vietnamese—combined with the refusal of the Moscow and Peking regimes to seriously back the Vietnamese—have greatly weakened the liberation forces in that country. It is on this basis that he appears to think the U.S. can extract concessions that will still preserve its foothold in Southeast Asia.

But despite his promises, McGovern cannot be trusted to end the war because of his commitment to the imperialist system. One sign that his peace promises cannot be trusted is his opposition to antiwar demonstrations. Another sign is the fact that he has praised Nixon's current "peace" maneuvers rather than condemning Nixon's attempts to determine the political future of Vietnam.

Unlike Nixon and McGovern, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley say the U.S. has



Linda Jenness

Militant/Dave Wulp



Andrew Pulley

Militant/Brian Shannon

no right to negotiate anything about the future of Vietnam. No conditions imposed by the U.S. will "settle" the war; they will only lead to new war, as occurred after the 1954 Geneva Accords. Only Jenness and Pulley say there will be no peace until the U.S. unconditionally gets out of all of Indochina and allows the peoples of those countries to determine their own destinies.

The SWP candidates oppose the entire policy of building up U.S. military might to be used against struggles of oppressed peoples around the globe.

Unlike both Nixon and McGovern, Jenness and Pulley support and encourage the American people themselves to act against this war, to move toward taking such vital political questions into their own hands, to refuse to trust any more the regularly broken promises of the Democrats and Republicans.

Many other deep problems plague Amer-

ican society, and they are getting worse, not better. As with the issue of the war, it is the SWP candidates who propose solutions that go to the heart of the problems, solutions based on the needs of working people and other oppressed and exploited people around the world.

Nixon and McGovern both say what is best for business is best for the country; Jenness and Pulley say that what is best for working people is best for the country. To alleviate the hardships of working people caused by this dog-eat-dog system, Jenness and Pulley call for policies based on human needs rather than profits.

They say working people—who are not responsible for the problems of the capitalist system—should not have to bear the burden of inflation. The SWP calls for all contracts—

Continued on page 15

Out of S.E. Asia now! Build Nov. 18 actions!

— pages 5,8

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Jenness attacks election eve maneuvers'
- 4 Evidence shows Nixon sabotaged Dems
- 5 U.S. terror bears down on Vietnamese
- 7 Women indict anti-abortion forces at local hearings
- 11 World competition threatens jobs and wages
- 12 Cleve. plans to meet sub quota
- 13 N.Y. School Dist. 1 school fight
- 14 Was 'Prague Spring' antisocialist?
- 16 Socialist campaigns across the country
- 21 Col. Raza Unida candidates speak out
- 22 SWP stand on Calif. initiatives
- 28 Middle class revolt marks crisis in Chile

- 2 In Brief
- 8 In our Opinion Letters
- 9 American Way of Life National Picket Line
- 10 Great Society Women in Revolt By Any Means Necessary
- 12 The Militant Gets Around
- 23 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Interview with Greek Trotskyist leader
- 2 Appeal for aid to Sri Lanka prisoners
- 3 W. Germans protest witch-hunt of Arabs
- 4 British, Belgian antiwar actions planned

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 36/NUMBER 40
NOVEMBER 3, 1972
CLOSING NEWS DATE—OCT. 25, 1972

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

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

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

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

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

ONE MILLION JAPANESE DEMONSTRATE: That was the estimate the Japanese police made of the number of people who took part in actions on Oct. 21 against the U. S. bombing of Vietnam in cities throughout Japan.

HARD TIMES FOR JINGOES: In days gone by the annual veterans parade was one of New York's major marches, drawing tens of thousands of participants. Not any more. The latest one, on Oct. 23, drew 200 marchers, most of them veterans of World War I. They were joined by 500 people for a rally after the parade.



Militant/Flax Hermes

New York demonstration on Oct. 20 was part of an international campaign in behalf of thousands of political prisoners in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) who have been held without trial since April 1971. The Sri Lanka government is now planning to try the prisoners before special tribunals.

WHY VOTE SOCIALIST? One reason is provided by Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky. Cooper, as a tribute to Senator Philip Hart (D-Mich.), a leading Senate liberal, inserted a series of articles about Hart into the Oct. 18 *Congressional Record*. One of them is a piece by Saul Friedman from the March 9, 1969, *Detroit Free Press*.

Friedman explains that Senator James Eastland (D-Miss.) was "in on the kill" of the 1966 civil rights bill, "for which Hart was floor manager."

"A leader of Senate civil rights forces, Hart arose in the chamber one day to denounce Eastland. . . . Hart's language was unusually harsh."

"It seemed a courageous thing for Hart to do, for Eastland was his chairman and a very influential member of the Senate. . . . Sen. Sam J. Ervin, a North Carolina Democrat, arose to reply to Hart and defend his colleague from Mississippi."

"But as Ervin began speaking, Eastland sidled up to him and whispered loudly: 'Damn it Sam, sit down and shut up. You're ruining the whole thing.'"

"Hart's speech, it turned out, had been written by Eastland's staff. It was to be circulated in Mississippi to help Eastland win against a Republican who charged he was too soft on the Negro issue."

"Eastland and Hart still chuckle over the incident. And Ervin, because he was taken in by it, gets a belly laugh out of remembering it."

BLACK ACTIVIST GIVEN 34 YEARS IN PRISON: A North Carolina judge sentenced nine Black men and a white woman to a total of 242 years in prison on Oct. 18. The defendants were all active in the Black liberation movement in North Carolina. The charges against them stemmed from the burning of a grocery store during a protest against racial bias in Wilmington, N. C., in February 1971.

The political nature of the trial was indicated by the fact that the state sent a special prosecutor from the attorney general's office in Raleigh to take charge of the case. The Reverend Ben Chavis, who was accused of being the leader of a "conspiracy to assault emergency personnel," as well as of the fire bombing of property, was compared during the trial to Adolf Hitler. The savage sentence of 34 years in prison handed down against Chavis followed a trial last April in which he was acquitted of charges of helping two men flee to Canada to avoid prosecution.

James Ferguson, the defense attorney, said there is a good chance that the convictions will be overturned on appeal.

AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION TO HEAR GAY SPEAKER: The New York Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) announced Oct. 12 that a gay speaker will take part in a panel at the American Psychiatric Association (APA) convention next May. The panel will discuss whether

homosexuality should be dropped from the APA's "official list of psychiatric disorders."

The GAA reports that officers of the Association for the Advancement of Behavior Therapy (AABT) are considering having gay speakers address their next convention as a result of a dialogue with GAA activists at the AABT convention held Oct. 5.

GAY MILITANTS PLAN SOUTHERN CONVENTION: A convention of gay activists for the purpose of setting up a gay organization for the South will be held Nov. 10-12 in Athens Georgia. The conference will be co-sponsored by the Gay Education Committee of Athens and the Georgia Gay Liberation Front. For more information, contact David Hirsch, P.O. Box 1265, Knoxville, Tenn. 37901.

HARRINGTON QUILTS AS SOCIALIST PARTY HEAD: Complaining that the Socialist Party's position on the 1972 elections "committed the party to the anti-Nixon struggle only in the most formal sense," and charging that "some of the most prestigious leaders of the party . . . look with enthusiasm upon a Nixon victory," Michael Harrington made public his resignation as cochairman of the SP on Oct. 22. The other cochairmen of the SP are Bayard Rustin and Charles S. Zimmerman, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE: An Oct. 12 Associated Press dispatch from Stirling, Scotland, reports that "Hundreds of students shouting obscenities and chanting 'monarchy out' mobbed Queen Elizabeth II when she visited Stirling University today."

However, the Queen kept her cool. "She ignored cat-calls, jeers and oaths in scenes unprecedented in her 20-year reign."

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CHINA: Amnesty International, a prestigious civil-rights organization that has acted on behalf of political prisoners throughout the world, has announced that it will investigate conditions in China to determine whether there are any political prisoners there.

Some 200 Chinese Trotskyists were arrested and imprisoned in December 1952, and January 1953 during a widespread repression of left-wing critics of the Maoist regime. They included activists who had participated in the earliest struggles of the Communist movement in China. There has been no official word about the fate of these revolutionaries in the 20 years since their arrest.



Militant/Harry Ring

This demonstration of several hundred members and supporters of Bicycles Now!, an environmental action group promoting pro-bicycle legislation, was held in Denver Oct. 15. A bicycle demonstration is planned for New York Nov. 4. The demonstration is for decent mass transportation and against private cars in Manhattan. Participants will cycle down Fifth Avenue from the Central Park Mall to Washington Square.

McGOVERN'S COMPLAINT: An Aug. 31 UPI dispatch brought to our attention by a reader from Elmira, N. Y., tells of George McGovern's criticisms of some of his "radical" supporters, including Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden, and Abbie Hoffman. Complaining about their support for Black militants such as Huey Newton and Ruchell Magee, McGovern said, "Even though their own freedom depends on the American legal and political system, they use that freedom to proclaim the worthlessness of the system that makes their protest possible."

It reminds me of Mark Twain's famous observation, "It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either of them."

—DAVE FRANKEL

Jenness addresses 350 at Boston's Faneuil Hall

Attacks 'election eve peace maneuvers'

By PEGGY BRUNDY

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 24 — At a news conference here today, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness denounced Nixon's current peace negotiations as a fraud.

"President Nixon," Jenness said, "has been in office four years and could have ended the war at any time. The fact that he is now talking about peace only shows that he is not after peace but after the votes of the American people, just like he was in 1968."

"I say that the United States has no right to be there and no right to negotiate or demand anything from the Vietnamese."

"Any concessions wrung out of the Vietnamese by the Nixon administration will not be compromises from opposing sides but will be extorted from the Vietnamese at the cost of millions of dead and wounded."

Exposing the fraud of these peace talks has been a prominent theme of the Jenness campaign. Last week her whirlwind campaign tour of the U.S. took her to Boston and Atlanta.

The *Boston Globe* commented: "Linda Jenness is tough and uncompromising the way people say they like their presidential candidates to be. . . ."

"She was in Boston yesterday attacking the McGovern and Nixon

'election eve peace maneuvers,' and ready to add up the accomplishments of a 13-month third party campaign."

The campaign isn't over yet, and it's still too early to sum up, but it is clear that the response to the Jenness campaign from both the press and her audiences is getting better as Nov. 7 draws closer. In Atlanta, Channel 2 televised her arrival at the Atlanta airport just a few days after Nixon had stormed the city. The newsmen commented that her arrival was very different from President Nixon's.

At a news conference held Oct. 17 at the Georgia state capitol, Jenness and the Georgia SWP candidates for Senate and Congress announced that the SWP was filing for official write-in status on the Georgia ballot.

Reporters and newsmen from nearly every newspaper and radio and TV station in Atlanta were there firing questions at the candidates, trying to drown each other out and get their own questions answered.

"In how many states will you be on the ballot?" asked WQXI-TV (ABC) and WAGA-TV (CBS) simultaneously. "Around 25," responded Jenness. She explained the restrictive laws that had kept the SWP off the ballot in the other 25 states. "Move your microphone so I can get a good shot,"

whispered the cameraman from WSB-TV (NBC) to the UPI reporter.

Following Jenness's statement and her answers to questions, Alice Conner, SWP candidate for Senate from Georgia, pointed out that in Georgia SWP campaigns helped knock out some of the restrictions against smaller parties' running in elections.

Jenness's 1969 and 1970 campaigns here challenged the legality of requiring candidates to pay filing fees. As a result, those fees were ruled unconstitutional and eliminated. The Georgia law currently being challenged by the SWP requires that a smaller party collect 98,000 signatures to be on the ballot.

While in Atlanta, Jenness spoke to about 100 students during a half-hour "activities break" at Georgia State University. Her speech was sponsored by the Forum Committee of the university. The turnout, according to the sponsors, was the second largest of this year's activities. Largest was a debate between Keith Jones, SWP congressional candidate in Georgia's 5th C.D., and his Democratic opponent, Andrew Young.

After a brief stop in Washington, D.C., to participate in a news conference protesting laws excluding Jenness from the ballot because of her age, the presidential candidate campaigned in the Boston area. There she spoke to about 1,000 people. The highlight of the Boston swing was a gathering of 350 people at Faneuil Hall. This stately meeting place is legendary as the platform of such revolutionary Americans as Sam Adams, Frederick Douglass, Tom Paine, and Wendell Phillips.

Huge oil paintings hang on the walls depicting these revolutionaries debating strategy and policies of the American revolutions. "Our meeting here tonight," said the chairwoman in her introductory remarks, "continues the best traditions of this hall. We are discussing how to make the third American revolution—the socialist revolution."

Jenness was often interrupted by applause, and when she finished the audience gave her a long ovation.

While in Boston, Jenness appeared on "Women Today," a daytime interview show on WBZ-TV. According

to the producer, this show has an all-woman production staff. She was a guest on the "Jerry Williams Show" on WBZ radio—a clear-channel station listened to by about 500,000 families as far away as Illinois and Texas.

On Oct. 19, one-quarter of the student body of 1,100 at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., turned out to hear her. A total of 300 people came to her meetings at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst and the University of New Hampshire in Durham.

"People sometimes tell me," Jenness said, "that they disagree with Nixon and think McGovern has backtracked

Linda Jenness will appear on WNET-TV, Channel 13 in the New York City area, on a show called "Campaign Extra" on Saturday, Oct. 28, at 6:30 p.m. The show will be repeated Tuesday, Oct. 31, at 7 p.m.



Reporters cluster around Linda Jenness at her Oct. 17 news conference in Atlanta.

Black students hear Pulley in Mississippi

By DERRICK MORRISON

SEATTLE, Oct. 24 — Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley crisscrossed the country last week, speaking in Michigan, Mississippi, Georgia, and Washington.

Following his tour of Detroit, where he met with Black high school campaign supporters, Pulley traveled to Jackson, Miss., where he spoke to students at predominately-Black Jackson State College. A lively discussion followed his talk. Questions ranged from how to end the war in Southeast Asia to women's liberation to the need for an independent Black political party.

Pulley then addressed a meeting at Tougaloo College, another Black school, in Tougaloo, Miss. The next evening he appeared at the Militant Labor Forum in Atlanta.

From Atlanta, the vice-presidential candidate flew to Seattle, where he addressed a campaign rally of 80 people. He was joined on the platform by Marxist scholar George Novack, a

member of the SWP National Campaign Committee; and Craig Honts, the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 1st C.D.

Seven times this fall, Honts has confronted his Democratic opponent, John Hempleman, and the Republican contender, Joel Pritchard, at meetings. Two weeks ago, the three candidates appeared together at a lively debate before 150 to 200 students at the University of Washington. At one point, according to *The Daily*, the U of W student newspaper, Hempleman became so exasperated with Honts's remarks that he ripped the microphone out of the socialist candidate's hand.

When Honts and Hempleman appeared on the same panel recently at Nathan Hale Middle School here, seven students asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The U of W TV station has filmed an hour-long debate between Honts, Hempleman, and Pritchard.

The Seattle campaign rally raised more than \$600 for the socialist cam-

paign.

Today at a well-attended news conference, Pulley addressed himself to the widespread rumors about an impending settlement of the war in Vietnam.

"The fact that the United States government feels that it has the right to

negotiate the future of Vietnam, feels that it has the right to in any way determine the course of events in Vietnam, basically assures us that there will be no peace," Pulley told reporters. "There will not be any peace in Vietnam until U.S. troops and planes have been withdrawn."



After a court victory Andrew Pulley held outdoor rally at Civic Center during Chicago tour.

Evidence shows Nixon sabotaged Dems

By LEE SMITH

OCT. 22 — Evidence brought to light earlier this month exposed the Watergate bugging and break-in episode as only a small part of an elaborate Republican plan to sabotage Democratic election efforts. Citing as its source FBI and Justice Department files, the Oct. 10 *Washington Post* said the plan included: "Following members of Democratic candidates' families; forging letters and distributing them under candidates' letterheads; leaking false and manufactured items to the press; throwing campaign schedules into disarray; seizing confidential campaign files; and investigating the lives of dozens of Democratic campaign workers."

Referred to at the White House and within the Committee for the Re-election of the President as their "offensive security" program, the operation "goes far beyond what is normal," according to the *Post*. The newspaper pointed out that "Intelligence work" is normal during a campaign and is said to be carried out by both political parties. But the uncovered Republican action, it continued, "is unprecedented in its extent and intensity."

National Democratic Campaign Chairman Lawrence O'Brien attacked the GOP "offensive security" action in a New York news conference Oct. 13. He said it was "political espionage" that bordered on the tactics of a "fascist state."

However, it does not appear that either O'Brien or his party really takes his rhetoric too seriously. For example, the House Banking and Currency Committee, which has a Democratic majority of 22 to 15, voted down a motion to give the committee's chairman, Wright Patman, power to subpoena witnesses and documents for an investigation.

The Oct. 3 vote against the motion was 20 to 15. The committee refused to reconsider its action after the new evidence came to light. And the *New York Times* said Oct. 13—the same day O'Brien was making noise about "fascist" tactics—that Senator Edward Kennedy "is reported to be reluctant to head an investigation."

A clue to the Democrats' reluctance to really pursue the matter may be the little-noted countercharges leveled by

Nixon's campaign manager, Clark MacGregor, Oct. 19. According to the Oct. 20 *New York Times*, MacGregor charged that McGovern's campaign apparatus had stolen mailing lists and spied on the South Dakota senator's primary opponents. MacGregor cited an unnamed "highly reliable source in the press" for his information.

Whatever the reason, however, the Democrats are helping Nixon cover up this affair until after election day

that admits one standard for Democrats and Republicans and another for socialists and Black Panthers, the revelations of Nixon's espionage against the Democrats undermine even further people's faith in the so-called democratic institutions of American capitalism. An editorial in the *New York Times* Oct. 12, headlined "A Sinister Affair," said: "The veracity and integrity of the President's staff and campaign organization are at

alleging that Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Me.) condoned calling Americans of Québécois descent "Canucks" was written, according to *Washington Post* reporter Mayilyn Berger, by White House staffer Ken W. Clawson. Clawson now denies writing the letter that in part triggered Muskie's noted "crying speech" in front of the *Union Leader's* office.

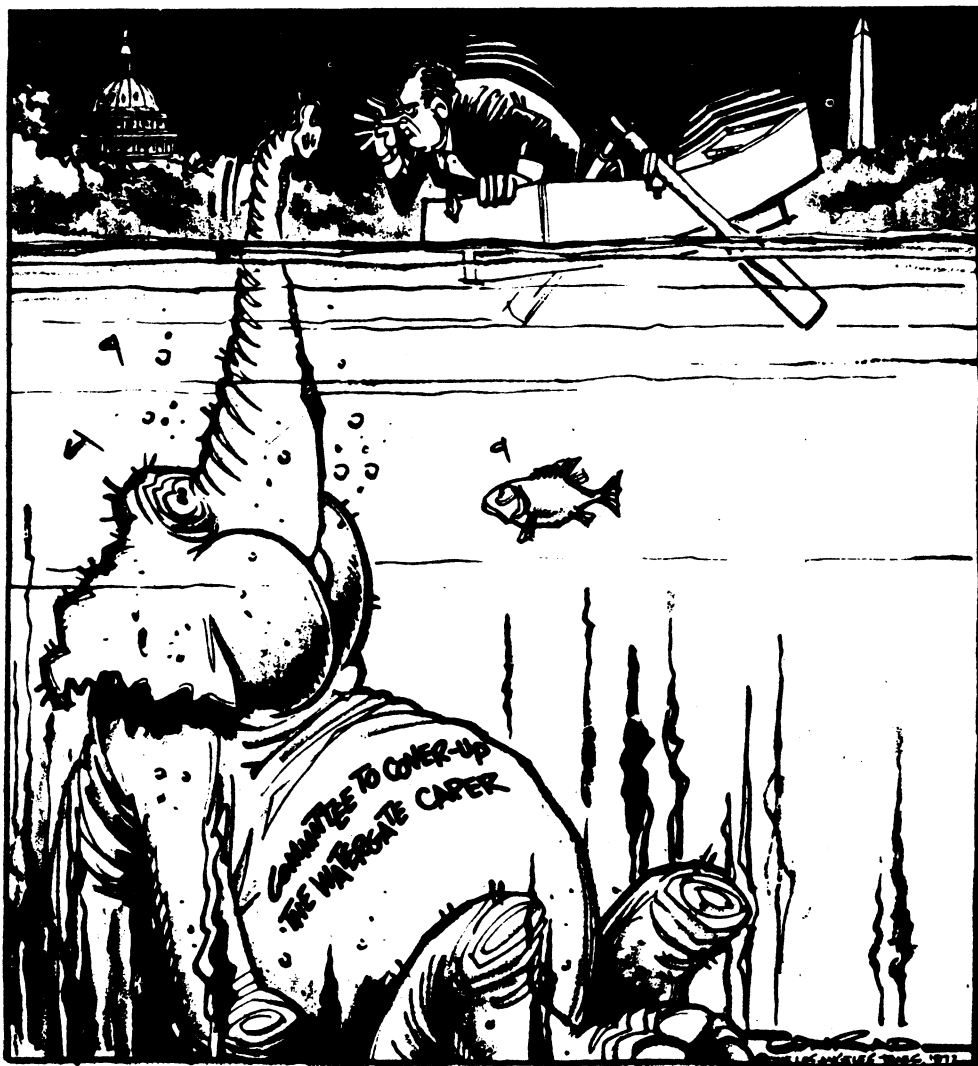
● Another incident involving Muskie and the New Hampshire primary that the Maine senator now blames on Nixon is the case of the midnight calls. Someone who claimed to represent the Muskie campaign made hundreds of calls to voters' homes around midnight urging a vote for Muskie because of all he had done for Black people.

● The Oct. 10 *Washington Post* story carried the testimony of three attorneys who said that former Treasury Department lawyer Donald Segretti had tried to recruit them as agents provocateurs for Nixon's "offensive security" operation. The *Post* quotes "One Federal investigative official" who said Segretti was "just a small fish in a big pond" and that 50 such "undercover Nixon operatives" were traveling about the country disrupting Democratic campaigns.

One of the three attorneys, Alex Shipley, now assistant attorney general in Tennessee, told the *Post* that Segretti spelled out his prospective duties in this way: "Enlist people, be imaginative." One thing he stressed was asking people who were fairly free to travel. . . . He stressed what fun we could have. As an example, he gave this situation:

"When a rally is scheduled at 7 p.m. at a local coliseum by a particular candidate, you call up and represent to the manager that you're the field manager for this candidate and you have some information that some rowdies, some hippies or what-have-you are going to cause trouble. So you ask him to move the rally up to 9 o'clock—thereby insuring that the place would be padlocked when the candidate showed up at 7."

Shipley also told the *Post* that Segretti said: "Nixon knows that something is being done. It's a typical deal . . . 'Don't-tell-me-anything-and-I-won't-know.'"



"... Four more weeks! ... Four more weeks! ..."

at least. And if the extent and intensity of Nixon's "offensive security" against the Democrats are unprecedented, as the *Post* alleges, they still pale next to the bipartisan methods used against radicals and Black and Chicano militants.

Nevertheless, despite the hypocrisy

stake." And that's not all that's at stake.

Some of the specific actions attributed to Nixon's "offensive security" are the following:

● The letter printed in the *Manchester Union Leader* Feb. 24 during the New Hampshire primary campaign

Israel pursues aggression with more raids

By TONY THOMAS

OCT. 23 — On Oct. 15 the Israeli government continued its announced campaign of aggression against the Arab people by launching air attacks on Lebanon and Syria. The villages of Bekifa, Deir el Achayer, Ras el Nada, and Sainik in Lebanon were hit, as well as Marsa-Hemmed in Syria, according to the Oct. 17 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

Le Monde correspondent Edouard Saab, writing from Beirut, reported that "about 10 localities in the south and west of Lebanon and in the north of Syria" were struck. Lebanese authorities said Israel used six aircraft and a number of helicopters in the attack.

John Cooley, writing from Beirut in the Oct. 18 *Christian Science Monitor*, reported that "the unofficial count of victims was 2 Lebanese civilians killed, 72 wounded, and 2 missing and one Palestinian killed and 16 wounded."

These attacks showed the futility of the Lebanese government's policy of cracking down on Palestinian fighters

to appease Israel and "prevent" such raids. Cooley wrote that after the attacks "Lebanese officials remarked bitterly that there had been no guerrilla activity, thanks in part to Lebanese Army control measures, on the Israeli border since the large Israeli attack of Sept. 16-18 and that therefore the attacks were unprovoked."

Saab noted that the attacks came after agreements "to freeze the activity of the fedayeen and to liquidate all their bases near the Israeli frontier. . . ."

Israeli government officials, led by Prime Minister Golda Meir, have vowed to continue these actions until the resistance is completely prevented from functioning in any of the Arab countries. According to Cooley, Meir said the raids were "part of Israel's war against the guerrillas."

An article by Jon Rothschild in the Oct. 30 *Intercontinental Press* quotes several top Israeli officials on the air raids. One military official was quoted as saying, "We have given up the practice of waiting for the terrorists to strike first. From now on, we

will strike whenever a useful target presents itself."

Haim Herzog, former Israeli military intelligence chief, was quoted as saying, "The very presence of terrorists [i.e., Palestinian freedom-fighters] in the area between the border and the Litani River [in Lebanon] is a provocation. . . . If they are near the border, we consider ourselves free to act against them."

Herzog's statements were consistent with fears that Israel's current "anti-terrorist" campaign might be linked to territorial demands against Lebanon. Rothschild writes, "The river, which runs through southern Lebanon parallel to the Israeli border, marks off an approximately 285-square-mile area that could be easily occupied by the Israeli army. The river itself would make a tempting border, one much more easily defended against commando actions than the present one."

These raids against Lebanon have been carried out periodically for over a year, and are quickly followed by Lebanese crackdowns on the Palestin-

ians. Yet every crackdown has been followed by more Zionist aggression. The character of the Zionist regime was further revealed in an Oct. 8 dispatch from the United Nations printed in the *New York Times*. A UN committee charged with investigating Israel's actions in Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war reported that there had been a mass displacement of 11,000 Arab residents and that new Israeli settlements had been constructed in the occupied areas.

While the Zionist regime claimed its 1967 operations were simply "defensive"—as it claims now in respect to its current "anti-terrorist" campaign—the committee report contradicts this claim.

"The measures that have been taken by Israel in the occupied territories," the report states, "all tend to show that they will make the occupied territories socially, economically and politically and juridically part of Israel. . . ."

The report only underlines the expansionist and settler-colonialist nature of the Zionist regime.

'Weekender' strikes hit Gen Motors

By FRANK LOVELL

The second round of "weekender" strikes by powerful locals of the United Auto Workers Union against key assembly plants in the General Motors complex began Friday, Oct. 20.

Plants hit this time were Fairfax, Kan. (4,100 workers); Janesville, Wis. (4,900 workers); and Arlington, Texas (3,500 workers). All three plants are among the 18 managed by General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), which has a total of 85,000 workers on its payroll.

Indicating that the tactic of brief strike actions against GM units would continue for a third round at least, UAW Local 45 at the Coit Road Fisher Body plant in Cleveland called a membership meeting Sunday, Oct. 22, to take a strike vote for future action.

This strike action of chopping away at GM production while the union and the corporation negotiate production standards for the 1973 model cars was devised by the top UAW leadership in response to GMAD speedup in all assembly plants during the past year. According to management reports, GM production fell 9,000 cars short of schedule as a result of the first round of "quickie" strikes on the Oct. 13 weekend at plants in St. Louis, Atlanta, and Mansfield, Ohio.

The present strike tactics follow in the wake of the 174-day strike GMAD provoked at the Norwood, Ohio, plant. UAW President Leonard Woodcock vowed not "to let any local almost bleed to death as GM tried to do at Norwood." The purpose of the union now is to subject GM to a little bloodletting.

The rash of strikes aims not only to disrupt GM production schedules but also to publicly expose and discredit the GMAD product.

In St. Louis, Edward Gregory, a GM inspector for nearly 20 years, charged that the company turns out cars with shoddy paint, wrong parts, and safety violations because it refuses to hire enough workers to do the work properly.

"They cut out so much manpower these guys can't do it," Gregory said. "The cars pile up on the end of the line. We've lost one-third of our inspectors. If you don't have someone to inspect the cars and write up rejection sheets, then the repairmen aren't going to do the work." (*Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 10.)

Hints of division within GM management over the merciless speedup policy appeared in the Sept. 25 issue of a UAW opposition paper, *United National Caucus*. An article there on the Norwood strike by UAW member E. A. Gardner said, "The executives of GMAD have supposedly been called 'those sons of bitches' by a highly placed Chevrolet executive."

This theme was expanded by UAW President Woodcock at a press conference in Detroit Oct. 19, when he said there are "hawks" in GM management who have declared war on the union. The war has already taken a toll of 18,000 jobs and GM is producing more cars than ever before with this many fewer workers, according to Woodcock. GM also makes higher profits than ever before.

The strategy of Woodcock and his associates seeks to use the "weekend" strike to convince GM management of the folly of warring against the union and hopes to reestablish the former union-management relationship of "peaceful collaboration."

U.S. diplomacy of terror bears down on Viet freedom fighters

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 24 — After an unprecedented four days of meetings with North Vietnamese top negotiators Xuan Thuy and Le Duc Tho, President Nixon's adviser Henry Kissinger flew to Saigon Oct. 17. There he met for five days with Saigon dictator Nguyen Van Thieu before returning to Washington to report to Nixon. Now Kissinger is expected to return to talks with the North Vietnamese in Paris, and then fly again to Saigon.

The main concern of Washington in this flurry of secret diplomatic activity is this: Will Nixon succeed in getting a deal to preserve some kind of proimperialist puppet regime in South Vietnam? At this moment there is no way of knowing the answer.

It is important to keep in mind the immense pressure that has been exerted against the Vietnamese liberation fighters. They are the victims of the heaviest bombing and most sophisticated antipersonnel weaponry in the history of warfare.

Moscow and Peking, instead of providing adequate military defenses, are doling out aid to Hanoi with an eyedropper. They refuse to take part in building a unified international antiwar movement. They place their own bureaucratic search for a détente with Washington far above the desperate needs of the embattled Southeast Asian freedom fighters.

U. S. war effort

Senator Edward Kennedy recently summarized the U.S. aggression against Indochina in a speech crudely designed to get votes for George McGovern. This aside, the facts can never be repeated too often. "Since 1965," said Kennedy, "nearly 7 million tons of bombs have been dropped over Indochina. This is over 10 times the tonnage dropped during the Korean war, and over 3 times the tonnage dropped during all of World War II In North Vietnam, where the administration is conducting one of the most intensive bombing campaigns in our Nation's history, the full impact of the bombing upon the civilian population is not fully known. We do know, however, that not all American bombs are 'smart bombs'—indeed, most of them are not. We also know, from countless eye-witness reports, about the destruction that our bombs have brought—not only to military targets, but also to hospitals and churches and schools and heavily populated civilian areas. And we know that there has been 'carpet bombing' by B-52's spreading destruction from 36,000 feet. Such missions have been flown over Haiphong, reportedly hitting the city market and workers' quarters." (*Congressional Record*, Sept. 26, p. S 15830.)

Kennedy estimated the total deaths in Indochina since 1970 alone at 400,000, including combat forces and civilians on both sides of the civil war. Without counting the North Vietnamese displaced by U.S. atrocity bombing, Kennedy estimated the total refugees since 1970 at 3,900,000.

Antipersonnel bombs

What are these tens of thousands of tons of bombs like that rain down on Southeast Asia day after day? Eric Prokosch describes some in "The Simple Art of Murder," a pamphlet recently distributed by the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia.

"Three main types of antipersonnel bomb have been used in Indochina. . . .

"The 'pineapple' bomb. . . is cylindrical and has several fins that un-

fold upon release, stabilizing the bomb in flight and causing it to land nose first. 1/4-inch steel balls are embedded in the side of the case and when the bomb hits the ground, the balls are shot out on all sides.

"The 'guava' bomb, from U.S. Air Force descriptions, weighs about a pound and is the size of a baseball. Steel balls are embedded in the case. 665 bomblets are released from an SUU-30 dispenser. Flanges on each bomb cause the bomblets to spin, stabilizing them in flight and dispersing them in a pattern so that an area will be uniformly covered with bomblets. . . .



Nguyen Van Thieu

"The BLU-24, 'orange' bomb is a jungle penetration bomb. . . . The bomb has a spherical metal case containing a high explosive. Curved plastic vanes are attached at one end of the case. Fragmentation of the case makes the BLU-24 effective against 'personnel.'"

In *Voices from the Plain of Jars*, Fred Branfman quotes the victims of U.S. bombings and gives some of their pictures of what happened. "This is my 19-year-old sister. She had stopped to pick some vegetables but just then the airplanes came and she had nowhere near to run to. So she ran from the jungle, but was hit by a bomb first. She lost a limb and thereafter was unable to work. . . ."

The words of this Laotian farmer, if Kennedy's figures are accurate, have to be multiplied nearly four million times, just since 1970. And that is for those who lived.

But the two most powerful workers states—the Soviet Union and China—have responded to this slaughter with only the most minimal military aid to Hanoi. They wined and dined Nixon as the bombs fell and the attack on North Vietnam was escalated.

Moscow has the weapons to significantly help the Vietnamese liberation struggle. But what is it giving to Hanoi? Antiaircraft missiles considered by their Soviet makers as "obsolete," according to a detailed report in the Aug. 20, 1972, *New York Times*.

"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.

"Apart from possible diplomatic reasons for this, the Russians are clearly wary about the possibility of their best weapons falling under the scrutiny of Chinese technical experts. Much of Moscow's logistic support to Hanoi flows by rail through China."

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt wrote from Washington Oct. 20, "United States pressure on Saigon to make negotiations with Hanoi possible is paralleled by similar, although less overt, Soviet and Chinese pressure on Hanoi.

"This is the reassuring word reaching the missions here of countries that maintain diplomatic representation in Hanoi, while Henry Kissinger, impressively flanked by powerful military and political aides, begins talks in Saigon with President Nguyen Van Thieu."

It cannot be ruled out that under the pressure of U.S. bombing and the treacherous policies of Moscow and Peking, Hanoi will be forced to make concessions to Washington. And it is clear that Nixon's aim remains the same as John F. Kennedy's in 1961—to stabilize a proimperialist regime in Saigon.

On Oct. 23, Thieu issued a decree that, "if put into effect during a ceasefire, would amount to outlawing the Communists in territory the Government claims to control and giving the army and police authority to apprehend or shoot to kill any Communists or sympathizers they discover in those zones," according to the Oct. 24 *New York Times*.

This underlines the latent danger of any ceasefire so long as the puppet dictatorship exists in Saigon, backed by Washington's massive military arsenal. Consequently, the need of international antiwar pressure has in no way diminished as the secret talks are stepped up. The responsibility for the slaughter in Southeast Asia lies on Washington's hands. There can be no peace until U.S. military forces are totally removed.

North Vietnamese welcome Oct. 26, Nov. 18 actions

The following telegram was received by the National Peace Action Coalition on Oct. 26:

Highly appreciate your initiative of organizing Oct. 26 picket lines and Nov. 18 mass antiwar demonstrations. U.S. war in Vietnam is intensified and fiercer than ever. Although Vietnamese people have shown maximum good will, Nixon administration doesn't respond to Vietnam's legitimate demands, namely genuine independence and freedom. Firmly believe your ac-

tivities will contribute important part to mobilization of American opinion demanding Nixon administration end immediately Vietnam war and support to Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration. Withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam. Let South Vietnamese people settle own affairs without foreign interference. Wish you every success.

Nguyen Minh Vy
Democratic Republic of Vietnam
office in Paris

YS meet will discuss strategy and tactics to change society

By LAURA MILLER

As a special feature of the Young Socialist national convention, Andrew Pulley, Young Socialist Alliance national executive committee member and SWP vice-presidential candidate, will address a mass socialist rally Saturday evening, Nov. 25. Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president, will also speak.

Laura Miller is the YSA's national organizational secretary.

The convention, scheduled for Thanksgiving weekend, Nov. 23-26, in Cleveland, is expected to bring together hundreds of members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and other activists and leaders from many political movements and high school and college campuses.

According to Andy Rose, national chairman of the YSA, "This convention is going to discuss questions facing many young people now that the election campaigns are ending: What are the lessons of the '72 elections? Where do we go from here? What strategy and tactics are effective if you want to change society?"

"We will be charting a course of action for building the antiwar movement, the feminist movement, and the struggles of Black and Chicano youth, as well as building a powerful socialist youth movement.

"We urge all young people who want

to continue the struggle to participate in the Young Socialist national convention."

Convention participants will hear and discuss reports by YSA leaders on the current political situation facing the student, antiwar, and women's liberation movements, and the Black and Chicano struggles. These reports will be supplemented by workshops in which activists from these movements can exchange experiences.

Panels and workshops will also be held on many other topics, including the high school movement, gay liberation, young socialist student government campaigns, expanding the YSA through regional organizing, Marxist education, financing the revolutionary movement, and distributing socialist literature.

At a series of panels on the international revolutionary movement, representatives from socialist organizations around the world will present reports on the political situation and the activities of revolutionists in their countries. International guests are already confirmed from England, France, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and are expected from many other countries as well.

Between convention sessions, those attending the convention will be able to view several political films, including "A Luta Continua!" by Robert Van Lierop, which deals with the liberation struggle in Mozambique; "Black Unity: Breaking the Chains

of Oppression," a film about last May's African Liberation Day demonstrations; "To Make a Revolution" and "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger" by award-winning radical filmmaker David Loeb Weiss; and a short film of a speech by Leon Trotsky.

Young socialist speakers and teams of socialist activists have been touring the country this fall publicizing the convention. Caroline Fowlkes, national convention coordinator, explains: "The response our speakers have been getting in the high schools and on the college campuses indicates that this is going to be a big and exciting convention.

"We've distributed more than 200,000 wallposters advertising the convention and lots of other convention literature. We've spoken to thousands of young people. And we've gotten a lot of convention publicity in the campus and underground press.

"Many areas will be bringing busloads of students and young workers to the convention."

Convention sessions, open to all interested young activists, will be held at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel in downtown Cleveland. For more information on housing, transportation and registration costs, contact: Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7570; or Young Socialist Convention Center, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Telephone: (216) 391-5553.

Young Socialist Nat'l Convention Countdown

Delfine Welch, a member of the YSA national executive committee currently on tour in the New York area, participated in a panel discussion on abortion at Brooklyn College, Oct. 18. Eighty people attended the meeting to hear Welch and the other panelists: Victoria Stevens, national student secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League; Andrea Gubrano of the Third World Federation (a Brooklyn College group composed of Black, Caribbean, and Latin American students); and Marilyn Marcus of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

Welch and John Hawkins, also a mem-

ber of the YSA national executive committee and the SWP candidate for Brooklyn's 12th Congressional District, recently addressed a student audience at New York City Community College, a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican school in Brooklyn. After seeing "To Make a Revolution," a film by David Loeb Weiss about the YSA, and listening to short talks by Welch and Hawkins about the need for a socialist youth movement, a number of students signed up to attend the Young Socialist convention.

Welch reports that one of these students, a young woman active in the Puerto Rican struggle, approached her after the meeting and said, "I didn't

ask you any questions during the meeting because I agreed with everything you said!"

A team of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley traveling through the Midwest spent several days at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. During their short stay six SIU students joined the YSA, including two who had been active in the Youth for McGovern chapter on campus.

Other new YSA locals include Phoenix, Ariz.; Albuquerque, N.M.; Mt. Pleasant, Mich.; New Haven, Conn.; and Edinboro, Pa.

Leslie Dork, YSA organizer in San Diego, Calif., was selling the Young Socialist, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, at a McGovern rally last week when a young McGovern supporter bought a copy. Dork asked him if he'd heard about the Young Socialist convention, and he replied, "Of course. I intend to go. I'm from Oklahoma and the YSA is very well known out there."

An eight-page "Join the YSA" brochure, outlining what the YSA is and why young activists should become members, is now available for \$1/100 on orders of 200 or more. These brochures can be distributed at campus and community meetings, from literature tables, and in many other ways. Bulk orders or free single copies can be obtained from the YSA National Office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

— LAURA MILLER



New York regional YSJP team member Susan Winsten (seated) debates Mike Winkler of Students for McGovern at the University of Connecticut.

International defense to be theme of panels at YS meeting

Highlighting the Young Socialist national convention in Cleveland, Nov. 23-26, will be three special panels with an international focus.

The first panel, "Imperialism's Anti-Arab Witch-hunt," will take place Thursday morning, Nov. 23. Panelists will discuss the attacks on Arabs and other supporters of the Palestinian revolution in the wake of the Munich events, the implications of the witch-hunt for civil liberties around the world, and what can be done to counter these attacks.

Speakers will include Abdeen Jabara, president of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates and former editor of *Free Palestine*; Na'im Israeli, a socialist and anti-Zionist Israeli student in the U.S.; and a representative of the Young Socialist Alliance.

A panel on "Defending Political Prisoners Around the World" is scheduled for Thursday evening. An Argentine civil liberties activist touring this country for the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners will speak on "Argentina Today: Political Repression and the Fight Against It."

Vijaya Wickrama, a representative of the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign, will speak on "Political Repression in Sri Lanka [Ceylon]." Thousands of students and young workers are still being held in concentration camps in Sri Lanka after the bloody suppression of a rebellion there in April 1971.

In addition, a representative of the New York-based Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners will speak on the stepped-up campaign of repression against socialist dissidents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

A panel entitled "Defending the African Liberation Struggle" will be held Saturday afternoon, Nov. 25. Participants will include Robert Van Lierop of the Africa Information Service; Kevin Mercadel, president of Harvard Afro and an activist in the Pan-African Liberation Committee; and Sam Manuel of the Young Socialist Alliance.

All panels will be held at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel in downtown Cleveland.

Come to the 12th Young Socialist Nat'l Convention Nov. 23-26 Cleveland

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

☐ I want more information on the Young Socialist National Convention.

☐ I want to join the YSA.

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

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____ School _____

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 22—More than 500 women and men attended the New York Abortion Hearings in Defense of a Woman's Right to Choose held here Oct. 20-21. The hearings presented preliminary evidence for the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization, to be held in New York City March 9-11.

Sponsored by the New York Women's National Abortion Action Coal-

tial presentations.

The Saturday proceedings consisted of a series of three panels, along with personal testimony and questions from the floor. The presiding judges were Harriet A. Gair, president of the New York Women's Bar Association; Florynce Kennedy and Diane Schuler, attorneys and co-authors of the book *Abortion Rap*; and Alix Kates Schulman, author of *Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen*.

The most telling evidence presented was the testimony of some 40 women who came forward to offer their own

rights are already in the majority, she noted. "We want our majority to be a noisy majority, and if we resolve to unify and work together, this majority will win. The eyes of women throughout the country are on New York, and we can't let them down."

In Long Island, abortion hearings at Hofstra University drew 150 people on Oct. 21. Those indicted for their role in trying to take away the right to abortion in New York included Long Island legislators and hospital officials and local anti-abortion groups.

The Denver hearings closed with a march to the state capitol, where 2,000 signatures on petitions were presented to state officials. The petitions were in support of a recent district court ruling that Colorado's abortion law is unconstitutional. The case is being appealed in the state Supreme Court.

More than 200 people participated in Oct. 22 abortion hearings in Atlanta, sponsored by the Georgia Women's Abortion Action Coalition (GWAAC).

The Atlanta meeting heard personal testimony from Rose Ann Billingsly, a former Catholic whose illegal abortion resulted in a nervous breakdown; Nada Scott, a GWAAC activist who spoke on Black women and abortion; SWP senatorial candidate Alice Conner; and others.

Dr. Lavonne Painter, an expert on battered children, and Diane Hughes, a counselor at Community Crisis Center, also spoke.

The Georgia hearings presented indictments against the state legislature and "right-to-life" groups, as well as against the U.S. Supreme Court for its delay in a decision on the Georgia and Texas abortion-law cases.

In Cleveland, 175 people gathered at hearings on Oct. 21 at Case Western Reserve University (CWRU). A featured speaker was Gail Seigal, one of the three attorneys who argued the Georgia abortion-law case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Other speakers included the head of the Gay Activists Alliance Women's Caucus and a member of Black Sisters in Struggle. These two groups, plus the Abortion Project Coalition, the Cuyahoga Women's Political Caucus, Cleveland State University Women's Liberation, and the CWRU Women's Center all endorsed the hearings.

Ninety-four people attended the Oct. 21 hearings held in Houston, Texas. The groups that participated in the hearings were Women United for Abortion Rights, the Houston Women's Abortion Action Coalition, NOW, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, McGovern campaign supporters, and the Houston Women's Political Caucus.

The next New York WONAAC meeting will feature a panel on contraception. The meeting will take place Wednesday, Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m., at the Loeb Student Center, New York University. For more information, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 315, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 675-9150.

A panel of prominent individuals who served as judges during the gathering included Gertrude Barnstone, a former member of the Houston school board; Frances Cruz, a prisoners' rights attorney; Maria Jiménez, chairwoman of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO); and Sherry Smith, a past national staff member of WONAAC.

One of those who presented personal testimony was Soni Romans, a Channelview, Texas, high school student. She described the discrimination she underwent in school when she became pregnant.

Oct. 21 hearings in Portland, Ore., drew 85 people who heard testimony from attorney Carol Hewitt; Loreen Sampson, chairwoman of Zero Population Growth; Doris Julian, a nurse; and Maureen McNassar, editor of the Portland State University student newspaper, the *Vanguard*.

The hearings pointed out the unconstitutional restrictions that remain in the Oregon abortion law, including the requirement that women seeking abortions must have a doctor's certification and the consent of a parent or husband.

The Portland hearings closed with a march to the federal court house.

Women indict anti-abortion forces at local hearings



Militant/Flax Hermes



Militant/Mark Salinoff

High point of New York abortion hearings was Friday night debate: (left to right) Dr. Barbara Roberts and attorney Elaine Amendola, who spoke in favor of right to abortion; moderator Pat Collins from NBC; Dr. Karl Kluges and Father Joseph Lynaugh, who opposed abortion rights. Entertainment on Saturday included skit satirizing Nixon's reactionary abortion stand (r).

tion (WONAAC), the Oct. 20-21 hearings were endorsed by an impressive range of close to 100 organizations and individuals. This was one of the most successful gatherings of abortion rights, women's liberation, and community groups in the history of the New York abortion fight.

A predominant theme that was echoed in all of the panels and discussions was the need to mount a unified, visible campaign for abortion rights in New York. Such a campaign would be prepared to take on the "right-to-life" and other anti-abortion groups when the New York State legislature reconvenes in January.

The hearings were kicked off on Friday night with a debate on "Abortion—A Woman's Right to Choose?" Arguing for the right to choose were Dr. Barbara Roberts, national coordinator of WONAAC; and Elaine Amendola, former attorney for the *Women v. Connecticut* class-action abortion suit. Arguing against a woman's right to abortion were Father James Lynaugh, a Catholic chaplain from Columbia University; and Dr. Karl Kluges, a gynecologist from St. Vincent's Hospital.

Lynaugh and Kluges argued that from the moment of conception the moral and constitutional "rights" of the fetus supercede the right of women to control their own bodies. Kluges announced that anti-abortion leader Robert Byrn had just placed a suit on behalf of the "constitutional right to life of the fetus" before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The majority of the audience agreed with Dr. Roberts, who argued that "unless a woman chooses, no fetus has the right to remain in a woman's body, and no government has the right to force this." There were several dozen opponents of abortion in the audience, some of whom joined in the lively debate that followed the ini-

personal experiences. Accounts of the horror of illegal abortion, contraceptive failure, police harassment, and hospital abuse drew a real picture of the crimes against women as told by the victims themselves. Registration forms indicated that 65 women attending the hearings had had legal abortions and 61 had had illegal abortions.

The panels covered three subjects: "Two Years' Experience with the New York Abortion Law," "Black and Latina Women on Abortion," and "A Refutation and Analysis of the Anti-abortion Forces," which included a film-strip produced by the anti-abortion group Right to Life.

Participants in all three panels reflected the real breadth of support for the hearings. There were representatives from the New York City Health and Hospitals Administration, the medical and legal professions, religious organizations, the Albany state legislature, and feminist organizations.

Indictments were handed down at the close of the hearings against Richard Nixon, Robert Byrn, Cardinal Terence Cooke, the 109 New York State legislators who voted for the Donovan-Crawford anti-abortion bill last spring, the Knights of Columbus, and others. All were charged with depriving women of their constitutional right to control their own bodies.

Susan LaMont, a WONAAC national staff member, summarized the two-day event by saying that the evidence and indictments gathered at the hearings were a step toward the international abortion tribunal in March. She announced that the French writer Simone de Beauvoir is one of the initiating sponsors of the March tribunal.

LaMont said WONAAC is "working to build a powerful, united, massive movement to win the right to abortion." The supporters of abortion

The hearings were sponsored by the Right to Choose Coalition, which includes Long Island WONAAC, the National Organization for Women (NOW), Zero Population Growth, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other groups.

Channel 21 TV filmed the hearings for a special one-hour program scheduled for next month.

Hearings on abortion, contraception, and forced sterilization were also held in other cities during the past week. More hearings are slated in other areas in the next two weeks.

In Colorado, more than 500 people attended hearings held Oct. 18 in Boulder and Oct. 21 in Denver. The Mountain States Women's Abortion Action Coalition (MSWAAC) initiated both events.

The Boulder hearings, held at the University of Colorado, demanded that the school clinic provide free pap smears, a full range of available birth-control devices, and abortions. The hearings also demanded that half the school's gynecologists be women. Following the hearings the head of the clinic agreed to meet with a MSWAAC representative.

The Denver chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW); Everywoman, a feminist group; the Denver Women's Theater; and several campus women's liberation groups joined with MSWAAC in sponsoring the Denver hearings.

In addition to personal and professional testimony, the Denver program included a women's candidates' panel. Pat Schroeder, the Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in the 1st C.D., Fern Gapin, the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 1st C.D., and several other candidates spoke.

Singer Judy Collins, who up to the last minute was scheduled to attend, sent greetings to the gathering.

All out Nov. 18!

As we go to press, rumors are being circulated in the press of a possible "cease-fire" agreement in Vietnam, and the White House has announced a temporary cessation of U. S. bombing above the 20th parallel in North Vietnam.

There is no peace, however! And there will be no peace in Indochina until the U. S. withdraws every bomber, warship, and military base from all of Southeast Asia.

The nationwide antiwar demonstrations being organized by the National Peace Action Coalition and Student Mobilization Committee Nov. 18 are therefore of vital importance. As Nixon attempts to wring concessions out of the Vietnamese after battering this small country for years with the most brutal military bombardment in history, the antiwar movement must raise loud and clear the demand for OUT NOW! No conditions!

The antiwar movement is the voice in this country for the right of the people of Vietnam to determine their own destiny. The Nov. 18 actions provide an opportunity for all sections of the antiwar movement to make a united, visible statement of the demand for immediate, unconditional withdrawal. They provide an opportunity to let the people of the world know that the American people disavow the military blackmail disguised by Nixon as "peace negotiations."

Volunteer your time to the National Peace Action Coalition or Student Mobilization Committee in your area to help build the Nov. 18 actions as strong as possible! March for immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Indochina!

Billy Dean Smith

The frame-up trial of antiwar GI Billy Dean Smith takes place in the context of the growing revolt of Black servicemen and women against political harassment and racial discrimination throughout the U. S. armed forces. The Army is prosecuting Billy Dean Smith to make an example of him and attempt to intimidate other militant Black GIs and other antiwar GIs.

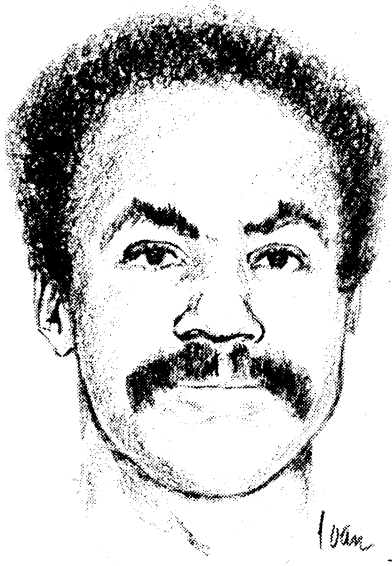
If all opponents of racism and supporters of civil liberties for GIs unite to demand freedom for Billy Dean Smith, we can make a different example out of this frame-up case. A united campaign in defense of Smith's rights can help to inspire the struggle against the war and for racial justice in the military. Fighting to free Billy Dean Smith means fighting for the rights of all GIs to express their opposition to the war and racial oppression.

Testimony from witnesses heard so far in the court-martial of Billy Dean Smith have clearly indicated that this trial is a pure and simple frame-up. GIs have testified that Smith was nowhere near the barracks at the time of the explosion of the fragmentation grenade he is charged with throwing.

Countless GIs—many of them unknown—have been victimized by the brass for opposition to the war or commitment to the liberation of Black people. Among the cases was that of Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and the rest of the Fort Jackson Eight, who faced Army harassment in 1969.

The Army's ready prosecution of antiwar and Black GIs contrasts sharply with their treatment of prowar killers, such as Lieutenant William Calley and Major General John Lavelle. On Oct. 24 the Air Force dismissed all court-martial charges against Lavelle concerning the bombing raids he ordered against North Vietnam.

The Militant urges all its readers to stand behind Billy Dean Smith, to join the protests being organized in his behalf, and to demand all charges against him be dropped.



Int'l antiwar movement

Since April 22 we have witnessed some of the most savage attacks ever on the Vietnamese people by the U. S. government. The continued bombarding of the land and the dikes and the blocking of Haiphong harbor has not rung too favourably in the ears of Nixon and his fellow bootlickers. These events and the antics of the great "socialist" powers, China and Russia, have only strengthened the international antiwar movement and caused further antiwar feeling in people from all layers of society.

The rebirth of the international antiwar movement has meant quicker and stronger response in defending the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national self-determination. The Glasgow Indochina Committee has begun to work to organize for the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 actions. A picket of Pan-American Airways will be held Oct. 26 in solidarity with the National Peace Action Coalition's call for mass picketing of government buildings in the U. S.

The Committee has formally decided to mobilize for and make as successful as possible the demonstration Nov. 18. The agreed-upon slogans are:

"Total withdrawal of U. S. forces from Indochina NOW!"

"Stop the bombing NOW!"

"End the blockade NOW!"

"End British support for U. S. aggression NOW!"

"Support the right of the Indochinese peoples' struggle for self-determination!"

We know you in America are fighting to maintain an independent movement, especially in this, an election year. We send greetings to all brothers and sisters in the movement—Black, Chicano, Indian, Asian, and white—and express our solidarity with all antiwar forces. Right-on for Nov. 18!

Tricia Brodie

Secretary

Glasgow Indochina Committee
Glasgow, Scotland

Came to right place

I enclose a check for \$5. Please send me *The Militant* for one year. With Khrushchev's heirs on one side and the various subspecies of Maoists on the other, it has become difficult to find an intelligent and well-informed left-wing newspaper. I hope to get something better from you than I am getting from the others.

R. M.

Ottawa, Canada

Cancels subscription

I have subscribed to *The Militant* for three years and have always appreciated your extensive coverage of events not covered in the establishment press. I have had a special interest in your excellent reports on the women's movement.

However, I find your recent coverage of the Palestinian situation increasingly biased and often (in my opinion) vicious. I would therefore like to cancel my subscription.

A. H.

New York, N. Y.

Health-care squeeze

I would like to add to your article entitled "Squeeze on old people" (*Militant*, Oct. 13), which dealt with the problems old people have to face because of this rotten society and system.

I worked at Colorado Blue Cross-Blue Shield for nearly three years. (They are the "Medicare carrier" for Social Security beneficiaries in Colorado.) This program is clearly set up so that doctors can be assured payment.

If the doctor doesn't want to send in a claim (which is often), the beneficiary has to send it in himself or herself. This involves obtaining itemized statements, completing forms, and just overall bureaucratic harassment. The laws have provided time limitations that many people are not aware of. Medicare's disallowing all or part of a charge is very common. And if a doctor doesn't submit a claim for you, you have to pay him for the cut charges and receive no reimbursement from Medicare for those charges.

Rarely does a Medicare beneficiary collect over \$120 a month Social Security. I would have to say that the average for Colorado is \$90-\$100. This is rarely enough to pay the rent, so usually the beneficiaries cut their diet down to fit their budget.

I talked to one Medicare beneficiary who had to take a lot of prescription drugs (which are not a benefit of Medicare but of Medicaid). She couldn't afford both food and drugs so bought just drugs. She made *too much* to be on Medicaid.

It is not enough that this decrepit society and system considers old people worthless, but it has to harass them until they are diagnosed "depressed" and then found dead by a self-inflicted gun wound.

B. L. Woodward
Denver, Colo.

Canadian abortion assembly

Every federal candidate in the Toronto area has been invited to a public assembly on abortion law repeal Oct. 21. The assembly, organized by the Toronto chapter of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, will be followed by a march to City Hall for a speak-out.

In addition to the candidate's session, the assembly has scheduled a varied educational program on the present situation in regard to birth control and abortion. The program will include films, dramatic readings, and presentations on the medical, legal, and social aspects of the situation.

The Toronto assembly and demonstration is being held in conjunction with similar actions in cities across Canada. The Canadian Women's Coalition, founded at a conference last March in Winnipeg, Manitoba, now has 12 chapters in seven provinces.

This growth reflects the growing support for abortion law repeal among thousands of Canadians. Over 100,000 people have signed a petition calling for repeal. And last spring, students on 18 Canadian college campuses voted overwhelmingly in favor of repeal in campus referendums.

Lorna Grant
Canadian Women's Coalition to
Repeal the Abortion Laws
Toronto, Canada

Report from GM plant

At UAW Local 25 here in St. Louis there's an organized rank-and-file caucus that's different from most others. Most of its members are Black workers trying to protect themselves from discrimination in hiring and promotion and from poor working conditions.

This General Motors assembly plant is located in a predominantly Black neighborhood. It has a work force of 8,000, but only 2,000 of the workers are Black.

There is a division now between the white union officials and the workers—both Black and white—over the present "strike strategy" of the top UAW officialdom in Detroit. The local group in control here supports the policy, as they obediently support everything handed down by the UAW International and the company.

Most workers here don't have much confidence in this new policy. They grumble.

"What is this four-day strike?

"The union strike fund keeps building up because no strike benefits are paid out. We lose nothing because we make up in overtime what we lose in wages during strike days. The company suffers no loss because it still gets the same production.

"Who ever heard of a strike that hurts no one and keeps everybody happy?

"There is no such strike and this is not like that either. This on-again, off-again, 'strike strategy' hurts the union because we lose ground in the fight for democratic rights, shorter hours, better conditions, and higher pay."

A leader of the rank-and-file caucus says he fears a compromise between the top UAW officials and GM management that would only mean another union-management agreement *against* the workers.

This debate will continue until the workers here and in other UAW locals find ways to mobilize their forces against the company. And we can be sure that some capable and far-sighted leaders will develop in the process.

One of the demands raised by the rank and file here is the neglected UAW demand "30 for 40," aiming for more jobs and shorter hours with no reduction in pay.

There is also a change in political class consciousness. Not all workers here are the know-nothing Wallace-supporter type. Far from it. These characters are a minority. Some here read *The Militant* and are Jenness-Pulley supporters.

C. S.
St. Louis, Mo.

Sub drive

Send me about 200 sub blanks. There is a possibility more people can be involved in the sub drive here and that the quota can be raised. *The Militant's* new improvement, or rather its permanent improvement, is striking.

Mike Leibman
Knoxville, Tenn.

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.



The American Way of Life

Caroline Lund

Rebellion on the tracks

There are signs that a new international rebellion is brewing: the rebellion of commuters.

On Oct. 8 the *New York Times* reported that furious commuters were creating havoc in Italy. The uprising had already hit Turin, Rome, Naples, and Milan, and authorities feared that it would spread still further. Riders began sitting down on the tracks to protest delays, lack of heat, and crowded, dirty, ramshackle trains.

One factory worker, who has to ride 40 minutes to work on a train that is late every day, told the *Times* reporter: "We all curse and yell, thinking of the factory gates that are being closed and the loss of an hour's pay. One of these days we are going to wreck that train."

A woman who has to get up at five in the morning to take a bus and train to get to work by nine, complained that she never saw daylight except on weekends.

Apparently this story about Italy caught the eye of some New York commuters as they read their *New York Times* that day, packed into their trains on their way to work.

On Oct. 20, just 12 days later, the *Times* reported that New York commuters were trying out the same protest tactics. Several hundred Penn Central commuters, stranded when their train's motor died, stood

at a station in sleet and rain watching three express trains to New York City roll by before their anger became unbearable.

One man suggested, "Why don't we try to block one of those expresses?" About 20 of the most militant filed down onto the tracks with arms linked, stopping the train and forcing it to let all 400 stranded passengers get on. The train was then so packed that the conductors couldn't move and therefore couldn't collect the fares. No one was arrested, but the breakdown of the first train and the stopping of the express caused delays for a dozen other trains carrying 8,000 passengers, one-third of Penn Central's rush-hour passengers.

In every large city in the advanced capitalist countries workers face the same alienating, dehumanizing conditions traveling to and from work every day. Packed like sardines onto buses or trains, jostled by elbows, pitted against other working people for that seat or that strap to hang on to.

When working people take over the government under a socialist system one of the first steps will certainly be to provide an efficient, pleasant, uncrowded, and quiet public transportation system so that people can go to and from work as human beings rather than caged animals.



National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

On-the-job hazards

Having spent several futile hours trying to digest a report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics on one industry covered by the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act, I have concluded there is a field of writing that specializes in concealing rather than revealing facts. This field has been preempted by those who prepare government reports.

In this case the report dealt with the atomic energy industry. If I were to base myself solely on that report, I would have to conclude that this is a peculiarly safe industry to earn a living in.

Under the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA), 50 newly hired Labor Department inspectors were supposed to concentrate their first efforts on the five industries rated most dangerous. These are: longshore (70 injuries or deaths for each one million hours worked); roofing and sheet metal (45); meat processing (40); miscellaneous transportation equipment, especially mobile homes (40); and lumber and wood products (35).

The comparable figure for all manufacturing is 15. Coal mining is covered by its own Safety and Health Act.

The Act covered nearly all industries, even those with only one employee. Officials estimate that this includes 4.1 million establishments and 57 million workers. It is supposed to ensure all workers a safe and healthy place to work.

Employers were given until July 1, 1971, to acquaint themselves and their employees with its terms. After that date all bosses were supposed to report annually, all injuries and illnesses related to the job, except where an injury required only first aid and no time was lost by the employee.

The enforcement of this act has been spotty, to be most charitable. Theoretically, an inspector, accompanied by a union representative and someone from management, is allowed free access to any plant. If he finds violations, he warns the owner

in an informal meeting with the boss and union representative.

If the plant management refuses or fails to remove the hazard, they get a citation from the Labor Department. Continued failure to remove violations can result in fines of up to \$1,000 (for one violation), and as high as \$10,000 for more numerous hazards. An employer can also spend up to six months in jail if a willful violation cited results in the death of a worker.

The Oct. 17 *Wall Street Journal* reports that 1,084 such appeals are now pending and that 390 cases have been heard. Of the 390, penalties were lowered in 188 cases, increased in only 12. The commission tossed out many small fines it considered ineffective in securing compliance with the act.

Employers whose cases have been heard can appeal to the U.S. district court of appeals. So can the union or the Labor Department if the employer has been acquitted.

The loose administration of OSHA was not enough for business, however. In the last session of Congress, various business lobbies succeeded in getting a bill before both houses amending OSHA to exclude all employers with 15 or fewer workers. The bill passed both houses but was vetoed by Nixon. The House of Representatives immediately passed the amendment, but the Senate's version was still in the conference committee when Congress adjourned.

The latest figures on death and disabling injury in industry have not shown any effect, as yet, of OSHA's existence. As of last year there were still 15,000 fatal industrial accidents and more than two million serious injuries.

Yet the Labor Department's three-man commission that hears employer appeals "moves cautiously in making rulings which will set influential precedents. One early case establishes that an on-the-job death isn't proof of a safety violation." (*Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 17).



Pardon the insult—AMF, a manufacturer of automation devices capable of loading and unloading, announced it will no longer call them "industrial robots" because "it is both frivolous and inaccurate to liken these machines to human workers."

On developing the unregimented individual—An American Psychological Ass'n brochure on the merits of a career in industrial psychology advises that in such a capacity one can help management in "properly placing every available employee in an appropriate niche in the organization." Also there is the opportunity to "communicate corporate plans to employees, thereby enhancing identification with the organization."

Bird feed—Our Neiman-Marcus Xmas preview minicatalog arrived and, if we housebreak our local blue jay, we'd plunk for the walnut and brass

bird cage, complete with removable paper-lined tray, \$250. Which is even more reasonable than it seems considering that N-M's special gift wrap, normally a buck fifty, is free with items over \$100.

Most likely story of the week—The California Public Utilities Commission was advised that if Pacific Southwest Airlines, the commuter service, was allowed to acquire Air California, a competitor, the result would be lower passenger fares.

To brighten the manger—If you dig novelty greetings you may be interested in an Xmas card now on the market. It's a simple star design sporting a one-karat diamond in the center. Personal imprint included. \$2000.

Making up with Moscow—Actress Arlene Dahl says President Nixon favors

the idea of her making a goodwill trip to the USSR to show the women there how to use makeup and wigs. "Every woman who attends will get a free sample of American cosmetics," Dahl said, adding, "Women will be the ones to get this trade thing rolling between the U.S. and Iron Curtain countries."

Inflationary spiral—The Federal Reserve Bank of New York warned of bogus \$50 and \$100 bills circulating in the area. Until now it was mainly \$10s and \$20s. Maybe the latest ones are from Washington.

We never would've guessed—The motto of the New York State Food Merchants Ass'n is "Working Together for Profits."

Clarity on Capitol Hill—Representative Robert Leggett (D-Calif.) says we

should stop trying to con the North Vietnamese into releasing U.S. prisoners because they are "a frenzied, paranoid group" that won't be persuaded. Rather, he proposes, U.S. aid to Saigon should be reduced to match Soviet and Chinese aid to North Vietnam. "Then we could make these South Vietnamese lean and hungry and create a balance of fanaticism," the solon explained. "That is the way to get our prisoners back."

Sounds reasonable—A Baltimore used-car dealer is offering a Lincoln Continental with super low mileage. "Used by a doctor for making house calls."

Far out—Several Honolulu hotels feature Sunday morning poolside services. The pulpit, we assume, converts into a bar and the preacher takes over dispensing Bloody Marys.

Women In Revolt

Electrical workers support ERA

Cindy Jaquith



Pointing out that "major struggles and activities involving broad sections of women" have taken place over the past year, the Sept. 11-15 convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) adopted a resolution supporting equal rights for women workers. The resolution, which includes an eight-point program of demands, is further evidence of the deepening influence the feminist movement is having on the trade unions.

The resolution supports the Equal Rights Amendment and notes "the impact its ratification will have in the shop, the community, and on the political life of the nation," according to the Oct. 2 *UE News*.

The ERA states that equality of rights shall not be denied on account of sex. Twenty-one states have now ratified the amendment, and a total of 38 states must do so in order for the ERA to become law.

Some AFL-CIO officials have opposed passage of the ERA on the basis that it would nullify state protective laws for women workers. While some

of these laws benefit women, and should be extended to men, employers have used other protective laws to discriminate against women.

The UE program calls for a campaign to get rid of the laws that are used to deny women equal rights. It also demands that weight-lifting laws "be changed so that both men and women shall be protected against injury from lifting of heavy weights."

Another important issue discussed at the UE convention was the right of women workers to receive benefits during pregnancy leaves. The UE program demands that contracts include maternity leaves with cumulative seniority during absence. Maternity benefits, the program says, should be "on the same basis as weekly sickness and accident benefits and paid sick leave."

The program also calls for the elimination of sex discrimination in wage rates, promotions, and job training.

The final point in the program says that "it is important we carry out the union policy that women be represented on a substantial basis as

stewards and officers and that they be involved on an equal basis with men in all phases of union activity."

The program also indicates that there are growing opportunities to involve UE locals directly in women's liberation activities. Point 3 states that the UE should "work more closely with women's organizations and other groups committed to goals of obtaining equality for women."

Another point states the need for UE locals to join with other groups, including student and women's organizations, in setting up child-care centers.

The *UE News* article does not mention whether abortion was discussed at the convention. However, there is undoubtedly strong support for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws among UE members, especially among women members. The resolution passed by the UE convention opens up the possibility that UE members and locals will actively participate in the abortion rights movement in the future.

By Any Means Necessary

Racism in Brooklyn schools

John Hawkins



For most of New York City's public school students the fall semester opened as usual Sept. 11. But for 90 Black junior high school students living in Brooklyn's Tilden Housing Development, the fall semester is just beginning or, worse, has yet to begin.

For the past 11 years, junior high school students from the Tilden projects have attended JHS

the school. Each day the parents would come to the school to try to register their children. When they were refused that right, they picketed the school.

At one point in the struggle, white parents from District 18 area, accompanied by a few token Blacks, blocked the Tilden parents from entering the school. The confrontation caused by this racist display forced the school administration to close JHS 285 for three days.

Realizing that the parents of the 90 Black students were not going to back down, the central board finally ordered the students enrolled. Despite this ruling, the District 18 board continued its opposition and obtained several court injunctions prohibiting the enrollment of the students. The Brooklyn Supreme Court overruled these injunctions, and on Oct. 13 a compromise settlement was reached. Fifteen of the 90 students were assigned the JHS 285; the others were assigned to JHS 68 and JHS 211, both in District 18.

But the struggle still was not over. When parents from the Tilden project arrived at JHS 211 Oct. 16 to register their children, they found the school occupied and blockaded by white parents. The white parents refused to allow the Tilden parents, their children, or the school staff to enter. They

were allowed to occupy JHS 211 for two days before being forced to evacuate the building.

While JHS 211 was forcibly closed by this occupation, JHS 68 was closed for a day by the school administration when 150 white parents demonstrated outside the school in opposition to the enrollment of seven Black students there. In neither case were any arrests made.

Despite the forces arrayed against them, the parents of the Tilden students plan to continue their fight. Most of the parents object to their children being bused to JHS 68, which is much farther from the students' homes than JHS 211 or JHS 285.

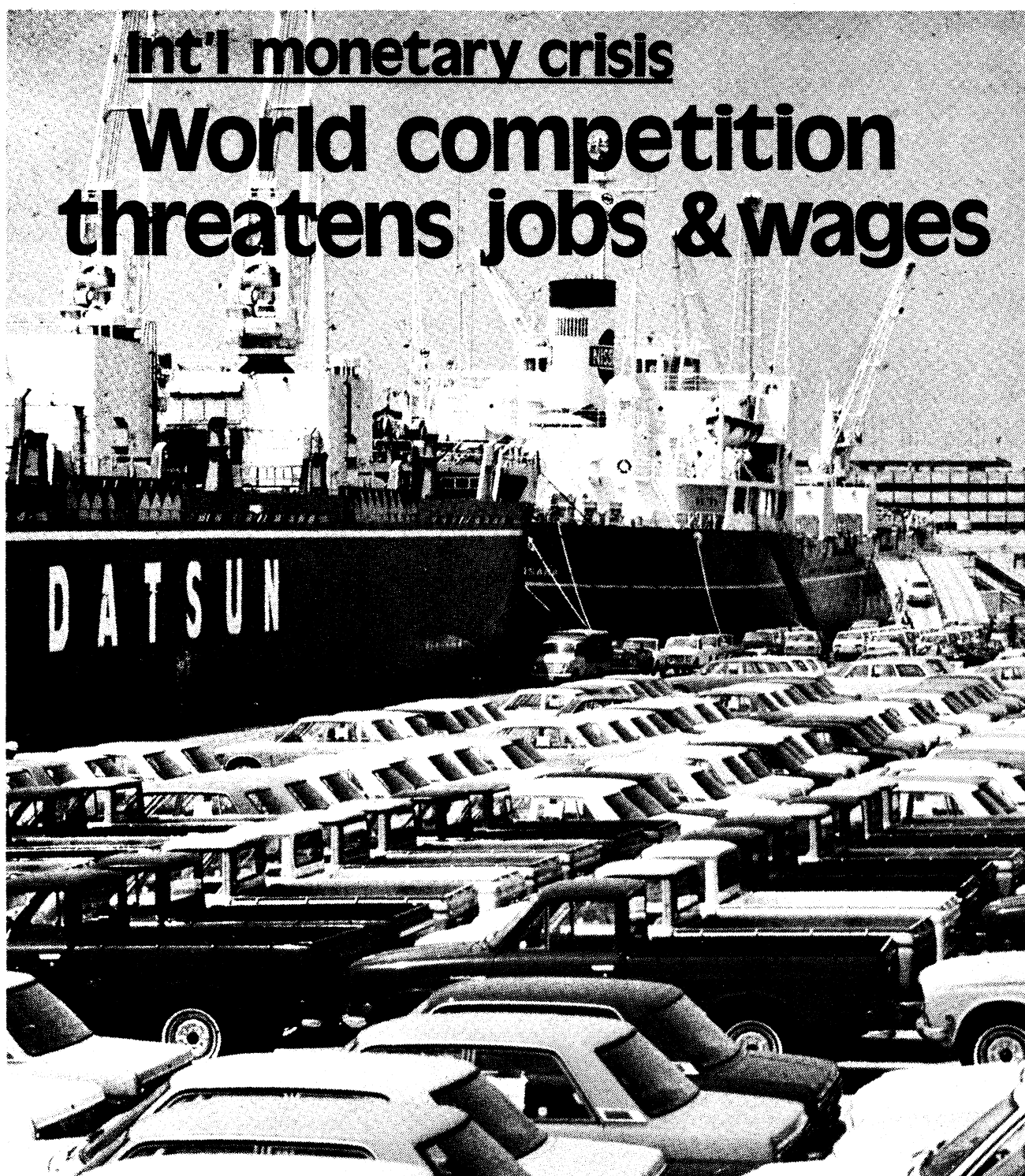
The victories won to date by the Tilden parents are examples of the type of gains that can be won through determined struggle by even a small portion of the Black community. Their struggle for control over where their children go to school points to the necessity of a larger struggle for total Black control over the education of Black students, wherever they may go to school.

Although 90 Black students from District 23 will in all likelihood enjoy the use of superior educational facilities in District 18, the 6,400 students who remain in the four overcrowded junior high schools of District 23 have very little to look forward to but the same old disregard.

John Hawkins is the SWP congressional candidate in New York's 12th C.D.

285 in District 18 in East Flatbush (a section of Brooklyn) because of overcrowding in District 23 schools, which are closer to their homes. This fall, however, the District 18 community school board ruled that admitting any more Black students would "tip" the "racial balance" of the school, which is 50 percent Black.

Outraged at the blatant racism of the District 18 school board ruling, Black parents from the Tilden projects organized to defy the board's decision. The Black parents sought a ruling from the central board of education that would enable them to enroll their children in JHS 285. At the same time they staged militant, spirited actions outside



Int'l monetary crisis

World competition threatens jobs & wages

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 20—In the final days of the 92nd U.S. Congress, President Nixon attempted to get a bill passed designed to limit the 1973 federal budget to \$250-billion. This deceptive piece of legislation is worth taking a close look at even though it didn't get through Congress. The bill reveals the threat to American workers posed by intensified competition in world trade.

But that is not how the "debt ceiling" bill was presented to the public. The bill originated in the White House. President Nixon advanced it to catch the Democrats off guard.

One of the Democrats' campaign issues has been the huge deficits piled up by the Nixon administration. There can be no question about this. Here are the deficit figures:

1953-1961 (Eisenhower): \$15.8-billion
1961-1963 (Kennedy): \$17.8-billion
1963-1969 (Johnson): \$36.1-billion
Total 1953-1969: \$69.7-billion
1969-1973 (Nixon): \$75.8-billion

So Nixon counterattacked by proposing that Congress itself place a limit on the 1973 budget. If the appropriations subsequently voted exceed this limit, Nixon would have unlimited power to cut federal spending back to \$250-billion.

But the Democrats were not asleep. Particularly in the Senate, they raised a hue and cry about how Nixon's bill would be a further step in depriving Congress of the powers vested to it in the U.S. Constitution. They ultimately blocked the bill, but Nixon says he will impose the ceiling anyway.

That's the surface of the matter. There are more significant issues involved. For the question of limiting the budget is not just a campaign issue. It is a matter of increasing concern to the American ruling class. They are fully aware of the inflationary impact of massive government deficits (see the Oct. 20 *Militant* for an explanation). Inflation undermines the U.S. dollar in world finance and weakens the competitive position of U.S. monopoly.

Wilbur Mills, the powerful Democratic chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, supported Nixon's bill as originally presented, and it passed the House because of Mills's cooperation. Mills spelled out the need for the bill in a two-hour speech to the House Oct. 10. He began by stressing the danger of sharply increased inflation.

"Listen closely to this information," said Mills. "In the third quarter of this year, wholesale prices rose at a 6.7-percent annual rate. This can be contrasted to a 4.9-percent rate of increase in each

of the two prior quarters. These wholesale price increases, in the normal course of events, will be transmitted into retail price increases in a period of 3 to 6 months from now."

Mills added other inflationary factors: "Increasing accumulation of inventories by business. . . .

". . . the rise in outstanding consumer credit. . . ."

". . . a rise again in interest rates. . . ."

"These factors which I have been discussing place increased pressure on the money supply, a pressure made far worse by the ever-increasing borrowings of the Federal Government."

A point should be made before continuing with Mills's informative speech. Most of the time in public the representatives of the ruling class pretend that the main cause of inflation is wage increases sought by workers. They use this to justify government wage-control policies. It is used by the bosses to drive back wage demands of workers. It is phony. Mills didn't say one word about "higher wages" in this sophisticated discussion of inflation before U.S. lawmakers.

"Our concern for the renewal of inflationary pressures cannot, however, be restricted just to the domestic economy," Mills continued. "A renewal of inflation will increase the prices of our production relative to the prices of imported articles and will also make us less competitive in our sales abroad. If we permit a renewal of this type of inflation in this country, it could well completely offset the expected gains by readjustment of international exchange rates under the Smithsonian Agreement of last December."

Here Mills refers to the advantages the United States hoped to gain by devaluing the dollar, the new exchange rates having been set in December 1971.

Mills then worked himself into a bit of legislative oratory: "Do you think that any of our people at home can have any confidence in the way we run this situation? They do not have it, and you know it."

"Do you think of those people abroad who have so many excessive amounts of our dollars, far more than they need to reserve against their own currency, can have any confidence in the way we run this Government?"

"Is it small wonder that the value of our dollar abroad is in question? That we face one crisis after another in our international affairs? Is it small wonder, the way we run this Government, that there is a crisis in every area that your Committee on Ways and Means hears when it conducts hearings?"

There is a crisis facing world capitalism. It dimly reflects itself in this outburst of Congressional rhetoric. What is most significant is the solution to the crisis posed by these legislators: *cutting the budget*. Nixon's recessionary policies in 1969-1970 amply demonstrated the real meaning of this.

The federal budget is slashed in order to cut down on jobs. The aim is to increase the ranks of the unemployed and dampen wage demands of workers. Unemployment held at 6 percent for nearly two years, and it remains at 5.5 percent today.

On one side, the ruling class is fully aware of the fact that inflation is not caused by workers seeking higher wages. Workers are trying to catch up with spiraling prices. But on the other side, the ruling class attempts to counteract its own problems with inflation by attacking wages.

The bosses seek to gain needed leverage in world competition by increasing their profit margins through decreased wage increases. And this is why they can talk about "combating inflation" and promise "wage and price controls," when in fact their aim is only to control wages.

Thus inflation, increased world competition, and the international monetary crisis are inextricably linked to the ruling-class attack on jobs and wages. *New York Times* financial expert Leonard Silk explained on Oct. 4 one of the reasons why the dollar has temporarily stabilized in money markets in the past few months: "American unit-labor costs are now rising more slowly than in 10 other major industrial countries. Last year, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics data, American unit-labor costs rose by 2.7 percent, compared with an average of 7.2 percent in 10 other industrialized countries—Canada, Japan, Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and Britain."

Silk added, "To be sure, new troubles could lie ahead for the dollar—if the budget stays in heavy deficit, if inflation accelerates above foreign rates. . . ."

So the dollar was temporarily stabilized at the cost of a recession, an unemployment level of more than six million, and Nixon's wage-freeze New Economic Policy. Mills's speech, pointing out the imminent danger of a sharp increase in the rate of inflation, shows just how temporary the dollar stability is. The ruling class is already seeking recessionary legislation to move against workers in 1973—that is, after the elections.

Furthermore, the battle to slash wage increases is international. Each "gain" of one nation on this score all the more impels the ruling classes of the other nations to turn against "their own" workers. British Prime Minister Edward Heath, who, like Nixon, campaigned on the promise of never invoking wage controls, outlined a far-reaching "voluntary" control policy two weeks ago.

On both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific, workers are facing a stepped-up attack on their jobs and living standards because of intensified competition in world trade and finance. This is why the crisis of the international monetary system is irreversible without massive class battles.

Revolutionary socialists advance a program of concrete demands workers urgently need to combat these dangers. This program is based on recognition of the international character of the capitalist crisis. It resolutely rejects all "solutions" that depend on improving capitalists' profits in one nation at the expense of jobs in other nations—protectionist measures, import surcharges, content laws, "union-management" productivity committees, etc.

In the face of growing world inflation, workers need a *sliding scale of wages*. Escalator clauses must be included in contracts to tie wage increases to price increases. These must be constantly open to review as the monetary crisis deepens.

As recessionary measures are used to increase the ranks of the unemployed, workers need a *sliding scale of hours*. This would immediately start with the reduction of the workweek to 30 hours with no reduction in pay.

Unemployed workers should be paid union-scale wages. The capitalists instead of workers must pay for the attempt to convert industry into a trade-war machine. The responsibility for job attrition due to speed-up and the cutting of work crews belongs to the monopolists.

The federal government should launch a mass public-works program. Instead of cooperating with the bosses in enforcing wage controls, the government should provide jobs for those who lose them in the intensification of capitalist trade warfare.

In order to prepare a mass campaign to win these demands, trade unions should call for a *congress of labor*. Wilbur Mills's speech is a reminder of what the capitalist-controlled U.S. Congress stands for: the needs of monopoly. Workers need their own fighting organization. A congress of labor would advance the struggles of all oppressed peoples against the wage-gouging policies of world imperialism.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Champaign, Ill.	10	11	110.0
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	26	104.0
Edinboro, Pa.	60	54	90.0
Oxford, Ohio	40	34	85.0
Augusta, Me.	10	8	80.0
Nashville, Tenn.	20	16	80.0
Madison, Wis.	200	155	77.5
Storrs, Conn.	25	19	76.0
Boulder, Colo.	175	129	73.2
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	10	66.7
Cleveland, Ohio	1,400	917	65.3
Portland, Ore.	765	493	64.5
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,900	1,184	62.4
Seattle, Wash.	1,035	646	62.4
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	733	58.6
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	726	58.0
Detroit, Mich.	1,550	880	56.8
Cedar Falls, Iowa	30	17	56.7
San Francisco, Calif.	2,050	1,147	55.9
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,700	948	55.8
Atlanta, Ga.	1,250	679	54.3
Denver, Colo.	1,250	661	52.8
Oakland/Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	1,116	50.7
Bowling Green, Ky.	10	5	50.0
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	603	48.2
San Diego, Calif.	400	189	47.3
Chicago, Ill.	2,500	1,162	46.5
Hartford, Conn.	125	58	46.4
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050	487	46.4
Boston, Mass.	2,500	1,153	46.1
Corvallis, Ore.	33	15	45.5
Tallahassee, Fla.	150	64	42.6
Austin, Texas	550	223	40.6
Burlington, Vt.	25	10	40.0
Lexington, Ky.	25	10	40.0
San Antonio, Texas	50	20	40.0
Saranac Lake, N.Y.	25	10	40.0
Youngstown, Ohio	20	8	40.0
Providence, R.I.	125	47	37.6
Bloomington, Ind.	350	128	36.6
Washington, D.C.	900	326	36.2
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	67	33.5
Celina, Ohio	10	3	30.0
St. Louis, Mo.	120	34	28.3
Houston, Texas	1,050	282	26.9
College Park, Md.	175	45	25.7
Durham, N.H.	50	12	24.0
Sarasota, Fla.	25	6	24.0
Cincinnati, Ohio	100	21	21.0
Bethlehem, Pa.	10	2	20.0
Huntington, W. Va.	40	8	20.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	30	6	20.0
Allentown, Pa.	50	8	16.0
New Haven, Conn.	25	4	16.0
Binghamton, N.Y.	200	29	14.5
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	7	14.0
Carbondale, Ill.	35	4	11.4
Long Island, N.Y.	100	11	11.0
Buffalo, N.Y.	20	2	10.0
New Brunswick, N.J.	20	2	10.0
Sacramento, Calif.	10	1	10.0
Kansas City, Mo.	150	13	8.7
Worcester, Mass.	175	13	7.4
Athens, Ohio	30	2	6.7
University, Ala.	100	5	5.0
Amherst, Mass.	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
Alfred, N.Y.	10	0	0
Geneseo, N.Y.	10	0	0
Louisville, Ky.	20	0	0
Wilson, N.C.	5	0	0
National Teams	1,700	756	44.5
General	500	123	24.6
TOTAL TO DATE		16,602	50.3
SHOULD BE		19,200	58.2
GOAL		33,000	100.0

TEAM BREAKDOWN	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Cleveland	900	545	60.6
Seattle/Portland	850	495	58.3
Denver	560	316	56.4
Detroit	750	381	50.8
Boston	700	343	49.0
San Francisco	700	333	47.6
Atlanta	700	330	47.2
National Midwest	1,000	470	47.0
Chicago	700	324	46.3
National South	700	286	40.8
Oakland/Berkeley	700	277	39.6
Philadelphia/Washington, D.C.	700	275	39.3
New York #1	700	258	36.9
Twin Cities	700	242	34.6
New York #2	700	237	33.9
Los Angeles	700	197	28.2
Texas	700	80	11.4
TOTAL TO DATE		5,389	43.2
SHOULD BE		6,813	54.9
TEAM GOAL		12,460	100.0

Cleveland plans to meet quota early and surpass it

By NANCY COLE
OCT. 25 — The Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party plan to obtain 500 subscriptions, which is their portion of Cleveland's quota of 1,400, by election day, Nov. 7. (The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley team has agreed to sell the remaining 900.)
To date the SWP and YSA have sold 372 subscriptions and attribute much of their success to "advance work." Since the first week in September they have had a campaign traveler touring campuses in the area to distribute material on the SWP campaign, *The Militant*, and the Young Socialist national convention scheduled for the Thanksgiving weekend in Cleveland.
By the time subscription-selling teams started visiting schools later in September, many students had already heard of *The Militant*. Often subscription sellers would enter dorm rooms that had SWP campaign and Young Socialist convention posters decorating the walls.
Cleveland's Nov. 7 deadline doesn't mean they plan to stop selling subscriptions then. In addition to sending Saturday convention-building teams to the campuses, they plan to continue sending night teams out twice a week. According to SWP organizer Bruce Marcus, "We plan to go way over our quota, but after Nov. 7 we'll have more time to spend talking to people about the YSA convention as well as selling subscriptions."
The Cleveland YSJP team plans to sell more than its original goal too. The team has raised its quota from 800 to 900, and it remains the top sub-selling team.
One of its stops last week was Central State University, a Black school near Dayton, Ohio. After selling about 25 subscriptions, two team

members were walking across campus when a student called, asking if they were "*The Militant* people." He then bought a subscription and ordered a weekly bundle of 10 *Militants* to sell.
A couple of areas have made notable progress in catching up during the last week. One is Atlanta, which now has 341 out of their quota of 550. They're confident they'll make their goal and hope to go over, but the most exciting aspect of the drive for them is the number of new subscribers within Atlanta itself. Over three-fourths of the subscriptions sold so far have come from the city—more Atlantans now subscribe than ever before.
One of the reasons this has been possible is their systematic canvassing of each Atlanta campus. Keeping careful records of rooms visited in each dormitory has ensured a lasting supply of places to sell subscriptions within the city.
The Atlanta YSJP team is also rapidly catching up to where they should be. Last week they reported selling almost 200 subscriptions in Florida.
For the second week in a row, the national Midwest team raised its quota—this time from 800 to 1,000. Besides the Cleveland team's increase, two other teams took on larger quotas this week—Seattle/Portland, from 700 to 850; and Detroit, from 700 to 750.
Although we haven't received the subscriptions yet, New York team #1 called to report they had sold 100 subscriptions in two days at State University College at New Paltz and Vassar College, both in upstate New York. Despite being kept off the road for two and a half weeks because of an accident and recurring car problems, they said to consider them in the running for the top sub-selling team.

Militant Gets Around

Nancy Cole



On virtually every campus the 17 Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley subscription teams have visited this fall they have found some form of a Youth for McGovern group—or what might more accurately be described as youth resigned to McGovern groups. The response to *The Militant* and the SWP campaign from these McGovern supporters has ranged from hostility to apology to enthusiasm.
The hostility has been more of a reluctance to confront the ideas of the SWP campaign. While some teams have been successful in arranging debates between representatives of the two campaigns, others have found it difficult to get any commitment from McGovern supporters.
Few, however, are as candid as the McGovern supporter the San Francisco team ran into at the University of California at Santa Cruz. "Whenever the Youth for McGovern made an announcement in cafeterias about needing volunteers for work, we would ask them why they refused to debate," Norton Sandler writes. "Finally the organizer threw his hands into the air, responding, 'Because you'll rip us to shreds.' Sales at our lit table were brisk afterwards."
The "give the system one more chancers" have on the whole been open to the socialist candidates, and many are now subscribers to *The Militant*. The Twin Cities team attended a Youth for McGovern business meeting at Mankato State College in Minnesota and introduced the McGovern truth kit into the discussion. After 30 minutes of unsuccessfully trying to refute the points raised in the pamphlet, they promised to write their national office to get a written explanation.
Carol Freeman from the Twin Cities team reports, "These people and McGovern supporters everywhere we have gone have all apologized to us about McGovern. They all say our program is the one they agree with, and many say they are socialists. They think McGovern is going to make things one inch better than Nixon, and that's why they are going to support him at this time."

That may be the attitude of those who remain McGovern supporters, but the teams have run into many who quickly change their minds when presented with an alternative. Often the teams have set up literature tables adjacent to McGovern tables, talking to and selling subscriptions to those staffing the tables.
Greta Schiller from the Detroit team reports one instance where "the staffer [at the McGovern table] directed customers to our table, telling people McGovern was nowhere. He also defended Jenness and Pulley against McGoverners. The next day he came back to buy *How to Make a Revolution*, *Permanent Revolution*, *Socialism on Trial*, and an introductory *Militant* subscription."
At Denison University in Granville, Ohio, where one out of 30 students now subscribes to *The Militant*, the Cleveland team found the small McGovern group disillusioned with him and excited about the SWP campaign. According to the team, one McGovern supporter "took off his McGovern button and put on a 'Capitalism Fouls Things Up—Vote SWP' button as soon as he heard about our campaign, and he joined the YSA the same day."
That hopefully will be the conclusion drawn by many others after Nov. 7, when no matter which capitalist candidate wins, nothing will change.

Please set for me a subscription quota of () List the above quota in *The Militant's* scoreboard.

Please send me a weekly bundle of *Militants* (circle one):
5 10 25 other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 3, 1972

Interview with a Greek Trotskyist leader

[The following interview with Theologos Psaradelles, a member of the KDKE (Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados—Internationalist Communist party of Greece), Greek section of the Fourth International, appeared in the September 30 issue of the French revolutionary-socialist weekly *Rouge*. Psaradelles had just arrived in France shortly after escaping for the third time from Greek jails. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. In the years before coming to Paris, you have gone through quite a bit. Could you briefly tell us about it?

Answer. The Greek police arrested me for the first time in 1967. I was tortured, but released for lack of evidence. The second time, in May 1969, they had evidence. After being beaten for days on end, I was stuck in a neighborhood police station. Actually,

escape was not really very difficult. After getting ahold of a little money, I took the boat to Mytilene. From there I got to Turkey on a stolen boat by rowing for eighteen hours.

The political asylum granted by the Turkish authorities meant living under surveillance in an isolated spot 300 kilometers east of Ankara. I escaped twice with the idea of going to Bulgaria and, if everything went all right, to Western Europe. The first time I was caught a few kilometers from the border. The second time I succeeded and turned myself in at the first Bulgarian outpost.

After being transferred from prison to prison, I was interrogated at great length. Without telling them that I was a member of the Fourth International, I asked them to let me go to Western Europe if they did not want to keep me. Their answer came on the train that was apparently supposed to be bringing me back to Turkey when I saw Greek policemen get on board.

At that point, I jumped from the train and walked and ran for forty kilometers in a freezing rain. But since I have rheumatism, and since the border area with Greece is tightly controlled (the people who live there belong to paramilitary organizations), I was finally arrested, and shortly afterward, sent to Athens.

Q. What is the situation facing our Greek comrades?

A. The dictatorship hit our organization very hard and, in spite of the real growth we experienced during the sixties, we were neither numerically strong enough nor politically mature enough to resist. And so, a sizable split occurred just after the coup d'etat, and a large number of our members left to get involved in violent activities—without attempting to consolidate the organization—and allied themselves with the centrists and the activists of the EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras—Union of the Democratic Left, legal form of the Greek Communist party prior to the coup]. They were convinced that their actions would bring down the regime.

The main tasks for the comrades who, like me, remained in the section was to reorganize our forces and to sink roots in the masses.

Q. Where do things stand with the political forces on the Greek left?

A. All the political forces in Greek society were completely shaken up by the dictatorship. The pre-1967 bourgeois parties no longer amount to anything, and yesterday's "liberals" are today carrying on a dialogue with the regime. The Greek Communist party has split and lost all credibility. The only ones who in the final analysis have been able—even though weakened numerically—to survive politically are the Trotskyists.

In the aftermath of the April 21 coup, because of the crisis of both bourgeois liberalism and Stalinist reformism, the dominant tendency on the Greek left has become the spontanéist organizations that hoped to mobilize the masses through terrorist activity.

Today this tendency is in retreat, not only because of its inability to resolve the unprecedented crisis of leadership in the working class

through its methods, but also, paradoxically, because of the beginning signs of mobilizations, which present the vanguard with problems of a much more precise character.

Q. What tasks confront the vanguard in the present situation in Greece?

A. The political crisis unquestionably persists—and with it the inability of the dictatorship to gain a popular base. Indeed, the dictatorship is unable, without undermining its very existence, to satisfy even the slightest economic and political demands of the workers or to grant political freedoms to the masses.

Some of the features contained in the October issue of the quarterly **Quatrième International** (Fourth International), an organ of the international revolutionary socialist movement, are: an analysis of the role of the French Communist Party following World War II; a balance sheet on Greece—the dictatorship and the resistance; "Spain: weak link in the chain of capitalist Europe"; and a summary of the situation in Italy. The magazine also reprints the three-article debate on Georg Lukacs between George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party and Etienne Abrahamovici, a member of the French Communist League. The exchange of views appeared originally in the **International Socialist Review**.

For a subscription to **Quatrième International**, send \$6 for six issues to Quatrième International, J-P Beauvais, 10 impasse Guemenee, Paris 75004, France.

Recently, in April and May, mobilizations took place at the university. They were, in fact, only the first after a long period during which the masses took no part in politics, and they will not be the last.

In view of the decomposition of the Greek Communist party, more and more newly radicalized young militants are being drawn toward revolutionary Marxism. Our comrades, by taking advantage of the growing radicalization among Greek youth and by preparing for coming struggles, are actively working to build the Greek section of the Fourth International. □



Theologos Psaradelles

La Breche

From a Sri Lanka prison

Appeal for international support for victims of mass repression

By Rohana Wijeweera

[Rohana Wijeweera is one of the central leaders of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front), a rebel youth movement in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon). As such, he has been a major target of the Bandaranaike regime's sweeping repression. Wijeweera was arrested in March 1971, even before the April youth rebellion. His arrest was in fact the harbinger of the government's assault on the JVP.

[Imprisoned since his arrest in one of Sri Lanka's concentration camps, Wijeweera was among the first of the rebels to be brought to trial before the newly created criminal justice commissions.

[From prison, Wijeweera has sent the following appeal for worldwide solidarity with the victims of the Sri Lanka repression. It was written in English.]

"Rise, awakened masses! there is no victory without struggle."

"The oppressed people of Sri Lanka stand today on the battlefield,

"With arms in hand engaged in the fight for freedom,

"They kiss the earth that is soaked with warm blood,

"Open your eyes and see how they die as men."

It is well known to the world that the ruling capitalist class of our country, Ceylon, in association with the dark reactionary forces of foreign imperialism, has temporarily repressed the Ceylon proletariat and its political organization, the Lanka Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front of Ceylon), by cruel violent and counter-revolutionary action, in order to protect its exploitative system, maintain its class privileges, and prevent its class rule from being overthrown.

Since March 1971 the bourgeois counter-revolution in Ceylon has achieved a temporary and unstable military victory only by committing on a widespread scale and in a manner that appears incredible, the most barbarous, despicable and inhuman atrocities which constitute the worst terror in our history.

At this moment, when the reactionary and corrupt capitalist ruling clique with the generous assistance and support as well as the blessings of reactionary foreign imperialist powers of various kinds—with the murderous Yankee imperialists at their head—has cruelly repressed the Ceylon proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard, the People's Liberation Front, and caused it to retreat, we as true Marxist-Leninists in accordance with the supreme principles of proletarian internationalism seek your moral and material support and solidarity.

Peoples of all Lands!
We appeal to you.

1. To compel the murderous fascist and dictatorial government of Sirima Bandaranaike, sheltering behind a democratic mask, to repeal immediately and completely the so-called Public Security Act which it has brought into force;

2. To compel it to lift immediately the ban imposed under the emergency regulations on the People's Liberation Front, the vanguard of the Ceylon proletariat, and to remove the repressive measures against the revolutionary movement;

3. To help in revealing the manner in which the reactionary ruling clique which has taken on the character of a "constitutional dictatorship" has used the corrupt and pro-imperialist police forces and sections of the armed services, private terrorist gangs, pilots and aircraft, as well as CIA advice and methods, to massacre in the very country they were ruling, the very people who placed them in power, destroying whole villages, demolishing and burning houses, raping women, wiping out whole families, murdering more than 15,000 revolutionary young men and women and more than twice that number of innocent people—actions that it carried out and is still carrying out in order to repress the revolutionary movement;

To reveal the facts about these barbarous actions that have been concealed and that will shock and appall the whole world;

4. To help in exposing and defeating the insane policies, destructive and treacherous to the people, pursued by this "fascist democratic" ruling clique, which keeps ten thousand patriotic young men and women imprisoned in inhuman conditions under cover of "rehabilitation"; to compel them to release all those against whom there are no charges, to inform all those against whom there are supposed charges of their nature, and to afford them immediate access to lawyers;

5. To compel them to repeal the arbitrary, inhuman and savage Criminal Justice Commissions Act, to hold trials of political prisoners under the ordinary law earlier in force, and to halt immediately the political repression at present maintained under that Act;

6. To help in revealing the objective reality in opposition to the unprincipled and foul lies, distortions, insults and slanders directed against the Ceylon proletarian movement and its political core, the People's Liberation Front, its principles, policies, programme and its activists;

7. We seek finally your moral and material support, your endorsement and solidarity, in every form, every manner and every means, to tear off the "socialist" and "democratic" masks of the reactionary capitalist ruling Sirima Bandaranaike clique, to expose to the whole world its fascist capitalist nakedness, to protect in retreat the People's Liberation Front, the striking-force of the Ceylon proletariat; to

protect the purity and universality of Marxist-Leninist thought, and the sacred right of oppressed humanity to revolt against cruel and arbitrary rulers; to protect the revolutionary honour of more than 15,000 revolutionary young men and women, members of the People's Liberation Front, who sacrificed their lives; to protect the human and social rights of millions of Ceylon proletarians, and to carry forward the Ceylon socialist proletarian revolution to victory.

Wherever you may be in the world, if you are a Marxist-Leninist, if you are a revolutionary, if you are a Communist, if you are a socialist, if you are a progressive, if you are a democrat, if you are a humanitarian, if you are an upholder of justice, we seek your co-operation.

On behalf of more than 15,000 Marxist-Leninist young men and women who found no burial place, who were burnt alive, who had to die seeing their sisters, wives and mothers raped before their eyes, who were buried alive, who sacrificed their lives on the battlefield, who embraced death in going forward against the enemy knowing they were doomed to die, who did not have the fortune of having their funeral dirges sung by

the millions of proletarians whom they served; on behalf of the tens of thousands of revolutionaries who lost their homes, wives and children, brothers and sisters, who were imprisoned, who were crippled and maimed; on behalf of the youth of this country who cannot hope to emerge from the darkness and cruel slavery of the monstrous bourgeois dictatorship into the light of liberation without a revolutionary uprising, without a rebuilding of the People's Liberation Front, without the forward movement of the proletariat; on behalf of the proletariat of Ceylon, defenceless before the rising economic, political, social and military oppression of the bourgeoisie, we appeal to you to fulfil your international proletarian and human duties.

From dark prisons we raise the cry, high, powerful and sacred—"Let proletarian internationalism triumph!"—that was raised by our beloved teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In a land without justice, where both men and rights, justice and fairness, have been burnt at the altar of the vicious purposes of the capitalist ruling clique, we extend in comradeship our hands, bound by the chains of the bourgeoisie, emaciated yet strong.

Before the supreme tribunal of the conscience of mankind we appeal against the savage repression of the capitalist ruling clique of Ceylon.

Peoples of all lands!

It is from you we expect justice and right.

"If tens of thousands advance to take up the tasks that fall from us,

"If the hands of the people are lifted to raise the red banners that drop from our hands,

"If there are voices to sing their grief on our way to the grave,

"Then wherever Death may find me—to welcome him I am ready."

RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS



CEYLON SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

Folkets Avis

Poster put out by the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign, an organization in Britain fighting for the freedom of Sri Lanka political prisoners.



Student demonstration of several hundred in Heidelberg. Signs read: 'Abolish the ban on the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) and the General Union of Palestinian Workers (GUPA).' Der Spiegel

Interview with a Palestinian student

West German students protest witch-hunt of Arabs

[The decision of the West German Social Democratic government to declare illegal the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) and the General Union of Palestinian Workers (GUPW) was the opening wedge in an expanding witch-hunt in that country against supporters of the Arab revolution.]

[According to the GUPS-GUPW statements, Palestinians are being seized, handcuffed, and treated like criminals despite the fact that there have been no charges placed against them. Police have confiscated literature and even money in the course of widespread raids.]

[The German student movement has begun to respond to the government witch-hunt. According to the October issue of the revolutionary-socialist journal *Was Tun*, some 5,000 persons demonstrated in Hamburg against the expulsion of Arab citizens from Germany. Legal assistance for the Palestinians was secured, and some expulsions were actually blocked.]

[In Frankfurt, *Was Tun* reported, a united-front solidarity committee was formed and about 1,000 persons held an anti-witch-hunt demonstration.]

[The October 6 issue of the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* reported that a protest action in Heidelberg "led to a confrontation between police and some 300 students."]

[In calling for the formation of solidarity committees to defend the Palestinians, *Was Tun* noted that such action would be a test for the entire left, "not only because defense of the Arabs' and Palestinians' right to live in West Germany is an elementary duty of international solidarity, but also because the consequences of the government measures hit at the whole German labor movement itself, which the regime hopes to divide and weaken."]

[The following interview with a necessarily anonymous member of the GUPS was published in the October 16 issue of the weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Spiegel. You have gone underground. Why?

GUPS. The German security agency has left me and others no choice. No one regrets this more than GUPS. After Munich, about 100 Palestinians were expelled [from West Germany] and many were not even given the opportunity of legal defense. Moreover, in most cases, those expelled were deported to countries where Palestinians are subject to further prosecution, for example Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon.

Spiegel. How long can you hold out underground in West Germany? Two years, like Baader-Meinhof?

GUPS. We are not Baader-Meinhof. We want to remain legal, not illegal, in West Germany, and we want it legally established that we are not security risks.

Spiegel. And if this is not possible?

GUPS. Then we go. But then the Federal Republic can no longer pass itself off as a liberal state. Then it must say openly: We want no Palestinians in our country.

Spiegel. In the opinion of the German security agency, the GUPS and the General Union of Palestinian Workers are the "legal daughters" who provide assistance, hiding places, and contacts to the "brutal daughters"—Palestinian agitators and terrorists entering or passing through Germany.

GUPS. This is the claim of the Israeli secret service, and the West German police have obviously adopted it as well. The active support of the Israeli secret service for the police operations in West Germany is demonstrated by the participation of Israeli agents in house searches and in the apprehension of Palestinians. We can prove this. Israel is aiming at stamping out all Palestinians and their organizations by calling them terrorist.

Spiegel. At the 1969 world conference of GUPS, delegates decided that "all student members must undergo military training during the summer semester in order to carry out the armed struggle."

GUPS. That was only for building Fateh, not the GUPS. And in any case, this training took place in Palestinian military camps, not in West Germany.

Spiegel. Your statutes encourage "preparing Arab Palestinian youth for the liberation struggle."

GUPS. What does "preparing for" mean? For us it is a lot of things, from the eradication of illiteracy to political clarification . . .

Spiegel. . . . to the struggle, as it says right in the GUPS statutes, "for the return to the occupied area by any means."

GUPS. Yes, if we find ourselves at war, nobody is interested in taking lessons in cooking. Should we be the kind of Palestinians that sit and endure the misery of the refugee camps? We want to free the Palestinian people through people's war, and the armed struggle against Israel is a stage along that road. Here in West Germany, however, our goal is to work against Zionist propaganda and to mobilize friends and comrades in our support.

Spiegel. The decree banning GUPS that was issued by the Ministry of the Interior charged that GUPS recognizes "violence and terror as means of advancing their politics."

GUPS. The word "terror" is disgusting. If you want to call our violence "terror" that's your business. But we make a very sharp distinction. You cannot go up against the Israeli army bibles in hand, but only with armed force. And with this armed force we want not just to destroy, but to build a democratic state in which all Palestinian citizens, regardless of race, religion, and origin, will have the same rights and duties.

Spiegel. But what was done at the Olympics was no doubt terrorist.

GUPS. We clearly called the Munich action terror, and we reject terror. It is easy to fling a bomb anywhere a cheerful crowd is gathered. But in the occupied territory the Palestinian people must prepare for a long, difficult anti-imperialist struggle. But it is also terror when Israeli aircraft drop bombs on Palestinian refugee camps. Strangely enough, there was hardly a word about that in the German press.

In memory of Trelew martyrs

[The following statement was issued of the ERP-PRT and the comrades September 23 by the United Secretariat of the other organizations who were at the Fourth International, the vilely murdered by the Argentine military dictatorship.]

The reaction of the Argentine revolutionary youth and the vanguard of the labor movement against this massacre proves that these comrades did not fight and die in vain. The United Secretariat expresses its solidarity with the PRT in its struggle against the repression of which it is a victim and appeals to all the sections to intensify their campaign in defense of the persecuted Argentine revolutionists, a campaign that has already achieved results with the asylum granted first in Chile, and then in Cuba, to Comrade Santucho and his comrades.

From the world Marxist press



British, Belgian antiwar actions planned

[The following is from an article by Andy Scott in the October 16 *Red Mole*, the biweekly newspaper of the International Marxist Group.]

The National Peace Action Coalition in the States has, this Autumn, called for days of international action against the Nixon government's brutal escalation of the war. The NPAC is, itself, struggling to turn the still massive discontent with the war out of the channels of electoral manoeuvring into mass demonstrations on 26 October and 18 November.

In Britain, after a lapse of almost four years, a united-front preparatory committee has been set up (under the initiative of the magazine *Indo-China*) to prepare a Conference early in December as a springboard for re-activating a Vietnam solidarity movement in Britain.

The call by *Indo-China* (even though only a few weeks old) has already encouraged the following groups to sponsor such a Conference: Agitprop, Association for Radical East Asian Scholars, Group '68, *Indo-China* Editorial Board, International Fund to Aid the Indo-Chinese Resistance, International Marxist Group, National Union of Students, Socialist Woman, Support, Union of American Exiles and the Vietnam Solidarity Committee. At the same time, many individuals have agreed to sponsor the campaign.

At the meeting of the preparatory committee on 10 October, a discussion was opened on the nature of the Conference and the preparatory work that would have to be done. It was agreed that the Conference should be a springboard for mobilising a broad solidarity movement and that it would take place on 2 and 3 December.

It is vital that any united-front movement in solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle must involve the widest possible forces. The IMG would therefore add its voice to that of the preparatory committee in calling upon all those organisations and individuals who support the struggle of the Vietnamese people to sponsor the Conference and send a representative along to the preparatory committee. (Those who do not support the solidarity po-

sition, but who oppose American aggression will also be able to attend).

Those who pride themselves on their "internationalism" will not be remembered for their fine analyses of the Vietnamese struggle. They will be remembered for translating that analysis into action, which today means building the December conference.

[The following article is reprinted from the Sept. 28 issue of the Belgian revolutionary socialist weekly *La Gauche*, published by supporters of the Ligue Revolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers League). The translation is by *The Militant*.]

It is wrong to think that the great summer floods of North Vietnam have passed. The danger of a rupture of the dikes is unavoidable if the bombings continue at the present rate, especially since they have just been stepped up in the Hanoi region.

It was therefore very timely to invite Daniel Mandelbaum, a mining engineer specializing in soil machinery, to a news conference to announce the conclusions of the delegation of the "International Commission of Inquiry on American War Crimes in Vietnam" of the Stockholm Conference. The delegation visited North Vietnam in the first two weeks of August.

The news conference took place September 27 in Brussels. With figures and photos to support him, Mandelbaum demonstrated that the most heavily populated areas are deliberately attacked by the American Air Force. He pointed out that given this perspective, it is the most vulnerable places that are bombed, and that the dikes and flood gates are targeted as strategic points for bombing so as to cause flooding.

Other speakers at this news conference, which was organized by the National Vietnam Committee, were comrades Hoang Huy Chav, representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) at the Paris talks; and Truong Si Pham, representative

of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). They stressed above all the "Americanization" of the war, and explained the new diplomatic initiative of the PRG, to which we will return later.

This news conference was also the occasion for announcing the various activities planned in Belgium in solidarity with Vietnam. Jan Van Kerkhoven, speaking in the name of the National Vietnam Committee, said, "The Vietnamese have no vacation," and announced that during the months of July and August the committee had been able to collect 100,000 francs [about \$2,200] to buy quinine for fighting malaria in Indochina.

As comrade Chav stated, "material support is desirable, but we ask you especially for political aid, which means above all informing the public of what is actually happening in Indochina."

It is with this aim that the National Vietnam Committee will organize a week of solidarity during October 13-20. A series of meetings is planned, involving representatives of the PRG, the DRV, and Cambodia, as well as Daniel Mandelbaum and Yves Lacoste, the French geographer who also was part of the International Commission of Inquiry.

The week will end October 19 at "La Populaire" [a meeting hall] in Liège and October 20 at "La Madeleine" in Brussels. The meeting in Brussels will be publicized through a weekend of propaganda October 14 and 15 that will include distribution of leaflets, sale of brochures, and car caravans.

It is once again evident that Vietnam actions are taking place or are being organized in every area of the country. Responsiveness is growing and the mobilization is developing regionally. Again, we repeat that under these conditions the unification of all antiwar forces is both necessary and possible.

To this end, the Revolutionary Workers League proposes a *national demonstration Nov. 18 in Brussels* and a *Campaign 11. 11. 11. for Vietnam* [a fund-raising campaign for Vietnam]. □

Thousands tortured in South Vietnam prisons

The Western press has focused considerable attention on the fate of the American pilots shot down over North Vietnam and now detained there. Released pilots themselves have been among the first to admit that their treatment was humane.

With the exception of the 1970 report on "tiger cages" in Con Son prison, however, not much has been written about the many thousands of political prisoners who are mistreated and tortured in the jails of South Vietnam. A report by J.B. Holmgaard in the September 24 Danish daily *Politiken* provides a glimpse into the inhuman conditions prevailing in these jails.

The report is based on letters smuggled out of Chi Hoa and Con Son prisons this summer.

Nguyen Thi Yen, who is the treas-

urer of the Saigon Student Union, was arrested on June 8, 1972. "She has been brutally mistreated, and recently lost consciousness," Holmgaard wrote. "Earlier, she was forced to stand naked in front of her tormentors, who burned her nipples with cigarettes."

Trinh Dinh Ban, chairman of the South Vietnam Student Union, was beaten until his face was so swollen and his eyes so inflamed that he could hardly see. "Nails were driven through his fingertips, and he was beaten on the soles of his feet to the point where he could no longer stand up."

Nguyen Van Nam, a student and vice-president of the Committee for the People's Right to Live, was given the same treatment as Trinh Dinh Ban. In addition, "he was subjected to electrical tortures and his fingers were

ruined from being pounded with a kind of rod. They are now paralyzed."

The leader of the Saigon Buddhist students, Nguyen Thi Hue, was given chemical injections for several days and was then forced to sign a police report.

One of the letters that were smuggled out tells about more than 100 arrested students. "... all were tortured and had to be taken to their cells on stretchers. Among the methods of torture commonly used are electrical torture, the forced drinking of soap water, and the hammering of nails through the fingertips."

The families of South Vietnamese prisoners are frequently subjected to reprisals. Members of some families have even been arrested outside the gates to Chi Hoa prison as they came to visit their relatives. □

Intercontinental Press

Africa Asia Europe Oceania The Americas

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

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

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

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

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

() Enclosed is \$7.50 for six months.

() Enclosed is \$15 for one year.

Intercontinental Press

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

Renewed attack on Fuentes

NY School Dist. 1 community control fight

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 — After a relatively quiet September in Lower Manhattan's School District One, a crisis has again been fired by an offensive by anti-community-control elements.

A reactionary alliance consisting of the Albert Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers, three Jewish social action federations, and an array of liberal Democratic politicians had temporarily been placated in late August.

At that time, the state commissioner on human rights had agreed to investigate the charges of anti-Semitism launched against Luis Fuentes, the newly appointed superintendent in District One. Fuentes, a community-control activist during the racist UFT strike of 1968, was the school system's first Puerto Rican principal.

The groups opposed to community control calculated that Fuentes would be eliminated with one quick blow through a recommendation by the Human Rights Commission followed by a decision to remove him by city schools Chancellor Harvey Scribner. Because of this expectation, they have refused to present their "proof" of racism to the local school board, as is required by the law.

The Anti-Defamation League, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the American Jewish Congress rejected an offer by the District One school board to hold a hearing on their charges in early October. Instead, the Anti-Defamation League demonstrated outside the board of education headquarters demanding

that Scribner take immediate disciplinary action.

On October 4 and 5, the board and Fuentes moved to reassign two principals who had inspired the hostility of Puerto Rican parents and students. One of the two, acting principal Tulio Rodriguez of PS 15, had been bureaucratically installed by the previous anti-community superintendent over the protests of the parents. He had distinguished himself by calling in the cops during one of the demonstrations of parents. PS 15 is reported to have the lowest reading level of any school in the country.

The right to transfer acting principals is one of the few things local school boards won under the 1969 school decentralization law. In a statement supporting its action, the school board pointed out that "while literally hundreds of such re-assignments occur at the discretion of Community Boards throughout the city . . . it is only when District 1 takes such action that the press chooses to manipulate the public into a furor."

Scribner ordered the local board to reinstate the principals until an open meeting of the board could decide the question. Complying with this, the board called a meeting for Oct. 18 at Junior High School 71, in the center of the Puerto Rican community, where Fuentes had located the new district offices. On the night of the meeting the area surrounding the school was swarming with police.

Previous open meetings of the board held in the periphery of the district had been disrupted by the

Jewish Defense League. Presumably, this time the police were present to protect the hundreds of UFTers who were brought in from around the city to participate in the community's decision-making. The scene was an example of the kind of teacher-community relationship Shanker encourages.

Inside the school auditorium the crowd of 1,000 was divided roughly half and half between community residents and the imported teachers. In his report to the meeting, Fuentes told the parents and the "guests from other parts of the city" that the "most basic issue facing this school system is the establishment of structures that return the schools to the people of the community where the schools exist." He affirmed the right of the local board to transfer the two principals and the seven other untenured principals remaining in the district.

Fuentes was followed by Assemblyman Anthony DiFalco, whose district lies within that of the school board. DiFalco, claiming to "represent" the community, chose the occasion to announce his recommendation that a trusteeship be established over District One "because of the climate in the community."

The assemblyman represents white voters, who are still a majority in the district. They do not, however, send their children to the public schools, which are 93 percent Latino, Black, and Chinese. A number of other politicians who are running for reelection have sided with the opponents of community control.

In an interview with *The Militant*,

Fuentes commented that "one kind of obstacle [in implementing community control] is the Madison Avenue type of clientele that frequents our district once in a while. These are some local politicians that are running for office, [Assemblyman] Stein in his obvious campaign, [Assemblyman] Olivieri in his, [Assemblyman] Blumenthal with his mayoral desires, [Bronx Congressman] Scheuer, [Bronx Congressman] Biaggi, these honky-tonk politicians that bring out the racists in their community to vote for them because they stand for what's white and pure and all-American. They use situations like this to gather support for some other purpose. They are usually motivated by something that has nothing to do with the realities of things at a local level."

In contrast to these capitalist politicians, Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 18th C.D., which includes the northern half of District One, spoke in favor of the school board's rights and demanded that all anti-community elements "keep hands off" District One.

Finch also supported the 20-point program for community control drawn up by community activists and distributed by the board. The first demand of the program is that "the Community School Board must fill all vacancies of Principals and Assistant Principals as soon as possible." This means replacing the remaining seven acting principals with ones chosen by parents of stu-

Continued on page 26

UFT's Shanker: fierce opponent of change

By FRANK LOVELL

The New York City United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, American Federation of Teachers, buys space every Sunday in the *New York Times* "Week In Review" section for UFT President Albert Shanker to comment on public education and other matters. In the Sept. 24 *Times*, Shanker took up what's wrong with McGovern.

At the AFT national convention in St. Paul, Minn., the delegates adopted a strong antiwar resolution and endorsed McGovern for president. Neither action set well with Shanker.

Shanker's Sept. 24 column ventures the opinion that when teachers vote, "whether the choice is Nixon or McGovern, it will be made with little enthusiasm." He may be right on this score. But if that's the case, it's not reflected in the September issue of the official AFT publication, the *American Teacher*, which is enthusiastically campaigning for McGovern.

According to Shanker, McGovern is guilty of two high crimes. McGovern has said he thinks Black workers and other minorities should be hired "in reasonable relationship" to their proportion in the population. Shanker thinks McGovern is also in favor of Black control of the Black community, especially community control of the schools.

Shanker is a fierce opponent of all quota systems, especially when it comes to hiring Black and Spanish-speaking teachers. Under his leadership the UFT has failed to fight for more teachers in New York schools, has allowed the board of education to increase class sizes, and now demands more police in the schools.

Instead of seeking to expand opportunities for teachers through the development of community schools, Shanker uses the power of the teach-

ers union to squeeze out young teachers and retain in positions of authority the oldest white teachers, who are ill-equipped to cope with educational problems in the ghetto.

One of the unfounded charges Shanker makes against McGovern is that he endorsed the National Black Agenda (the program adopted by the National Black Political Convention, which met in Gary, Ind., March 10-12).

Shanker quotes from a letter McGovern sent to the cochairmen of the Gary conference. McGovern promised to "Assure by appointment and merit hiring practices, proportionate Black employment and policy control at every level of federal, state and local government—including the judicial system . . . Bring about community control over the police, schools and other institutions that affect the lives of Black people; and the establishment of residence requirements for officials and employees of the same . . . Rigidly support and enforce federal requirement that Black employees as a proportion of the total on all federally supported construction projects be at least equal to their ratio to the total population in the local government jurisdiction."

This was an election-year promise, one that McGovern has already reneged on. But what's wrong with giving Black people jobs and pledging to support their efforts to gain control of their communities?

In Shanker's book everything is wrong with this. He's against any change in social relations, especially a change in the social condition and status of Blacks. Such a change, in Shanker's view, would alter the present racial and ethnic composition of New York schools and teaching staffs, disturb his present cozy relationship

with the board of education, and threaten his control of the United Federation of Teachers.

As reasons for his bitter opposition to the Black Agenda, Shanker cites the position it took of "opposition to school integration and advocacy of the dismantling of the nation of Israel."

Shanker notes McGovern's "contin-



Albert Shanker

ued support of integration as required by the 1954 Supreme Court decision, his rejection of the demand for dismantling Israel and his opposition to its [Black Agenda] position on community control of the courts as 'not workable.' The reason Shanker opposes McGovern is not that McGovern

backtracks on the demands of the Black community, but that he implied any support to these demands in the first place.

Integration in the schools has been a slow and painful process, while at the same time schools in the Black community have deteriorated rapidly. This has left Black parents with no choice but to intervene themselves to improve the quality of education in their own communities. Experience has shown that the quality of education will improve only when the community takes control of its own schools.

Shanker has done nothing to halt the deterioration of ghetto schools. Instead, his opposition to community control has contributed to the poor quality of education in New York.

Shanker is properly irate over both McGovern's and Nixon's proposed financial aid to nonpublic schools. But it is McGovern's proposal for a system of tax credits to aid private and parochial schools that gets the most attention.

"What is most disturbing about the tax credit idea which McGovern has endorsed is that, once these credits are established, each year's Congressional session and each State Legislative session will reopen the issue, pitting those who want larger tax rebates against those who want more for public schools," says Shanker. He conveniently overlooks the fact that the AFT convention demanded an end to war expenditures and the use of this money for public education.

Shanker's real concern is not for the principle of public education and separation of church and state. What he fears most, he says, is schools "operated by white citizens councils in some places and black extremists in others."

Continued on page 26

Was the 'Prague Spring' antisocialist?

This is the second series of two articles in answer to articles by Erik Bert in the Oct. 3 and 5 issues of the *Daily World*. Bert attacked *The Militant* for reprinting an open letter from Jiri Pelikan to Angela Davis appealing to Davis to support the rights of Czechoslovak political prisoners. Pelikan's letter appeared in the Sept. 8 *Militant*, and the first part of the answer to Bert appeared in the Oct. 27 *Militant*.

By CAROLINE LUND

The core of Erik Bert's tirade of slander against *The Militant*, Trotskyism, and Jiri Pelikan is his charge that the 1968 reform movement in Czechoslovakia was "counter-revolutionary" and "anti-Soviet."

Pelikan was director of Czechoslovak television at the height of the 1968 upsurge. Under the Dubcek regime censorship was lifted from the mass media for the first time, and media people were in the vanguard of the struggle for greater democracy.

Erik Bert, however, says that "In fact, the Prague TV was one of the main inciters of anti-Soviet hysteria in 1968."

Later Bert writes: "Czechoslovak revisionists and their 'liberal' friends in the West declare that there was no threat of counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Let's leave that aside, and consider the revisionists' program today."

Let's not leave that aside. Let's look at what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and why the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries saw fit to send 650,000 troops to occupy Czechoslovakia—topping even LBJ's troop commitment in Vietnam.

Alexander Dubcek came to power on a crest of rising demands of writers, intellectuals, students, and professionals for greater freedom of thought and expression. In addition, he represented a section of the Czechoslovak ruling bureaucracy that favored more economic decentralization and greater use of market mechanisms, similar to the path taken by the bureaucracy in Yugoslavia.

The Dubcek regime made concessions to the popular demands for democratic rights but attempted to place a lid on the movement, fearing that it could get out of hand and turn into a rebellion against the entire privileged, bureaucratic regime.

The rightist current in the Dubcek wing of the bureaucracy favored not only the introduction of more market relations, but also a rapprochement with Western imperialist countries. But such policies—although they should be condemned—are no worse than the

Soviet summits and trade agreements with Nixon. There was no procapitalist social layer in Czechoslovakia in 1968 that could have organized a counterrevolution to take the factories and other nationalized property away from the workers and give them back to private capitalist owners.

The split in the Czechoslovak bureaucracy opened the way for debate not only within the bureaucracy but among the students, the intellectuals, and the masses of workers. Mass meetings were held through-

working class.

"They succeeded in some degree, in penetrating the working class, arousing near-hysteria, threatening general strikes. . . ."

According to Bert, the Czechoslovak workers were simply dupes who joined the movement for proletarian democracy because they didn't know what was best for themselves.

But not only *The Militant* and Jiri Pelikan deny that the 1968 reform upsurge was for counterrevolution. Readers of the *Daily World* should

intervention in Czechoslovakia. I agree, and that is why our people did not defend itself in arms. But the substance of the two interventions is the same: to prevent people from deciding their own destiny."

Bert says this amounts to saying the Soviet Union is imperialist. "The Trotskyites say it openly," writes Bert, "he [Pelikan] says it obliquely."

The Socialist Workers Party has never considered the Soviet Union imperialist. Imperialism is a stage of capitalism involving domination of



Response by masses of Czechoslovak citizens to 1968 Soviet invasion was political. They fraternized with the Soviet troops, explaining that there was no 'counterrevolution' in Czechoslovakia and that the soldiers should go back and fight for democracy in their own countries.



out the country where grievances poured forth. Mass pressure forced the rehabilitation of thousands of Communist Party members who had been victims of Stalinist purge trials in the 1950s. Demands were raised for limitation of the power of the secret police, freedom to travel, and the right to express differences within the Communist Party.

Erik Bert himself admits that the revolutionary upsurge against bureaucratic privilege and for democracy penetrated deeply in the working class. He writes: "Pelikan complains that the so-called 'Workers Councils, formed in 1968 and dissolved in 1969, have been defined as 'instruments of counter-revolution'."

"But that is precisely what they were. They were organized by the anti-socialist revisionists in order to extend their base, from journalists and intellectuals and students, into the

check out the report by George Wheeler, former Czechoslovak correspondent for the *Daily World*.

Wheeler was quoted in the Aug. 31, 1968, issue of the West Coast CP paper, the *People's World*, as saying, "There was no counter-revolution here. Only plans for better socialism, for democratic socialism." Wheeler and his wife, Eleanor Wheeler, wrote a formal open letter to the leaders of the American CP protesting the *Daily World's* coverage of the 1968 events.

Later, Al Richmond, editor of the *People's World*, went to Prague on a fact-finding mission and wrote back with similar conclusions. Typical of the opinions Richmond quotes from interviews with workers in Prague was this one: "For six months we had more democracy than any other country on earth. . . ."

In addition, the Soviet invasion on Aug. 21, 1968, was condemned by the French, Italian, and Chinese Communist parties, as well as by many smaller CPs. The French, Italian, and British CPs have also criticized this summer's frame-up trials of 46 supporters of the 1968 upsurge.

It is obvious what Erik Bert is referring to when he complains, "The Western anti-Communist hate campaign against Czechoslovakia was joined by certain representatives of progressive forces in the West. . . ."

Does Bert feel that these Communist parties are also in league with the Central Intelligence Agency, as he implies about *The Militant* and Jiri Pelikan?

Comparison with Vietnam

In another point, Erik Bert castigates Pelikan for comparing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia with U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Pelikan says: "You may say that there is a big difference between American military aggression in Vietnam and the Soviet

other countries through the export of capital. The economy of the Soviet Union is not capitalist; it is based on socialized production, which does not require exporting capital.

Pelikan is correct that what is involved in both the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the U.S. aggression in Vietnam is violation of the right of nations to self-determination.

The constitution of the Soviet Union even proclaims the right of national minorities within the USSR to separate if they desire, and yet the Soviet bureaucrats attempted to prevent the Czechoslovak people from choosing their own leadership.

Following the August invasion, the Trotskyist Fourth International raised the slogan "Send Soviet tanks to Vietnam, not Czechoslovakia!" That is where a real counterrevolutionary threat exists, and yet Soviet aid has been totally inadequate.

Fourth International

Unfortunately, the Trotskyist movement was not strong in Czechoslovakia in 1968. And yet Erik Bert links "Trotskyites" and "Czechoslovak revisionists" together as if they were the same thing. Why does the CP have such a fear of Trotskyism that it felt the need to publish these articles?

Leon Trotsky answered this question in the context of explaining why the Moscow Trials were aimed against "Trotskyism." He wrote:

"The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy [the Czechoslovak bureaucracy, we could add, as well as the Soviet]—this is precisely what from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique constitutes 'Trotskyism.' It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International."

Where did the Trotskyist movement stand on the 1968 reform movement in Czechoslovakia? The Fourth International, the Trotskyist world party, issued a statement April 18, 1968, during the height of the upsurge. It said:

"The essential elements of the action program which the Fourth International proposes to the Czechoslovak working masses are: a soviet-type political regime; democratically centralized workers self-management in the economic sphere; freedom of organization, of the press, of assembly for all tendencies in the workers movement; critical examination of the ideological legacy of the great thinkers and great currents of thought in the international communist movement; full light on the

trials and repressions of the Stalin era; the right of self-determination for all nationalities and the establishment of a genuinely federal statute; solidarity with the Polish and Soviet students, intellectuals, and workers who are struggling for socialist democracy in their respective countries; and active solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and all the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist movements in progress throughout the world."

It called for freedom to organize and demonstrate for all tendencies and parties that support the socialized mode of production.

Major excerpts from this manifesto were printed in a Prague magazine, *Informacni Materialy* (Informational Materials), dated June 24, 1968.

VOTE SOCIALIST

Continued from page 1

as well as Social Security and unemployment benefits — to include automatic wage increases to keep up with the rising cost of living.

Nor should workers have to suffer from unemployment, which is not their fault but the fault of the capitalist system. Jenness and Pulley propose legislation to shorten the workweek at no reduction in weekly pay, so that the existing work is spread around. In addition, they call for a crash program of public works — building housing, schools, public transportation, hospitals — thus providing vitally needed facilities as well as millions of jobs.

While both Nixon and McGovern support some kind of wage controls, Jenness and Pulley urge an all-out fight by the labor movement against any wage controls or other government interference in the right of trade unions to bargain collectively and strike.

In the course of their campaign, the socialist candidates have spoken at plant gates and to millions of working people over radio and television urging all unions to cooperate in convening an emergency conference of the labor movement and its supporters to plan a united struggle against wage controls.

As the wage controls have demonstrated, all the major questions facing working people — the war, unemployment, racist oppression, and inflation — are *political* questions. Jenness and Pulley call for the formation of a labor party, based on the trade unions, so that working people will be able to fight for their own political interests.

Jenness and Pulley would place the right of the American people to a healthy, pleasant environment over the right of the rich to make profits. They call for federal legislation setting strict antipollution standards. Any companies that refuse to meet these standards should be expropriated, placed under public ownership, and operated under workers control.

Jenness and Pulley support government ownership of all basic industry, so that production can be democratically regulated and scientifically planned to meet people's needs, including environmental needs.

Racism

Racial oppression is one of the deepest, most rotten features of this capitalist society. While both Nixon and McGovern oppose preferential hiring of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities as "un-American," Jenness and Pulley propose an entire program of special government efforts in all areas — jobs and job training, housing, schools, hospitals, etc. — to redress hundreds of years of discriminatory treatment.

In addition, the SWP candidates support the right of Blacks, Chicanos,



Militant/Dave Wulp

Linda Jenness drew a crowd of 350 people when she spoke Oct. 20 at Boston's Faneuil Hall, a historic platform for American revolutionaries.

and all oppressed peoples to control their own communities, including the police and all other institutions that affect their lives.

Andrew Pulley and Linda Jenness hailed the Black political convention held in March at Gary, Ind., as an important expression of the growing desire among Black people for independent political organization. Pulley attended that convention, urging the delegates to stop supporting the party of their oppressors — the Democratic Party — and instead to form an independent Black political party.

In their speeches and meetings, Jenness and Pulley have welcomed the formation of the Raza Unida parties, the independent Chicano parties. They have explained that these parties are setting an example for Black people and all working people, demonstrating the effectiveness of political action independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Women's liberation

Unlike Nixon and McGovern, Jenness and Pulley speak for the feelings of the majority of Americans concerning the right of women to abortion. They have campaigned for an end to all restrictions on the right to abortion and contraception so that women can control their own reproductive lives.

The socialist candidates call for government steps to end discrimination against women in all areas and for a crash program to build and finance the operation of child-care centers available to all who wish to use them

and controlled by those who use them.

The SWP campaign has spoken out consistently for the human rights of all oppressed people — including gay people, prisoners, high school students. They have championed the rights of political prisoners and fought for the extension of civil liberties.

Through court battles, the SWP candidates have won rights that will aid all those fighting for social change. They have exposed legal discrimination against young voters. They have fought for the rights of GIs and prisoners to participate in the political process and to hear all candidates.

Throwing your vote away?

To those who say voting for the Socialist Workers candidates is "throwing your vote away," we say voting for the SWP is the only way to make your vote count.

Voting for the SWP is the *only* way to express a clear vote against the war and for self-determination for the Vietnamese.

A vote for the SWP is a vote in support of independent political struggle by working people, Black people, and Chicanos.

This independent political struggle is the only way the American people can win meaningful changes, whether immediate reforms or fundamental reorganization of society.

A vote for either Nixon or McGovern, on the other hand, will strengthen the authority of one or the other to continue their bipartisan policies that place profits over human welfare, and to continue U.S. attempts

to dominate Indochina.

The Communist Party and the People's Party will also be on the ballot in some states this fall. We urge a vote for the SWP ticket, as opposed to these others, because it alone is a clear, working-class alternative to the McGovern and Nixon campaigns. In addition to other deficiencies, both the CP campaign and the People's Party campaign have given backhanded support to McGovern.

Internationalist campaign

The Socialist Workers campaign is an internationalist campaign. Jenness and Pulley have traveled to Ireland, West Germany, Puerto Rico, Canada, Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Argentina, expressing the solidarity of a growing segment of the American people with the freedom struggles in other countries. They have campaigned against the racist, anti-Arab measures instituted by the Nixon administration and in support of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. They have spoken out in defense of the rights of dissidents fighting for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other workers states.

The SWP candidates are fighting for a government of the working people. They are fighting for socialism, for the worldwide liberation of all people from oppression and exploitation, and for an end to all forms of violence and control by human beings over other human beings.

As Eugene V. Debs said, it's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it. Vote for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley!

ELECTION NIGHT PARTIES TO HEAR JENNESS, PULLEY

Linda Jenness will speak at an election night celebration in New York City at the Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West, which will begin at 8:30 p.m. Andrew Pulley will speak at a similar event in San Francisco beginning at 7:30 p.m. in the Americana Motor Lodge (Suite 424) at 121 Seventh Street (below Mission).

The speeches by Jenness and Pulley will be relayed by national telephone hookup to many other cities around the country.

For the time and place of celebrations in your area, call the nearest campaign committee. (See page 26.)

Information on participating in the national phone hookup can be obtained through the Socialist Workers National Campaign Office at (212) 989-7676.

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS

SOCIALISTS CAMPAIGN

TEXAS

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON—With the November elections rapidly approaching, the campaigns of the four political parties in Texas have shifted into high gear. In addition to the Democrats and Republicans, this year there are two parties on the statewide ballot for the first time in Texas—the Socialist Workers Party and the Raza Unida Party.

Getting a new party on the Texas ballot is not an easy matter. It takes the signatures of 23,000 registered voters who did not vote in the Democratic or Republican primaries. In addition, there are literally dozens of exacting procedures and deadlines that any new party must meet.

There was also a particularly restrictive loyalty oath requiring candidates to swear that they support "the present representative form of government" and would resist any efforts to change it. Legal suits by the Socialist Workers Party were successful in getting this oath declared unconstitutional, along with provisions requiring that candidates own property and pay filing fees.

The four gubernatorial candidates are: Dolph Briscoe, Democrat; Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party; Ramsey Muñiz, Raza Unida Party; and Henry Grover, Republican.

Briscoe is a big-time rancher from South Texas whose reactionary conduct has earned him the enmity of most of the Chicanos in the Rio Grande Valley. A Wallace delegate to the Democratic convention, Briscoe threw his support to McGovern on the first ballot. The only time he really spoke out during the campaign was when he vehemently denied allegations that he was a "liberal." He never appears at meetings with the other candidates and refuses all offers of "equal time" from the media.

Grover is a conservative Republican state legislator. The Republican Party has had so little influence in Texas politics that it is often referred to as a minor party.

Muñiz is a young Chicano attorney from Waco who is running a very active campaign. He predicts he will carry the 26 South Texas counties, where Chicanos are a majority of the voters.

Leonard, 30, ran for mayor of Houston in 1971, the first time a socialist had been on the ballot in Texas in more than 50 years.

In an interview with me, Leonard related some of her impressions of the gubernatorial race.

"One interesting aspect of this campaign is being on the same platforms with Raza Unida Party candidates. On many questions I find myself and Muñiz taking similar positions in opposition to the Democratic and Republican candidates.

"For instance, we are both for abolishing the Texas Rangers, while the capitalist candidates all defend them. The SWP supports independent Chicano political action, and we are urging Texans to vote for RUP candidates for offices we are not running for."

A first for the Socialist Workers campaign was an election rally at Texas Southern University, a predominantly Black school in Houston. This rally was one of the only radical political events held

at TSU since a massive police riot there in 1967 during which several thousand bullets were fired into the dormitories.

Other highlights of the 1972 Texas socialist gubernatorial campaign include a rally attended by 150 students at the University of Houston; speeches to 250 students in Black studies classes at Phyllis Wheatley High School (30 of these students endorsed the campaign); and an appearance at Trinity College in San Antonio, where 10 students agreed to form a chapter of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley after hearing Leonard.

Leonard spoke along with Grover and Muñiz at a San Antonio meeting of Sigma Delta Chi, the journalists' society. The speeches of both Leonard and Muñiz received wide publicity.

Leonard has held three well-attended news conferences this fall, has been on TV for a total of one hour, and has had radio interviews lasting about three hours. She has been interviewed by several major newspapers, the latest one being the *Dallas Morning News*.

Leonard appeared at a meeting of the Texas Women's Political Caucus in San Antonio, where candidates were questioned by a panel of women before a large audience. According to Sherry Smith, Leonard's campaign manager, "The response at this meeting was really phenomenal. Debby got applause on almost every answer."

Several more hours of TV and radio time are already lined up for the remainder of the campaign. Speaking engagements have been scheduled for the University of Texas at Austin, for a political forum at Pan American University in Edinburg, Texas, and at a meeting for all statewide candidates, sponsored by the League of Women Voters.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

By ERNEST HARSCH

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Socialist Workers Party campaign of Herman Fagg for D.C. non-voting delegate has sparked considerable interest here in the past few weeks. So far Fagg has appeared at 15 TV and radio engagements and has spoken at an average of five meetings of



Herman Fagg

Militant/Harry Ring

community organizations per week. One TV station plans to follow Fagg for three hours Oct. 25, focusing in on the building of the Oct. 26 antiwar actions.

One particularly important meeting occurred at Federal City College, where all the candidates, including Fagg, gave presentations and were then asked questions by a student panel and by the audience.

Representative Walter E. Fauntroy, who is running for reelection on the Democratic Party ticket, was asked a number of embarrassing questions by the predominantly Black audience. They prodded Fauntroy on his selling out of the Black Agenda, which came out of the Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., last March.

Why, they asked, did he not condemn Israel's aggression in the Middle East? Why does he support George McGovern for president when McGov-

ern never endorsed the Black Agenda? And why has Fauntroy, who won the election in 1970 on the basis of his alleged support of Home Rule for D.C., relegated the fight for Home Rule to the backrooms and staircases of two-party politics? Fauntroy simply shuffled around these serious questions.

Fagg, on the contrary, dealt head on with the points raised. Home rule for D.C., he said, "Real, meaningful home rule for a city that is over 70 percent Black cannot be won until the Black community begins to organize and mobilize itself to take control of our community . . . its schools, and police forces."

On Oct. 24 the District of Columbia Court of Appeals ordered the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party on the D.C. ballot.

The D.C. board of elections had disqualified the SWP ticket on the basis of a random check of 26,000 signatures filed for ballot status.

The board's attorney agreed with the SWP's attorney, Jerry Gordon, that the board's action had violated the First Amendment rights of the candidates and D.C. voters.

Backroom politics, he stressed, which Fauntroy advocates, would not accomplish this. Only independent mass action could, such as that expressed in the African Liberation Day demonstration in May at which 25,000 Black people turned out in solidarity with liberation struggles in Africa.

Another important aspect of the SWP campaign in D.C. has been the fight for ballot status. On Oct. 12, the D.C. board of elections certified Fagg's candidacy. The board, however, has been casting about to find a way to rule the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates off the ballot. The board's main approach has been to use a random sampling technique, alleging that there is a probability of insufficient valid signatures on the SWP nominating petitions.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA—Socialist Workers Party activists here have concentrated much of their time and energy on the presidential campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. But the SWP candidates for Congress and various state offices are also getting a hearing.

Nancy Strebe is running for U.S. representative from the 1st CD. On Oct. 16 she addressed a dinner meeting of Resistance. About 75 people heard her and candidates for other parties at a community meeting in Germantown recently. The Kensington Coalition will hear Strebe and representatives for other presidential candidates on Oct. 26.

Joseph Sanders, SWP candidate for auditor general, and Harvey McArthur, running for state treasurer, spoke at Harrisburg Community College Oct. 16. A TV interview with Sanders and McArthur will be aired statewide on Channel 44.

Several high schools have invited the socialist candidates to speak to assemblies, including Mercy High in Gwynedd. The candidates have joined picket lines in support of striking teachers and hospitals workers. Weekly SWP campaign forums at the University of Pennsylvania have been quite successful, drawing as many as 70 people.

The SWP here is also urging voters in the 3rd C.D. to vote for Anthony Monteiro, the Communist Party candidate for Congress. This is being done on the basis that such a vote would represent a repudiation of the policies of the capitalist parties and would show support to independent working-class and socialist political action.

At the same time, the SWP has sharply criticized the policies and program of the CP. The Monteiro campaign, for example, does not represent a shift away from the CP's longtime policy of supporting "progressive" or "lesser-evil" Democrats.



Debby Leonard

Militant/Howard Gerber

ACROSS THE COUNTRY

OAKLAND, CALIF.

By RUSSELL BLOCK

OAKLAND, Calif., Oct. 20—A major focus of the race in California's 7th C.D. has been the situation in the Middle East. The Republican congressional candidate, advertising executive Peter Hannaford, has accused Democratic incumbent Ron Dellums of not being pro-Zionist enough. Dellums, for his part, has decried the use of "smear tactics" and has proclaimed his support for Israel in a running debate in the press.

Ken Miliner, the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 7th C.D., entered the dispute with an article in the University of California (Berkeley) *Daily Californian*. In his article, Miliner placed the responsibility for violence in the Middle East on the state of Israel.

The article touched off a lively exchange between the campus Radical Jewish Student Union and Socialist Workers campaign supporters. A debate on the Middle East is planned as part of the Socialist Educational Weekend, sponsored by the SWP campaign, to be held in Berkeley Nov. 3-4. So far, no Zionist representative has been willing to take up the challenge to debate.

Miliner issued a similar challenge to debate to Hannaford and Dellums. Neither has answered yet.

In a related development, the SWP campaign issued a statement in support of Arab and Iranian students who mounted a 24-hour vigil at the West German consulate in San Francisco on Oct. 19 and 20. The vigil and the rally that followed were called to protest the West German government's harassment and deportation of Arab and Iranian student activists.

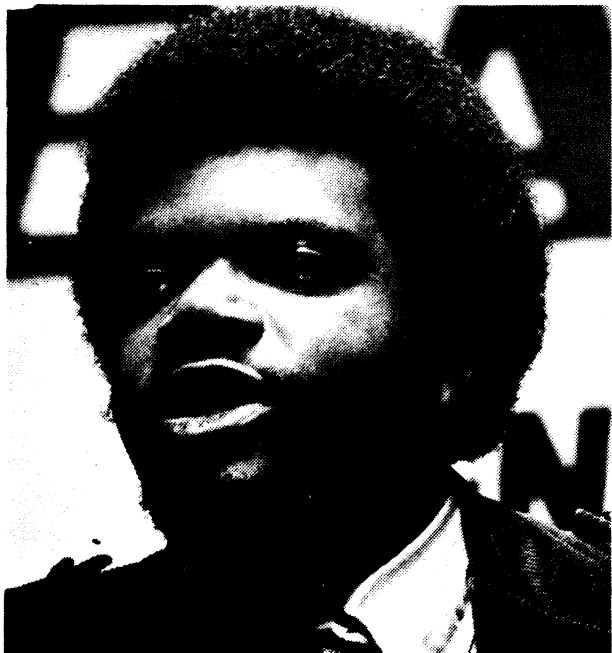
The SWP statement was signed by all Socialist Workers candidates in the East Bay area.

The SWP campaign has taken an active approach to involvement in state and local issues, sponsoring meetings in opposition to Proposition 17, which would restore the death penalty; and to Proposition 22, which would make it virtually impossible for farm workers to organize in California.

On Oct. 19 Miliner and Berkeley Mayor Warren Widener debated Proposition M with City Councilman Wilmont Sweeney and *Berkeley Gazette* political reporter Mike Culbert. Proposition M is a local ballot measure that seeks to change the election procedure for Berkeley City Council and other city offices. (See page 22.)

On Oct. 14 Miliner and the other SWP East Bay candidates—Linda Thompson (8th C.D.), Kathryn Pon (11th State Assembly District), and Marilyn Winch (16th A.D.)—had a rare opportunity to confront their Democratic and Republican opponents face to face.

The occasion was a candidate's meeting at Merritt College, a two-year school attended by many Blacks and Chicanos. Interest in the SWP campaign ran so high that at one point the moderator felt obliged to request the audience to ask the Democrats and Republicans some questions too!



Ken Miliner

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON—On Oct. 3 the student government of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst sponsored a debate between representatives of the three presidential campaigns being waged in the state: the Republicans, the Democrats, and the Socialist Workers Party.

During the debate, Nixon Youth Coordinator Daniel Reed tried to evade the Vietnam issue, saying, "Let us leave the question of Vietnam now." The audience of 200 responded by shouting, "Let's get out of Vietnam now!" Tumultuous applause followed, setting the tone for the entire meeting.

On the issue of abortion rights, state Youth for McGovern Coordinator David Strom stated that although he personally disagreed with McGovern's position, "After all, abortion is really a state's decision." Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, speaking for Linda Jenness, responded:



Jeanne Lafferty, John Powers, and Don Gurewitz with stack of 115,000 signatures collected to win ballot certification.

"McGovern's position on abortion is the same position that slave owners used to continue slavery." He was met with sustained applause.

This debate was one of many appearances and activities of the Massachusetts SWP candidates. The candidates—Don Gurewitz for U.S. Senate, Jeanne Lafferty for Congress from the 9th C.D., and John E. Powers for Congress from the 8th C.D.—have at least one speaking engagement per day, and in many cases two or three.

Gurewitz has addressed a total of more than 5,000 people at a series of candidate's nights sponsored by organizations such as the League of Women Voters. The most important of these took place Oct. 17 in Peabody, Mass. Both of Gurewitz's opponents—Republican Edward Brooke and Democrat John Droney—appeared with him on a panel and answered questions from reporters of the *Boston Globe*, the *Herald Traveller-Record American*, and the *Boston Phoenix*.

Lafferty, who is running against McGovern-endorsed racist Louise Day Hicks, has already debated Hubie Jones, one of the Democratic hopefuls who was eliminated in the Democratic primary. Lafferty vigorously protested the July police attack on a festival in Boston's South End Puerto Rican community.

John Powers confronted House Whip Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, his Democratic opponent, at a meeting in a Cambridge church. When Powers quoted O'Neill's record on the war, O'Neill accused him of "lying in the house of God." Powers has brought his campaign to a number of Boston high schools, where he has been enthusiastically received.

Over the summer, the candidates intervened

energetically on behalf of workers struggles in the state. The SWP supported the demand for more jobs by Boston construction workers who marched on the state capitol in June, adding the demand of jobs for Black workers. In September, Don Gurewitz was the first candidate for public office to come out in support of the teachers strike in Burlington, Mass.

Media coverage of the campaigns has been significant, says media coordinator Karen Crawford. "Being on the ballot has provided us with a tremendous opportunity to present the socialist alternative to literally thousands of people throughout New England." The three candidates will appear on TV seven times in the next two weeks, she said.

COLORADO

By JOAN FULKS

DENVER—Four Socialist Workers Party candidates have been ruled off the ballot here after an unsuccessful appeal to the Colorado Supreme Court. The candidates are Joan Fulks for U.S. Senate, Barbara Thornton and Nora Danielson for state legislature, and Barbara Hennigan for Colorado University Board of Regents.

The reactionary legislation that kept them off the ballot also includes a provision against write-ins for "ineligible" candidates. This means that the entire ballot will be counted as invalid if an "ineligible" write-in is made.

However, the undemocratic action of the courts will not prevent Coloradans from voting for independent candidates for U.S. Senate and regents, since Raza Unida Party candidates are on the ballot.

Secretary of State Byron Anderson ruled that the SWP candidates "ineligible" because they failed to meet arbitrary and undemocratic age and residency requirements. The candidates appealed Anderson's ruling to federal district court on the grounds that the law fixing age and residency requirements denies voters a free choice and imposes undemocratic and unconstitutional restrictions on the right to run for office.

Judge Merle Knaus, who expressed great concern for the "purity" of the Colorado ballot, upheld Anderson's ruling. "What if Smoky the Bear decided to run for office?" Judge Knaus asked. "Are you saying that a candidate doesn't even have to be a person? What about houses? What about Long's Peak?"

Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) attorney John Maley Sr. pointed out that when he brought a bear into court, then the relative merits of having bears on the ballot could be discussed. He referred to previous cases in which "ineligible" candidates had run and actually been elected. They were simply asked to wait until they had met the requirements for taking office before being sworn in, Maley said.

Anderson further attacked the democratic rights of Colorado voters by failing to give the candidates of the Raza Unida Party their own line on the ballot. The RUP candidates are listed on the same line as Gus Hall, the Communist Party candidate for president.

Three SWP candidates have been certified for the ballot. They are Fern Gapin for Congress from the 1st C.D., Jon Hillson for Colorado University regent, and Joel Houtman for Congress from the 2nd C.D.

Gapin has spoken to hundreds of high school students in the past few weeks, urging them to demonstrate against the war in Vietnam Nov. 18. At a number of candidate's meetings Gapin has teamed up with Raza Unida Party candidate Maria Serna, also running for Congress from the 1st C.D., to attack the Democratic and Republican candidates and to support independent Chicano political action.

Ms. editor Gloria Steinem came to Denver recently to campaign for the Democratic nominee in the 1st C.D., Pat Schroeder, and for George McGovern.

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS

NEW YORK / 18TH C.D.

By SARA GATES

NEW YORK—One of the most controversial issues in New York City is Black, Latino, and Chinese control of their schools in Lower Manhattan's District One. Rebecca Finch, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the 18th C.D., which includes part of School District One, has been a participant in this struggle.

Finch has supported the district superintendent, Luis Fuentes, who is under attack from reactionary elements for his strong stand in favor of community control.

Finch expressed her support for the demands of the community at a recent school board meeting open to the public. "The present school system," she stated, "perpetuates inequality, racism, and sexism. The community has answered this situation by drafting and circulating a program which could transform the schools to serve the needs of the oppressed communities."

"I call for an immediate restoration of the \$550,000 that was cut from the district's budget as a first step toward obtaining the millions needed to implement the program and create decent education for the Lower East Side. A crash program of spending under community control is the only realistic answer to the school crisis in District One and the other oppressed communities."

At the same meeting, SWP campaign supporters distributed a brochure in Spanish and English

SWP candidate Rebecca Finch will debate her Democratic opponent in the 18th C.D., Ed Koch, on Thursday, Nov. 2, at 7:30 p.m. in the Catholic Center at New York University (at Washington Square South and Thompson St.) The debate, to which the other candidates in the 18th C.D. race have also been invited, is sponsored by NYU's Loeb Program Board.

Finch, Koch, and Jane Pickens Langley, the Republican candidate, will confront each other in a debate on WMCA-AM (570) radio on Friday, Nov. 3, from 10 to 12 p.m.

in support of the community and in defense of Fuentes. Finch has been rallying support for Fuentes and the District One school board wherever she speaks.

The stance of the Democratic incumbent, Ed Koch, is in sharp contrast to Finch's forthright position and active participation in the struggle. Twice confronted by Finch and her supporters, Koch has refused to defend Fuentes and community control. He stated, "I am for community participation, not control." In response to Finch's questions, he has refused to endorse the Nov. 18 antiwar demonstrations and has also refused to support the Abortion Rights Act introduced into Congress by Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.).

Ed Koch revealed his true colors early in the campaign when he challenged the right of the three smaller parties in the race to appear on the ballot. This blatantly undemocratic attempt to gag his opponents evoked a public outcry from many civil libertarians in the 18th C.D., including Dr. Benjamin Spock and Nat Hentoff.

Hentoff reprinted in his *Village Voice* column a portion of a letter from Finch. The letter informed him that Koch had not pursued the chal-

lenge against her nominating petitions, although he was still challenging the Tenants Party and the Free Libertarian Party petitions. The decision in the case of the Tenants Party is still pending in the courts.

Prominent individuals in New York have requested a public debate of all the candidates in the 18th C.D. Among those who have urged Koch to discuss with his opponents the issues facing the electorate are Paul O'Dwyer; Nat Hentoff; Jack Newfield, assistant editor of the *Village Voice*; and Ira Glasser, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

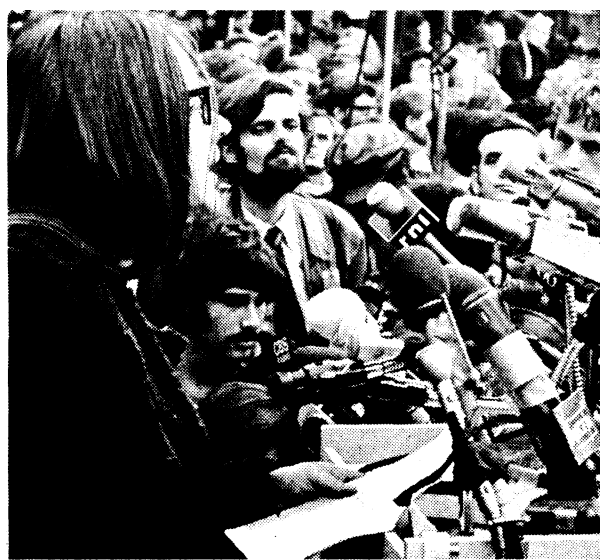
Finch has indicated her willingness to participate in such a debate. She has already debated several McGovern supporters, including Jerome Kretschmer, head of New York City's Environmental Protection Administration. Finch has also debated representatives of the Communist Party and Socialist Labor Party presidential campaigns.

Finch's campaign has received good media coverage. In addition to a half-hour interview on cable TV, her campaign has been covered in several local newspapers. Finch has also spoken in many area high schools and on several college campuses.

NEW YORK / 20TH C.D.

By DAVID KEEPNEWS

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 17—Today Joanna Misnik, the New York Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 20th C.D., addressed a meeting of 50 hospital workers at Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital. She shared the platform with Jarvis Tyner, the Communist Party vice-presidential candidate, and representatives of the Democratic and Conservative parties. The meeting was sponsored by the Columbia-Presbyterian Coalition Against War, Racism, Repression, and Sexism.



Joanna Misnik

Militant/Joel Aber

On Oct. 12, Misnik spoke at a meeting of the Park-River Democratic Club, along with two other candidates in the 20th C.D. race, Republican Annette Levy and Liberal Party candidate Priscilla Ryan. Representatives of Conservative Party candidate Harvey Michelman and Democrat Bella Abzug also spoke.

The incumbent in the 20th C.D., Democrat William Fitts Ryan, died on Sept. 14. He had won the nomination of the Democratic Party for another term in a heated race against Bella Abzug in June. After his death, the Democratic State Committee supported Abzug for the nomination. Her only opposition came from Priscilla Ryan the congressman's widow. Following the committee's meeting Oct. 1, Ryan sought—and won—the Liberal Party's nomination, also left vacant by her husband's death.

In spite of the interest in the 20th C.D. race, real differences among the candidates have been clouded. "The issue . . . is style, not politics," Priscilla Ryan says. And Levy explains that the major question is "the difference between Bella's personality and mine."

"The Democrats and Republicans are offering us another personality campaign, just as they did in June," Misnik has commented. "The Socialist Workers Party is running the only campaign that is raising the important issues in this election—the criminal war in Southeast Asia, women's right to abortion, the oppressive conditions in the Black and Puerto Rican communities."

Misnik's campaign is one of the most-publicized local socialist campaigns in the city's recent history. The front-page headline of the Sept. 30 *Manhattan Tribune*, a widely read Upper West Side newspaper, said: "Now It's Abzug-Ryan-Levy-Michelman-Misnik." Four of the candidates in this five-way race are female.

Interviews with Misnik have appeared recently in the *New York Times*, the *New York Post*, and the *Barnard Bulletin*, the student newspaper at Barnard College. The *Manhattan Tribune* plans an interview with Misnik, and the Socialist Workers candidate will appear on the Barry Farber Show, a popular radio program. Farber was the Republican-Liberal candidate running against Abzug in 1970.

Misnik's supporters plan to cover the 20th C.D. with SWP campaign literature from now through the election. Anyone who wishes to help in this last-minute effort should contact the SWP campaign headquarters at 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Telephone: (212) 663-3000.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT—Maceo Dixon, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Michigan's 1st C.D., is getting a good response as he runs for the seat now held by Black Democrat John Conyers.

In the first week of visiting high schools here Dixon spoke to more than 1,000 Black students at Northern, Mumford, and Cass high schools. Enthusiasm ran high as many students endorsed the campaign and volunteered to pass out campaign material. Some 15,000 pieces of campaign literature were distributed in these three schools.

Black students were receptive to Dixon's call for a complete break from the Democratic Party and for the formation of an independent Black political party that would organize the Black community in struggles to achieve its needs.

Few attempted to defend Conyers, who Dixon attacked for corraling people into the do-nothing Democratic Party. A Black party, Dixon said, unlike the Democratic Party, would help organize the Black community to help abolish the terrorist squad of the Detroit police department, the so-called STRESS (Stop the Robberies and Enjoy Safe Streets) unit. STRESS has murdered some 15 Blacks in less than a year.

The Socialist Workers "Vote Yes on Abortion" leaflet was also eagerly received, especially by Black high school women. Michigan voters will vote on an abortion law referendum Nov. 7.

Six months ago many of the same students expressed reservations about abortion and other demands of the women's liberation movement. The ensuing debate over abortion has clarified the issues and won most over to recognizing that women have the right to choose whether to bear children.

The response to Dixon's campaign apparently bothers school officials, because some have sought to keep the socialist point of view from being heard. At Mumford, the white principal told Dixon he could not speak on the STRESS issue. When Dixon refused to allow the principal to censor his talks, the principal refused to allow a number of campaign supporters to form a Mumford African-Americans for Jenness, Pulley, and Dixon. Protest against this undemocratic action was swift, and a majority of the student body signed petitions of protest.

Administrators in other schools seized campaign literature or ordered that it not be distributed. Cancellation of subsequent high school meetings has led to the belief that the central school board is behind a campaign to keep the Detroit high school system a private preserve of the Democratic and Republican points of view.

Dixon also spoke at a Black youth voter-registration rally held at Cobo Hall. He was the most enthusiastically received of the dozen speakers as he hammered away at the Democratic Party's failure to meet the needs of the Black community. Two hundred Black youth were present, and several asked Dixon to speak at their high school or college.

Michigan's major Black weekly newspaper, the *Chronicle*, has carried articles on Dixon's campaign in two of its last three issues.



Rebecca Finch

Militant/Mark Satinoff

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS



JENNESS FOR PRESIDENT PULLEY FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

ARIZONA

Line 4
Vote for presidential electors listed as "Socialist Workers candidates"

CALIFORNIA

* Jenness-Pulley
* Susan Vass — U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.
* Peggy Bunn — 6th C. D.
* Ken Miliner — 7th C. D.
* Linda Thompson — 8th C. D.
* Dean Reed — 17th C. D.
* Dennis Scarla — 18th C. D.
* Don Bechler — 21st C. D.
* Carole Newcomb — 26th C. D.
* Bonnie Aptekar — 28th C. D.
* Mariana Hernandez — 30th C. D.
* Laura Moorhead — 37th C. D.
* Kathryn Pon — 11th State Assembly Dist.
* Marilyn Winch — 16th A. D.

CONNECTICUT

* Jenness-Pulley
* John Ratliff — U. S. Congress, 3rd C. D.

COLORADO

Line F
Jenness-Pulley
Fern Gapin — U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.
Joel Houtman — 2nd C. D.
Jon Hillson — Colorado University Bd. of Regents

FLORIDA

* Jenness-Pulley
* Jack Lieberman — U. S. Congress, 2nd C. D.

GEORGIA

* Jenness-Pulley
Alice Conner¹ — U. S. Senate
* Alice Conner — U. S. Senate
* Keith Jones — U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.
* Meg Rose — Fulton Cty. Sheriff

IDAHO

Jenness-Pulley
Nina Knapp — State Senate, 18th Legis. Dist.

*signifies write-in

1. Conner is on the ballot as a candidate for the remaining two-month term in the U. S. Senate seat left vacant by the death of Senator Richard B. Russell. She is also a write-in candidate for the next six-year term in the Senate.

2. Evelyn Reed and Clifton DeBerry are stand-in candidates for Jenness and Pulley.

ILLINOIS

* Jenness-Pulley
* Fred Halstead — U. S. Senate
* Patricia Grogan — Governor
* Antonio DeLeon — Lt. Governor
* Ed Jurenas — Sec'y of State
* Suzanne Haig — Atty. General
* Norman Oliver — Cook Cty. State's Atty.
* David Saperstan — Comptroller
* Patricia Reedy — U of Ill. Bd. of Trustees
* Bill Rayson — U of Ill. Bd. of Trustees
* Robert Lewis — U of Ill. Bd. of Trustees

INDIANA

Evelyn Reed-Clifton DeBerry²

IOWA

Jenness-Pulley

KENTUCKY

Jenness-Pulley

LOUISIANA

Vote for Jenness-Pulley presidential electors John Hickman, Danny Laird, F. Steven Johnson, David W. Tarahan, Craig Biggio, Bonnie Boudreaux, Larry Warren, Margery Shroyer, Max C. Marx, and Oscar P. Hunter, III.

MASSACHUSETTS

Row 3
Jenness-Pulley
Don Gurewitz — U. S. Senate
John Powers, Jr. — U. S. Congress, 8th C. D.
Jeanne Lafferty — 9th C. D.

MICHIGAN

Position 6
Jenness-Pulley
Linda Nordquist — U. S. Senate
Maceo Dixon — U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.
Nancy Kimker — 13th C. D.
Christy Wallace — 17th C. D.
Claytee Artz — Detroit Bd. of Ed.
* Barbara Fox — Detroit Bd. of Ed.

MINNESOTA

Position 3
Jenness-Pulley
* Mary Hillery — U. S. Senate
Bill Peterson — U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.

MISSISSIPPI

Vote for electors pledged to Jenness-Pulley.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Jenness-Pulley

NEW JERSEY

Jenness-Pulley

NEW MEXICO

Jenness-Pulley

NEW YORK

Evelyn Reed-Clifton DeBerry²
Hedda Garza — U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.
John Hawkins — 12th C. D.
James Mendieta — 14th C. D.
* Susan Winsten — 16th C. D.
* Diane Feeley — 17th C. D.
Rebecca Finch — 18th C. D.
B. R. Washington — 19th C. D.
Joanna Misnik — 20th C. D.
* Elizabeth Jayko — State Assembly, 28th Dist.

NORTH DAKOTA

Jenness-Pulley

OHIO

* Jenness-Pulley (case in court)
* Herman Kirsch — U. S. Congress, 20th C. D.
Cecil Lampkin — 21st C. D.
Caryl Loeb — 22nd C. D.
* Robbie Scherr — 23rd C. D.

OREGON

* Jenness-Pulley
* Rita Moran — U. S. Senate
* John Studer — Sec'y of State
* Peter Graumann — State Treasurer
* George Kontanis — Multnomah Cty. Dist. Atty.

PENNSYLVANIA

Row 4
Jenness-Pulley
Nancy Strebe — U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.
* Rose Ogden — 4th C. D.
Harvey McArthur — State Treasurer
Joseph Sanders — State Auditor General
* Jean Savage — State House, Dist. 187

RHODE ISLAND

Column 5
Jenness-Pulley
Pat Detemple — U. S. Senate

SOUTH DAKOTA

Jenness-Pulley

TENNESSEE

* Vote for electors pledged to Jenness-Pulley (case in court).

TEXAS

Row 3
Jenness-Pulley
Tom Leonard — U. S. Senate
Debby Leonard — Governor

Mike Alewitz — Lt. Governor
Tom Kincaid — Atty. General
Susan Ellis — U. S. Congress, 8th C. D.
Melissa Singler — 10th C. D.
Manuel "Tank" Barrera — 18th C. D.
Steven Wattenmaker — 20th C. D.
Evelyn Sell — State Bd. of Ed., Dist. 18

Laura Maggi — State House, Dist. 37
David Rossi — State House, Dist. 86
Derek Jeffers — State Senate, Dist. 14
Anne Springer — Comptroller
Howard Petrick — Commissioner of the General Land Office
Eric Sell — Travis Cty. Dist. Atty.
Brad Kahn — Travis Cty. Sheriff
Mareen Jasin — Harris Cty. Commissioner, Pct. 3

VERMONT

Jenness-Pulley

WASHINGTON

Jenness-Pulley
Robin David — Governor
Anne Montague — Sec'y of State
* Joann Cormier — Atty. General
Craig Honts — U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.
* Judy Moschetto — 7th C. D.
* Gary Johnson — Supt. of Pub. Instruction

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Evelyn Reed-Clifton DeBerry² (Row 2)
Herman Fagg — Nonvoting Delegate (Row 5)

WISCONSIN

Evelyn Reed-Clifton DeBerry³

(If your state is not listed, cast a write-in vote for Jenness and Pulley.)

AFTER YOU VOTE...

Help the Socialist Workers campaign committee in your area see to it that all votes cast for the SWP are counted. As soon as you vote, call the nearest SWP campaign committee to tell them how and where you voted. Then send them an affidavit similar to the one below, notarized if possible. The addresses of the local campaign committees are listed on page 26.

SAMPLE AFFIDAVIT

I, (name), a registered voter in the (precinct, ward and/or district), who reside at (address, including city and state), affirm that I (voted/attempted to vote) for Socialist Workers candidates (list candidates) at (time of day) on Tuesday, Nov. 7, 1972. My polling place is located at (address). (If you were unable to vote for any SWP candidate, explain why.)

VOTE RAZA UNIDA

DENVER RAZA UNIDA ACTIVISTS LEAD FIGHT FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF PARKS

By HARRY RING

DENVER—La Raza Unida Party is running 17 candidates for state and local office in Colorado. Five of these campaigns are in Denver, and several are making a significant impact. Gathering information about these campaigns, I found that they are best comprehended in the context of the ongoing fight of La Raza Unida Party and the Crusade for Justice to organize on a grass-roots level around the central idea of Chicano control of the Chicano community.

Community control is a basic plank in the program of the Crusade for Justice. A widely supported movement of the Chicano people that has promoted Chicano nationalism, the Crusade initiated the Colorado Raza Unida Party.

A recently developed stronghold of the Crusade and the RUP is Denver's 9th District, whose population is about two-thirds Chicano. There the Crusade's organizing around the issue of community control laid the basis for the campaign now being waged in behalf of José Gonzales, La Raza Unida candidate for state assembly.

To get the background on the 9th District, I talked with Arturo "Bones" Rodriguez, a leading Crusade activist.

Rodriguez, 23, is on the staff at Escuela Tlatelolco, the Chicano school operated by the Crusade. It functions on the kindergarten to college levels.

The 9th District was originally an Italian neighborhood. But Chicanos began moving in and Italian-Americans began moving to the suburbs. As the Chicano population increased, city services decreased correspondingly and it became one of the most run-down areas in the city.

One of the things that was most neglected was the block-square Columbus Park, and particularly its city-operated swimming pool.

"We wanted to involve the community in something they could take pride in," Rodriguez explained. "We figured the park is used by everyone in the community—adults, teenagers, children. So we began organizing to clear up some of the problems there. We wrote letters, tried to get meetings with the mayor and the councilmen. Nothing happened.

"Then in July 1970 we took about 20 youth into the park and took over all the jobs in the swimming pool—lifeguards, basket attendants, whatever jobs there were, and we had our people run these jobs."

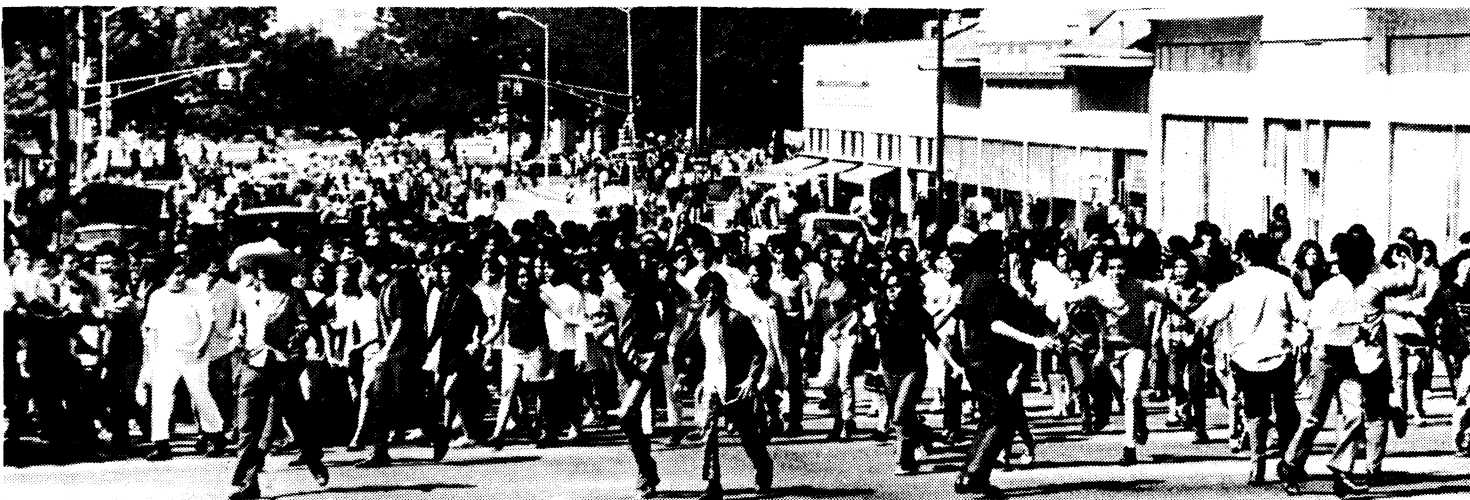
What about the people who were working there?

"We asked them to leave, and they left."

"Of course," he continued, "the police came in and tried to arrest us. Everybody retreated to the swimming pool and we told them that if they wanted us they should come in and get us. They didn't do that. They retreated.

"Control of the pool and the park, which we renamed La Raza Park, became a reality over night. We began to involve more people. Many things we asked for, the city said couldn't be done. We wanted our staff hired. They said that was impossible. We took 300 people to the office of the park commissioner, but it was still impossible. He said they had no funds. They couldn't hire our people. Couldn't clean up the pool, the showers, the locker rooms.

"We started to do some of the things we thought were necessary. So the pigs came and we had a three-hour battle with them. After that they started



Militant/Bill Stephens

Chicano Liberation Day in Denver, Sept. 16, 1969. Mass actions such as this laid the basis for struggles to take control of barrio parks.

doing things they said they couldn't. But it took confrontations to get things done.

"Since that time we have control of all the positions in the park. The manager, everyone, is hired by the community. Which is community control related in the Crusade's *Plan de Aztlán*."

La Raza Park is one of four now controlled by the Chicano community. When three others are "nationalized" all the parks in Denver's barrios will be accounted for.

The victory in La Raza Park was used as a political and organizational springboard for developing other activities in the community and for developing political consciousness.

Youth have been the backbone of the fight. They are the pickets, the petitioners, the campaigners for the Raza Unida candidates. But they have brought their parents along too. "In most cities you seem to have a generation gap," Rodriguez said. "The youth is on one end, the parents on the other. In our community we have a cohesiveness that is really beautiful.

"I think we will win victories," he continued. "The majority of our leadership is young. They're learning. They're very politicized. People in the fifth and sixth grades already know exactly who the oppressor is, what a capitalist system is, what is happening to our people.

"Each summer, we teach history classes at the park. We teach the youth our history—our role inside the monster. We also teach them about other struggles, the Blacks, the Puerto-riqueños, the Native-Americans. We teach them about the struggle abroad, the Vietnamese, the Chinese, the Cubans."

Attendance at the classes ranges from about 30 to as high as 80. It's bigger when they show films like "Tribute to Malcolm X" and various movement documentaries. After the films, discussions are held.

Control of the park provides some jobs. "It's not many, but it's a beginning," Rodriguez said. "It's an example of what can happen. If the garbage men in that community all live in the community, if the people who clean the streets live there, if the people who teach in those schools live in the community, that's jobs for our people.

"That's why we have our school, our college. So that we can teach our students the things that are necessary to be good teachers, so that when they graduate they will go back to their communities and will take these jobs and begin to organize within the

school system to make the schools relevant to our people."

The activists are involved in various community projects. They're now working to establish a community-controlled health station, a drug clinic, a program to get rid of the drug pushers.

"We're also very strongly with women on birth control pills, planned parenthood, that kind of thing," Rodriguez said.

Their activity has served to reduce significantly the antagonism between Blacks and Chicanos.

"Once or twice a year now there may be a hassle with Blacks," Rodriguez said. "When you live close to another oppressed person and you have to struggle every day, frictions do come up and you sometimes forget who the oppressor is.

"It's not my Black brother, it's not my Red brother. It's the capitalist, the man who controls all the economy. The man who makes us go to those

deplorable schools and have inadequate education. So we do have some hassles, but they're quickly resolved."

Many demonstrations are held in the area. A massive demonstration against police brutality has become a virtual annual tradition. Schools are picketed in protest against racist practices. High-priced food stores are picketed, and there are demonstrations in support of the lettuce boycott.

This reporter visited La Raza Park on a Saturday morning. Near the swimming pool with a long mural-covered wall depicting Chicano history, about 30 young people were climbing into a car and a van, one on top of the other. They had stacks of leaflets urging community support for José Gonzales for state assembly. The leaflets are being distributed door to door throughout the community and in shopping areas. The campaigners seemed to range in age from about 10 to 20. Their enthusiasm was very catching.

THE MILITANT'S STAND ON RAZA UNIDA PARTY

Residents of Texas, Colorado, and California have the opportunity to cast a vote on Nov. 7 for candidates of independent Chicano political parties.

In Texas, more than 50 Raza Unida Party candidates are running for offices ranging from U. S. Senate to state and county offices. Ramsey Muñiz's campaign for governor has attracted especially broad interest and support. In Colorado, some 17 Raza Unida candidates are running. In California, Raza Unida Party leader Raul Ruiz is campaigning for the state assembly in the 40th district.

For years the Democratic Party has dominated political life in the barrios. The Democrats, along with their Republican cohorts, are responsible for La Raza's oppression. This situation cries out for the building of a mass independent Chicano party—a militant, fighting party that could organize and mobilize La Raza in the streets and at the ballot box.

The formation of Raza Unida parties in the past three years represents an important step in this direction. These new parties show the potential of independent Chicano political action and provide examples for Black people and the labor movement.

While most people interested in social change have been fooled into sup-

porting George McGovern, a supporter of the capitalist status quo, the recent national convention of Raza Unida parties declared its "complete independence" from the Democratic and Republican parties and voted to endorse neither Nixon nor McGovern.

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley and 90 state and local Socialist Workers Party candidates, in 17 states and Washington, D. C., have helped promote the idea of independent Chicano political action. They have hailed the formation of the Raza Unida parties as among the most significant political developments in recent years.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Raza Unida Party are running for some of the same statewide or congressional offices. In those cases two voices have been heard in behalf of freedom, justice, and equality for the exploited and oppressed. Two voices have opposed the Democratic and Republican parties and supported independent Chicano political action.

Where SWP candidates are running, we of course urge a vote for them. For other offices we urge a vote for the candidates of the RUP. We will view the votes for all Raza Unida Party candidates as votes for independent Chicano political action, as votes against the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

VOTE RAZA UNIDA

COLO. RAZA UNIDA CANDIDATES SPEAK OUT

By HARRY RING

DENVER—Poor housing and high rents . . . few decent jobs, especially for youth . . . police brutality . . . inadequate education in run-down, racist schools . . . minimal recreational facilities . . . no real representation in government.

All of these conditions are "normal" for the oppressed in a racist society. All these conditions are present in Denver's largely Chicano 9th District. All of them are issues in the campaign for the State House of Representatives being waged by José Gonzales, candidate of La Raza Unida Party.

Gonzales is running against two Anglos, and there are prospects that he will get a good vote. But even before the returns are in it is apparent that La Raza Unida Party is making gains in the 9th District. The Chicano party is well known in the area because for two years its supporters have been active in the fight to improve community facilities and have pressed for community control of those facilities.

Most of Gonzales's active campaigners are youth, and he is clearly proud of it. That was apparent to this reporter one Saturday morning as I watched him pile into a car with a group of his campaigners to distribute leaflets in the community. It was equally apparent on Monday morning when he described how he and a dozen supporters had leafleted eight morning masses at two churches in the community.

His obvious capacity to relate to young people is particularly impressive in that he is a school principal—a profession not particularly noted for any capacity to relate to youth. But José Gonzales is a different kind of a principal of a different kind of a school. He is the principal of Escuela Tlatelolco, the Chicano school operated by the Crusade for Justice.

Gonzales sees community involvement and community control as the key issues in his campaign. He

believes La Raza Unida Party has already demonstrated its capacity to bring change to the community.

"The people see concrete gains," he said. "They see four parks under community control. They see Chicano youth administering and staffing the parks. They see the difference in those parks and in the swimming pools. And they see that our people feel much freer to use them."

Two years ago when the RUP ran in the district, he recalled, people would ask if they wouldn't do better in the Democratic Party. "People thought we were a little crazy," he said. "They were embarrassed to have us around."

"Now the level of consciousness is much higher. They recognize the need for a Chicano party. They've come to realize that things are not going to be done by the two-party system."

Maria Serna is the Raza Unida Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Colorado's 1st C.D., which encompasses most of Denver. The most widely publicized candidate in the race is Pat Schroeder, a liberal Democrat and feminist. In addition to the Republican nominee, there is also Fern Gapin, a young woman running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Both she and Maria Serna focus their campaigns on opposition to the Republicans and Democrats.

While Serna's appeal is primarily addressed to the Chicano community, she appears at all meetings she is able to throughout the city. Often her views spark questions and discussion.

"At a meeting at Community College this morning," she said, "I brought up the issue of deportation of so-called aliens and talked about the Dixon Arnett law in California for such deportations."

"So the question was raised, do I think we should have welfare to publicly assist aliens? My answer was that I do not consider my Mexican brothers as aliens, particularly in this hemisphere. And considering the amount of money that's spent for

foreign aid, it's just unpopular to give money to the poor."

"Another thing I pointed out is how can they consider it public assistance in terms of the American tax dollar when for every \$1-million the United States puts into Mexico it gets \$4-million back. This is creating unemployment down there. So why shouldn't they for survival try to get employment where they can?"

La Raza Unida's candidate for the University of Colorado Board of Regents is campaigning on familiar territory. Florencio "Freddi" Granada was a student at the university and was an officer of the United Mexican-American Students. Last year he and another UMAS leader were railroaded off the campus for leading a fight to enforce the often agreed to principle that Chicanos should be admitted to the university in proportion to their numbers

in the elementary schools.

The parity issue and the callous indifference of the regents and school administration to the needs of Chicano students are the center of his campaign.

The problems will not be corrected, Granada declares, until there is Chicano representation on the regents and in the administration.

"When I say it's necessary to have a Chicano there, I don't mean just the person Chicano. The ideology of *Chicanismo*, of nationalism, has to go with it," he said. "One reason we have this situation is because of the so-called Hispanics who are in the structure. No Democrat, no Republican—no matter what their color—can serve the true needs of the people. For that reason I would not run for another party or vote for another party than Raza Unida."



Raza Unida candidate Jose Gonzales and campaign supporters.

Militant/Harry Ring

'WE DON'T WANT A LESSER EVIL'

TEXAS RUP LEADER RAPS MCGOVERN

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—José Angel Gutiérrez, a founding leader of La Raza Unida Party, discussed his party's state election campaign at a Trinity University meeting here Oct. 20.

The president of the Crystal City, Texas, school board, Gutiérrez was recently elected chairman of the Congreso de Aztlán, established by the recent national convention of Raza Unida parties in El Paso. His meeting here was sponsored by the Association of Chicano Students at Trinity and the Student Activities Board.

Gutiérrez expressed confidence that Ramsey Muñiz, Raza Unida candidate for Texas governor, would poll a big vote Nov. 7, and even predicted he would win. He cited various polls indicating wide support for Muñiz among Blacks as well as Chicanos. (The *Houston Chronicle* reports that in a recent Los Angeles speech Muñiz said, "Either we'll win or we're going to be the balance of power in Texas," and "Even if we don't win, we are going to defeat somebody.")

In a blistering attack on the national and state Democratic Party, Gutiérrez

urged support for Muñiz, adding that the most important thing was to vote to destroy the "one-party system."

Addressing himself to the Anglo students in the audience, he urged them to vote for Muñiz, adding that short of that, "Vote for Mickey Mouse, vote for yourself, or vote for the lady socialist." The "lady socialist" is Debby Leonard, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor.

The Raza Unida spokesman was particularly harsh in his attack on McGovern, pointing to how the Democratic nominee has been hedging his opposition to the war in Vietnam. McGovern's smear charge that La Raza Unida Party has sold out for Republican money drew scorn from Gutiérrez.

Turning to other issues, Gutiérrez described Raza Unida Party efforts to win the right of migrant workers to cast absentee ballots. He reported that a three-judge federal panel had refused to accept their argument, asserting "there is no inherent right to an absentee ballot." Gutiérrez branded the decision an abrogation of voting rights.

Discussing the giant Texas oil in-

dustry, Gutiérrez said La Raza Unida party believes natural resources belong to all the people, "not just the rich capitalists." He described Raza Unida's stand favoring regulation of the oil industry to thwart the joint efforts of the oil barons and bankers to exploit the resources of the people of Latin America.

During the question period, Gutiérrez was asked about a report that five of Crystal City's seven policemen had resigned. He said the resignations came after one of the cops, a Raza Unida member, was disciplined for striking a handcuffed prisoner. Maltreatment of prisoners will not be tolerated by the Raza Unida administration in Crystal City, he declared. "We'll fire any policeman who does it, Raza Unida member or not."

Returning to the question of the present political setup in the Southwest and nationally, Gutiérrez said that "to get into office, you have to be white, male, fat, and over 50."

Pointing to the growing awareness among Blacks and some white students, he said that these forces can be expected to get onto the path of independent political action, but that

the Chicano people did not intend to wait for this development. They were going ahead with the building of their own movement.

He also argued for the need to reject "lesser-evil" politics. "We don't want the lesser of two evils," he said. "We want the best."

Gutiérrez emphasized that La Raza Unida Party was being built independently of the major parties. But in response to a question about possible future endorsement of Democratic candidates, he said he would consider this "only if they endorse us."



Jose Angel Gutierrez

Militant/Dave Warren

SWP STAND ON CALIF. INITIATIVES

By STU SINGER

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 23 — There are 22 propositions on the California ballot. Some were put on by the state legislature and others by the difficult initiative-petition procedures requiring hundreds of thousands of signatures of registered voters.

Unfortunately, the most important political question this year, the war in Indochina, is not on the ballot. The "Air War Petition" to put immediate U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia on the ballot was ruled off for insufficient signatures.

The ballot propositions that are in the interests of the people of California reflect mass sentiment and pressure: the outrage against wiretapping and surveillance, opposition to sexist language, opposition to irrational marijuana laws, and the increasing concern about the destruction of the environment.

On the other hand, a number of right-wing propositions are on the ballot. Forgery, intimidation, lies, and especially money got these propositions on the ballot. Completely false and dishonest advertising costing tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars is being used to facilitate their passage. For example, billboards throughout California declare, "Vote Yes on 22, support the farmworkers," for this vicious anti-farm-workers proposition.

Below are some of the most important propositions with the vote suggested by the Socialist Workers Party in California.

Propositions concerning the farm workers, the death penalty, and the marijuana laws are receiving the most attention from the socialist campaign.

● **Proposition 22:** vote "no." This

proposition is part of a campaign by the large growers, the food processors, the Reagan administration, and all other antilabor forces in this state to destroy the United Farm Workers Union. If carried out this proposition would outlaw the farm workers union. The entire union movement in California, including the Teamsters, is against it. It ranks as one of the most reactionary pieces of antiunion legislation ever introduced in California.

● **Proposition 19:** vote "yes." This proposition would decriminalize the use of marijuana for people over 18, but continues to prohibit the sale of marijuana. Since there is no rational reason for marijuana to be outlawed we support this measure, as far as it goes, and call for full legalization.

● **Proposition 17:** vote "no." This measure was put on the ballot by cops and other law-and-order enthusiasts across the state. Its purpose is to reinstitute the death penalty, overturning the state and U.S. Supreme Court decisions limiting the death penalty.

We feel the courts have not gone far enough and the death penalty should be totally eliminated. The reason the cops and their friends want the death penalty is that it is a means to terrorize and a legal way to murder Blacks, Chicanos, and others too poor to buy their way out of the gas chamber.

● **Proposition 21:** vote "no." Another reactionary ballot proposition, this one would outlaw busing of students and keeping records of "racial and ethnic" composition of the schools. Passage of this proposition would prohibit the Black and Chicano com-

munities from using busing as a means to gain improved education.

● **Proposition 20:** vote "yes." The purpose of this proposition is to protect the long coastline of California from uncontrolled exploitation by industry and land developers. It does not go nearly far enough, but it is a positive response to the demands for protection of the environment.

● **Proposition 18:** vote "no." This proposition, supposedly to ban pornography, is not only an attack on cultural freedom but a legal opening for censorship of all kinds.

● **Proposition 14:** vote "no." Another reactionary proposition, this one would raise property taxes on homes, lower taxes on industry, raise sales taxes on cigarettes and liquor, lower funds spent on welfare and education. There is nothing good to be said for it.

● **Proposition 11:** vote "yes." This proposed amendment to the state constitution would add the right of privacy. Wiretapping, snooping, and keeping secret dossiers would be explicitly outlawed. In addition, it would change the section of the state constitution from reading "all men" to "all people" a response to objections to sexist language raised by the feminist movement.

BERKELEY — Proposition M on the Nov. 7 ballot in Berkeley would change the method of city elections to require a 51-percent majority to win city office. This proposition is sponsored by Berkeley conservatives, including some city council members, who feel a threat from the votes of the Black and student communities.

Posed by proponents as a "more democratic" measure, it is in fact an attempt to dilute the student vote and undermine the right of the Black community to elect its own representatives, who would fight for Black needs.

Runoffs would be set at a time when Berkeley students would be involved in final exams or on spring break. Blacks, 25 percent of the population of Berkeley, would be forced to concede to pressures from the white majority in order to be elected to the city council.

The Socialist Workers Party opposes the forcing of a stacked deck on Blacks and students in Berkeley through Proposition M. The SWP calls for the defeat of Proposition M.



California farm workers demonstrate in San Francisco Sept. 30 against Proposition 22. Militant/Dave Warren

'YES' VOTES URGED ON ABORTION REFERENDUMS, EQUAL RIGHTS BILLS

The Socialist Workers Party calls for the total repeal of all restrictions on women's right to abortion. As a positive step in this direction, the SWP urges yes votes on the abortion-law referendums in the following states:

Michigan: Proposal B. If passed, abortions would be legal in Michigan up through the twentieth week of pregnancy if performed by a licensed doctor in an approved hospital or clinic.

North Dakota: Statute 1. If passed, abortions would be legal in North Dakota up through the twentieth week of pregnancy, if performed by a licensed doctor in an approved hospital or clinic. Women would have to comply with a 90-day residency requirement, and women under 18 would need the consent of their husband or a parent.

Massachusetts: The referendum is

nonbinding and appears on the ballot in 13 cities. It reads: "Should the Commonwealth of Massachusetts repeal its abortion laws, thereby making abortion a private matter between a woman and her physician?"

The Socialist Workers Party urges yes votes on equal rights amendments to state constitutions where such amendments are on the ballot. These equal rights amendments would make it illegal to deny equality on the basis of sex.

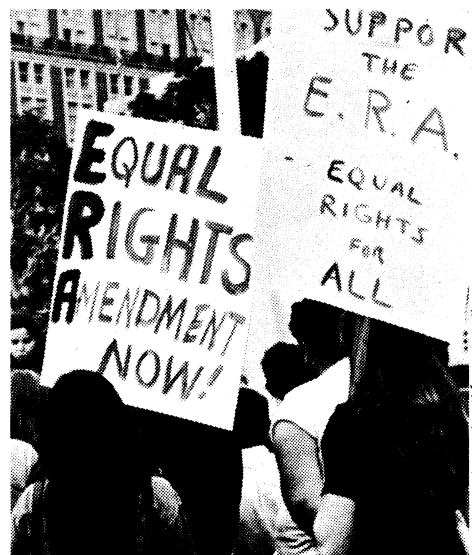
State equal rights amendments appear on the ballot in the following states:

Maryland: Question 3

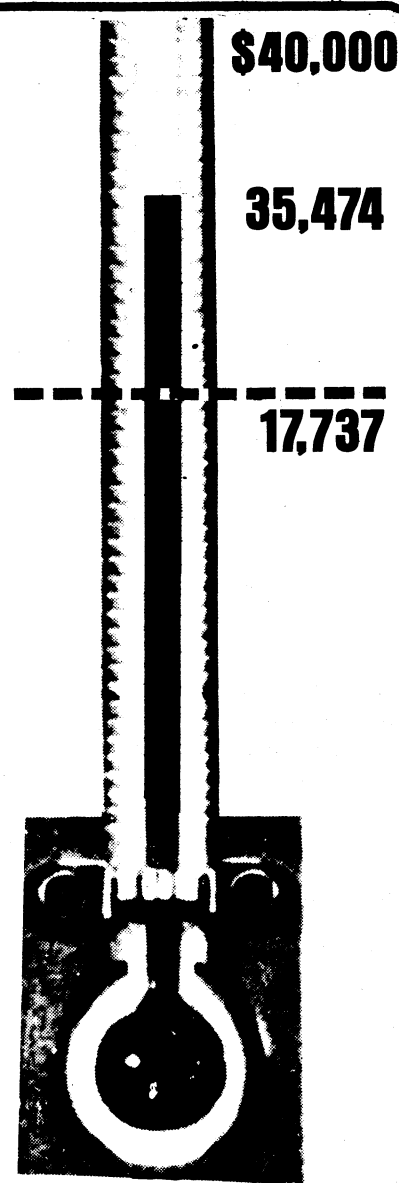
New Mexico: Amendment 1

Texas: Amendment 7

Washington: House Joint Resolution 61



Aug. 25 march in Los Angeles demanded that California state legislature ratify ERA. Militant/Harry Ring



Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund

\$2,263
needed in
final days

OCT. 24 — With 13 days to go until the election, \$2,263 must be raised to put the Socialist Workers campaign over the top in its \$40,000 Matching Fund Drive.

Several campaign supporters agreed this August to match all contributions to the campaign up to \$20,000. So far, \$17,737 has been raised, which when matched totals \$35,474.

But the campaign is far from over. The candidates have thousands of miles yet to travel, requests for literature and information are flooding in, and the 17 traveling teams of campaign supporters have a month more to spend on the road.

\$601.00 came in to the national campaign office this week; \$259.00 consisted of 17 donations directly to the Matching Fund, and \$342.00 came from the 40 percent of local collections credited to the Matching Fund.

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

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

Losey's assassination of Trotsky

By Joseph Hansen

The Assassination of Trotsky. Cinema Releasing. Produced by Norman Priggen and Joseph Losey and directed by Losey from a screenplay by Nicholas Mosley.

Joseph Losey's film *The Assassination of Trotsky* has on the whole met with an unfavorable response from the critics. Jean de Baroncelli, for instance, writing in the March 31 issue of *Le Monde*, expressed "sharp disappointment" after seeing the opening in Paris last spring.

Everyone, he said, had looked forward to this screenplay by "a great director" in which "one of the most fascinating figures of the century"—"Lenin's former comrade, the organizer of the Red Army, and the indomitable adversary of Stalin"—encounters "his murderer." While Losey "held rigorously to the facts," the outcome was not a work of "tragic dimensions, resounding with passionate politics," but a "banal film, unworthy of Losey's talents."

Baroncelli is severely critical of Losey's decision to exclude politics: "Politically the film gives the impression of having been sterilized. . . . Of Trotsky's activities at the time, not a word. . . . Losey deliberately neglects the context in favor of the preparations for and achievement of the death scene."

"One can say, so what? We weren't expecting an educational documentary from Losey, or even a political analysis. Which is true. We were expecting only a good film, a powerful effect. But for such a film what is demanded of the director is meticulous reconstitution of the events that gave rise to the dramatic conflict. But such a conflict hardly exists except in the author's intentions."

Baroncelli, in a few cutting sentences, dismisses Richard Burton's impersonation of the main figure: "Then Trotsky appears. It's Richard Burton. Thinned down by a good ten kilos and wearing the required goatee. Meticulously 'made up,' the personage is nonetheless betrayed by the Shakespearean voice of the actor."

The film has now opened in New York. Here is the first paragraph of Stanley Kauffmann's review in the October 7 issue of *The New Republic*:

"Joseph Losey's picture about Trotsky is atrocious. When the project was first announced, I had a small hope for it, despite the preening, torpid estheticism of Losey's recent films, because he has some knowledge of radical politics (and suffered from it in the McCarthy days, which is how he became an 'English' director). But this film is the work of a man who went back to something that had once been vital to him and converted it all into tritely psychologized, pretty-pasteboard nonsense. It is almost an act

Joseph Hansen lived in Mexico as one of Leon Trotsky's secretaries and guards from September 1937 (with short interruptions) until the assassination in August 1940. A member of the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party, Hansen is editor of the weekly Intercontinental Press.

of revenge."

Commenting on the structure of the film, Kauffmann finds it "full of inserted character-building touches and obvious parallels and spring-driven data," and "about as lively as a Hollywood bio-pic of the '30s. The dialogue, outside of Trotsky's quotations, which are hardly his best, is incredible in two senses. Example:

"'I can't believe you're going.'

"'All good things come to an end.'"

Even at his worst in the past, Kauffmann continues, Losey has usually provided some scraps of cinematic pleasure. "Here there are none—only platitudes like the freeze-frames, or blatant underscoring, like the intercutting of bullfight clips as Jacson's mo-

both standing, Jacson holding the pickaxe whose point is fixed in Trotsky's skull. What could have been the horror of the act becomes the horror of the film. That shot crystallizes the putrefaction of Losey."

It is hard to tell whether Kauffmann is critical of Burton or commiserates with him, since he mentions him in only one sentence: "Richard Burton, the Trotsky, has no character to play, which is what he plays."

Both Baroncelli and Kauffmann, it is worth noting, hoped for a notable production from Losey because of his radical background, which ought to have equipped him with special appreciation of the struggle led by Trotsky against Stalin. How much

vember 1917 revolution in Russia still clung to the Soviet Union. The degeneration of the revolution was not yet widely appreciated abroad. In fact, among the vanguard of the labor movement and among extensive circles of intellectuals and artists internationally, the head of the usurping bureaucratic caste—despite his frame-up trials, bloody purges, and labor camps—was able to palm off his dictatorial regime as the continuation of Leninism.

Losey went to the Soviet Union to study theater. It was not until he returned to New York, however, that he became fully "politicized."

"I never met Trotsky," Losey explained. "But in the thirties and forties I knew many dedicated Trotskyists. I belonged to the Communist left. I imagine it was a 'Stalinist' left, although in those days it wouldn't have occurred to anyone to call it that. I thought of meeting Trotsky. All I knew about him was what the Marxists or comrades told me."

"At that time, in the United States, Trotskyism appeared to be a refuge for intellectuals who preferred talk rather than action. These intellectuals were given to arguing for methods so extreme that they appeared capable of destroying what they themselves were trying to achieve. I have the impression, in addition, that the North American left at the time must have had its 'black lists,' its index. Not much different from those of McCarthyism later on. Some cases were ridiculous since many of those I knew who were tagged as Trotskyists were people Trotsky himself repudiated. Hence the difficulty of knowing exactly what Trotsky was or what he was saying in those years. Because he said many things. But also he contradicted himself a lot."

Evidently Losey was little inclined in those years—or later—to investigate for himself what Trotsky actually said. He also had an aversion, it seems, to looking up some genuine Trotskyists.

In the same interview, Losey mentioned one of the difficulties faced by artists of radical political views in the United States:

"When you are part of the left, whether communist or socialist, this poses certain problems in the sphere of business. And films belong to the world of business."

Losey is referring here perhaps less to his victimization during the McCarthyite witch-hunt than to the self-censorship that a film director in the United States customarily observes in view of the limitations imposed by the czars in the industry who hold the purse strings.

As for his private life, Losey mentions that it is the opposite of what one might imagine. "Instead of having more and more money and leisure, I am living under more and more pressure and less and less income!"

A few more interesting details about Losey were provided by Judy Stone in the October 7 *Saturday Review*, a weekly magazine published in New York.

She began her quite favorable review of the film with the following paragraphs:

"A French television interviewer took a random sampling on the question 'Who was Trotsky?' before the Paris opening of Joseph Losey's new film



Richard Burton and Alain Delon as Trotsky and assassin Frank Jacson in Trotsky's study.

ment of truth approaches. The murder-moment itself deserves to be called decadent. Jacson stands behind the seated Trotsky and takes the pickaxe from under his folded raincoat. Then Losey gives us a shot of the back of Trotsky's head as Jacson looks at it, a really terrifying moment—vulnerability in essence. An artist would then have shown us Jacson swinging and Trotsky bleeding. But Losey has to make Trotsky rise and turn to Jacson and has to give us a shot of

did Losey ever really know about this historic contest?

In a long interview granted at the time of the Paris opening of the film, Losey told about his life. Now sixty-three, he was born in La Crosse, Wisconsin. Although his family was of the petty bourgeoisie, he apparently had no independent means. When the Great Depression began, he was in New York. Like many of his generation, he soon became radicalized.

In those days the aura of the No-

The Assassination of Trotsky and so elicited one really revolutionary new theory: 'She was a ballet dancer.'

"If somebody had asked Losey that question in the 1940s, he would have answered, 'The enemy.' But today, at sixty-three, his blue eyes weary in a powerful, furrowed face, the director is less certain. 'There are no absolutes,' he says. 'I want to make films that break down certainty.' . . .

"Now taking on a political subject he never dreamed he would touch, he has chosen to present the old 'enemy' during the last four months of his life in Mexico, 1940 . . ."

Judy Stone interviewed Losey in his home in London. Her article includes a number of statements made by the director that are quoted directly. The following, however, she has paraphrased:

"Losey became involved in the film out of some curiosity, but mostly out of loyalty to a black-listed old friend who wrote the original screen treatment (later discarded). Because they had shared a common pro-Soviet assumption that Trotsky was a counter-revolutionary, Losey wondered what had brought his friend to the project.

"The director realized very quickly that he knew almost nothing about Trotsky; nor, he surmised, did the vast majority of people who had once taken an anti-Trotsky position. He was surprised to learn, for instance, that Trotsky's theory of permanent world revolution, so widely disseminated by his disciples, was confined to a few sentences in the large body of his work and that, unlike many of his adherents, Trotsky regarded the 'unconditional defense of the Soviet Union' as essential.

"Ironically, the final script, which contains footnotes citing sources for nearly all of Trotsky's lines, was written by Nicholas Mosley—son of Sir Oswald Mosley, once considered Britain's leading fascist, and of Lady Cynthia Mosley, one of Jessica Mitford's sisters. Lady Cynthia was a Trotskyist and Labour MP who had met Trotsky during his exile in 1930 in Turkey."²

Losey was "surprised to learn" that the theory of permanent revolution was "confined to a few sentences" and that Trotsky "unlike many of his adherents" was for "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union"! Could anything better reveal the extent of Losey's ignorance of Trotsky's political position and his contributions to revolutionary theory?

Trotsky made "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union" a principle—one of the main lines separating him and his adherents from a world of enemies, stretching from the imperialist powers to the Kremlin. It was precisely because Stalin was *not* organizing an adequate defense of the Soviet Union, but on the contrary paving the way for a German imperialist invasion, that Trotsky opposed the dictator's policies with such vigor, staking his life in the struggle. Not an iota of this is included in Losey's film.

As for the theory of the permanent revolution, it appears that Nicholas Mosley failed to check the first volume of Deutscher's biography of Trotsky,³ which describes the origin of the theory and the thought Trotsky gave to it. How the theory was confirmed by the course of the Russian revolution, how Lenin became a "Trotskyist" as a result, how the theory again became a key issue in the twenties with the rise of Stalinism, thereby engendering a new series of polemics, and how Trotsky returned again and again to the themes of the permanent revolution in subsequent years—all this belongs to outer space so far as Losey is concerned, and, of course, none of it is

even hinted at in his film.

Even the most negative reviews of *The Assassination of Trotsky* have praised Losey on the accuracy of the facts. They have been taken in, I am afraid, by the publicity fed to the press by the producers.

It is true that the main locale—the house in Coyoacán—is reproduced quite well. The shots of the patio taken from the roof are especially good. The reconstruction of the walls is excellent; and many details are accurate, like the flower pots on the steps leading up to the library. Some unimportant changes have been made—such as removing the giant eucalyptus tree that still towers over the house, one of the landmarks in that part of the Mexico City suburb.

The May 24 assault is also well reconstructed, with the very important exception of the role of Robert Sheldon Harte, the guard on duty who was inveigled into opening the patio



Trotsky speaking to Red Army troops

gate during the night, letting in the assailants headed by the muralist and member of the Mexican Communist party David Alfaro Siqueiros. Harte is depicted in the film as one of the plotters, a hypothesis that has never been proved and that is contradicted by the fact that he was murdered after being kidnapped by the gang of Communist party members and GPU agents.⁴

For one who was there, however, the departures from fact jump out in almost every scene. For instance, Burton-Trotsky is shown on a balcony peering out at the street through a heavy steel netting. No such balcony existed. The windows opening to the street, moreover, were bricked up.

Alain Delon, who plays the role of the assassin Frank Jacson, wears outfits that appear to be late 1971 or early 1972. Like a cowboy's white Stetson, that is proper dress, I suppose, for the real hero of the film, enabling us to sympathize more readily with his fate.

Trotsky's secretaries and guards, on the other hand, are dressed in peg-top riding pants and boots of some remote period like the twenties, a rather ridiculous getup as compared to the styles of 1971-72. In real life they wore no uniforms, but dressed as they pleased; in this respect not being distinguishable from other college students and young workers of the time.

Burton uses a dictaphone that is an electronic marvel—it speaks backloud and clear, reciting in Shakespearean tones without any background noise like a hifi set equipped with Dolby

circuitry. The real dictaphone used by Trotsky was an old, second-hand set of preelectronic vintage.

In the corner of Burton's study, I seemed to see a machine for shaving the records. We could not afford that, and had to take them to the center of the city for shaving after the dictation had been transcribed.

The desk at which Trotsky worked has been reproduced in the film, but the objects on it are arranged to give an effect of extreme orderliness. This might not have been Losey's fault. After the assassination, Natalia kept the desk that way; and Losey may have thought that was how it was when Trotsky used it. But when L. D. was working, his manuscripts, often on several subjects, piled up, giving an appearance of disorder.

Losey turns the orderliness of Burton's desk to good account. Meticulously placed so that both titles can

going into this question at all, for the truth is that accuracy on this level is not a prime requisite. The assassination of Trotsky could have occurred in Turkey, in France, or in Norway in the preceding years. Then the locale would have been quite different from the one in Coyoacán.

The assassination might have been carried out by an agent other than Jacson. For instance, had the May 24 machine-gun assault succeeded, then Losey's protagonist would have been David Alfaro Siqueiros.

Such an alteration of locale and assassin-heroes would not have changed the essential drama to be found in Trotsky's staking his life in the struggle against Stalinism. A dramatist of stature hardly needs an exact replica of the lava stones and adobe in the Coyoacán walls to stage that tragedy and Trotsky's ultimate triumph.

Factual inaccuracies

The publicity on the factual accuracy of the film helps cover up flaws of another nature.

Burton's lines, it is claimed, have been drawn from statements that Trotsky actually said or wrote. Most of Burton's lines, however, were thought up by the producers. Here are a few striking examples:

Burton orders his grandson Seva over to see a litter of rabbits: "Hmm! See, Seva . . . little ones. . . . Hmm! . . . Life! What a struggle."

In a scene with Natasha, Burton sits wearily on the edge of his bed, breathing heavily. He says to his companion, "Where's the food?" Natasha answers: "We've had our food." Burton continues: "The food for the rabbits. It's supposed to come today. What day is it?"

Burton, on meeting Jacson, says: "You like rabbits?" As Seva in the same scene puts a baby rabbit back in the nest, Burton says: "She's a great breeder. She's the favorite."⁵

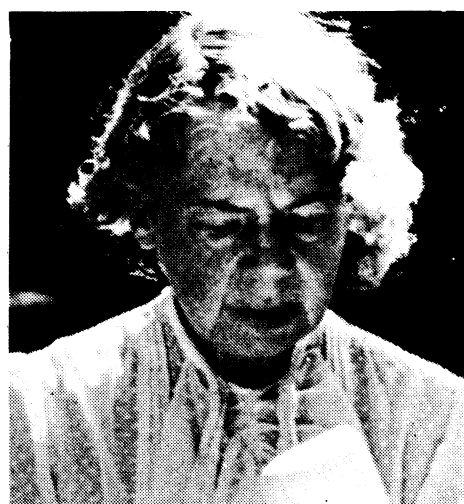
The following lines from the assassination scene probably represent the scriptwriter's concept of Trotsky's irony:

"They say that when the old sun worshippers tore the hearts out of their still living victims, it was to study the cardiac effect of high altitude. That's a joke . . . a Jewish joke . . . a Bronstein Trotsky joke. . . ."

To a director with a Hollywood background that might sound quite natural. Trotsky was incapable of uttering such an abomination.

As for the selection of quotations recited by Burton, they are few in number, torn out of context in most instances, and placed together in such a way as to give them most often a meaning Trotsky never intended. Here is an example:

In a scene showing Burton dictating to Otto in the patio,⁶ Burton says, "It cannot be decided now . . . seventeen years after the event . . . whether or



'There is no resemblance between the Natasha of the film and Natalia Sedova, L. D. Trotsky's companion.'



The film gives no hint of Trotsky's intense interest in following the publications and activities of revolutionary socialist parties throughout the world. Here he reads *The Militant*.

not the deaths at Kronstadt... which were my responsibility, were justified by history, or not... No, I'm being tautological... cut out the 'or not.'

"Civil war is not a school for humane behavior. Idealists and pacifists have always blamed... revolution for excess but excesses spring from the very nature of revolution which is... in itself an excess of history. Those who wish to do so, may reject revolution. I do not reject it..."

Burton's confession of guilt concerning Kronstadt conveys a quite different impression from Trotsky's statements in the original. Although they are lengthy, some excerpts will demonstrate this:

"The truth of the matter is that I personally did not participate in the least in the suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion, nor in the repressions following the suppression. In my eyes this very fact is of no political significance. I was a member of the government, I considered the quelling of the rebellion necessary and therefore bear responsibility for the suppression. Only within these limits have I replied to criticism up to now. But when moralists begin to annoy me personally, accusing me of exceeding cruelty not called forth by circumstance, I consider that I have a right to say: 'Messrs. moralists, you are lying a bit.'

"The rebellion broke out during my stay in the Urals. From the Urals I came directly to Moscow for the 10th Congress of the party. The decision to suppress the rebellion by military force, if the fortress could not be induced to surrender, first by peace negotiations, then through an ultimatum—this general decision was adopted with my direct participation. But after the decision was taken, I continued to remain in Moscow and took no part, direct or indirect, in the military operations..."

"I stepped aside completely and demonstratively from this affair. Concerning the repressions, as far as I remember, Dzerzhinsky had personal charge of them and Dzerzhinsky could not tolerate anyone's interference with his functions (and properly so).

"Whether there were any needless victims I do not know. On this score I trust Dzerzhinsky more than his belated critics. For lack of data I cannot undertake to decide, now, *a posteriori*, who should have been punished and how. Victor Serge's conclusions on this score—from third hand—have no value in my eyes. But I am ready to recognize that civil war is no school of humanism. Idealists

and pacifists always accused the revolution of 'excesses.' But the main point is that 'excesses' flow from the very nature of revolution which in itself is but an 'excess' of history. Whoever so desires may on this basis reject (in little articles) revolution in general. I do not reject it. In this sense I carry full and complete responsibility for the suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion." ("More on the Suppression of Kronstadt," in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* [1937-38], Pathfinder Press, p. 164. Emphasis in the original.)

Here is another example of Burton reciting lines publicized as having been dug up from Trotsky's works:

"I trust that I will earn my place in history beside Lincoln in the American Civil War. History has different yardsticks. The slave owner, who uses cunning and violence to chain the slave... and the slave, who uses cunning and violence to break the chains. Only contemptible eunuchs... will say that they're equal before the court of morality... Only contemptible eunuchs will say that they're equal before the court of morality. Let me hear the last of it back..."

This is the original:

"We leave to some Emil Ludwig or his ilk the drawing of Abraham Lincoln's portrait with rosy little wings. Lincoln's significance lies in his not hesitating before the most severe means, once they were found to be necessary, in achieving a great historic aim posed by the development of a young nation. The question lies not even in which of the warring camps caused or itself suffered the greatest number of victims. History has different yardsticks for the cruelty of the Northerners and the cruelty of the Southerners in the Civil War. A slave-owner who through cunning and violence shackles a slave in chains, and a slave who through cunning or violence breaks the chains—let not the contemptible eunuchs tell us that they are equals before a court of morality!" (*Their Morals and Ours*, Pathfinder Press edition, p. 29.)

Stalinist image

With departures like these from what Trotsky really said, with additions that Trotsky never did say, with a spicing of things Trotsky could not possibly have said, Losey fashions a strange figure—a ridiculous, vain, strutting poseur addicted to listening to his own voice. This egomaniacal spouter is insufferable. The figure performing on the screen has no resemblance whatsoever to the living Trotsky. Yet the odd caricature somehow seems familiar. Where have we seen

it before?

As I watched the film, the truth became more and more compelling. This is the image of Leon Trotsky created by the Stalinists in their anti-Trotskyist campaigns of the twenties and thirties.

The Trotsky played by Burton under Losey's direction is like an echo of the old Kremlin slanders. However, instead of following the old script that pictures Trotsky as plotting the death of Stalin, the script now calls for the reverse. The smear that Trotsky was an agent of Hitler is gone; the mud thrown on his personality remains.

Losey's efforts to the contrary, the film thus does have a modicum of political content. We are offered evidence of the way some Stalinists still view Trotsky even after Khrushchev's revelations in 1956 and the destruction of the cult of Stalin.

Many things fall into place once the source of Losey's concept of Trotsky is seen. It becomes explicable, for instance, why Losey pictures Trotsky's guards and secretaries as ugly Americans, displaying an imperialist attitude toward Mexicans. (Losey has them speak grossly—and in English—to a Mexican worker delivering a plaque cut in memory of Robert Sheldon Harte.)

We can understand, too, why Losey shows the human relations in the household as opposite to what they were in reality. Losey's robot guards and secretaries stand in fear of the arrogant, domineering Burton. He commands them like a business executive in a Madison Avenue office or Hollywood movie set—and they jump in response. Even the sparkling young Seva is shown as a morose child shrinking before his imperious grandfather.

An exception to this unsympathetic presentation of the minor characters in Trotsky's home is Valentina Cortese's portrayal of Natalia. Valentina-Natasha is a sweet, smiling, long-suffering, apolitical American housewife—the old stereotype now being taken to pieces by the Women's Liberation Movement. There is no resemblance between the Natasha of the film and Natalia Sedova, L.D. Trotsky's companion. As a foil to the overbearing Burton, however, Valentina-Natasha may help out with the receipts at the box office.

More significantly, knowing the source of Losey's inspiration, we can see why he is so intrigued by the personality of Trotsky's murderer and why he handles him so appreciatively, even building him into the hero of the film, giving him the final triumphant line, "I killed Trotsky."

Geared to box office

The producers, naturally, were not interested in spending \$2.5 million on a film devoted to the artistic presentation of a partially reconstructed Stalinist concept of Trotsky, although they no doubt preferred that to a true view of the revolutionist who led the uprising against capitalism in Czarist Russia, constructed the Red Army to defend the first workers state against the combined assault of the major imperialist powers, and later founded the Fourth International to continue the work initiated by Lenin of constructing revolutionary parties on an international scale. What the producers had in mind was a profit on their investment.

This brings us to the moment of truth. *The Assassination of Trotsky* stands or falls on its merits as commercial art. On this level—the profoundest one in the film—Losey may well have scored a success. That is, if current public tastes hold up. The

production is a bid to the market for films reeking with violence.

In this context, the long sequence showing the torture of a bull in the Mexico City bullring is firmly motivated, constituting a high point in the drama. The shots in living color are superior to a view from a spectator's seat since a telescopic lens is used. Every detail of the gore, including the bull's coughing of torrents of blood from his slashed lungs, is shown in enlarged detail. For the ultimate delectation of sadistic audiences, close-ups are included of the final butchering of the carcass.

Equally integral to the film is the parallel showing Jason sinking a pickaxe into Trotsky's brain and meeting the rushes of the wounded man. The blood that flows down Trotsky's face is left there even after he reaches the hospital, although in actuality Natalia wiped this away after Trotsky fell to the floor in the dining room.

A weak point is Losey's skimpiness on the raw sex now in demand. The director offers only one somewhat explicit scene as part of the opening sequence. Losey knows the rating problem, of course, and may have calculated that this was the best he could do without running into a "for adults only" restriction.

How many stars should this work of commercial art receive? That, I should think, is best left to determination by the box office.

—INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

1. The interview, which appeared originally in the Paris weekly *L'Express*, has not yet been published in English so far as I know. I have translated the above quotations from two different Spanish versions, one in the May 18 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama*, the other in the May 12 issue of the Montevideo weekly *Marcha*.

2. The very wealthy Sir Oswald Mosley began as a Conservative Member of Parliament. In 1924 he shifted to the Labour party, was elected to its Executive in 1927, and in 1929 was appointed a minister in the Labour government. He resigned in May 1930, formed an ambiguous "New Party" in the spring of 1931 and transformed this into the "British Union of Fascists" in 1932. What led Losey to consider Mosley's son to be an expert on Trotsky and his views? Or capable of composing dialogues that Trotsky might plausibly have engaged in? The fact that his mother once visited the Trotskys in Turkey?

3. The researcher, however, did look through the last volume of Deutscher's biography, or at least the last chapter of the volume. It is a source for some of Burton's declamations in the role of Trotsky.

4. Siqueiros, still living, has not yet revealed the inside story of this murder in which he participated, or what means he utilized to escape being brought to trial. Is he waiting to speak posthumously?

5. The rabbits in Coyoacan have proved irresistible to others besides Losey—more irresistible than they actually were to Trotsky. Keeping rabbits was thought up as a possible hobby to provide Trotsky with an alternative to pacing back and forth for exercise as he probably did during his years in Czarist prisons. Most of the work of feeding the rabbits and keeping the area clean was done by other members of the household.

6. The scenes showing Burton spending a good deal of time in the patio are imaginative. In the rainy season drizzle and downpours were frequent; in the dry season the air could be brisk and dusty (the street was unpaved). As for eating in the patio, aside from the inconvenience of transporting food and dishes back and forth from a distant kitchen, this was the pre-DDT age. I know that all this is difficult for a Hollywoodian to understand, but then the Trotskys did not come from Hollywood.

7. Losey leaves out the fact that the Mexican Trotskyists regularly participated in guard duties. Some of the guards and secretaries from outside Mexico, it should be added, spoke excellent Spanish.

Calendar

BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

CLEVELAND

PROSPECTS FOR BLACK LIBERATION. Speaker: Sam Manuel, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information, call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

HEAR LINDA JENNESS, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Nov. 2, 3 p.m. at Central Michigan University. 7:30 p.m. at Michigan State University. Fri., Nov. 3, 10 a.m. at the University of Detroit. Noon at Wayne State University.

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featuring Linda Jenness. Fri., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$2, h.s. students \$1. For more information, call (313) 831-6629.

LINDA NORDQUIST, Michigan SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, will appear on WXYZ-TV (Channel 7) on the "Black Talk" show, Nov. 5, from 12:30 to 1 p.m. Appearing on the same show are the Communist, Socialist Labor, and Human Rights senatorial candidates.

LOS ANGELES

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

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

WOMEN AS A POLITICAL FORCE IN THE '72 ELECTIONS. Panel: Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 20th C.D.; representatives of Abzug and McGovern campaigns; others. Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by West Side Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE AND BANQUET.

CONFERENCE. "Philosophy of Politics" by George Novack; "Feminism and Socialism" by Susan Vass; "What Initiative 22 Means to the Farm Workers," a panel; "Israel and the Middle East," a debate; "The Socialist Alternative" by Andrew Pulley. The first session will be Fri., Nov. 3 at 100 Lewis Hall, UC Berkeley, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$1. All other sessions will be Sat., Nov. 4, at YWCA, 2600 Bancroft Ave., Berkeley. Registration at 9:30 a.m. Donation: 50c each or \$1 for all sessions.

BANQUET. Sat., Nov. 4. Refreshments, 4:30 p.m. Dinner, 6:30 p.m. Snow Building, 9777 Gold Links Road, Oakland. Donation: \$5.50. Special price for entire weekend, \$7. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

SEATTLE

SWP CAMPAIGN VICTORY CELEBRATION. Hear Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley speak on the election via national telephone hookup. Tues., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555 or (206) 523-4449.

TWIN CITIES

LINDA JENNESS, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak on Tues., Oct. 31, 7:15 p.m.: refreshments. 8 p.m.: talk. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

SHOULD RADICALS SUPPORT McGOVERN? Speakers: Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for Senate from Minnesota; Marv Davidov from the Honeywell Project; Ken Tilson, McGovern campaign and Draft Resistance. Fri., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. Women's Lounge, Coffman Union, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

...Dist. 1

Continued from page 13

dents attending those schools.

After several parents had spoken in favor of removing the principals, one procommunity white parent pointed at the assembled teachers and charged that in no white district would they rally like this and that they were dirtying the name of trade unionism by their action. There was a brief moment of reflective silence before they resumed their jeering.

The board reaffirmed its decision to remove the two principals by an 8 to 1 vote. Afterward, the remaining reactionary white board member, an employee of the area police precinct, marched out of the auditorium thumbing her nose at the community residents.

On Oct. 19, the day following the board meeting, State Supreme Court Judge Arnold Fraiman ruled on one of the many suits against the board inspired by the powerful anti-community organizations. Fraiman ruled that the five co-opted members of the District One school board could not serve past the end of the year and that a special election would have to be set by Governor Nelson Rockefeller, probably sometime in December. Although the ruling forces elections for all co-opted board members around the city, it was clearly an attempt to crush the militancy in the District One community.

The special registration procedures for school board elections, coupled with a lack of bilingual instructions

on how to participate, makes it difficult for Latino and Chinese parents to vote even in the regular board elections. Because the white racism fired up by the 1968 UFT strike is still a powerful force in New York, Shanker and his allies feel they can count on white bloc-voting in any quickly called District One election.

...Shanker

Continued from page 13

Since Shanker has shown little real opposition to the schools operated by whites "in some places," it is evident that his objection is to schools of "black extremists." In New York this means Muslim schools. Shanker's abhorrence of Black "advocacy of the dismantling of the nation of Israel" is accompanied by advocacy on his part of the dismantling of the Nation of Islam.

An interesting sidelight is the fact that Shanker and AFT President David Selden are co-leaders of the same caucus in the American Federation of Teachers. Shanker's "choice without enthusiasm" stance gives backhanded support to Nixon. Selden supports McGovern. But their dogged reliance on the capitalist politicians to wheedle funds for education and curry favor with city school boards is what unites them at this juncture in the political development of the AFT.

...Chile

Continued from page 28

Many commentators have pointed to the danger of civil war. But the popular support for Allende has resulted in the main capitalist parties' avoiding any armed confrontations with the regime up to this time.

Moreover, Allende's opponents appear to be accomplishing many of their goals without such a confrontation. The determination of the Allende government to stay within the limits of the laws protecting property, its attempts to prevent the independent mobilization of the masses even on behalf of its stated goals, its refusal to respond sharply to the economic sabotage being directed against it by attacking the economic base of the capitalists, and its reliance on the old state apparatus have all resulted in bogging down most of the reforms Allende promised to introduce. These policies can only result in confusing and disorienting the masses and undermining their self-confidence.

Correction

A typographical error in the Oct. 27 Militant gave the wrong vote total for the Oct. 18 Florida State University referendum backing campus recognition for the Young Socialist Alliance. The actual vote in favor of YSA recognition was 1,086 to 856, not 1,806 to 856.

Young Socialist

The October YOUNG SOCIALIST features "Socialism and Alienation"—a speech by Linda Jenness, an analysis of the 1972 elections, and articles discussing the key questions facing activists in the antiwar, women's liberation, Black, and Chicano movements. Don't miss a single issue. Subscribe today.

Clip and mail to: YOUNG SOCIALIST, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

() Enclosed is \$1 for six months. () Enclosed is \$2 for one year. () Send me a free sample copy of the October issue.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathens, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, 9 E. 13 St., Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

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

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.

San Diego: SWP and YSA, 4309 1/2 51 St., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 287-0787.

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

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-8354.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.—Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 427 Main St. #206, Hartford, Conn. 06103. Tel: (203) 246-6797.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o David Bouffard, 308 S. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72, c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana Uni-

versity, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, 10975 Sheraton Dr., Baton Rouge, La. 70815.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

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

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, c/o Rich Ropers, 903 Northwest Apts., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Red Bank: YSA, P.O. Box 222, Rumson, N.J. 07760.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 503 Carlisle S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87106.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

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

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, 1612 Summit St. (side entrance), Columbus, Ohio 43201. Tel: (614) 299-2942.

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

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA 5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA and SWP, P.O. Box 7753, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

Lubbock: YSA, c/o Tim McGovern, P.O. Box 5090, Tech. Station, Lubbock, Texas 79409.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.



In Trotsky's own words

LEON TROTSKY SPEAKS

edited with prefatory notes by Sarah Lovell

This collection makes available for the first time a rounded selection of Trotsky's speeches. An excellent introduction to the revolutionary's life and ideas. 336 pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45

MY LIFE

An Attempt at an Autobiography

by Leon Trotsky

"... an autobiographical masterpiece" — Isaac Deutscher

Index, Chronology, Bibliography, Footnotes. 640 pp., \$12.50, paper \$3.95

PERMANENT REVOLUTION AND RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

by Leon Trotsky

The theory of Permanent Revolution versus "socialism in one country" was the axis around which the ideological differences raged in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death. Trotsky shows how under cover of the struggle over perspectives of revolutionary development the Stalin faction rallied its followers in defense of their bureaucratic privileges. 281 pp., \$5.95, paper \$2.45

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?

by Leon Trotsky

"... one of the seminal books of this century." — Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast*

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED explores in depth the economic, political, and social forces which gave birth to Stalin's bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, following Lenin's death. Trotsky contrasts the development of "socialism in one country" to the socialist concept of internationalism. 308 pp., \$5.95, paper \$2.95

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY, 1939-40 (Mexico)

edited by George Breitman and Evelyn Reed

This volume, part of an eleven volume series, covers Trotsky's last year—from the announcement of the Stalin-Hitler pact to Trotsky's assassination by an agent of Stalin. Following the major events of World War II, it contains Trotsky's manifesto against the war and his open letter to the workers in the USSR. 128 pp., 8 x 11, paper \$2.45

Write for our free 1972 catalog:

PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014
(212) 741-0690

Classified

SPLENDID VICTORY by Milton Genecin. A full-length play about political life of Leon Trotsky. Copies of typed manuscript \$5 each (includes binding and mailing). Calif \$5.25. Order prepaid from Militant Bookstore, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles 90029.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

NEW YORK

Campaign Rally

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 7:30 p.m. Hunter College Playhouse, 68th Street between Lexington and Park. Speakers: LINDA JENNESS, Socialist Workers presidential candidate; JOANNA MISNIK, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 20th C.D.; BECKY FINCH, SWP candidate for 18th C.D.; JOHN HAWKINS, SWP candidate for 12th C.D.; JANE TAM, District One School Board member; PAUL MASSAS, president, Brooklyn College student government. MARY VASILIADES, Majority Report. Donation: \$1.

Election Night Party

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 8:30 p.m. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square. LINDA JENNESS, live bands, refreshments. Watch election returns. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Campaign and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

IN THE OCTOBER INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

FEMINISM and the MARXIST MOVEMENT

by Mary-Alice Waters

PROSPECTS FOR A BLACK PARTY by Derrick Morrison
THE ROAD TO FREEDOM by George Novack

- () Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.
() Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

THE MILITANT Special offer 20 weeks/\$1

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

THE MILITANT

Middle class revolt marks crisis in Chile

By DAVE FRANKEL

Oct. 24 — The government of President Salvador Allende in Chile is in the midst of a mounting national crisis, the gravest since it came to power two years ago. What began Oct. 10 as a strike of truck owners demanding higher cargo rates and protesting a plan to set up a state-run trucking company in the southern part of the country has burgeoned into a nationwide political strike against the government by Chile's middle class.

On Oct. 13 small businessmen, retail shop owners, construction contractors, and farmers joined the striking truckers in a "sympathy strike" whose spokesman was the president of Chile's Confederation of Production and Commerce.

Since then doctors, dentists, some bank employees, civil engineers, airline pilots, and owners of private buses have joined the strike. The right wing has organized large-scale demonstrations against the government as well as street actions designed to force the closure of shops not participating in the antigovernment strike. In response, Allende has im-

posed martial law in most of the country.

An Oct. 17 dispatch from Santiago by *New York Times* reporter Joseph Novitski says "all the [striking] groups have in common their middle class origin and a resentment against President Allende's moves to give Chile a socialist economy."

Allende's popular-front government is a coalition of six parties. It includes working-class parties such as the Socialist and Communist parties, and capitalist parties such as the Radical Party. Although Allende indulges in rhetoric promising a peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism, the actual program of his government is one of reforms that stay well within the bounds of capitalist property relations. Any attempt to go beyond this would immediately shatter his governing coalition.

However, even this reformist attempt to improve conditions in Chile has met with the implacable hostility of the Chilean capitalists and their imperialist allies. Canadian and Dutch banks—following the lead of the U. S.—have suspended all lines of credit to Chile.

The Kennecott Copper Corporation recently obtained a French court order preventing payment of \$1.4-million French manufacturers owed Chile for copper produced at nationalized mines previously owned by Kennecott.

On Oct. 19 a court in The Netherlands ruled that Kennecott could seize a ship loaded with 1,250 tons of copper from Chile.

The result of the economic pressure exerted by the imperialists on Chile has been an acute shortage of consumer goods. This has been further aggravated by economic sabotage on the part of the Chilean capitalists. Inflation resulted in a rise in the cost of living of 99.8 percent in Chile during the first nine months of 1972.

Allende's reaction to the latest crisis has been to rely on the police and the army. However, correspondent Lewis Diuguid, writing in the Oct. 24 *Washington Post*, explains that "In recent decades, the principle foreign influences on it [the army] have been U.S. military teams."

"The present commander of the Chilean Army, Gen. Carlos Prats Gonzalez, is himself a graduate of

the U. S. Command and General Staff College at Ft. Leavenworth, Kan. There is little doubt but that U.S. Military Advisory Missions remain on the job here because of Prats' insistence. . . ."

The other side of Allende's reliance on the military machine built up by the capitalist rulers of Chile is his attempt to tone down the militancy and activism of the working class and the left in general. According to an Oct. 13 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Santiago, Allende "called on the government's left-wing supporters to abstain from any moves—such as the occupation of factories, communications centers or public buildings—that could be interpreted as a 'provocation' and cause the army to stand against the government."

Prior to the current crisis, the right wing in Chile was openly organizing armed good squads. The Oct. 9 issue of *Time* magazine describes the handbook put out by one of the two main opposition parties, the National Party, together with the ultraright Patria y Libertad as "a guide, if not an outright incitement, to civil war."

Continued from page 26

Carlos Feliciano faces new frame-up trial

By SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK, Oct. 24—Once again Carlos Feliciano faces the repressive apparatus of New York State. Having been acquitted of frame-up charges in a Bronx court last May, the Puerto Rican nationalist will soon go on trial in Manhattan for basically the same charges.

In May 1970 Feliciano was arrested and charged with, among other things, the bombing of 41 buildings in New York City. After these charges were brought against him, he was indicted on one count of attempted arson in the second degree and possession of explosive materials. His bail was set at \$125,000—the highest ever against any individual defendant in the history of the state.

A vigorous defense campaign in Feliciano's behalf resulted in lowering the bail to \$50,000, but only after he had spent 17 months in jail.

In the Bronx trial it was established that the district attorney and the police were out to frame Feliciano because of his role in the Puerto Rican

independence movement. The acquittal of Feliciano in the Bronx trial clearly established his innocence.

The same support that helped win Feliciano's acquittal in the Bronx was in evidence when he appeared Oct. 16 for preliminary hearings in Manhattan. After a spirited picket line outside the court at 9:30 a.m., Feliciano was joined by Angela Davis and attorney William Kunstler at a news conference. Davis expressed her solidarity with Feliciano. Feliciano and Kunstler explained the frame-up nature of the charges and the importance of this case.

After the news conference, supporters of Feliciano attempted to enter the courtroom where the hearings were taking place. They were forced to stand outside the door of the courtroom and were searched one by one before being allowed to enter. The hearing set Oct. 25 as the date for further pretrial hearings and Nov. 2 as the date the trial will begin.

After the hearings the picket line



Militant/Harry Ring

Members of the Black Berets de Aztlan, a Chicano group, demonstrated Oct. 16 in front of the federal building in Denver in solidarity with Carlos Feliciano.

assembled again outside. Speaking to the crowd, Kunstler announced that the defense would move that all charges be dismissed because of their obvious frame-up nature. Feliciano addressed the crowd with a warm and strong speech denouncing the witch-

hunt atmosphere surrounding the trial.

The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano can be reached by writing to Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013. Telephone: OR4-6377.

Interest high at Argentine defense meetings

OCT. 21—More than 250 people heard Damian Blanco, an activist in the student movement in Cordoba, Argentina, explain the plight of Argentine political prisoners at meetings in Boston, Oct. 16 and 17.

The meetings were organized by the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard, Brandeis, and the Boston campus of the University of Massachusetts as part of the nationwide tour for Argentine activist Elena Rodriguez. Blanco served as a substitute speaker because the Argentine government has held up the visa Rodriguez needs to enter the U. S.

Blanco described the censorship of books, newspapers, and films practiced by the military dictatorship that rules Argentina. The movie *Easy Rider* was banned because of the image of the U. S. it conveys. "Z" was banned because the government felt that "people were not ready to see such violence." Books by Malcolm X are also banned.

Thousands of political prisoners have been imprisoned without charges, and many have been tortured. Recently 19 were shot down "while trying to escape," according to the government.

While his tour of Boston was taking place, it was reported that a bomb

that exploded in the Buenos Aires Sheraton in Argentina had killed one person and injured others. Asked to comment on this by the Boston press, Blanco explained, "You have to look at the totality of the situation in Argentina. . . . while I do not justify terrorist acts by guerrillas, you must understand that it is the military dictatorship which must bear the responsibility of creating one of the most inhumanly repressive situations of violence and terrorism, and that part is never brought to the U. S. press."

Blanco stressed the role of American public opinion in helping to alleviate the repression, explaining that U. S. actions of support to political

prisoners helped put pressure on the Argentine government.

In New York, meetings arranged for Elena Rodriguez were addressed by Alicia Rivas, an Argentine who is a member of the Third World Theater Group and who is active in behalf of political prisoners. Meetings have taken place at Hunter College, Lehman College, New York University, and Columbia University. A Spanish-language meeting was organized by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, El Comité, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (Young Lords), Frente Unido, and USLA.

USLA expects Elena Rodriguez to arrive in the U. S. shortly in order to complete the remainder of the tour.