

THE MILITANT

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

Meaning of Vietnam peace proposals



Residential area of Haiphong, North Vietnam's second largest city, after recent U.S. bombing. Small pond is bomb crater.

The following is a statement issued Nov. 1 by Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Nixon's top aide Henry Kissinger says that "peace is at hand" in Vietnam. This is a lie.

The nine-point "settlement" that has reportedly been agreed to was wrung from the Vietnamese through the most extensive bombing campaign in history and through the threat of years more of the same terrible destruction.

Already the U. S. is rushing military equipment to the Thieu government, and Thieu is preparing to carry out a bloodbath of repression against "suspected communists" in Saigon-controlled

areas of South Vietnam. Under the proposed agreement, U. S. troops are to remain indefinitely in Thailand and in the seas off Vietnam, ready to intervene again if the U. S. warmakers think it necessary. This is no peace!

The nine points represent a formula for maintaining the capitalist system and a foothold for U. S. imperialism in Vietnam. And Washington is pressing for even more concessions. The agreement thus represents a setback to the decades-long struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence and social justice.

This is true despite concessions made by the U. S. These are the promise to withdraw the remaining 30,000 U. S. troops within 60

days, to end U. S. bombing, and to recognize control by North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front troops in areas where they were stationed at the time of the cease-fire.

What is the Vietnam war all about? Contrary to the argument used by Nixon, and Johnson before him, the issue is not "Communist aggression." What is involved is a popular rebellion of the masses of Vietnamese peasants and workers for an end to exploitation and imperialist domination.

The Vietnamese are rebelling against a system that allows a few landlords and capitalists to own most of the land and wealth. The masses of peasants must hand

over a large part of their crops to the landlords simply to be able to farm the land. Workers are paid miserably low wages, taxed heavily, and denied basic democratic rights. The hated Saigon regime represents the landowners, the cap-

Analysis of nine-point peace proposals on pages 4 and 5.

italists, and the imperialist powers they depend on to protect them from their own people.

The proposed nine-point agreement does not resolve any of these fundamental problems in line with the needs and aspirations of the Vietnamese people.

The agreement provides for a

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

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STRUGGLE AT SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY: The state of Louisiana called out the National Guard Oct. 31 after 2,000 students marched on the administration building at Southern University in Baton Rouge. The students at SU, a mostly Black school, were demanding that the school's president resign and that students be given a 2-to-1 ratio on the university's governing board.

ASIAN-AMERICANS PROTEST RACIST AD: More than 100 people organized by various Asian-American groups picketed the headquarters of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York Oct. 25 to protest the unions' racist advertising campaign. ILGWU ads in New York City subways show a large American flag with the words "Made in Japan" under it. In smaller letters the ad asks, "Has your job been exported to Japan yet? If not, it soon will be."

Dr. Michio Kaku, an instructor of physics at Princeton University, described incidents in which "Japanese-Americans have been insulted and abused because of the ads."

Kaku pointed out the responsibility of U.S. businesses for American economic problems, charging that "Unemployment is not made in Japan; it's made in America."

Confronted with the racist character of the ILGWU's "Buy American" campaign, Gus Tyler, the union's assistant president, indignantly replied, according to the Oct. 26 *New York Times*, "The last thing we expected was that anyone would charge us with racist implications. It's unbelievable."

CAIRO, ILL., UNITED FRONT WINS ANOTHER ROUND: On Oct. 6 the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago upheld the right of a group of Blacks in Cairo, Ill., to sue State's Attorney for Alexander County Peyton Berbling; his investigator, Earl Shepherd; and Dorothy Spomer and Michael O'Shea, judges of the Circuit Court of Alexander County.

The plaintiffs charged that the state's attorney refused to initiate criminal proceedings against whites who were charged with assaulting Blacks, and that Blacks received longer and harsher sentences than whites.

FLY ME TO THE MOON: James Clarity reports in the Oct. 28 *New York Times* that "During their week-long tour of Brazil, the United States astronauts James A. Lovell Jr. and Donald Slayton were asked repeatedly why there were no women astronauts in the American space program. The Lovell reply:

"Well, we've never sent any women into space because we haven't had a good reason to. We fully envision, however, that in the near future we will fly women into space and use them the same way we use them on earth—for the same purpose."

NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY MEETS: Militant reporter Norman Oliver writes that the National Black Assembly met in Chicago Oct. 21 and 22. The Assembly is composed of 427 delegates elected by the state delegations at the Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., in March.

The Assembly spent the entire time discussing what were basically organizational questions. Resolutions put forward by the local delegations were all referred to committees, and where "appropriate committees" didn't exist, new ones were formed. The one exception was a resolution accepted by the entire Black Assembly on the insistence of nationalist forces. It called for support to Africans in the U.S. who are threatened with deportation because of their activity in the Black liberation struggle.

The resolution specifically mentioned the case of Ruwa Chiri, an exile from Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), who the government claims has been in the U.S. illegally for the last ten years. Chiri is the editor of *Afrika Must Unite*, and a founder of UFOMI (United Africans for One Motherland International) and the Arusha-Konakri Institute.

The only elected Black officials at the Assembly were Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher and Representative Charles Diggs (D-Mich.). Although Hatcher stated at a news conference following the meeting that one of the National Black Assembly's goals was the election of more Black officials, no specific candidates were endorsed at the meeting.

COURT ORDERS ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE REMOVED FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST: On Oct. 24 the U.S. court of appeals ordered the attorney general to remove the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade from his list of "subversive" organizations.

This victory for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a group of Americans who fought against Franco during the Spanish Civil War, marks the first time that the government has been ordered to remove an organization from its

list of "subversive" organizations. Leonard Boudin, who served as counsel for the Brigade, said that the decision was an advance but failed to attain the "ultimate objective, which is to get these lists declared unconstitutional."

A VICTORY AND A DEFEAT: The November issue of *Rights*, the publication of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, contains two articles of special interest to Militant readers. One, by David Rosenberg, who acted as counsel in the case of Ernest Mandel, describes the issues and the decision barring Mandel from the U.S. Mandel, a Belgian Trotskyist leader and a well-known scholar and economist, was denied entry into the U.S. solely because of his political views. This decision was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court at the end of June.

The second article deals with the victory won by Dr. Benjamin Spock, the presidential candidate of the People's Party, and Linda Jenness, the SWP candidate for president. Federal district court Judge Raymond Pettone ruled Aug. 10 that they could not be barred from the residential areas and access roads of the Quonset Point Naval Air Station in Rhode Island.

U.S. SUPPORTS RACIST REGIME IN RHODESIA: American corporations, with the cooperation of the U.S. government, have been importing Rhodesian mineral ore since last year in violation of the sanctions the United Nations voted against Rhodesia.

The International Longshoremen's Association announced that it will boycott a cargo of nickel ore that arrived in New York Oct. 10.

JACKIE ROBINSON: On Oct. 24 Jackie Robinson died of a heart attack. In 1947 Robinson was the first Black to play ball with a major league team. He helped lead the Brooklyn Dodgers to the 1947 pennant, and was named Rookie-of-the-Year.

Although Robinson ultimately won a place in the baseball Hall of Fame, his entry into the major leagues was greeted with cries of "Go home spook!" and "Kill the jungle bunny!" and by a "ban-the-Black" petition among his teammates. The St. Louis Cardinals threatened to boycott games with the Dodgers, and Robinson was frequently spiked; at bat he had the dubious distinction of being hit by beanballing pitchers more times than any other player in the league.

Robinson's courageous fight opened the way for Black athletes in professional sports. In later life he became an accepted and even conservative figure, as is indicated by the tribute offered by Richard Nixon, among others. However, Nixon and those like him fail to mention whether they spoke out in behalf of Robinson in 1947.



Robinson sliding home in 1950 game

IT'S WHAT THEY WANT TO HEAR: Professor Kenneth Arrow of Harvard University was one of the winners of the Nobel prize for economics this year. Arrow's associates at Harvard said his achievements included theoretical proof that perfect democracy could never be possible.

THE MILITANT GETS REPRINTED: The Sept. 27-Oct. 10 issue of the *Columbus Free Press*, published in Columbus, Ohio, reprinted most of the statement on the Munich events that appeared in the Sept. 15 *Militant*.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Debate abortion fight, elections

Jenness-Friedan confrontation in Phila.

By PEGGY BRUNDY

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 29 — The SWP campaign continued to pick up steam last week as Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, toured Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C. She was given a particularly enthusiastic reception by feminists in these two areas.

On Oct. 25, at Temple University in Philadelphia, Jenness participated in a panel on "Women in Politics" organized by Temple Women's Liberation. Other participants were Kay Camp, Democratic Party candidate for state representative from the 13th C.D., and Merrie Spaeth, Republican candidate for state representative, 300th C.D.

A sour note was interjected into the discussion by the unscheduled appearance of noted feminist Betty Friedan, who launched into an attack on the SWP. "Ms. Jenness's party," Friedan said, "claims to support abortion, claims to think it's a women's right." But, she said, the SWP really doesn't support abortion because it didn't lobby in the state legislature last spring when New York's liberal abortion law was threatened with repeal. "[The SWP] wanted people to stay in New York and demonstrate, which would not do an iota of good," she said.

Friedan accused the SWP of "using women" and urged feminists to vote for George McGovern. She then walked out of the meeting, avoiding a face-to-face debate with Jenness on the charges she had raised.

Jenness's answer to Friedan drew loud applause from the meeting. "I think that surely at this point we should be able to . . . discuss the different ways we're going to be able to win our freedom without attack," she said, in reference to the unsubstantiated charges Friedan had leveled. The accusation that the SWP does not support the abortion rights movement "is simply not true, and Betty Friedan knows it's not true," Jenness stated.

She went on to describe a news conference she had held as a candidate

in Albany last spring, at the height of the abortion debate, where she had condemned the reactionary anti-abortion bill in the state legislature.

In addition, Jenness noted, she and many of her campaign supporters had marched in demonstrations defending abortion rights in New York and had attended the July conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), where one of the major topics of discussion was how to defeat the New York anti-abortion forces.

"When Friedan falsely accuses the SWP of 'using women,' she is just trying to camouflage the fact that she has political differences and refuses to raise them," Jenness explained. No politician, she pointed out, has used women more blatantly than George McGovern did at the Democratic Party convention.

Rather than rely on McGovern, as Friedan is urging women to do, Jenness urged women to support her campaign and to continue to organize actions in the streets demanding the right to abortion.

Friedan had not been scheduled to be part of the panel discussion, but she was the featured speaker at a conflicting meeting organized by supporters of George McGovern. The topic of that meeting, called after the meeting sponsored by Temple Women's Liberation was already widely publicized, was "Why Women Should Vote for George McGovern."

While in Philadelphia, Jenness was a special guest on several TV and radio shows. These included the widely listened-to Frank Ford Show on WFLN radio and KYW-TV "Eyewitness News."

The hostess of WCAU-TV's "Mrs. (Betty) Hughes and Her Friends Show" explained to her viewers that she had only recently heard of the Jenness campaign. "A few weeks ago," Hughes said, "my producer visited Latin America. When she returned she told me we had to get Linda Jenness on this show."

"People in Latin America said to her,



Militant/Peggy Brundy

Attack by Betty Friedan (l) on SWP was answered by socialist presidential candidate Linda Jenness (r) during Oct. 25 panel at Temple University in Philadelphia. Merrie Spaeth (center), a Republican, also spoke on panel.

'your presidential candidate was just here.'

"Which candidate?" Jill asked.

"Linda Jenness. Don't you even know your own candidates? She spoke to thousands and thousands of cheering crowds last summer."

Hughes is the wife of former governor of New Jersey Arthur Hughes.

On Thursday evening, Oct. 26, supporters of the Jenness-Pulley ticket contributed close to \$1,200 at a campaign fund-raising banquet in Philadelphia.

Jenness's heavy campaign schedule took her next to Washington, D.C., where she joined the Oct. 26 antiwar demonstration in front of the White House. "One-point Peace Plan—Out Now!" the demonstrators chanted. The *Washington Star* noted that Jenness was the only presidential candidate that demonstrated.

Friday evening, Oct. 27, Jenness spent several hours discussing her campaign with feminist supporters in the D.C. area. Dr. Barbara Roberts, WONAAC national coordinator, was

the hostess of the informal cocktail party. The guests included Gail Scott, TV news reporter for WMAL-TV (ABC), who had interviewed Jenness earlier in the day.

Friday afternoon Jenness received word of the favorable ruling on her suit to allow political candidates to campaign at Fort Dix. Saturday she flew to Philadelphia for a news conference announcing this victory.

A Washington, D.C., fund-raising banquet Saturday night brought in \$1,100 to help publicize Jenness's campaign in the remaining week and a half before the election.

Jenness spoke to hundreds of students at campuses in the Pennsylvania-D.C. area. "If you are convinced that real social change is needed in this country," she told them, "and you're willing to fight for it, then you should not only vote socialist on Nov. 7, you should not only participate in the struggles that are going on, you should also join the Young Socialist Alliance." She urged her supporters to attend the Nov. 23-26 YSA national convention in Cleveland, Ohio.

Hits Democrats on hiring quotas, Middle East

Pulley debates Black McGov supporter

BY DERRICK MORRISON

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 31 — "The campaign has now shifted from the war issue to the issue of corruption in our government," pronounced Homer Mason, of the McGovern campaign committee.

"We do not think that the war in Southeast Asia is over. McGovern has begun to speak as though the war was not an issue. The reality of the situation is that the war yet goes on," countered Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

Such were the opening salvos in a debate last night in a dormitory lounge at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). It was sponsored by *Nomme*, a biweekly newspaper published by Black students on the campus. A Black representative of the Nixon campaign was invited, but failed to attend.

In the course of the question-and-answer period Mason made no attempt to defend the rotten and corrupt record of the Democratic Party.

When asked by one Black student

about the use of quotas to increase the employment of Black people, Mason replied that McGovern supports quotas.

"To the contrary," Pulley replied, and he went on to show how McGovern, in a vote-catching move, denounced the use of any quotas to increase Black employment.

In response to one question, Pulley elaborated on the idea of an independent Black political party. He pointed out the example of the independent Chicano parties, the Raza Unida parties, as the type of organization Blacks need.

Because the audience, which was mostly Black, was sympathetic to the cause of the Palestinian Arabs, this prompted more double-talk by Mason. He tried to get the discussion away from the Middle East and back to McGovern's position on Vietnam, where he maintained that the senator was for getting out of Southeast Asia now. He ended up using the arguments of a pro-McGovern Black in the audience, saying that an "independent Black movement" could best be built by supporting the senator from South Dakota.

As the meeting came to a close, several students expressed interest in the Young Socialist Alliance. There were about 60 students at the meeting.

Pulley's campaign stop in Los Angeles included a brief meeting at Hamilton High School. He held a news conference outside the Los Angeles County jail, where he protested the refusal of prison authorities to allow SWP candidates to tour the facilities and talk with prisoners. At a banquet of 120 people, close to \$1,200 was raised for the SWP campaign.

At the rally, held Sunday, Oct. 29, Pulley shared the platform with Peter Buch, a member of the National SWP Campaign Committee. Buch attacked the government campaign of harassment of Arab supporters of the Palestinian liberation movement and pointed out that "no such measures have been taken against right-wing or Zionist terrorist groups like the Jewish Defense League, which have committed and boasted of terrorist crimes."

Buch also condemned the West German government's deportation of Arab students and workers and the

Israeli government's bombing of Arab lands.

Two nights prior to the L.A. rally, Pulley addressed more than 50 campaign supporters at a rally in Portland, Ore. He shared the platform that night with Rita Moran, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, and Roger Troen of the Gay Liberation Front.

Just before the rally Troen told me that at an Oct. 13 news conference here McGovern denied any support to the movement for homosexual civil rights. His statement shocked many gay activists in the area. The New York and California McGovern campaign offices, apparently out to get the gay vote, had previously issued statements in support of gay rights. McGovern said he had not authorized those statements.

While in Portland, Pulley taped interviews for Black and gay radio programs, spoke to 100 students at John Adams High School, and addressed campus audiences at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Oregon State University in Corvallis, and Portland State University.

Nine-point prop grave dangers for

By DICK ROBERTS

NOV. 1—The nine-point program outlined by Hanoi Oct. 26 and essentially approved by Henry Kissinger later the same day spells out an interim settlement of the war that is fraught with danger to the peoples of Southeast Asia.

This proposed settlement imposes conditions on the Vietnamese that give an indefinite lease on life to the capitalist military-landlord regime headquartered in Saigon. This is true whether or not Nguyen Van Thieu remains head of the Saigon government.

The nine-point program provides U. S. imperialism with a military base in Thailand and the "right" to keep its massive naval fleet permanently in the South China Sea. The program also permits Washington to "re-arm" its Saigon cohorts for an unspecified length of time.

Concessions made by Washington include a promise to withdraw all U. S. forces from South Vietnam within 60 days after the agreement is signed. A certain number of North Vietnamese troops will be permitted to stay in South Vietnam. But these conces-

be achieved with the Saigon regime still intact.

"Indeed," Kissinger declared in his Washington news briefing Oct. 26, "for the first time they made a proposal which made it possible to negotiate concretely at all."

When the signal of Hanoi's turn on this point came, a rough draft of the settlement was agreed upon within four days.

Meaning of terms

If put into effect, the nine-point program will create the highly explosive conditions of "dual power" in South Vietnam. There will be two armed forces representing irreconcilable class interests.

On one side are the forces of the revolution, representing the drive of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against exploitation. They are fighting for democratic rights, national independence, abolition of the landlord-capitalist regime. The peasants are also striving to control the land they farm. On the other side are the representatives of imperialist counterrevolution—landlords, bankers, generals, and corrupt politicians—who have waged a bloody war against the Vietnamese masses for more than three decades.

A "cease-fire" cannot resolve this civil war. Dual power can only be temporary. In the last analysis, either one side or the other must triumph, and this requires the liquidation of the armed might of the opposing force. The tempo of these developments (if the nine points are carried out) cannot be foreseen.

The Nov. 1 *New York Times* reports that Washington is stalling the agreement until North Vietnam agrees to withdraw 35,000 troops from the northernmost South Vietnamese provinces. This was based on "an informal understanding reached with [Hanoi chief negotiator Le Duc] Tho outside the framework of the negotiations. . .," the *Times* asserted.

Times correspondent Bernard Gwertzman continues, "except for the 35,000 near the demilitarized zone, the bulk of the forces are primarily 'defensive' and will be used to protect Viet Cong enclaves scattered throughout the country."

"Since North Vietnam will be prohibited from sending in replacements under the accord, the Hanoi forces will suffer from day to day depletion, Administration officials said."

Under these conditions, point four, the promise of "genuinely free and democratic elections under international supervision," has little meaning.

If the imperialists do ultimately permit elections—under the close watch of Saigon's million-man army and police force—this will be in order to give a phony legality to the regime. It must never be forgotten that the capitalist regime in Saigon holds power today solely because of the armed intervention of the United States.

A coalition government arrived at through such an election procedure could only be a capitalist regime. Britain's prestigious financial magazine, *The Economist*, a strong supporter of Washington's war policies, put the main question of the coalition this way on Oct. 28: "Who gets what jobs. It would be fatal for everyone else in Vietnam if the communists or their friends were to get operational con-



Por que?

trol of the army or the police force for even six months."

New York Times correspondent Fox Butterfield wrote from Saigon Oct. 25 that Hanoi apparently "will not insist on breaking up South Vietnam's large police force."

In preparation for the cease-fire, the U. S. and Thieu are making frantic preparations to get themselves in as good a military situation as possible.

Washington Post reporter Peter Braestrup wrote Oct. 28 that "Current South Vietnamese strength is 1,300 aircraft. It is estimated that perhaps 200 more helicopters and other aircraft can be shipped from the United States or turned over to the South Vietnamese by U. S. units in Vietnam within the next week or so."

Braestrup explained how the "one-for-one" basis of reinforcing Saigon's military would allow Washington to exchange more advanced bombers in the future for the less advanced ones it is providing now.

Along with the last-minute land-grab attempt by Washington and Saigon, "the United States . . . clearly mindful of the possibility of a cease-fire, pressed its bombing campaign against Communist forces in South Vietnam," the *Times* reported Oct. 26. "Intelligence officers said the Americans were determined to try to take back with bombs territory the Communists had already claimed and to prevent them from getting any more."

The war is continuing at a high level of bombing and combat activity every day the negotiations continue.

In addition, the Saigon regime continues to arrest hundreds of people it feels are a threat to its rule, in-

cluding liberal politicians and journalists. In an interview in Hanoi Oct. 27, Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, "expressed great concern about the political prisoners held by the Saigon Government, estimated to number 200,000 or more," Richard Barnet wrote in the Oct. 30 *New York Times*.

Binh told Barnet, "Thieu is now embarked upon an extermination policy with regard to the prisoners. Women and children are being tortured and killed in the Saigon jails."

Moscow, Peking roles

Moscow and Peking betrayed the Vietnamese revolution, creating the conditions under which these dangerous concessions to Washington were made. The main events leading up to this development emphasize the roles of Moscow and Peking.

● Beginning in late 1971, Nixon re-escalated the air war against North Vietnam. This had been preceded by Kissinger's secret talks with Peking and the arrangement of Nixon's February 1972 visit to the Chinese capital. The week before Nixon's arrival in Peking, Washington launched the heaviest bombing of North Vietnam since 1968. The Peking bureaucrats put their seal of approval on this as they toasted Nixon in the "Great Hall of the People."

● The massive revolutionary offensive was launched in March. Nixon responded in April by drastically stepping up the bombing of North Vietnam and in May by mining and blockading the port of Haiphong. The Pentagon papers show that this step



sions are far from meaning that the Vietnamese liberation fighters have won.

The rulers of Saigon can be expected to launch an intensified campaign of terror to stabilize their hated dictatorship. They are equipped with an army and police force of more than one million men to carry this out. Amidst signs that repression has already increased, Washington is scraping together every available bomber, bomb, and bullet in a last-minute effort to arm the Saigon generals to the teeth.

The treacherous "peaceful coexistence" policies of Moscow and Peking have made this grave setback to the Vietnamese revolution possible. In return for a global détente with Washington, they have put the screws on Hanoi. North Vietnam was isolated and put on economic and military rations as Washington conducted the most ferocious air attack on any nation in the history of warfare.

Statements by leading officials in Hanoi and Washington indicate that the decisive turning point in the secret negotiations came Oct. 8 with Hanoi's offer to separate the military and political terms of the agreement. This would mean that a "cease-fire" could

osai holds Vietnamese

had been ruled out during the whole Johnson administration from 1965 to 1968 for fear of retaliation by Moscow and Peking.

● In May Nixon went to Moscow. The Kremlin bureaucrats not only refused to cancel his trip in protest of the attack on North Vietnam. They put on a bigger show for Nixon than Peking had. This had the effect of demobilizing the antiwar movement around the world. The U.S. bombing grew to its historic peaks shortly thereafter.

Meanwhile, Moscow and Peking held their economic and military aid to North Vietnam at bare minimums. They did not provide the modern anti-aircraft missiles and fighter planes the Vietnamese needed to defend themselves from U.S. air attacks. Although Moscow has furnished capitalist Egypt with such advanced weaponry, it has not offered them to the revolutionary fighters in Vietnam.

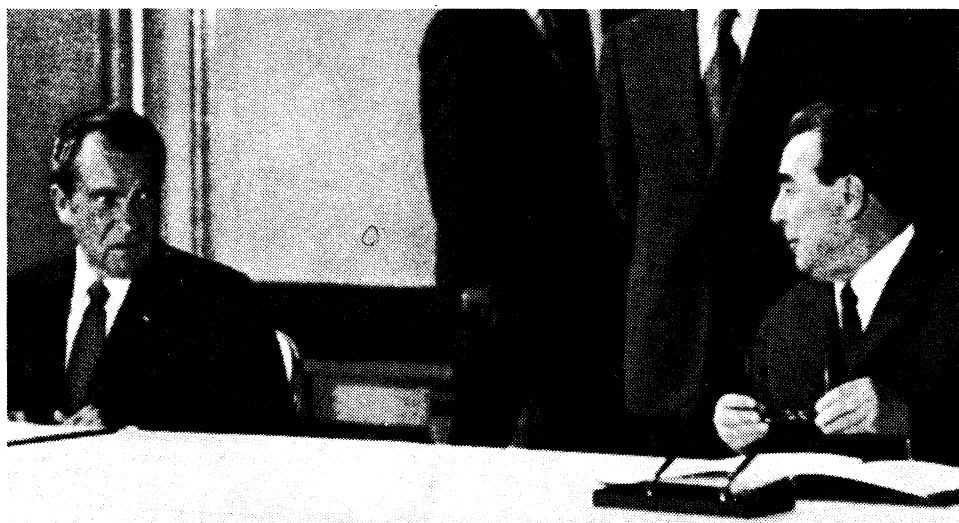
Both Moscow and Peking have refused to take part in leading or helping to organize an international antiwar movement in defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

These pressures against Hanoi have not escaped the notice of bourgeois reporters commenting on the nine-point program. "The Soviet Union and China played a significant behind-the-scenes role in persuading North Vietnamese leaders to work toward the compromise settlement of the war," Stanley Karnow wrote in the Oct. 27 *Washington Post*.

"Premier Chou En-lai helped push a balky North Vietnamese leadership into seeking largely made-in-America terms which should halt gunfire throughout Indochina," wrote *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Robert Keatley Oct. 30.

Keatley continued, "But Mr. Chou did not push alone. Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, too, has let his country make clear that Moscow also wants Vietnam peace more than it desires prolonged Vietnam war; for the Russians also, proletarian solidarity has its limits in practice, if not in theory."

Keatley took note of the strong implicit criticism of Moscow and Peking that appeared in the official party newspaper of Hanoi, *Nhan Dan*, last August. "... if out of the narrow in-



Nixon's visits to both Moscow and Peking took place at times of escalation of U.S. bombing of Vietnam. In order to cultivate better relations with Nixon, both bureaucratic regimes have betrayed the Vietnamese struggle.

terests of (its own) country one tries to help the most reactionary forces to avert the dangerous blows, just like throwing a life-belt to a drowning pirate, that is a cruel (form of) recognition, beneficial to the enemy and detrimental to the cause of revolution," *Nhan Dan* declared.

Moscow's treacherous role in pressuring Hanoi to accept the settlement explains the enthusiasm for the nine-point program in the pages of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party. Day after day the *World* has campaigned for Nixon and Thieu to sign the agreement, which can only bring the gravest dan-

gers to Vietnamese revolutionists.

"The agreement between the U.S. and the DRV, which has been approved by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, contains the crucial key to peace," the *World* declares in a front-page editorial Oct. 27.

But this is a lie. The key to peace in Vietnam is the total removal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. The key to ending the social ills against which the Vietnamese have been fighting with such great determination is the ouster of the capitalist-landlord regime and the establishment of socialism.

Kremlin supports Nixon reelection

By CAROLINE LUND

One of the revolutionary traditions that the bureaucratic leaders of the Soviet Union have thoroughly betrayed is the tradition of revolutionary diplomacy as practiced by Lenin and Trotsky in the early years of the Soviet workers state.

This was brought home in several articles in the Oct. 29 *New York Times* and the Oct. 5 *Los Angeles Times* remarking on the extremely friendly overtures the Soviet bureaucrats have been making to President Nixon. The headline on the *New York Times* article reads: "Soviet Press, After Ignoring the Campaign, Indicates Moscow Favors Nixon."

"Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny reportedly came very close to endorsing the reelection of President Nixon Wednesday," says the *L.A. Times* dispatch from Moscow. It goes on to quote Russell Train, chairman of Nixon's Council on Environmental Quality, as saying of his meeting with Podgorny: "He told me that he looked forward to working with President Nixon for several more years."

The article goes on to say, "his [Podgorny's] attitude seems to reflect a general Soviet sympathy for Mr. Nixon's campaign." It notes, for example, that Soviet newspapers "have barely reported any of the accusations of corrupt behavior that the Democrats are making against the Nixon Administration."

Meanwhile, a dispatch from Washington in the same issue of the *Los Angeles Times* reported on recent discussions between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Nixon at the White House and Camp David. The subject was an official visit by Brezhnev to the U.S. next spring if the Vietnam-war criminal Nixon is reelected.

Of course it is necessary for workers states like the Soviet Union to conduct diplomatic relations with capitalist states like the U.S. But it is disgusting treachery for a so-called socialist leader to praise Nixon, socialize with him, help to prettify his election campaign, and ignore the bloody role of this commander in chief of the U.S. slaughter in Indochina and chief representative of imperialist subjugation of peoples throughout the world.

Their diplomacy demonstrates that these Soviet bureaucrats don't have an ounce of revolutionary spirit left, not an ounce of fire against capitalist injustice and exploitation or hatred for the agents of that injustice.

A revolutionary leadership of the Soviet Union would make trade and other agreements with Nixon while maintaining the stiffest political opposition to this corrupt murderer, using the arena of diplomacy to explain his crimes to the people of the world and providing every possible means of assistance to those struggling against U.S. domination.

The U.S. Communist Party generally hails every move made by the bureaucrats in Moscow. But the CP's press has so far ignored this development. Apparently it feels that it couldn't go along with supporting Nixon if it was to have any credibility whatsoever among radical-minded people in this country. Thus the CP has been enthusiastically supporting the more reformist-sounding capitalist candidate, McGovern.

A summary of the nine-point proposal

The following is a summary of the nine-point proposed agreement as published by the Oct. 27 *Washington Post*.

Radio Hanoi yesterday broadcast the following terms of an agreement it said had been reached by the United States and North Vietnam:

1. The United States will respect Vietnam's "independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity" as defined by the 1954 Geneva agreement.

2. The United States will stop all military activity as soon as the agreement is signed. Both sides agree not to send new weapons or troops into South Vietnam.

U.S. troops and advisers will be withdrawn within 60 days.

3. All "captured and detained personnel" will be released during the U.S. withdrawal.

4. "Genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision" will decide the leadership of South Vietnam. A Council of National Reconciliation and Concord "of three equal segments" will oversee the cease-fire and the election. The United States pledges not to try to impose a pro-American government.

5. Vietnam will be reunified "step by step through peaceful means."

6. Two military commissions

will be appointed: one composed of Hanoi, Saigon, Washington and the Vietcong, and the other of Saigon and the Vietcong. An international control and supervision commission will be appointed.

7. The national rights of Laos and Cambodia, as spelled out in the 1954 Geneva agreement, will be observed. Hanoi, Saigon, the Vietcong and Washington pledge to keep their troops out of Laos and Cambodia.

8. The United States will contribute "to healing the wounds of war and to postwar reconstruction . . . throughout Indochina."

9. The agreement will go into effect as soon as it is signed.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 1

cease-fire—with no change in the capitalist political or economic system in Vietnam. The Saigon puppet regime—with or without Thieu—and its entire repressive apparatus will remain in power and will hold veto power in the three-part council established to organize "internationally supervised" elections.

The political future of Vietnam will supposedly be determined by these elections. But any elections organized under the capitalist-landlord government in Saigon and with the blessing of the U. S. imperialists can be assumed beforehand to be a fraud.

History shows that the imperialists only allow elections that are rigged for their side to win. This is exactly what happened in the June 1966 elections held in the Dominican Republic under "international supervision" and with U. S. troops occupying the country. The election brought to power Joaquin Balaguer, an associate of the brutal dictator Raphael Trujillo.

In Vietnam, on the other hand, the U. S. made sure that the elections set for 1956 by the 1954 Geneva Accords were never held. President Eisenhower later admitted that the U. S. feared the Viet Minh would win 80 percent of the votes.

Even if the proposed agreement leads to a coalition government in Saigon, it will still be a capitalist government. Despite the long years of struggle by the Vietnamese, and the hundreds of thousands of lives lost, the capitalist social system that goes against the needs and aspirations of the masses of Vietnamese still remains.

It can easily be understood how the Vietnamese may have been forced to accept the terms of the nine-point agreement even though they mean a setback for them. The Vietnamese have undergone the horrors of war for 30 years. In the seven years between 1965 and 1971 alone, the U. S. has battered Vietnam with explosives equal to 450 Hiroshima bombs. Since May the North Vietnamese faced U. S. attempts to cut off their supplies through a blockade.

It is not only Nixon who must be condemned, however, for forcing the Vietnamese to come to terms acceptable to Washington. On top of the exhaustion of years of war, the Vietnamese liberation fighters have faced isolation and betrayal by the bureaucratic regimes in Moscow and Peking.

While the Vietnamese have been making enormous sacrifices and providing an unparalleled example of heroic resistance to U. S. imperialism, Moscow and Peking have been entertaining Nixon and making deals with him to strangle the Vietnamese revolution.

They refused to provide the Vietnamese with the most modern fighter planes and antiaircraft weapons needed for defense against U. S. bombing attacks.

While giving substantial aid, including fighter planes, to capitalist regimes like Egypt, they did not give the Vietnamese the type of modern weapons they needed.

The Moscow and Peking bureaucrats have joined the U. S. in pressuring the Vietnamese to stop fighting and to make unwarranted concessions. Rather than condemning Nixon for presuming to dictate the future of Vietnam, they have uncritically supported the nine-point agreement and offered to help enforce the terms.

Joining in the chorus of applause for Nixon's nine-point settlement is my Democratic opponent George McGovern. This so-called peace candidate says only that he would reserve the right to "renegotiate" sections of the settlement if he is elected.

By applauding the nine-point terms for U. S. withdrawal, McGovern helps give legitimacy to U. S. aggression in Vietnam in the first place. He lends credence to Nixon's claim that the U. S. had to continue its bombing campaign until the Vietnamese accepted his terms for an "honorable settlement."

I say the United States has no right to negotiate anything whatsoever about the future of Vietnam! And I urge all anti-war Americans to speak out against any terms the U. S. tries to impose as a condition for its withdrawal.

At this time, however, no cease-fire agreement has been signed, and the bombing and shooting continues. Moreover, even under the proposed "settlement," the U. S. plans to maintain 39,000 troops in the Seventh Fleet surrounding Vietnam and another 45,000 troops in Thailand, ready to intervene militarily anywhere in Southeast Asia.

The demonstrations called for Nov. 18 by the National Peace Action Coalition will be important in opposing the U. S. government's policy of attempting to impose its will on Vietnam. The actions will demand: U. S. get out of all Southeast Asia immediately! No conditions!

People's Party

The Militant's "Roundup of parties' ballot status" (Oct. 27) contains one mistake. The People's Party ticket of Benjamin Spock for president and Julius Hobson for vice-president has been certified in Kentucky for some time and should be added to the totals.

In fact, this has proven to be an embarrassment to the Kentucky People's Party. Kentucky State Chairman Steve Snell told me, "We are supporting George McGovern. We have to appeal to McGovern supporters, and we didn't see any point in locking horns with people we have so much in common with."

A leaflet from the Kentucky People's Party urges a vote for Bill Bartley, People's Party candidate for U. S. Senate; Tom Lundeen, People's Party candidate for U. S. Congress, 6th C. D.; and George McGovern for president.

Gary Hart, McGovern's campaign manager, told reporters that his strategy from the very beginning was "to co-opt the left." Apparently his strategy succeeded in the case of the Kentucky People's Party.

*Ken Lawrence
Staff Correspondent
Southern Patriot
Tougaloo, Miss.*

In reply—Ken Lawrence is correct. *The Militant* inadvertently listed the People's Party as being on the ballot in Iowa, where it did not secure ballot status, instead of Kentucky, where it is on the ballot.

Billy Dean Smith

Concerning the frame-up court-martial of antiwar GI Billy Dean Smith: You know, more and more in the federal prison system you find prisoners who were sentenced by military court-martial boards for various crimes, but usually connected with the Vietnam war.

The "fragging" charge attributed to Smith is a very common charge. This is indicative of the widespread discontent, radicalization, and resentment of GIs being forced to fight wars of aggression against the oppressed on behalf of brass-hat militarists, big industrialists, and Wall Street bankers, who profit off GI blood.

Many of these GIs are in prison. If they should succeed in railroad-ing Billy Dean Smith, he won't be alone. As one who has served time in a military stockade and who is presently in prison, I feel qualified to speak.

*A prisoner
Missouri*

'Memo' from the boss

Your readers may be interested in the following "memo" being passed around among workers here at the *Cincinnati Post & Times-Star*. It's not far from the truth.

"To: All Managers and Supervisors of Hourly Employees

"Subject: *Early Retirement Program*

"As a result of automation as well as a declining work load, management must, out of necessity, take steps to reduce our work force. A reduction-in-force plan has been developed which appears most equitable under the present circumstances.

"Under the plan, older employees will be placed on early retirement, thus permitting the retention of employees who represent the future of the company.

"Therefore a program to phase out older personnel by the end of the current fiscal year via early retirement will be placed in effect immediately.

diately. The program will be known as RAPE (Retire Aged Personnel Early).

"Employees who are Raped will be given an opportunity to seek other jobs within the company, provided that while they are being Raped, they request a review of their employment status before actual retirement takes place. This phase of the operation is called SCREW (Survey of Capabilities of Retired Early Workers).

"All employees who have been Raped and Screwed may also apply for a final review. This will be called SHAFT (Study by Higher Authority Following Termination).

"Program policy dictates that employees may be Raped once, Screwed twice, but may get the Shaft as many times as the company deems appropriate."

*D. J.
Cincinnati, Ohio*

Old-timer writes

Enclosed is \$1 for 20 weeks. I am now past 90 years old. Have been a socialist since reading Edward Bellamy's books *Looking Backward* and *Equality* and lectured for 11 years.

*Eugene Stevens
Bisbee, Ariz.*

South Dakota Sioux reservation: 'misery, hunger, privation'

My husband and I made a 3,500-mile round trip to South Dakota, Senator McGovern's home state, this summer, where we visited three Sioux Indian reservations. It would be impossible for me to describe in the allotted space all the misery, hunger, and privation we saw.

It would be difficult to envision a country as great as ours perpetuating the worst type of cultural, inhuman genocide, but that is what we saw. Men, women, children—hungry, sick, housed worse than cattle, standing in line for a handout that was all too inadequate.

Helping to alleviate this situation was the purpose of our trip. We left New York on June 9 with a donated truck filled with 10 tons, mainly of clothing and all too little food.

We had sent previous aid for some years and finally got the opportunity to make the trip ourselves. Although we had been told by friends who had been out three times what conditions existed, nothing prepared us for what we found. The greatest tragedy was that nothing had changed in the three years since we first made contact with the Sioux.

We found hunger—men, women, children, who had not eaten for days—sickness, disease, and unemployment. We found people traveling 21 miles for water. We found people whose health funds had been completely cut off—people who had moved miles into the hills trying to farm with no water, their fruit trees flooded in the name of progress so the Army Corps of Engineers could build a dam.

One family we know at present is using a two-burner hot plate for cooking and heat as their gas stove burned up. The 17-year-old girl got glasses in March after a two-year wait.

We also found an 89-year-old man gone three days without food—about to walk 20 miles through the hills to get to a store where he had credit. In his care are two grandchildren who "look after" him. One is four, the other is six.

One woman, by way of introduc-

ing her family, told me, "last year I had seven children, this year I have six. My 21-year-old son hung himself last winter." This was said with no visible bitterness, no anger—just hopelessness.

The biggest lack of all we found was hope. I could go on and on without even beginning to scratch the surface of what this government has done and is doing to these people in the name of humanity.

That Senator McGovern could allow this to go on in his own state even though his brother-in-law Robert Pennington is an official of the Bureau of Indian Affairs gives us an idea of what we could expect from him as a president. Nixon, of course, is no better.

I appeal to every one of you who read this letter to raise your voice in outrage.

Joyce Bazzini
Holbrook, N. Y.

Students form union

A few interesting developments have come up here at Geneseo State College. For one thing we've got a student union that's being organized here, known as SASU-Geneseo Local 1. SASU stands for Student Association of the State University and is a statewide organization.

Also, we no longer have a homecoming queen, but rather a homecoming person, due to the fact that this position is now held by a man. The enclosed copy of *Lamron*, the campus newspaper, goes a bit more in depth on these things. Also in the issue is a letter by me exposing McGovern.

Another topic of interest is that a gay liberation group is being organized here. The first meeting had 27 people, and the second had 20. Both meetings were about half female.

Pete Magee
Geneseo, N. Y.

McGov backs off on gay rights

On Oct. 13 in Portland, Ore., McGovern repudiated the statement supporting gay rights that had been attributed to him by replying as follows to questions from *Fountain* reporter George Nicola: "We've never put out any statement from either our New York or California office that was cleared by me, and I'm not going to take responsibility for either of these statements."

Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, Sargent Shriver expressed his true opinion of gays when he was heard to say as his car drove away: "To hell with gay people."

Up to this point I had intended to vote for McGovern on the grounds that he *might* do a little more for gay rights than Nixon. However, I have now reached my limit, and I hope all other gay people have too. I am writing to urge all gay people to reply to Shriver's "go to hell" statement by telling McGovern and Shriver to go to hell in the clearest way possible—by voting for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on Nov. 7.

Robert Halfhill
Treasurer of FREE: Gay Liberation of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

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.



National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

Profiteers and pensions

John Jones had worked for the same corporation for 30 years. He was approaching 65, and he and his wife planned a life that would be filled with the things they had always wanted to do but never had the time or money for. Since the children had grown and left home the couple had taken a few good vacations, but their bank account was low.

Six months before his retirement, John Jones was informed that the company pension plan had been terminated. Since this particular plan was not "vested" (established by law as a complete right, according to the dictionary), but was either a paternal gesture by a nonunion company to keep its workers out of the union or a fringe benefit under a union contract that did not provide for vesting, John had no recourse.

John and Mary changed their plans. Dreams of leisure and comfort went out the window. Instead, they faced an old age of poverty and privation, with only a Social Security pension as income.

No one knows exactly how many Johns and Marys there are among the 26 million pensioners in this country. But it is a fact that most private pension plans are not vested.

The plans are terminated for various reasons—the company uses its pension fund for stock market manipulation and loses; the company merges with a larger corporation that doesn't need all or even most of its employees, so many are laid off; or the employer acquires one or several similar companies, closes down some and "reorganizes" others in such a way as to eliminate both the unions involved and the pensions workers expected when they retired.

During the last session of Congress, senators Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) introduced a bill to regulate private pension plans. Known as the Retirement Income Security for Employees Act (RISE), the bill had been approved by

the Senate Labor Subcommittee. But like so many other pieces of social legislation introduced as election fodder during the past year (minimum wages, medical insurance, etc.) this bill was never brought to the floor of the Senate. Nor was the necessary companion bill ever introduced into the House.

The Javits-Williams bill would have tightened pension rules in three basic areas:

1) Made sure that more people actually got pensions they were entitled to.
2) Improved the vesting provisions in most pension plans by shortening the period an employee had to work before becoming eligible for benefits.

3) Provided new safeguards for the cash piled up in pension fund reserves, with insurance to cover benefits if the plan is ended before it is fully funded.

Current company pension plans are answerable to virtually no one for either their investment or funding policies. They need only submit an annual report on the structure and operation of their funds to the government. As a federal official quoted in the Oct. 2 *U.S. News & World Report* pointed out, "private pension-plan funds constitute the largest sum of unregulated capital in the United States."

The untold thousands, maybe millions, of workers who have been left out in the cold when their company pension rights were arbitrarily discontinued by their maneuvering employers constitute a considerable segment of the 26 million old people who have retired, not to financial security, but to miserable poverty.

The Javits-Williams bill will probably be revived in some future session of Congress—if it is needed as political fodder in congressional reelections. Otherwise it will rest where it is now, in the cozy pigeon-hole the Senate Labor Subcommittee has already placed it in.



Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith

Thalidomide scandal in Britain

The lack of concern drug manufacturers have for consumers' health is of particular importance to women, who have been the victims of many dangerous drugs, most recently certain types of birth control pills.

Perhaps the most famous of dangerous drugs is thalidomide, a sleeping pill. The scandal surrounding this drug is again coming to the fore as the Distillers Company (Biochemicals) Limited is trying to gag a *Sunday Times* exposé on the fate of thalidomide victims.

A decade ago, Distillers was the British distributor of thalidomide. Thousands of pregnant women who took this drug during the late 1950s and early 1960s gave birth to children with severely deformed arms and/or legs. Thalidomide was finally removed from the market in 1962.

In the United States, one of the most famous cases involving thalidomide was that of Sherri Finkbine, the star of a children's TV show in Arizona. Finkbine was using thalidomide during her pregnancy, and when the effects of the pill became public, she tried to have a legal abortion in Arizona. She was denied permission for the abortion after she made a point of going to the news media to expose thalidomide's effects. Eventually she had to go to Sweden to have the abortion.

Evelyn Reed reported on Finkbine's case in the Aug. 27, 1962, *Militant*, along with the case of Dr. Frances Kelsey. The latter was the courageous woman in the Food and Drug Administration who stubbornly fought for more than a year against giving FDA approval to thalidomide. The drug's manufacturers made her the victim of a vicious harassment campaign.

The thalidomide tragedies have become an issue again in Britain partly due to a series of articles in the *Sunday Times* on the personal situations of the deformed victims. Only 61 of these young people have ever received even meager damages from

Distillers for the drug's effects.

One article in the *Sunday Times* described the case of 13-year-old Fred Astbury.

"He has no arms or legs and no right hip," writes the Oct. 15 *Sunday Times*. "... Since Fred's birth Mrs Astbury has campaigned on behalf of her son, pressing the local authorities to provide whatever facilities were available. But there are many things the local authorities cannot or will not do. ...

"Mr Astbury left home two years ago and the family now lives on social security. Like many other thalidomide mothers Mrs Astbury has developed severe back problems. Fred now weighs more than eight stone [112 pounds] and needs a great deal of assistance."

When the *Sunday Times* announced it was going to run a special article that would "trace how the tragedy occurred," i.e., who was responsible for allowing the drug on the market, Distillers got an injunction from Attorney-General Sir Peter Rawlinson prohibiting publication of the article.

Distillers is in court right now, faced with a suit demanding the payment of more damages to thalidomide victims. The company's case hinges on its ability to prove that it was not "negligent" when it sold the drug, and that it is therefore justified in attempting to prevent the *Sunday Times* from running the article.

The thalidomide scandal is probably one of the crudest examples to date of how drug manufacturers throw dangerous products on the market in order to make profits. The complicity of the British government in hushing up the facts in this case is typical of the way the courts and so-called consumer protection agencies under capitalism really just protect the interests of big business.

It points to the need for a socialist society, where rather than being at the mercy of profit-hungry capitalists, every person would receive free, quality medical care as a basic right.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



We hear it's declined 1,000 percent—McGovern is dismayed that there has been little response to his charges of corruption in government. "Frankly, I'm puzzled by it," he said. "Is it possible that our moral sensitivity is disintegrating? I sincerely hope not."

Progress report—The San Antonio, Texas, school board has banned the use of rubber hoses for disciplining grade school pupils. The board has ruled that all schools must strictly comply with the established policy of using leather straps.

They could separate—Reporting on the annual parley of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the New York Times reports that cops consider themselves "a scorned minority in a hostile society."

Hardly worse than arsenic—We don't mean to bug anyone, but the Amer-

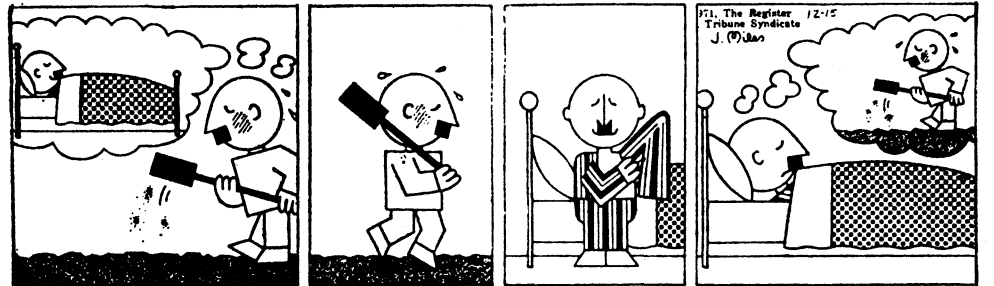
ican College of Chest Physicians estimates that coffin nails cause 300,000 premature deaths a year.

Almost as refined as us—Suzy, the society reporter, sends back word on a London party where Prince Charles was tripping the light fantastic with Arabella Shand, "and heavens, you should have seen the way Prince Charles was dancing with her! He had both arms around her and his hands were clasped directly over her derriere with one of his pinkies sticking well out. It wasn't mushy, it wasn't naughty or sexy at all—just terribly friendly. And best of all, no one even looked at them or paid the slightest attention. Bless the British and their sense of privacy."

A matter of balance—Houston residents may not get enough oxygen, but the local fish are getting plenty. Sewage and other fertilizing nutrients discharged into the bay are producing

an excessive growth of algae, increasing the water's oxygen content. The high concentration of oxygen killed an estimated 1.5 million fish last month.

Shopping kit—For the family hi-fi freak, Neiman-Marcus has the exclusive offer of a Sony system in a special housing. Turntable, receiver, tape deck, and videocassette recorder, \$2,700. Neatly ensconced in a white fiberglass and wood housing "sculpted by the exceptionally foresighted French designer, George Ciamcimino."



Priced by the foresighted Neiman-Marcus at only \$2,000.

Saps bodily juices—Hardin B. Jones, allegedly a professor of medical physics and physiology at the University of California, told a Rotary meeting that marijuana users can become "heavily dependent" on the stuff in several years and face the danger of moving on to heroin. He said daily usage could "probably" lead to brain shrinkage, loss of will and of masculine virility. Full recovery, he reported, requires religion.

By Any Means Necessary

'Community control'?

Last week I reported the struggle of Black parents from the Tilden Housing Development in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn to enroll their children in junior high schools in the Canarsie section of the borough. Since then the Tilden parents have won their demand that the students not admitted to Meyer Levin (JHS 285) be admitted to John Wilson (JHS 211). (See story page 24.)

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

In opposition to the enrollment of the Tilden students at JHS 211, white parents in Canarsie have organized a boycott of District 18 schools. They claim that their actions are not motivated by racism. However, they argue that the admission of more Black students would "tip the racial balance" of JHS 211. They also contend that the all-white District 18 school board has the right to restrict Black enrollment to maintain this "balance." Any attempt to overrule the board's decisions, they say, violates "community control" of Canarsie schools by Canarsie residents.

But is community control of the schools really an issue in the Canarsie school fight? And where does the Socialist Workers Party stand on the subject of community control?

"Community control" is not at the heart of the

controversy in Canarsie but rather the right of the Tilden students to an equal educational opportunity. Compared with the schools in District 23, District 18 schools enjoy a privileged position—modern buildings, smaller class size, etc. This corresponds to the comparatively privileged position of the predominantly white Canarsie community.

Fear that increased Black enrollment will undermine this privileged position motivated the District 18 board's decision to refuse the Tilden students entry into JHS 285 this year. The boycott by whites of schools in District 18 is spurred by the same fear.

The Socialist Workers Party opposes the sort of "community control" argued for by the Canarsie residents. "Community control" in such a context is synonymous with maintaining the privileged position of whites at the expense of Black and Puerto Rican students. To support such "community control" would be to sanction racial discrimination and to oppose the right of oppressed nationalities to full equality.

While we oppose the maintenance of privileged sanctuaries by white communities, we support the right of the Tilden parents to decide which schools in which district their children will go to. It is the right of the *oppressed community* to decide whether busing will or will not be used in order

John Hawkins



to achieve an equal education for their children, and it is also the right of the *oppressed community* to exercise control and supervision over such programs.

Through their struggle the Tilden parents have won not only the right to decide whether their children will be bused but also a measure of control over the busing program (that is, the decision in their favor that the children will go to JHS 211 rather than to JHS 68).

The claims of the Canarsie residents—that their opposition to the busing of the Tilden students to JHS 211 is not motivated by racism—are totally transparent. Their arguments that the school is already "integrated," that more Black students will "tip the racial balance," the slurs hurled at the students as they enter the school each day, all underscore the racist nature of their opposition.

Rather than oppose the right of the Tilden students to a decent education the residents of Canarsie should demand that the government provide more funds and facilities for the schools. It was such a struggle for Black community control of the schools on the part of Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents in 1968 that led to the concession of decentralization of the New York City schools. The Socialist Workers Party supported that struggle while many who now cry "community control" in defense of their privileged status opposed it.

The American Way of Life

Who elected you, your honor?

David James



When most of us were in the eighth or ninth grade we had a course called "Civics" or "Problems of Democracy" or whatever fancy-sounding name was fastened to it. This was where they tried to teach us about the three branches of government—executive, legislative, and judiciary—and how a complicated system of checks and balances is supposed to keep the wheels of democracy running smoothly. We were taught that one of the checks on legislators and chief executives is that if we don't like what they are doing we can replace them with somebody else when the next election rolls around.

But there isn't much democracy in a setup where a couple of parties have a stranglehold on the news media, and the election laws are weighted on their side. And then when the winners start junking their campaign promises after the first week in office, we are told to wait two to six years to try to replace them.

But the judiciary is even further removed from our control. A good share of the nation's judges are appointed—and to lifetime terms. Supposedly, the fact that they are appointed by elected politicians means they will be kept in check. However, when the Solomons in black robes look down on us from their high benches, they aren't very worried about the voters who elected the friends of big business who appointed them. Most judges can't be recalled, so why should they worry.

But not all judges are appointed. There are some state and municipal judges who have to stoop to the indignity of election campaigns. This is true in New York State, where there are 58 candidates running for various judgeships this year. But most of these races aren't like other elections where there's a Tweedledee and a Tweedledum to choose from. There's only a Tweedledee.

Tweedledee is the only contender because the Democrats and Republicans make deals with one another to avoid contests. In New York, such deals have been made for six of the 13 State Supreme Court vacancies to be filled on Nov. 7. Of the 15 Civil Court races, such deals have been made in six. And the one vacancy on the Surrogate's Court is uncontested.

District Attorney Frank Hogan of Manhattan thinks this situation is a good reason for appointing judges. "When occasionally you get a lemon," he says, "you'll know who to blame." (Remember Hogan? He's the one who thinks juries shouldn't be so "political.")

But with the present setup it doesn't make much difference whether judges are appointed or elected. Either way we get mostly lemons. And either way we know who to blame—the ruling rich who select the judges to pass judgment on the working poor.

Detroit clinics raided by police as Mich. abortion referendum fight grows sharper

DETROIT, Oct. 30 — On Oct. 27, Dr. Edgar B. Keemer and three of his assistants were arrested following a raid on his office in the David Whitney building. Seventeen women in the waiting room said they were not there for abortions. Dr. Keemer and his assistants were charged with performing abortions and conspiracy to perform abortions. Bond was set at \$20,000 each.

Dr. Keemer, a Black doctor who has been a proponent of abortion law repeal for many years, is a prominent supporter of Proposal B, a referendum on the Michigan ballot Nov. 7. Proposal B would liberalize the state abortion law to allow abortion on demand during the first 20 weeks of pregnancy.

This is the second set of arrests for conspiracy to commit abortion in the week that followed the Michigan Supreme Court's overturning the Oct. 5 decision of Circuit Court Judge Charles Kaufman. Kaufman, ruling on the Michigan women's class-action abortion suit, had declared the Michigan law unconstitutional because it violated a woman's privacy and "control over her own body." It also enjoined Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalan and Attorney General Frank Kelley from prosecuting anyone under that law.

The State Supreme Court lifted the injunction on Oct. 19 and announced it will review the constitutionality of

Michigan's 122-year-old law.

The day after the State Supreme Court lifted the ban on prosecutions, the police raided the Women's Health Services. This is a clinic in the Detroit area that had allegedly performed abortions before the State Supreme Court decision and also refers women to New York for abortions. Women awaiting referral services were interrogated. Two women—one of whom owns the building—were arrested the next morning, Oct. 22, and charged with conspiracy to commit an abortion.

These arrests, coming less than three weeks before the elections, can only be viewed as a maneuver by the anti-abortion forces to cast an aura of criminality around the abortion issue, hoping thereby to persuade Michigan voters to vote against Proposal B.

Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalan, who was responsible for these arrests, is widely known as a fervent opponent of abortions.

The Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition (DWAAC), in a statement expressing full support for Dr. Keemer and the other victims of these attacks, urged Michigan voters to "repudiate this scare tactic and to reaffirm their support for a woman's right to choose."

According to the Oct. 30 *Detroit News*, the preliminary examination on Dr. Keemer's case has been postponed until Nov. 3 because the plaintiff, a

23-year-old woman who claims she received an abortion from Dr. Keemer, could not be found to appear in court. But Inspector John Domm of the police department's homicide bureau said the witness was not missing, "she's just reluctant."

The campaign on both sides of the abortion referendum is gaining momentum as the election approaches. On the anti-abortion side the battle is being waged primarily by the Catholic Church hierarchy and Voice of the Unborn, a "non-sectarian coalition."

The Catholic Church hierarchy is pouring thousands of dollars into slick brochures featuring distorted color photos of abortions and similar slides and filmstrips. These materials, along with speakers whose main argument is that "abortion is murder," are going to parishes, high schools, colleges, and shopping centers, as well as making door-to-door visits.

A group called Lawyers for Life, which is affiliated with Voice of the Unborn, has done extensive advertising on billboards and buses. One billboard has a picture of Jesus Christ and the message "Stop Abortion. Thou Shalt Not Kill. Do Not Take the Life that I Have Given. Vote No on Proposal B."

At least three parochial high schools have admitted that they will excuse students on election day to distribute anti-abortion literature. According to Sister

Ellen Van Antwerp, principal of Sacred Heart High School in Dearborn, Mich., "The purpose of high school is to carry out the directives of the sacred Vatican Council—to give witness to our faith."

On the "vote yes" side, significant support continues to grow. Last week a Black group was formed in support of Proposal B. The group includes several prominent professional people and other important representatives of the Black community, such as Janet Wingo of the Detroit National Welfare Rights Organization and Dr. Ethelene Crockett.

Abigail Van Buren, author of the nationally syndicated "Dear Abby" column, spoke in the Detroit area Oct. 26 and urged a "yes" vote on the referendum. "No woman should have a child she doesn't want," Van Buren said.

Members of DWAAC and Wayne State University Women's Liberation have been distributing "vote yes" literature on the Wayne campus and in downtown Detroit. The two groups are sponsoring a debate on Proposal B to be held on Wednesday, Nov. 1. Speaking for Proposal B will be Dr. Barbara Roberts, national coordinator of WONAAC, and Gretchen Tucker of Problem Pregnancy. Pat Nixon of Voice of the Unborn and Dr. Ann Pollack, pathologist and member of Illinois Right to Life, will speak against the proposal.

Hundreds attend abortion rights hearings

By JULIE ROBERTS

BERKELEY, Calif., Oct. 29—More than 200 women chanting, "Not the Church, Not the State; Women Will Decide Our Fate!" took the abortion rights issue into the streets of Berkeley yesterday. On the steps of City Hall they declared the State of California guilty of 14 charges of callous denial of a woman's right to control her own body.

The march and rally culminated a two-day Northern California Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization sponsored by the Women's Abortion Coalition (WAC) and attended by more than 500 persons.

Speaking in front of City Hall, Maurice Ardite, representing the French student movement, told California women, "the French women's movement has decided that abortion rights must be the main struggle." Ardite announced her support for the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization scheduled for New York City on March 9, 10, and 11.

The Northern California Tribunal was endorsed by a wide range of women's liberation groups, abortion rights associations, campus and community groups, and trade unionists. Eight chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) were endorsers.

Sitting on the presiding committee were, among others: Diane Watson of San Francisco NOW; Yvonne Westbrook, youth leader in the Democratic Party; and Del Martin, coauthor of *Lesbian Woman*. An empty chair under the state flag symbolized the glaring absence of 60 Northern California state legislators who were invited to attend the hearings.

The two-day conference began

Friday night, Oct. 27, with a spirited production of Myrna Lamb's play "But What Have You Done For Me Lately?" This was followed by a presentation by Dr. Barbara Roberts, national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

Dr. Roberts received the most enthusiastic applause from the audience when she said, "It is not enough that a few states have granted token reform. It is not enough that the California law is interpreted liberally. Any abortion law is an affront to our dignity and is the tool which can maintain control over our bodies."

Saturday's testimony reflected the three predominant themes of the Tribunal: male-dominated legislatures, church hierarchies, and the medical profession, wielding incredible power over the lives of women; the intolerable psychological and physical suffering inflicted upon women by this fact; and the necessity of unified massive action in the streets, in the courts, and in women's own education to take control over their own bodies and reproductive lives.

Women testified to the prohibitive cost of abortion in California, the problems of minors obtaining abortions, and the humiliation of being forced to declare oneself insane before receiving a legal abortion in the state.

A woman named Lucy described the painful and degrading experience she was forced to go through to get a legal abortion after the failure of an IUD. She described the "sadistic probings by psychiatrists who have replaced the Mexican police as the chief recipients of the dollars of destiny of destitute women."

Carol Downer of the Feminist Women's Health Center in Los Angeles, who has been charged with



Militant/Jude Coren

Oct. 21 abortion hearings at Hofstra University on Long Island drew 150 people

practicing medicine without a license (see story, page 11), charged that "the medical profession denies women knowledge that is needed to control their own bodies."

Evidence gathered by Dr. William Bowd on forced sterilization was presented. He warned women, particularly Black women, on population control groups, where a woman's right to choose is overridden by the interests of a racist policy.

After a full day of sobering testimony as to the agony, terror, and pain women are forced to endure, Carole Seidman of WONAAC, and chairwoman of the afternoon session, asked the participants, "After hearing the evidence, are people convinced that we are justified to bring charges against the State of California?" A cry of "Yes!" came from everyone there. "How do you find the state?" "Guilty!"

By RUTH GETTS

BOSTON, Oct. 29—Yesterday 300 women gathered in Law Auditorium in Boston University to hear more than four hours of testimony on crimes

against women. The program was entitled "Speak Outrage." It was built by Speak Outrage Project, a committee of individuals from several groups, including Female Liberation, the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Boston Women's Center.

Topics covered in the testimony ranged from abortion to forced sterilization to poor prenatal care. Presentations were given by women of diverse age, economic, and religious groups.

Women attending the speak-out gave Florence Luscomb, a longtime suffragist still active in the women's movement, a standing ovation as she delivered greetings to the meeting.

A dramatic moment in the program was the testimony of an 18-year-old woman, Gwendolyn Jones, who became pregnant as the result of rape when she was 13. Her testimony typified the experience of every high school woman who finds herself pregnant and alone. "This shouldn't happen," she said, as she explained the

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Oct. 26 picket lines demand unconditional U.S. withdrawal

By DAN ROSENSHINE

Oct. 30—On Oct. 26 antiwar groups in more than 25 cities held picket lines, most of them at federal buildings, in the first of two fall antiwar actions sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). The Oct. 26 picket lines and Nov. 18 demonstrations were called at this summer's national antiwar convention,



Militant/Peggy Brundy

Oct. 26 picket line at the White House

hosted by NPAC in Los Angeles.

The Oct. 26 picket lines were projected as a buildup action to the Nov. 18 demonstrations. The fact that they occurred on the same day Henry Kissinger announced he had negotiated a "peace agreement" with representatives of North Vietnam made the Oct. 26 actions especially important as an

indication of the antiwar movement's response to the current maneuvers of the Nixon administration.

More than a dozen student and faculty organizations at the University of Colorado at Boulder held a three-day tribunal on U.S. war crimes in Indochina, which was attended by over 1,000 people. The sessions adjourned on the night of Oct. 26, and 400 people participated in a demonstration.

Two hundred fifty turned out for the action in Boston; 100 for a White House picket line organized by Washington PAC; and 100 each for actions in Los Angeles and New York City. Residents of Staten Island held a separate New York demonstration.

Other cities where Oct. 26 actions were held included Pittsburgh; Atlanta; Minneapolis; Chicago; San Francisco; St. Louis; Cincinnati; Nashville; Knoxville; Portland; Cleveland; Houston; Austin; Tucson; Detroit; Philadelphia; Tallahassee, Fla.; Bloomington, Ind.; Willimantic, Conn.; Waterloo, Iowa; and Carrollton, Ga.

Although the size of these actions was modest, a number of them received widespread coverage by the media, which reported them as the antiwar movement's answer to Kissinger's announcement. In some cities television camera crews came to the demonstrations to record reactions to the news of the day. In Minneapolis, for example, the demonstration was shown on all major television stations and received stories in three major Twin Cities daily papers.

On Oct. 23, antiwar Vietnam veterans demonstrated against the war in six cities by marching in or near Veterans Day parades with antiwar slogans.

As part of its preparations for the Nov. 18 antiwar actions, NPAC has released an analysis of the current predictions of a settlement of the war. The NPAC statement stresses that the American government has no right to force concessions from the Vietnamese liberation forces in return for a bombing halt or troop withdrawal.

The NPAC statement warns that the Nixon administration has no intention of ending its interference in the

internal affairs of Vietnam, even if a cease-fire were to be signed. It points out that the Pentagon has drastically increased shipments of military supplies to the Thieu regime and that Nixon administration spokesmen have stated that even in the event of a settlement, the U.S. would maintain "a presence" in Thailand and keep its aircraft carriers in the coastal waters of Vietnam. Meanwhile, the NPAC statement says, the U.S. bombing of Indochina continues at a deadly rate.

The statement is designed for local antiwar groups, which can reproduce all or part of it to further their work of building continued antiwar actions. The key target date for broad and united antiwar actions is Nov. 18. All serious opponents of the war now have a greater obligation than ever to visibly repudiate the U.S. war in Indochina and to demand recognition of the right of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to determine their own future without U.S. military interference or U.S.-imposed governments.

Literature

Mass-distribution materials for the Nov. 18 antiwar actions are available from the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee.

Of particular interest is a special 16-page educational issue of *The Student Mobilizer*. The issue features interviews with Daniel Ellsberg and Ngo Vinh Long, a Vietnamese scholar in the Asian Studies Department at Harvard University; and an article on the bombing of North Vietnam's dikes by Yves Lacoste, the French geographer. Bundles of *The Student Mobilizer* can be ordered from the SMC national office.

The address of both NPAC and the SMC is 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 437, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 741-2018 (NPAC) and (212) 741-1960 (SMC).

Argentine activist tours U.S.; describes repression

By JEANNE LAWRENCE and RACHEL TOWNE

OCT. 30—On Oct. 22 Elena Rodriguez of Argentina arrived in the U.S. to launch a three-month speaking tour throughout this country and Canada regarding the present repression in Argentina. During her first four days Rodriguez spoke to audiences in New York of 75 to 100 persons each.

Rodriguez was brought to the U.S. by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). In Argentina she is an active member of the Coordinating Committee Against Repression in Rosario, which works with the parents of political prisoners. Their organized protests have succeeded in eliminating the use of a floating prison, *Granaderos*, an old ship used specifically for the confinement and mistreatment of political prisoners.

In her talks Rodriguez said, "Torture is a standard procedure of our police. Any person suspected of being a radical may be tortured." She read testimonies of prisoners who have been released that describe the inhuman conditions of the prisons and document the different kinds of tortures used, most of which involve electric shock.

In response to questions about what people in the U.S. can do to help, Rodriguez replied, "I think they [prisoners] would be very happy if they knew that these meetings were taking place. The international news embarrasses the Argentine government, and they do not like it."

Response to the tour thus far has been enthusiastic. In New York more than \$1,600 was raised. Eleven New York campuses scheduled meetings. Some received alternate speakers for Rodriguez when she arrived late because of visa problems with the Argentine government.

A Spanish-speaking community meeting was sponsored by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, El Comité, and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party (formerly the Young Lords). The meeting was attended by more than 100 Latin activists from many organizations.

At Livingston College in New Jersey, Rodriguez was sponsored by the Latin American Institute, the Puerto Rican Students Association, and the student government, which collected more than \$400 in honorariums. A new USLA

Continued on page 22



Elena Rodriguez

Kingsman/Elroy Cruz

One million march in Japan

Int'l protests hit U.S. bombing

A wide range of Japanese antiwar groups, unions, and student and political organizations participated in an Oct. 21 day of demonstrations against the U.S. war in Indochina. According to the Oct. 22 *New York Times*, Japanese police estimated a nationwide turnout of more than one million people.

Immediately following the Oct. 21 actions, two representatives of GEN-SUIKEN (the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs) visited New York and brought a message of solidarity to the New York Oct. 26 picket line organized by the National Peace Action Coalition. They stressed that the international antiwar movement must continue its work until the Vietnamese people achieve complete self-determination.

On Oct. 4 the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* carried a report about two antiwar actions held in Stockholm on Oct. 3. The Swedish Social Democratic Party, as part of a week-long conference, held a meeting in support of Vietnam and other oppressed peoples. Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign

minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and the African guerrilla leader Amilcar Cabral addressed the gathering.

Participants in the meeting held a torchlight parade to protest the Indochina war and were joined by supporters of the United NLF-Groups, an organization that has built mass antiwar demonstrations in Sweden since 1965. The evening demonstration numbered approximately 5,000.

The Oct. 30 issue of *Intercontinental Press* carries a report of an Oct. 5 antiwar action in Scotland, where the Glasgow Indochina Committee picketed a U.S. navy cruiser that had docked in the Glasgow port. The demonstrators received a friendly response from many of the U.S. sailors, some of whom raised clenched fists and shouted "Right on!" to the demonstrators.

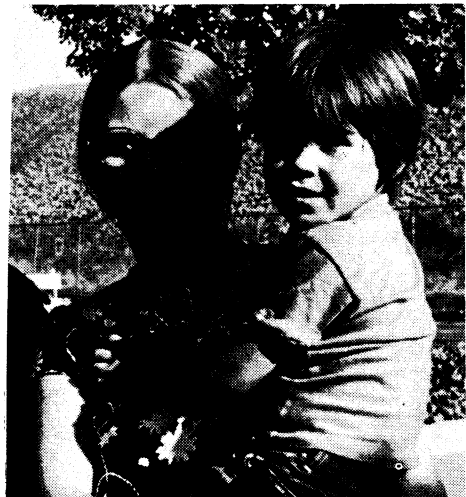
On Oct. 10 the new premier of Denmark, Anker Joergensen, addressed the opening session of the International Commission of Inquiry into United States War Crimes in Indochina, which is being held in Chris-

tiansborg, Denmark. The present commission is a continuation of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal first convened in Denmark in 1967.

The opening session was also addressed by Gunnar Myrdal, commission president and author of works on the problems of growth and development in the third world, and by former Danish minister Frode Jacobsen. A message encouraging the work of the commission was received from North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong.

The recently formed Canadian Student Mobilization Committee to end the war in Southeast Asia (SMC) has called its first national conference at the University of Toronto for Nov. 3, 4, and 5. The purpose of the conference is to unite the already-existing Canadian campus and high school antiwar committees into a national coalition. Among those scheduled to address the conference are author Gabriel Kolko; Fred Lovgren, coordinator of the U.S. Student Mobilization Committee; and Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party.

L.A. cops raid women's clinic



Carol Downer

LOS ANGELES — The Feminist Women's Health Center and the Women's Center were raided by the L.A. police department on Sept. 20. The police had a search warrant, and they seized health records and medical equipment.

The police issued warrants for two staff members at the Feminist Women's Health Center, Colleen Wilson and Carol Downer. The warrants accused the two of committing such acts as sharing with other women the knowledge of how to deal with common vaginal infections. Wilson was charged with 11 counts of practicing medicine without a license. Downer was charged with one count under the same law.

Downer pleaded not guilty; her case comes to trial Nov. 16. Wilson pleaded guilty and received a \$250 fine and two years' probation.

The night before her arraignment, Downer was interviewed by *Militant* correspondent Jane Melton. The following are major excerpts from the interview.

Militant: Would you explain briefly the services the Feminist Women's Health Center offers?

Downer: At the moment the Health Center is offering abortion referral, pregnancy screening, and the Self-Help Clinic, which is a health education course. . . .

As far as our goals, the basic goals of the Health Center are to secure better health care for women, to involve more women in health-care delivery, [as] women doctors, women nurses . . . as technicians, and [we want] the women's community involved in directly controlling health care. We are particularly interested in paramedics but also in just getting good health-care information out into the community.

Militant: What course will your defense take?

Downer: We are going to try to talk about, first of all, the actual law and how vague it is and how it can be exercised in such a capricious manner. For example, if what I did was practicing medicine without a license, then certainly many TV announcers or mothers or teachers could be arrested on the same basis.

The law is not really clear. For example, after Colleen pleaded guilty and was given two years' summary

probation, she was told that the condition of her probation was that she not do anything that would require a license. [Colleen] said, "Well, what would that be?" The judge said, "Well, we're not sure."

It's a very bad law when a person cannot tell in advance whether or not they are going to be conforming with the law or not.

Also, we're very concerned with how the delivery of medicine in this country has been so adversely affected by medical mysticism and "professionalism." I think it's just bad when one group of people in the society get together all the knowledge concerning health and then sell it to the people. We're trying to change that situation. . . .

We really feel like the trial will give us a chance to put on an educational campaign. That's really our main objective.

To send contributions to the Downer defense or for more information, write to: Legal Defense Fund, c/o Feminist Women's Health Center, 746 S. Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90005.

Campaign mounts for YSA campus rights

By SARAH RYAN

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Oct. 27 — The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) has stepped up its campaign to win the right of the Young Socialist Alliance to be a recognized student organization on Florida campuses. The committee's renewed effort follows an important referendum victory Oct. 18 at Florida State University in which students voted 1,086 to 856 in favor of recognition for the YSA. (See *The Militant*, Oct. 27.)

The Board of Regents banned the Young Socialist Alliance from Florida campuses in 1970, and the YSA has been waging a public and legal defense campaign ever since.

Defense committee tables have appeared regularly on the FSU campus all semester, and a mailing on the case has been sent to the entire FSU faculty.

David Bouffard, secretary of FAPEC, announced after the referendum victory that a news conference will be held Nov. 1 at the state capitol to announce further defense activities. These will include a picket line Nov. 2 at the Board of Regents office.

Members of the proscribed FSU YSA have continued to be active since the referendum victory. On Nov. 3, the Socialist Ideas Forum will be sponsoring a meeting on "What Is the YSA?" A discussion of the program and politics of the YSA and its na-

tional convention, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 23-26, will be the focus of the meeting.

The defense committee has printed new material, including a brochure describing the facts of the case. This is being distributed nationally and can be ordered from FAPEC.

Letters of protest from individuals, student governments, and campus organizations can be sent to Burke Kibler, Chairman, Board of Regents, 210 Collins Building, 107 North Gaines St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304 (send copies to FAPEC). Statements of support, contributions, and requests for more information can be sent to FAPEC, P.O. Box 6693, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

Young Socialist Convention Countdown

John Hawkins, a member of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, will begin a three-week blitz of the Midwest Nov. 8 to publicize the upcoming Young Socialist national convention.

"A lot of student groups and campus newspapers have requested that we organize a tour like this so that we can spread the word about the convention," said Hawkins. "Right now, young socialists who are building the convention in the Midwest have more speaking engagements and press interviews than they can handle."

"Meetings have been set up for me with Black student groups, high school activists, supporters of the Jenness Pulley campaign, Youth for McGovern, and antiwar activists, among others."

Hawkins, who is also running for Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in New York's 12th C.D. (Brooklyn), will speak to college and high school audiences in Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit. Hawkins attended Antioch College in Ohio in the late sixties. Since then he has been active in the Black liberation movement and ran for mayor of Cleveland in 1971.

To set up a meeting or a news interview with Hawkins, contact the Young Socialist Convention Center, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Telephone: (216) 391-3278.

• Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are having quite an impact on McGovern supporters across the country. YSJPers in Houston, Texas, sold 124 copies of the YSA's new monthly newspaper *Young Socialist* to youth

attending a recent McGovern rally.

• Sixty students at Queens College in New York heard Delfine Welch, a YSA national executive committee member, explain why young people should support the Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign at an Oct. 24 debate on the elections. Welch debated James Chapin, McGovern campaign manager in the 35th Assembly District; and Eugene Flynn, executive secretary of the Queens College Young Americans for Freedom and a Nixon supporter.

Several students remained after the debate to find out more about the YSA and to sign up for the Young Socialist national convention. One young

woman told Welch, "An hour ago I walked into this room a McGovern supporter, but you certainly changed my mind about who to vote for!"

Reporters for the Brooklyn College *Kingsman*, the Queens College *Phoenix*, and *The Hunter Envoy* at Hunter College all requested to cover the Young Socialist Convention for their campus newspapers after interviewing Welch last week.

• Last week brought the number of new YSA chapters chartered this fall to 10. Groups of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley joined the YSA in Amherst and Worcester, Mass.; Champaign/Urbana, Ill.; and Nashville, Tenn.

• Radical activists from high schools and colleges around the country will meet in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 23-26, at the Young Socialist national convention.

The four-day convention will include reports, panels, workshops, films, and meetings on the current political situation facing the student, antiwar, women's liberation, Black, and Chicano movements. In addition, panel discussions are scheduled on "Defending Political Prisoners Around the World," "Imperialism's Anti-Arab Witch-hunt," and "Defending African Liberation Struggles."

A special feature of the convention will be a big socialist rally on Friday, Nov. 24, at 8:30 p.m. Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the 1972 Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, will address the rally, along with other well-known socialist leaders.



Massachusetts SWP senatorial candidate Don Gurewitz and members of Boston YSJP team discuss campaign issues with students at Dartmouth College in Hanover, N.H.

Convention sessions, open to all young activists, will be held at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel in downtown Cleveland. Registration is \$5 for the entire convention or \$1.50 per day; \$3 (or \$1 per day) for high school students.

For more information on housing and transportation, contact the Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7570; or Young Socialist Convention Center, 4420 Superior Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Telephone: (216) 391-3278.

— LAURA MILLER

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 _____

Lessons of Atlanta Mead strike

By LYNN HENDERSON

ATLANTA—Five hundred employees of the huge Mead Packaging plant here, most of them Black, have returned to work after a bitter, militant strike of nearly two months.

Under mounting pressure to return to work from Hosea Williams, director of the Metro Atlanta-Dekalb Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Atlanta Community Relations Commission (CRC), which had acted as mediator in the strike, striking workers reluctantly voted 124 to 36 to accept a company proposal for a settlement they had previously

charged the unions with having a long history of failing to represent the workers or their grievances. The most common terms used by striking workers in describing these unions are "racist," "sweetheart."

In the Mead strike, the union, Local 527 of the Atlanta Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, AFL-CIO, worked hand in glove with the employer to smash the strike. The union engaged in red-baiting, attributed the strike to "outside troublemakers," and boasted that "union officials made every effort to prevent the illegal strike from occurring."

principal supporters and financial contributors is former mayor Ivan Allen, a wealthy Atlanta businessman who sits on the board of the Mead Corporation.

Young, who claims to speak in the interest of the Black community, asked for its votes while selling out the Mead strikers. In contrast, Keith Jones, the Socialist Workers Party candidate opposing Young, made no claims of "neutrality" but declared his unconditional support to the Mead strikers as a real struggle of the Black community.

Unlike Young, Jones also partici-

a demonstration was called for Sept. 18.

The demonstration was a tremendous success. The police were able to make only a few arrests, the plant was closed down, scabs were prevented from entering the plant, and a number of trucks were prevented from servicing it. The morale of the strikers soared, and another demonstration was called for Sept. 21, when the plant was to reopen.

The demonstration Sept. 21 was even larger than the one Sept. 18, but Williams and the Reverend W.J. Stafford, pastor of the Free For All Baptist Church, the largest and richest church in the Black community, took tight control of the demonstration and projected new tactics.

Williams and Stafford organized mass, peaceful arrests at the Mead gate. No attempt was made to keep scabs from entering the plant. Worst of all, more than 50 strikers were arrested, including almost all the key activists and strike leaders. High bonds of \$1,000 apiece were set for all those arrested, and the bonds were subject to forfeiture in the event of another arrest. Warrants were issued under court injunction calling for the rearrest of all those arrested if they participated in another demonstration at the Mead plant. The result of the tactic of peaceful mass arrests was a crippling of further mass demonstrations.

A few weeks later, some revealing information came to light about the nature of the mass arrests at the Sept. 21 demonstration. Reverend Stafford, who with Williams played a key role in the demonstration that day and in the organization of the mass arrests, appeared before the liquor commission to testify on his request for a liquor license for a swank nightclub (The Top of the Peachtree), which he had recently purchased.

When his arrest at the Mead demonstration was raised, Stafford replied that he had been there at the request of the Atlanta police department and had acted with their cooperation and full knowledge. The police department confirmed his story and asked that he not be penalized for his resulting arrest.

Williams's role hit a new low in the last weeks of the strike when he began to red-bait the elected leadership of the strike in a series of newspaper interviews. A number of the elected leaders of the Rank and File Caucus were members of the October League. This included the acknowledged leader of the strike, Sherman Miller, a 21-year-old Black worker who was elected chairman of the caucus.

The October League, a small radical group consisting of remnants from Students for a Democratic Society, is based in California and Georgia. It describes itself as Marxist-Leninist, and is Maoist in political orientation. The few members of the October League at the Mead plant made no secret of their politics to their fellow workers and were elected as part of the strike leadership.

When the *Atlanta Constitution* showed signs of beginning to red-bait the strike, Hosea Williams's response was to engage in some red-baiting himself. In an interview in the *Constitution*, he claimed the October League had "almost ruined it (the strike) by trying to take over the show itself themselves. They never do any work," Williams is quoted as saying, "all they do is sit around and philosophize."

Williams then raised the familiar red-baiting theme of secret funds, claiming that "not too long ago someone offered us around \$1,000 in contributions from an anonymous source, but I told them I had to know where any money comes from that I was

Continued on page 22



Militant demonstrations by Atlanta Black community showed broad support for Mead strike

Militant/Evelyn Clark

rejected a number of times.

Despite claims to the contrary by Hosea Williams and the CRC, the settlement represented a significant defeat for the Mead workers. Not one of the concrete demands of the strikers around the questions of racist hiring and promotion practices, compulsory overtime, safety and health conditions, racist practices by supervisory personnel on the job, and inadequate pension and retirement plans, was even partially met by the settlement.

Most important, the agreement stipulates that the continued employment of almost 40 of the striking workers is subject to binding arbitration. It was this provision that striking workers had previously objected to and resisted most strongly. The arbitrators are to be selected by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service from a list furnished by the CRC. There are fears that this provision will be used to fire and victimize the leaders and most active members of the Mead Rank and File Caucus, which organized and led the strike.

The Mead strike has been one in a series of strikes by Black workers in Atlanta in the last six months. These included large, successful strikes at Atlanta's Holy Family Hospital, Sears and Roebuck, and Nabisco. While Mead and the other strikes have been called and organized by their own leadership, they all have had important characteristics in common and have been viewed by the Black community as part of a common struggle.

Unions oppose strikes

In every case where unions already existed, as at Holy Family Hospital, Mead, and Nabisco, the strikes have taken place outside of and in opposition to the union. Newly created rank-and-file committees have organized and led the strikes.

Without exception, the strikers have

While the outcome of the strike was a defeat for the Mead workers and the Black community, it was not a decisive or crippling defeat. What becomes most important is an understanding of the causes of the defeat and a drawing of the correct lessons in order to continue the struggle. Atlanta's workers are far from demoralized, and that the struggle continues was evidenced by the recent outbreak of yet another strike of Black employees—this one at the Greyhound Corporation here.

One important lesson to be drawn from the Mead strike is the role of such organizations as Atlanta's CRC and all "neutral" arbitrators and mediators in strikes or any other sharp struggle between workers and the employers.

The role of such arbitrators is based on the philosophy that there are three interested parties in strikes: the workers, the bosses, and the public. The mediator claims to speak in the neutral interest of the public. The reality is that the overwhelming majority of this third interest, the public, are workers. The reality also is that mediators and arbitration commissions that speak in the name of the public are always "neutral" in favor of the boss, the company, the power structure.

The fact that Atlanta's CRC claims to speak for the Black public, the Black community, and that many of its principal spokesmen and leaders are Black, does not change its basic nature. On the contrary, this just made it easier for the CRC to work against the Mead strikers and help force a settlement on them that was against the interests of Atlanta's Black workers and in the interests of Atlanta's major corporations.

It is important to note that the principal person working in the CRC to end the strike was Andrew Young—a Black liberal Democratic politician running for Congress. One of Young's

parted in the large support demonstrations by the Black community against the Mead Corporation. Along with Meg Rose, the SWP candidate for sheriff of Fulton County, Jones was one of those who went to jail as a result of the mass arrests during the demonstrations outside the Mead plant Sept. 21.

Mead showed its appreciation for the role Young and the CRC played in the strike in an official statement released shortly after the agreement was signed. Mead's vice-president and general manager, Leo Benatar, praised the CRC for its "great job in acting as a vehicle for bringing dissenting employees together with their duly elected union representatives and with management."

Another important lesson in the Mead strike was the role played by Hosea Williams as the director of the Metro Atlanta-Dekalb SCLC.

As the recent strikes in Atlanta developed, striking workers turned to SCLC for help in mobilizing the Black community, and Williams supported the strike.

Williams used his access to newspapers and television to falsely project himself as the initiator and real leader of the strike. However, as it became clear that the Mead strike was not going to be won quickly, and that Mead and the city power structure were determined to stand fast in hopes of smashing the strike, Williams's support began to wane.

Mass demonstrations vs. mass arrests

This made itself felt in a number of ways. Williams consistently resisted mobilizing the Black community in mass demonstrations in support of the strike. But under pressure from the leadership and membership of the Mead Rank and File Caucus, such

World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 10, 1972

France

Martinique socialist is tried in Paris for writing the truth

The trial of Christian Courbain, a young activist from Martinique and a member of the group Révolution Socialiste, began in Paris on October 11. It was subsequently carried over until November 15. Courbain is accused, according to a report in the October 12 *Le Monde*, of "defaming the army and personally insulting Mr. Pierre Messmer," the French premier.

The charges against Courbain, which have prompted a vigorous defense effort among French leftist groups, stem from an incident that occurred on May 13, 1971, in Fort-de-France, Martinique. During a visit to the island by Messmer, then minister in charge of overseas French departments and territories, the repressive forces gunned down two students, killing one of them, Gérard Nouvet. Courbain, who edited a student newspaper, told the truth about the incident, placing blame for the murder on the forces of repression and the French government. It is for this that he is being tried.

In a statement to the court, Aimé Césaire, the mayor of Fort-de-France and a deputy from Martinique, pointed out that the killing took place after demonstrations against Messmer had completely subsided. The two students who were shot were simply standing around talking when they were fired upon by gendarmes. "There can be no doubt about this," Césaire said. "A gendarme had fired a tear-gas grenade at almost point-blank range. . . . What is the name of this gendarme? Only the government could reveal this, following a serious investigation. But the government carefully refrained from doing so. The result was inevitable: Since it was impossible to place

blame on any one particular gendarme, it was all of them as an institution who appeared guilty in the eyes of the population—and beyond them, the government."

Césaire pointed out that "all the newspapers in Martinique wrote this," including the one he himself edits, the *Progressiste*. None, however, have been prosecuted. He asked why it was that he, for instance, had had the "special privilege of not being indicted."

Courbain's trial is being held in the capital of the "mother country" out of the authorities' fear of the popular outrage that would be aroused from holding it in Martinique. Left-wing groups in France, however, in solidarity with Courbain called for a demonstration on October 10, the eve of the trial's opening. The demonstration was banned in Paris. In spite of this, several groups—Révolution Socialiste, the Ligue Communiste, Révolution, the Organisation Révolutionnaire Anarchiste (Revolutionary Anarchist Organization), and Ligne Rouge (Red Line)—organized three clandestine demonstrations in various parts of the city. Together, according to a report in the October



Christian Courbain Rouge

14 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly organ of the Ligue Communiste, some 3,000 persons participated in these actions, each lasting for approximately a quarter of an hour.

In the days leading up to the demonstration, a number of meetings were staged to help build it, including one in Paris October 6 of 800 persons. Other protest demonstrations have taken place or are scheduled in cities throughout France, among them Rouen, Orléans, Lyon, Toulouse, Aix-en-Provence, Grenoble, and Montpellier.

In addition, Révolution Socialiste

has published a statement, according to the October 12 *Le Monde*, demanding that Courbain be acquitted and charging that his trial "for articles published in the newspaper of Martinique high-school students represents a new attack on freedom of the press in the overseas departments." The statement was signed by, among others, Simone de Beauvoir; Marguerite Duras; Christiane Rochefort; Aimé Césaire; Michel Rocard, deputy and national secretary of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party); Alain Krivine, member of the political bureau of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International; Professor Laurent Schwartz; and the publisher, Eric Losfeld. □

Basque organization is banned in France

The Pompidou regime has resurrected a 1939 law as justification for "invalidating" the Basque separatist organization ETA (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom) in France. The sudden decree, announced October 8, leaves Basque political opponents of Franco residing in France open to harassment and threat of deportation.

The decision to ban the organization follows intense efforts in recent months by the Franco regime to quell militant Basque nationalism. The drive has resulted in armed clashes in some towns and a systematic hunt for Basque guerrillas in the mountainous region.

Cooperation in this witch-hunt campaign has not been at all difficult for the French and Spanish regimes. Groundwork for the present collaboration was laid well in advance.

Since December 1970, when six ETA members were tried in Burgos, the French government has steadily move closer to a common front with Franco in handling the Basque problem.

The editors of *Le Monde* suggest that in invoking the 1939 law against the Basques, the Pompidou administration may have gone a bit too far.

"Above and beyond public unrest and quibbling over legal technicalities, the important point in these different procedures is that the French government seems once again to be acceding to the wishes of the leaders in Madrid. But according to authoritative French sources the Spanish government did not exercise any pressure to obtain a 'de facto' ban on the ETA and the measures to deport members, whether avowed or not, of the Spanish Basque nationalist organizations."

The editors of *Le Monde* continue:

"For two months the Spanish Basque country has been the scene of new assaults and a brutal repression, denounced last week by the bishop of Bilbao. The measures undertaken by the French government risk providing arguments for those who regret that the Basques must face thunderbolts from both Paris and Madrid at the same time."

A point overlooked by *Le Monde* is that the timing of Pompidou's repressive measure against the Basques follows the West German ban on Palestinian student and workers' organizations and the mass deportation of Arabs.

The French government's action is part of the witch-hunt campaign that the Western powers decided to launch in concert after the events at the Olympic Games in Munich. □

Riot Reported in Brezhnev's Hometown

Troops and police were called out to put down a rebellion that broke out in Soviet Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev's hometown of Dneprodzerzhinsk last summer, according to reports reaching the West.

An article in the September 16 *New York Post* said that an undetermined number of persons were killed and that many were arrested and remained in prison.

The riot reportedly began when three drunks were arrested by police and placed in a van in which some inflammable liquid had been stored. One of those arrested lit a cigarette, and the van burst into flames. Before police opened the compartment, one of the drunks had died.

A crowd gathered and accused the police of incompetence and misconduct. As the police argued back, the crowd grew larger and eventually violence broke out. Rioting spread to various sections of the city. Crowds of people attacked the local Communist party headquarters and the police station, heavily damaging both.

Reinforcements were called for, as were troops, and the disturbances were finally quelled.

France

Militant action brings acquittal in abortion trial

By Candida Barberena

"Like 1 million other women each year Marie-Claire had to go through the tragedy of an illegal abortion because she did not have 2,000 or even 3,000 francs [about \$600] for an easy abortion in a clinic in London, Geneva, or Paris itself, because she had no sex education, and at seventeen it is very difficult to get contraceptives from a doctor . . .

". . . it is easier to bring one girl to trial than 343 women who call the abortion laws into question."*

These statements were part of a leaflet distributed by several hundred demonstrators near the Opéra in Paris on October 11 to protest the trial of Marie-Claire "X" on charges of having violated France's reactionary laws on abortion.

The show of public solidarity did not meet with the approval of the authorities. The peaceful gathering was attacked by cops who arrived complete with riot gear and paddy wagons. The October 11 issue of *Le Monde* described the assault:

"Toward 6:45 p.m. several dozen mobile guards, sometimes in helmets, all armed with clubs, fell on everyone in the vicinity who looked like a protester whether in skirts or pants. Some of them moved into the Opéra drugstore to seize a young woman in tears whom they dragged out by the hair. Another young woman, struck on the head and the chest, escaped her pursuers just in time, thanks to an older woman who moved in between. A little farther away a young woman left her mother and desperately clung to her husband who had been knocked down by the police, then clubbed and arrested."

The editors expressed their disapproval of using such tactics on "peaceful and unarmed demonstrators." They pointed out that although the demonstration did not have a permit and could be legally dispersed, ". . . what is not acceptable, legal, or praiseworthy is the brutal use of force against scattered and not at all dangerous demonstrators."

Why should the case of Marie-Claire "X" suddenly make headlines in a country that convicts between 500 and 600 women for abortion each year without headlines and editorials in the capitalist press? Undoubtedly it was because of the efforts by the French abortion group Choisir (Choice). They took up the case of Marie-Claire "X" as part of their campaign to change the laws.

As the proceedings went on behind

closed doors in the juvenile court, supporters from Choisir and MLF (French Women's Liberation Movement) chanted: "No trial for Marie-Claire" "We have all aborted, judge us" "Free and legal abortion, contraception" "Switzerland and England for the poor."

As a result of this action, Marie-Claire "X" was acquitted.

Marie-Claire's lawyer, abortion rights leader Giséle Halimi, announced after the proceedings, "We put the banning of abortion on trial."

Last year a poll indicated that 55 percent of the public in France favor legal abortion if a woman does not want her future child. Another 87 percent considered it to be a decision between the man and the woman. Nevertheless, abortion legislation has not been relaxed and the strict control and limitation of the sale and distribution of contraceptives, especially

to minors, results in the fact that only 6 percent of French women use the pill.

Several deputies now plan to sponsor a liberalized abortion bill drafted by Choisir. The text appeared in the October 12 *Le Monde*.

"Article One: All the legislative or statutory texts punishing abortion, and notably article 317 of the penal code (six months to two years imprisonment for those who perform or are accomplices to an abortion), are repealed.

"Article Two: Every person can have an abortion up to the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy in a hospital establishment. In any case, the costs are to be wholly assumed by the government."

These proposals to liberalize the present laws conform far more realistically to French public opinion than does the position of the French Communist party, which supports little if any change in the present laws. The French Communists favor making "therapeutic" abortions available, without mentioning that this is already standard practice in many European countries.

The French Trotskyists take a different stand:

"It is not up to a judge, or a civil servant, or even a doctor to decide for a man and a woman if they want to have a child.

"No law 'legalizes' abortion if it does not give a woman control of her body and the decision to be a mother or not." (*Rouge*, October 14.)

The supporters of abortion rights plan another public protest in Bobigny November 8 when Marie-Claire's mother and two friends will be tried for complicity. □

From the world Marxist

Canada

Socialist candidate for an independent socialist Quebec

[The following article has been condensed from a report in the October 23 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*.]

Alain Beiner, nominated by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO—Québec wing of the cross-Canada League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière) to run for Parliament from Montréal-Lafontaine is the only candidate supporting a socialist program for an independent and French Québec.

His campaign has been reported in all of Montréal's French-language newspapers. A cable TV interview with the Trotskyist candidate was viewed by more than 100,000 people.

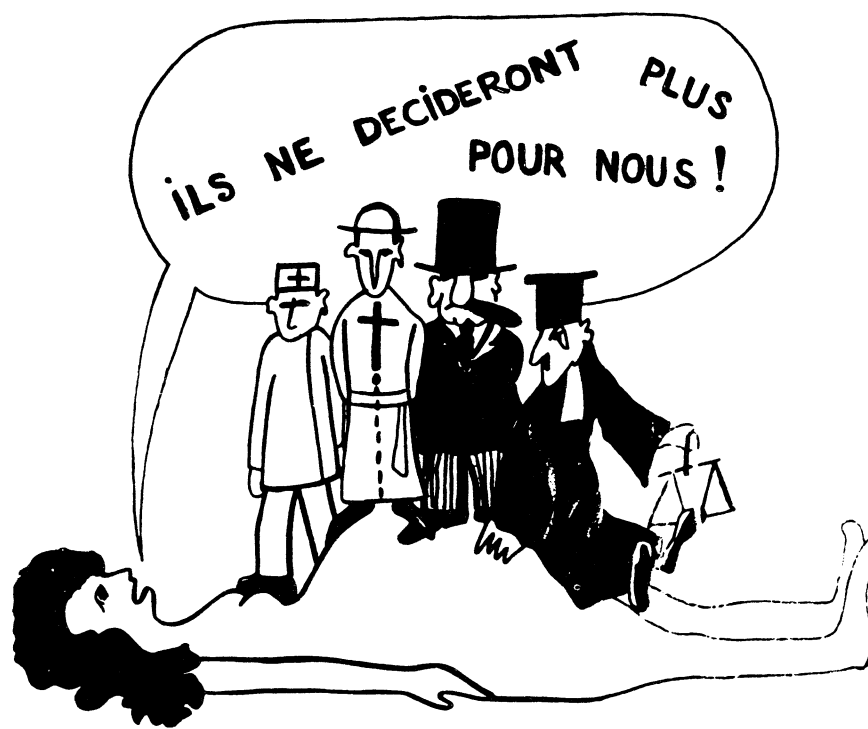
The Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LJS) is supporting Beiner and organizing campus meetings for LSO speakers. The LJS is campaigning against the closure of French schools (the most flagrant educational cutbacks in Québec), student unemployment, and the language oppression of Québécois students. French schools usually have inferior facilities and students are often forced to use English-language textbooks.

The federal elections confronted the Québec left and nationalist movement with crucial decisions. What attitude should they take toward the boycott proposed by the 60,000-member Montréal CSN (Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—Confederation of National Trade Unions), led by Michel Chartrand? Should they support the candidates of the New Democratic party?

"We disagree with the idea of abstention from the elections," Beiner explained.

"The PQ [Parti Québécois] position is very ambiguous. Of course, they do not preach abstention, but they are telling their members and supporters to vote for the 'best man.' It is their complete dedication to bourgeois parliamentarism that keeps them from calling for abstention. They don't want to undermine any illusions in the parliamentary system.

"But with the Montréal Council of the CSN, it's a different question. They are reacting to a visible and widespread rejection of federalism among militants in the union movement. But their position of abstaining from the election evades the real problem . . . the majority of Québécois do believe in the institutions of Parliament and still have illusions in elections even if they are questioning federalism. They still hope that some sort of so-



AVORTEMENT ET CONTRACEPTION LIBRES ET GRATUITS

MOUVEMENT POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE L'AVORTEMENT

B.P. FMA 370-13 PARIS

Rouge

*In April 1971, a petition signed by 343 women who admitted having had abortions was circulated in a campaign for access to contraceptive methods and freedom of abortion in France.

Cartoon is by the French Movement for Freedom of Abortion. 'They're not going to decide for us any longer!' Slogan reads, 'Free abortion on demand.'

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 dent,



Labor Challenge

Alain Beiner addresses demonstration for Quebec independence

lution to at least some of their problems will be found in the election.

"That is why we, the revolutionary socialists, do not reject elections as a means of struggle. Elections still dominate the political life of the masses. If we are to reach broad layers of the population with our ideas we cannot abstain.

"There is a choice for the working people in many ridings. We think that a vote for the NDP, in spite of its contemptible federalist program, is a vote for independent working-class political action. The NDP is backed by the 235,000-member Québec Federation of Labor and there is a strong support in the Québec NDP for independence.

"Our campaign in Montréal-Lafontaine is also a workers alternative to the boss and federalist parties."

The LSO has challenged the Montréal Council of the CSN to support Beiner. The council has not taken up this challenge.

"In Québec," Beiner said, "the NDP is not a mass labor party and it is not a crucial factor in the class struggle as it is in English Canada. The question of supporting the NDP as a working-class tendency within the Québec nation is different from English Canada because the masses of Québec workers are not going through the experience of the NDP.

"We have major disagreements with the NDP's program in Québec, an im-

portant one being the NDP's opposition to the Québécois independence struggle and its defense of the federal capitalist state. While the NDP poses the alternative of independent working-class political action on a cross-Canada plane, we feel it is absolutely essential to challenge the NDP with our own program for an independent and socialist Québec.

"We think that the working class is the only social force that can lead our nation forward, liberating us from national oppression. We do not think workers can do this merely through trade-union struggles. The working class has to become political, has to forge ahead and shape its own class party on a mass scale. . . .

"In the present situation in Québec, where the revolutionary movement is very small and the NDP is isolated from the main thrust of the class struggle, we call on the Québec trade-union federations . . . to launch a mass labor party based on union locals, labor councils, and shop committees. Such a party would bring into its fold socialist and independentist groups who support independent working-class political action and would encompass the NDP."

When workers were laid off at the General Motors plant at Ste-Thérèse, Beiner said, LSO campaign supporters distributed a plant leaflet with a program for fighting unemployment — thirty hours work for the same take-home pay, open the corporation's books, and nationalize the industry if that is necessary to prevent layoffs.

"The big challenge to take the Québec workers forward," Beiner concluded, "is the hurdle of independent working-class political action . . . to break from the capitalist Parti Québécois, from the Liberal and Unité-Québec parties. The LSO stands for the launching of a mass labor party. That is the real test of the 'radicalism' of Québec labor leaders." □

Trotsky on China

The Nov. 6 *Intercontinental Press* carries a very rare item by Leon Trotsky—a letter written in 1931 to his followers in China that deals among other things with the question of what attitude to take toward the guerrillas of that time. It was included in the Chinese edition of *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* but was left out of the English edition.

Up to now the letter was available only in a defective translation in an issue of the internal bulletin of the Communist League of America printed four decades ago.

Intercontinental Press has brought the English translation into conformity with the original Russian.

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Germany

Indochina Solidarity Committee calls for end to German complicity in war

[The following are excerpts from an article in the October issue of *Was Tun* (What Is to Be Done), monthly publication of the Revolutionär-Kommunistischen Jugend (Revolutionary-Communist Youth).]

But precisely in the current decisive phase of the Indochina war—when the Indochinese comrades are making the greatest effort and sacrifices—the Vietnamese must not stand isolated because of lack of international solidarity!

As an organizational answer to this emergency, we have taken the initiative in launching the Indochina Solidarity Committee (ISK), with the following structure and tasks:

1. In the present situation of fragmentation of the West German left, actions on the scale necessary for the support of the Indochinese revolution are only possible in the form of united actions of all the various organizations and groups. Such actions cannot be the work of exclusively or predominantly one organization.

The political basis of the ISK (program, demands) must express our full solidarity and support for the struggle of the peoples of Indochina. It must, on the other hand, make possible the broadest unity of the left; thus the particular positions of any specific current in the left (such as "Down with Soviet imperialism") are excluded.

The ISK must not only be a structure for unity of various organizations. That would mean its existence in a local area would hinge upon whether the various groups there unite. Moreover it would give unaffiliated people no opportunity to initiate ISK activities. The ISK should be open to all, with an existence separate and apart from the organizations affiliated to it.

2. The ISK accepts the "two key questions" dealt with in the declaration of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. These two main points from the seven-point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government are:

1. An end to the air war and all military action by the USA in Vietnam; fast and complete withdrawal of all troops, advisers, and military personnel and all weapons and war matériel of the USA and of the other countries in the U.S. camp from South Vietnam and the dismantling of all U.S. military bases in South Vietnam.

2. Recognition of the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination and the end of all interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam by the U.S. government.

These demands, extended to all of Indochina, are expressed in the following slogans:

Immediate lifting of Nixon's blockade and mining of North Vietnamese ports!

Immediate and unconditional cessation of the bombing!

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, bases, and war matériel from all of Indochina!

Solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Indochina! Solidarity with the Indochinese liberation movements!

Along with these demands that are applicable throughout the world, others should be raised to make clear that the Federal Republic of Germany is in no way unconnected with this war and genocide, much less non-partisan and neutral. The following slogans should clarify this:

Immediate halt to all assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany to the puppet government and a halt to foreign exchange agreements with the USA!

Break off diplomatic relations with Saigon!

Recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Recognize the representatives of the liberation movements as the only representatives of the peoples of Indochina!

Permit the establishment of information bureaus of the liberation movements in Germany!

Abolish the entrance ban for representatives of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government!

Grant the right of asylum to U.S. war-service resisters!

The ISK sees as its tasks:

● To be a continuous source of information on the struggle in Indochina and the current events in the war.

● To initiate or take part in demonstrations and other actions. Every step of wider escalation must be answered with new mass actions!

● To collect funds for the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian comrades and to use appropriate measures to protect the students from these lands in West Germany from repressive measures of the Saigon puppet government and of the German government.

● Finally, we must draw the trade unions, youth organizations, etc., into the struggle for support to Indochina, and we must expose the responsibility and complicity with the war of the capitalist politicians and war-connected industries. □

Yugoslavia

Tito directs broad crackdown on students, nationalists, party dissidents

By Gerry Foley

"Important Tasks for the League of Yugoslav Communists" was the headline the September 27 *Pravda* put over a TASS dispatch describing the speech of S. Dolanc to a party activists' school in Split September 18. Long quotations were given from the remarks of the secretary of the Politburo of the Yugoslav party.

"Dolanc stressed," the Soviet news agency noted, "that the working class clearly sees that the SKJ [Savez Komunističke Jugoslavije—League of Yugoslav Communists] is the only political organization in the country. 'But some so-called intellectual circles do not understand this. Therefore, we are thinking of expelling the people who do not agree with us from the SKJ.'"

Dolanc said that the two main problems facing the SKJ leadership were, first of all, "stabilizing the economy" and second "cadre policy." The prices of basic necessities have been rising rapidly, and since the Croatian nationalist demonstrations at the end of 1971 the Tito regime has been carrying out a purge.

According to TASS, Dolanc said, "We made a big mistake five or six years ago, or even longer, in letting the cadre question get out of hand." The Politburo secretary called for a return to "well-defined forms of ideological-political work and political education, as well as 'putting Marxism back into the schools.'"

On the question of particularist tendencies in the Yugoslav ethnic groups, Dolanc declared that all nationalism had a bourgeois class content and said: "We demand action against nationalism everywhere in the country.

"This is all part of the struggle against inimical tendencies of all shapes and forms. I mean inimical actions and demonstrations. We must keep in mind that enemy forces are uniting against Yugoslavia. This means above all a union of rightist forces, and, to make myself absolutely clear, fascist or neofascist forces."

To conclude his speech, the Kremlin wire service dispatch said, Dolanc called on the Yugoslav party to free itself from "opportunism, pseudo democracy, and liberalism."

The statements of Yugoslav party officials on internal policy have seldom received such extensive coverage in the Kremlin press. Perhaps Moscow thought that, for a change, the Tito leadership was offering an exemplary model, in a number of ways, for the other East European regimes.

For example, whereas in 1948 the leaders of other East European CPs who were suspected of sympathizing with Tito were purged for "bourgeois nationalist tendencies," in 1972 it is the presiding genius of "national Communism" himself who is purging "bourgeois nationalists."

On October 5, the Zagreb district court handed down harsh sentences against the former leaders of the Croatian Student Union, who were accused of organizing nationalist demonstrations at the end of 1971. Drazn

Budisa, the former president of the Zagreb student organization, was sentenced to four years in prison. Ante Pardzik, former president of the Croatian Student Union, and Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, former deputy dean of students at the University of Zagreb, got three years. A fourth defendant, Goran Dodij, also a former president of the Zagreb Student Union, was given a year-and-a-half term.

The four were arrested in December 1971 under Article 100 of the penal code for "counterrevolutionary" activities and attempting to separate Croatia from the Yugoslav federation. The trial, Paul Yankovitch noted in the October 7 issue of *Le Monde*, was one of the longest in the history of Yugoslavia. Nonetheless, only a week before the verdict was handed down, the prosecutor added the charge of "organizing a criminal association" to the indictment.

The prisoners insisted on their constitutional right not to answer questions and remained silent during most of the trial. When the prosecution accused them of having contacts with the fascist terrorist organization the



President Tito

Ustashi, however, Cicak reportedly protested strongly in the name of all the defendants. At the end of the trial, Budisa tried to give a political analysis of the developments in Croatia in recent years, but found himself repeatedly interrupted and ruled out of order by the judge.

On October 9, the trial opened of four leading figures in the Croatian cultural organization Matica Hrvatska. The indictment charged the defendants with the following crimes:

1. Creating a nationalist-oriented "aggressive opposition political party" inside Matica Hrvatska.

2. "Systematically and deliberately" planting their supporters in the legal political, economic, and cultural organizations.

3. Establishing a list of political opponents slated for "liquidation."

4. Maintaining contacts with emigres, "both the so-called democrats and the terrorists."

5. Attempting to transform the student strike last November into a general strike.

6. Propagating hatred of other Yugoslav peoples, especially the Serbs living in Croatia, whom the defendants allegedly planned to "eliminate from the municipal and labor organizations."

7. Developing a plan for "armed struggle and guerrilla warfare."

The crackdown has also reportedly hit alleged Serbian nationalists such as Professor Miodrag Vulin in Sarajevo, who was sentenced to three years in prison for publishing writings condemned as anti-Croat, and Professor Mihajlo Djuric, in Belgrade, who got two years.

At the same time, the Tito government has moved against alleged Trotskyists, sentencing three students in Belgrade to terms ranging from one and a half to two years for engaging in a "Trotskyist plot" to "reconstruct the Fourth International in Yugoslavia." (See "Letter Smuggled from a Yugoslav Prison," *Intercontinental Press*, September 25, p. 1032.) It has also banned the magazine of the Belgrade philosophy faculty, *Filosofia*.

This broad crackdown, coming in the context of rising prices and increasing popular discontent, has been accompanied by denunciations of "Communist millionaires." In a recent speech in Rijeka, a Croatian port city that has been the scene of violent strikes in the past years, Tito said, according to the October 2 *Der Spiegel*, that there were "people in Yugoslavia who are building extra homes and country houses in various parts of the republic," and that this was "irritating the workers and causing discontent among many Communists and thus leading them into passivity."

The most notable effect of Tito's denunciation of "Communist millionaires," *New York Times* correspondent Raymond H. Anderson wrote October 2 from Belgrade, was to bring a run on the banks, with nervous depositors rapidly withdrawing their assets. But reassurances were quickly forthcoming that indicated the crackdown on private fortunes was not likely to be very long lasting or very severe.

"As the Belgrade bank officials have stressed, however, the campaign collides with some of the objectives of the country's leadership, among them efforts to create more jobs through expansion of small private enterprises and to attract the savings of Yugoslavs here and abroad."

If the campaign against "Communist millionaires" were intended primarily as a cover for a general repression, however, it would not be the first time that an increasingly discredited reformist bureaucratic leadership turned to such methods. In 1968, the Gomulka regime in Poland also resorted to demagogic appeals to workers as a means for covering up their repression of oppositionist students.

The complex pattern of national-

ties in Yugoslavia, of course, complicates the picture of opposition to the bureaucratic regime and offers openings for conservative or even reactionary influences. Chauvinistic impulses can, for instance, be exploited by local bureaucrats to strengthen the positions they have won as a result of the system of decentralized economic control, a system which in general has increased the unevenness of development and prosperity throughout the country. But the fact remains that none of the Yugoslav peoples has any significant control over the use of the surplus product created by their labor.

"It is hard for us to work, Comrade Tito, when our wages are low. . . . The workers are bearing the whole burden on their shoulders, but they must at least know why. It is hard for us to watch people raking in money that they have not earned with their own sweat." This was the message that Zvonko Racic, speaking for his shopmates in Zagreb, delivered to the old partisan commander at the latter's luxurious estate, Zagorje. (*Der Spiegel*, October 2.) □

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HOW SOCIALIST WORKERS '72 CAMPAIGN CHALLENGED UNDEMOCRATIC ELECTION LAWS

By JUDY UHL

When Idaho Socialist Workers campaign supporters submitted nominating petitions to Secretary of State Pete Cenarrusa, the official commented, "Well, it looks to me like they made it."

Cenarrusa's comment was echoed by election officials in 24 states this year. This showing, which required the collection of over half a million signatures, was the result of the largest

to avoid an SWP suit against the oath, and had the effect of allowing the SWP presidential ticket to be placed on the ballot without complying with the loyalty-oath provision. Instead of dropping the challenge to the oath, the SWP will continue its challenge after the elections.

Another subject of SWP litigation is the requirement of some states that signatures on nominating petitions be apportioned throughout a state. These

D.C., board member to a Socialist Workers campaign supporter recently. The occasion for Fisher's remark was a D.C. election board hearing to determine if the board could keep the SWP presidential ticket off its ballot.

After a check of only 400 out of 26,000 signatures submitted on nominating petitions, the "liberal" board decided to disqualify the SWP. In the face of adverse publicity and court action, the board was forced to con-

their candidates on the ballot, claiming that not enough "valid" signatures had been submitted. This discriminatory action shows how the actual number of signatures needed for a small party candidate is far more than the legal requirement. Without the financial resources and personnel to check every signature, it becomes virtually impossible to prove that a state should certify the candidates.

The SWP has cooperated with several other parties in its election law challenges this year. Through the work of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), a number of joint suits with the Communist, People's, and Socialist Labor parties were filed.

Benjamin Spock, People's Party presidential candidate, was a co-plaintiff with Linda Jenness in two extremely important suits against the military. These suits won the right for candidates to appear before GIs on military bases that are not closed to the public. The decisions have far-reaching implications and provide the legal basis for antiwar leafletters and others to distribute their materials on such military bases.

The suits against the military are examples of cases filed to increase candidate or voter rights. They were undertaken in addition to the 24 suits the SWP filed against ballot laws. Another suit of this type was a challenge to the city of Chicago ruling that SWP candidates could not hold public rallies in the downtown Civic Center. The recent victory in this suit now makes outdoor rallies possible in Chicago and provides an important precedent for candidates in other cities who may face similar restrictions.

The SWP's work to democratize the elections does not end with this election year. Until the basic structure of this country is changed to reflect the needs of working people, undemocratic laws and rulings by election officials will continue to prevent fair elections from taking place.



More than half a million signatures—the largest number collected by any radical party this year—were gathered by SWP campaign supporters to win ballot status in the November elections.

Socialist Workers Party
Reds Ruled Off State Ballot
Win Presidential Ticket
Linda's Too Young To Be President
Verdict
La Raza, Socialist In Illinois
Approved On November Ballot Suit Here
Suits Are Filed
Socialist Workers Party
Court orders acceptance of Socialists' petitions

MIAMI (UPI) — Judge federal enjoined P...
 WASHINGTON (UPI) — ...
 CHICAGO (UPI) — A three...
 COLUMBUS, Ohio (AP) — ...
 SAN ANTONIO, Tex. (AP) — ...
 LEBANY, N.Y. (AP) — The ...

ballot drive undertaken by a radical party this year.

Idaho was one of seven states where the SWP presidential ticket will be on the ballot for the first time. Qualifying for the ballot as a small party or independent candidate has always been difficult. For example, when the SWP was certified for the Louisiana ballot this year, it was the first time since 1916 that a socialist presidential ticket had managed to qualify.

Since 1968, eight state legislatures increased the number of signatures required for statewide ballot status. These included New York, Arizona, and Pennsylvania, where in spite of these rulings, the SWP qualified this year. One state—Ohio—reduced the number of signatures required as a result of successful court suits challenging the requirement.

Besides complying with the various state election laws to win ballot status, the SWP has sought to open up the ballots through court action. Since 1969 the SWP has initiated 24 lawsuits against ballot restrictions in 16 states. Fifteen of these suits were filed in 1972. SWP v Rockefeller, Jenness v Fortson, Jenness v Ogilvie, SWP v O'Hare, and many other suits are well known in legal circles.

When Linda Jenness testified in Pennsylvania against that state's election law, the judge interrupted the proceedings.

"Are you the Jenness v Fortson?" he asked.

"Yes, sir, the same," she replied.

Fights loyalty oaths

As a result of SWP court victories, Texas and Illinois candidates are not required to sign loyalty oaths before they can be certified for the ballot.

But states will go to great lengths to avoid such litigation. The Louisiana attorney general this year ruled that candidates for federal office are not required to sign Louisiana's loyalty oath. This ruling was an attempt

laws have the effect of discriminating against voters in populous areas and make it more difficult to collect signatures.

In the past, it was necessary to collect 50 signatures in each of New York's 61 counties, a very time-consuming and expensive proposition for a small party seeking ballot status. The New York statute and similar ones in Michigan and Massachusetts were struck down by SWP suits. The SWP also filed suit against the Illinois distribution requirement that forced petitioners to collect signatures outside of the city of Chicago. The courts refused to hear the case in 1970, the year it was filed, but this year a Communist Party suit invalidated that requirement.

In addition to providing precedents for others who want to challenge such laws, the SWP suits have caused several state legislatures to repeal their distribution requirements. In Florida and Texas, where such requirements were repealed by the state legislatures, the SWP was able to file for ballot status there for the first time.

Another area of successful litigation has been the SWP suits against candidate filing fees. Since 1969, when Linda Jenness challenged and won a suit against the Atlanta filing fee for mayor, the SWP has won suits against fees in California and Florida.

SWP suits against discriminatory election laws are not always victorious. Since 1970, when the SWP challenged the Georgia signature requirement, the courts have repeatedly refused to invalidate high signature requirements. In spite of the courts' refusal to invalidate such laws, the suits have had the effect of exposing the true nature of laws designed to limit access to the ballot.

Most states and election officials are concerned about the "image" they project to the voters. "We're the most liberal election board in the country," asserted Martin Fisher, a Washington,

cede it had made an error in disqualifying the SWP. This year the SWP appears on the D.C. ballot for the first time.

Some election officials are less concerned about their images. The comment of the Tennessee official who disqualified the SWP presidential ticket on a technicality after all ballot requirements had been met is a good example. "What really floored me," he told the news media, "is that if this is the way it can be done, then there's nothing to prevent splinter groups all over the country from getting on our ballot."

Tennessee and Utah found the prospect of independent candidacies so abhorrent that every small party attempting to qualify was ruled off the ballot in these two states.

Too young to run?

Besides acting as a brake on election officials, SWP suits serve to educate the public about the nature of the election laws. A major aspect of the SWP campaign in 1972 has been the issue of young people's right to run for office.

While the courts have refused to intervene on behalf of the right of young people to run for office, SWP suits against age requirements for candidates in Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, and Colorado have brought the issue before the public. Hundreds of prominent individuals and organizations, including five members of Congress, have taken a stand in favor of opening up the ballots to young candidates.

In contrast to the SWP, the Communist Party this year achieved ballot status in 14 states, the Socialist Labor Party in 12, and the People's Party in 10.

The Communist Party actually filed for ballot status in 27 states this year. However, they submitted only a minimum number of signatures in most cases, and 11 states refused to place

Youth disenchanted with 'honest George'

By PEGGY BRUNDY

In recent weeks Democratic Party campaign strategists have been trying to recapture McGovern's "Honest George" image by screaming about corruption and dishonesty in the Republican administration and campaign.

McGovern has gone so far as to accuse his Republican opponent of being a man with "no constant prin-



Clear Creek/Phil Frank

ciples" who changes his positions according to "political expediency."

Many students, however, aren't buying this strategy. On campuses from Berkeley to Boston, students I have spoken with are disenchanted with McGovern because of his backtracking on the key political issues of the campaign.

A student at the University of California at San Jose put it bluntly: "McGovern is a liar as far as I'm concerned. I just don't trust him. I did when he first came out and started making these fine statements. But then he started going back on them; I said wait, wait, slow down. This just can't be."

Nor is the support for Nixon based on any groundswell of enthusiasm. Many Nixon supporters said they plan to vote for him simply because he is "more stable." At Furman College in Greenville, S.C., a student told me after he had heard Linda Jenness speak: "I'll probably vote for Nixon, but I don't agree with him or McGovern on everything. I came to hear Jenness because I really feel I don't know enough to make an informed decision. My parents have always voted Republican, but Jenness made some good points."

While most students distrust McGovern, they will still vote for him. At Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., I asked a young woman who had just endorsed the SWP campaign who she planned to vote for. Her answer is typical of many. "I'll probably vote for McGovern," she said, "although it might be Jenness."

"I know that McGovern has flip-flopped on all kinds of issues, and this doesn't mean I won't work for the Jenness campaign. The decisive thing in whether I vote for McGovern or Jenness will be whether or not I decide Jenness is right when she says there is no basic difference between Nixon and McGovern."

But a growing number of students are rejecting the idea that they must choose between a dishonest, bumbling Democrat and a dishonest, arrogant Republican for president in 1972. A

student at Furman College told me: "I'm registered to vote in South Carolina. I'll probably vote for Jenness, although it would have been McGovern before I heard Jenness speak. I was voting for McGovern because at least I wanted my vote to count, but I can see how it can count just as much for Jenness."

I asked students who did plan to work for and vote for Jenness what the decisive issue had been. Most often they cited Jenness's proposal to immediately withdraw all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia, but other issues were mentioned.

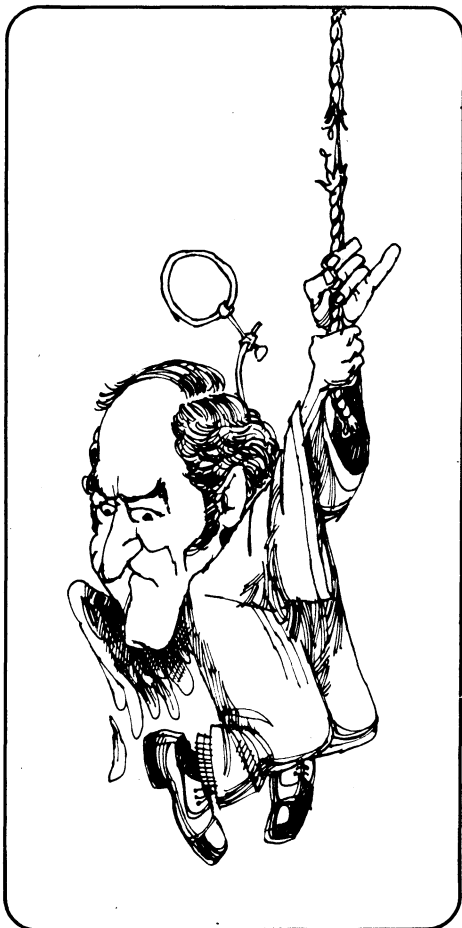
A Black student at San Francisco State College said he liked what Jenness had to say about Black control of Black communities, especially in regard to the school system.

"Education has always been controlled by whites at the state and city level. The money is never funneled into the Black communities, so our education is going to be poor. Whites have no stake in educating Blacks. Jenness's speech threw some light on this issue and others that are usually covered up, as issues usually are in campaigns."

At the University of California in Los Angeles a student explained his disillusionment with McGovern. "The gay rights issue is very important to me," he said. "McGovern wouldn't put it in the Democratic Party platform because he was afraid it might hurt his chances to win. That was enough to lose my support."

At the University of Austin in Texas, a young woman said, "Before the Democratic party convention, I really thought McGovern was great, and I worked for him. But he's no women's candidate."

The confidence supporters have in the SWP campaign is very different from the trust they had in McGovern. A supporter in San Diego said, "I don't think that with just one big person—and I don't care whether it's Nixon, McGovern, or Jenness—that you can get very far. It's got to be the people fighting for their own needs. Even if Linda were out of the picture and it were someone else, these movements would continue. The good thing is that the SWP supports these movements."



Clear Creek/Phil Frank

Evelyn Reed stumps country for Jenness

By JANICE LYNN

OCT. 30—"My general impression is that the women's liberation movement is growing harder and firmer," reports Evelyn Reed, now on tour to publicize the Socialist Workers 1972 presidential campaign. Reed, a noted Marxist anthropologist and staunch defender of feminist views, has averaged meetings of more than 100 at all her stops.

Reed has spoken so far in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Minnesota. She continually reminds audiences of the differences between Linda Jenness and George McGovern. "The mistake on the part of George McGovern to totally discount the political power of women may cost him dearly," she says. "Jenness and Pulley, on the other hand, are the only candidates running in the interests of women and the whole feminist movement."

Echoing these sentiments, George Novack is on a similar tour of West Coast universities. The author of *Democracy and Revolution*, *The Origins of Materialism*, and numerous other works is lecturing on "Philosophy and Politics" while campaigning for the SWP presidential ticket.

While on the West Coast, Novack appeared briefly in Vancouver, B.C., where more than 400 persons turned out to hear him at each of three university appearances.

Three other national speakers are on tour to publicize the SWP campaign and speak on topics relating to the ideas expressed in the SWP election platform.

Representing the SWP position on the Middle East, Peter Buch has spoken to audiences of about 100 at Colorado College in Colorado Springs, the University of Colorado at



Evelyn Reed

Militant/Flax Hermes

Boulder, and Utah State University in Logan.

Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP presidential candidate and well-known antiwar leader, has been speaking for the SWP in Washington, D.C.; Maryland; and Albany, N.Y.

Stephanie Coontz, a former coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, has been touring in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan. Both these speakers have had a number of debates with representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties.

To set up engagements and arrange speaking fees for any of these national speakers, contact the SWP Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676.

Where left groups stand on elections

By DAVE FRANKEL

The 1972 elections have called forth a variety of responses from groups on the left. While the Socialist Workers Party is running an ambitious campaign designed to win young radicals to socialism, to build the movements against the war in Vietnam and the oppression of women, Blacks and Chicanos, and to build a socialist alternative to the capitalist parties, other groups have supported McGovern or abstained from the electoral arena altogether.

The Communist Party, although running the largest campaign of its own since 1940, sees its main task as working for the defeat of Nixon. Thus, in the Sept. 23 *Daily World* CP presidential candidate Gus Hall bragged of his recent tour in Philadelphia that "We actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did."

The Socialist Party was unable to agree on any single course during the primaries. Articles by different members appeared in its paper, *New America*, supporting Muskie, Jackson, Humphrey, and McGovern. Now, however, the SP is reluctantly supporting McGovern while lamenting "the sad state of the liberal coalition" and bemoaning the "neo-isolationist" and "authoritarian-leftist leanings" of some of McGovern's followers.

The *Guardian*, while refusing to identify itself with McGovern by a direct endorsement, has given him back-handed support. It specifically advises

against a vote for any of the candidates running against McGovern, including those of the CP and SWP, but stresses the fact that "We do not oppose the growing trend of those among the masses who intend to vote for McGovern. . . ."

The New American Movement (NAM) takes a similar position. The group refuses to openly endorse McGovern but insists that a "McGovern victory would be much preferable to a continued Nixon presidency. . . ."

NAM's position was hard to find, but in a telephone interview one NAM member explained that the group was "not overtly antagonistic to McGovern," and that "Several NAM chapters are working with the Indochina Peace Campaign." The stated purpose of the Indochina Peace Campaign is to work for McGovern in seven "swing states."

The formerly Maoist Progressive Labor Party is calling for a boycott of the elections. The Workers League calls for "critical support" to the SWP campaign, and the International Socialists call for a protest vote for the SWP or the Socialist Labor Party.

Another sectarian group, the Spartacist League, calls for abstention from the elections. One of its cousins, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, calls for all socialist groups to unite in an electoral campaign around its program, which in essence amounts to a more elaborate call for abstention.

Court upholds GIs' right to hear candidates

Jenness, Spock can campaign at Ft. Dix

By LARRY SEIGLE

NOV. 1—For the first time in history, socialist candidates will be able to hold an authorized rally on a U.S. Army base. The third circuit court of appeals, in a landmark decision, ruled that Fort Dix must permit campaign activities on the post.

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, and Dr. Benjamin Spock, presidential candidate of the People's Party, will hold a joint rally on Saturday, Nov. 4, at Fort Dix, N.J. The rally will take place in the parking lot adjacent to Theatre Five, a movie theater at Fort Dix. It will be organized by the distribution of leaflets and other campaign materials throughout the post, a right also won as a result of the court decision.

The question of whether First Amendment rights won by the candidates will be extended to all antiwar activists has not yet been decided. This issue was referred back to the lower court on the basis of a technical

argument over jurisdiction of the courts. However, attorneys on the case are confident that this right will also be won.

The case was taken to the court of appeals after a federal district court upheld the Army's right to deny the antiwar and socialist candidates, and all antiwar activists, access to Fort Dix. In a sweeping decision, the appeals court overturned the entire lower court decision.

In finding that Fort Dix is a totally open base, the court said, "If the reservation is open to all the rest of the public, there is no basis for holding that it may be closed, selectively, to political candidates or distributors of unapproved literature." The court rejected the government's claim that "a governmental official charged with the custody and control of publicly owned lands may issue or withhold . . . invitations using a classification forbidden by the first amendment."

The lower court had claimed that by denying the right of antiwar can-

didates to campaign the Army was only maintaining an "antiseptic" policy with regard to politics.

"With the voting age at 18 years," answered the appeals court, "probably the vast majority of the 28,000 people living on Fort Dix are entitled to vote. If they are to exercise that franchise intelligently they should have free access to campaign information, subject to the time strictures of their military occupations, as citizens generally."

"A policy of antiseptic such as the district court envisioned would not be neutral. It would consign military voters to the category of the uninformed. But in fact there is no such policy of antiseptic. The record discloses that the military permits the circulation and distribution in Fort Dix of a wide range of newspapers and magazines, and that radios and televisions are available during off-duty hours. Thus the persons living in Fort Dix are exposed to the political ideas of those candidates whose campaigns are prominent enough or well-financed enough to attract widespread media coverage. . . .

"What the Fort Dix voters are protected from, practically speaking, is exposure to the political ideas of those minor candidates whose campaigns are neither prominent enough nor sufficiently well-financed to attract media coverage, and who must make do with more old fashioned face-to-face style of campaigning. Such a feigned neutrality serves no discernible military purpose, and cannot outweigh the first amendment rights of the minor candidates."

At a news conference in Philadelphia the day after the decision, Linda Jenness announced that "ours will be the first presidential campaign rally on an Army base in U.S. history. This decision is a victory for the First

Amendment right of free speech and a major extension of political rights to GIs." Jenness said that the rally would be open to all Fort Dix personnel, and she invited "all Fort Dix GIs and their families who want to hear what the socialist candidates have to say" to attend.

Jenness also told reporters that Andrew Pulley was "particularly glad to be able to speak without harassment on an Army base. As an antiwar GI, Pulley spent 60 days in the stock-

Hawkins to debate Tyner

John Hawkins, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from New York's 12th C.D. (Brooklyn), will confront Communist Party vice-presidential candidate Jarvis Tyner and McGovern supporter Leroy Searle at a meeting Nov. 6 at State University College at Brockport, N.Y. The meeting, which begins at 7 p.m., is sponsored by the executive board of the student government and the University Board of Management.

ade at Fort Jackson, S.C., for organizing a protest meeting on base against the war in 1969."

Fred Halstead, who was the SWP candidate for president in 1968, was ejected from Fort Dix for distributing campaign materials. A legal challenge was considered by the SWP then, but there wasn't sufficient time remaining before the election.

In the current case, the U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear an Army petition for a stay of the appeals court order.

Mailer attacks Jenness review

Self-proclaimed male chauvinist Norman Mailer was unpleasantly surprised to find that the Oct. 23 *Colorado Daily* reprinted portions of a damning review by Linda Jenness of his book *The Prisoner of Sex*. The *Daily*, the student newspaper at the University of Colorado in Boulder, ran the review the same day Mailer was scheduled to speak on campus. The review by the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate originally appeared in the June 25, 1971, *Militant*.

Mailer attempted to refute Jenness's criticisms by reading the

review to his audience of 2,500 at the university, hoping to poke fun at the socialist candidate. *Militant* correspondent Nora Danielson reports that his attempt met with little success. "What had been a very warm reception cooled considerably," she says, after Mailer finished attacking the review.

The audience was further turned off, Danielson reports, when the author expressed his opposition to all forms of birth control except diaphragms, and when he urged feminists in the audience to hiss, replying when they complied, "obedient little bitches."

Dissents from board's majority ruling

FCC member urges equal time for SWP

The majority of the members of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ruled Oct. 12 that Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, are "too young" and therefore not "legally qualified" candidates entitled to equal air time. The ruling upheld decisions by NBC, Metromedia, and the Mutual Broadcasting System denying time to Jenness and Pulley.

On Oct. 25 FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson criticized in a written dissent the majority decision of his fellow commissioners. Printed below are excerpts from Johnson's opinion.

The Socialist Workers Party filed an appeal of the FCC ruling in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia on Oct. 19.

In its letter to Mr. Larry Seigle (National Campaign Manager for the Socialist Workers Party), the Commission majority plunges headlong into the decision of issues which would give our greatest jurists considerable pause. The question of who is or who is not a "legally qualified candidate" for national office is far more complex than is indicated by the majority's shallow analysis.

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley are said to be the duly nominated candidates for President and Vice President of the Socialist Workers Party. As such, they are entitled to opportunities for access to the airwaves equal to their opponents. . . .

Vice Presidential candidate Andrew Pulley requested equal time from Metromedia, Inc., following a July 27, 1972 appearance by then-Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Thomas Eagleton on the Merv Griffin Show. Metromedia refused, using only the argument that it believed that the withdrawal of Senator Eagleton made the request moot. Candidate Linda Jenness requested equal time from NBC and the Mutual Broadcasting System in order to reply to a speech made by Democratic Party nominee George McGovern on August 5, 1972. While Mutual denied the request on the basis that the appearance of Senator McGovern was a news broadcast, NBC chose to deny the request because Ms. Jenness was under 35 years of age. . . . The Commission's rules include in the definition of "legally qualified candidate" the criteria that the candidate must meet "the qualifications prescribed by the applicable laws to hold the office for which he is a candidate." The majority holds that both candidates, because they are too young to hold the office for which they are running are, therefore, not legal candidates for office. . . .

I had always been under the impression that the U.S. Constitution took precedence over the Rules of the Federal Communications Commission. That Constitution gives the requirements for holding the two highest offices in the country. . . . It most certainly does not delineate the requirements for candidates to those offices,



Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president, and Socialist Labor Party presidential candidate Louis Fisher (r) appeared together recently on KYUV-TV in Philadelphia.

and moreover provides, in Amendment XX, Section 3, for the eventuality of the election of a President or Vice President not eligible otherwise to serve: "If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified . . . (emphasis added) I can find no other implication in the words of this Amendment than that the right of Ms.

Jenness and Mr. Pulley to run for President and Vice President and even to be elected to those offices is a constitutionally protected one, regardless of the nature of their inability to serve. . . .

Thus, the presumption made by the majority that "It is clear from the facts before us that Ms. Jenness and Mr. Pulley, if elected, would not be eligible to serve as President or Vice President . . ." does not, as it would insist, so simplistically lead to the assumption that the Socialist Workers Party candidates should be denied their legal rights as candidates.

Only the beginning.

Raza Unida organizes throughout Texas

By HARRY RING

HOUSTON—When La Raza Unida Party of Texas held its state convention in October 1971, the delegates were confronted with a thorny problem. Should the party, then less than two years old, continue to work for victories in local communities like Crystal City with majority Chicano populations? Or should it also contest in the 1972 statewide elections?

Some of the delegates—like Mario Compean, the party's state chairman—argued it was necessary for La Raza Unida to go statewide despite the many admitted difficulties. These included the discriminatory procedures required of a new party seeking ballot status, the party's limited financial resources, and the fact that the new movement had few active supporters in most of the major urban centers.

After weighing the question, the delegates agreed that if the party was to advance it was necessary to enter the 1972 state race. The impressive suc-

"but it's a beginning."

Outside of the South Texas counties where *mexicanos* are the big majority, the strongest campaign is being waged in Bexar County, which embraces the San Antonio area. Prior to the campaign, Compean said, most of the support came from the youth in the streets of the barrio. Now the party is winning the allegiance of what are regarded as "middle class" elements in the community—that is, better-paid workers, people with civil service jobs, etc. Up to now, Compean noted, these people "were reluctant to get involved in anything that smelled of ethnic politics."

To indicate the scope of the campaign, Compean pointed to his calendar for the following week. For that week in San Antonio, La Raza Unida had scheduled three major rallies, two dances, and a banquet.

This was in addition to what has become a central feature of the campaign in San Antonio, the backyard rally.

Backyard rallies

Supporters make their yards available for these rallies and invite friends and neighbors. Some draw as many as 250 people. Music, both rock and Mexican, is provided, as well as food. An increasingly popular theater group entertains with skits that educate as they amuse.

Usually, Compean said, there are two speakers. One gives a brief history of La Raza Unida Party. The other deals with the issues in the campaign and handles the questions.

Many who come to the backyard rallies have middle-class mentalities, feel they've "made it." But as they watch the theater group, listen to the speakers and join in the discussion, Compean said, they begin to realize that what is happening to the Chicano people as a whole "is happening to me too."

These are the ones, Compean observed, who are most likely to question the need for an independent party. But, he added, it's not too difficult to demonstrate how the major parties are rigged to exclude the Chicano from effective participation.

In good measure the party's growing impact is the result of determined campaigning, particularly by the statewide nominees.

Ramsey Muñiz has been on the road since February. Traveling mainly by car, he crisscrosses the state, speaking in from three to eight towns a day. One day recently he covered rallies in Odessa, San Angelo, and Dallas, spanning an area of about 300 miles.

On one day just prior to the interview, Compean recalled, Fred Garza spoke in El Paso; Flores Amaya in Dallas, Fort Worth, and San Marcos; while Alma Canales was in San Antonio and Waco.

Despite restricted finances, there has been extensive literature distribution. A supply of 70,000 bumper stickers received on the first of October



..high school students working in Raza Unida campaign office in Crystal City last year. This year's campaign is also supported by Chicano students.



Militant/Harry Ring
Texas Raza Unida Party Chairman Mario Compean.

is almost gone and another 50,000 were ordered for the remaining weeks of the campaign. A supply of 30,000 buttons has been completely exhausted. Compean estimates that since the campaign opened, half a million platforms, leaflets, stickers, and bumper stickers have gone out. About half of this material, he said, has been for the gubernatorial race.

Campaign issues

Discussing campaign issues, he said that the racist Texas educational system has been a major focus of the Raza Unida campaign. The party is pressing for bilingual and bicultural education, for an end to corporal punishment, and for community control of barrio schools.

Stress is placed on the need to make higher education available to Chicanos and to improve the quality of such education. Muñiz, he said, has projected the demand that the Texas board of regents be made an elected body so that Chicanos could win representation on it.

McGov fails to get nod from MAPA

The Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) of California met Oct. 14-15 to discuss the 1972 elections. No position was taken.

The 103 voting delegates were faced with proposals to endorse McGovern or Nixon or not to endorse either. The latter position, supported by pro-Raza Unida Party delegates, was the stand adopted at the national convention of Raza Unida parties in El Paso in September. According to MAPA bylaws, a 60 percent majority is required for endorsement.

On the first ballot, 43 voted for no endorsement, 38 for McGovern, and 22 for Nixon. On the second ballot, McGovern and the no-endorsement position tied with 42 votes each, and Nixon got 18.

According to the Oct. 17 *Los Angeles Times*, this is the first time in MAPA's 12-year history that the organization has declined to take a position on a presidential election.

I asked Compean if the stand of La Raza Unida Party against both major parties had become a significant focus of the campaign.

"That's been our main issue," he replied. "It's an issue throughout the state, and we've made it more of an issue than the other parties [Democrats and Republicans] have. They'll probably start now to answer us in the last weeks."

"The Democrats will be making the statement, like McGovern did, that we've sold out to the Republicans."

"It's really not too difficult to explain our position to the people," he continued.

"What you have to do is draw the analogies, make personifications. You tell people, 'Ask yourself the question, who runs the government?' In Texas there's really only one party, the Democrats. Well, just look at Nixon, what is he doing? Do you think the Republicans are going to do anything for you? Look at John Connally; he was governor for six years, a Democrat. Yet who is he running around with? Nixon. Well, we said all along there's no difference between the two parties."

Union supports RUP

The Oct. 20-Nov. 3 issue of San Antonio's *Chicano Times* reports that in "an unprecedented move," AFL-CIO Local 180, Radio Electricians and Machine Workers Union, has unanimously endorsed five Texas Raza Unida Party candidates. The action came on Oct. 8, when the union "gave their wholehearted support" to Ramsey Muñiz for governor; state assembly candidates Albert Peña III, Héctor Rodríguez, and Rubén Sandoval; and Martín Sada for Bexar County sheriff. The paper reports that the endorsements followed "a lively political discussion" and went against "AFL-CIO political rulings."

cesses now being registered by the Texas Raza Unida Party in its statewide campaign confirm the correctness of that decision.

La Raza Unida Party has 56 candidates contesting for municipal, county, and statewide offices. There are active local campaigns in 11 counties, and as a result of the statewide campaign, it is estimated that there are now functioning Raza Unida Party formations in 50 of the state's 254 counties.

Statewide, La Raza Unida Party has nominated Ramsey Muñiz for governor, Alma Canales for lieutenant governor, Flores Amaya for U.S. senator, Fred Garza for railroad commissioner, and Rubén Solís Jr. for state treasurer.

I was able to spend only a week in Texas—mostly in the San Antonio and Crystal City areas—accompanied by Tank Barrera, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 18th C.D., and Nelson Blackstock, Houston SWP organizer. But even in this limited visit it was clear that despite strong pressures that operate in a presidential campaign year, La Raza Unida Party is running its campaign independent of and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. To a significant extent, the party's electoral appeal is based on persuading the Chicano people of the need to break from the major parties if they are to struggle effectively against the evils of a racist society.

In a state as large as Texas, a week is insufficient to get a full picture of the scope of the Raza Unida campaign. But extensive information was available from the party's state headquarters in San Antonio, where we obtained an interview with Mario Compean, La Raza Unida Party state chairman.

Along with José Angel Gutiérrez, now chairman of the Crystal City school board, Compean founded the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), whose members did the organizing work in Crystal City that led to the formation of La Raza Unida Party.

'It's a beginning'

Including the five statewide candidates, about 30 Raza Unida members are campaigning full time throughout Texas, Compean said. As a result, the party has been able to establish itself in a number of new areas where previously it had only scattered supporters. This includes such places as Dallas, Fort Worth, Lubbock, and El Paso. "It's developing slowly," Compean said,

Fuentes faces new 'racism' investigation

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK — Luis Fuentes spoke on "The Struggle for Community Control in School District One" to 125 people at the Oct. 27 Militant Labor Forum. Fuentes is the superintendent of schools in this embattled district in Lower Manhattan.

On the previous day, Ewald Nyquist, state commissioner of education, had acted to investigate the possibility of revoking Fuentes's superintendent's



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Luis Fuentes speaking at Militant Labor Forum in Lower Manhattan.

certificate on the basis of his alleged "racism."

Nyquist promised quick action on the Fuentes question because those who are pressing the attack (several state assemblymen, three Jewish organizations, and the Council of Supervisors and Administrators) contend that the situation is getting out of hand in District One.

The State Commission on Human Rights, which is also investigating Fuentes, agreed with this contention when it criticized New York City School Chancellor Harvey Scribner for failing to remove Fuentes after his appointment in July. Nyquist said he would consider the commission's point of view in his own investigation.

Fuentes responded to this "investigation" by telling the forum, "I have yet to be confronted by my accusers. I have yet to be presented with formal charges of any kind. I have read about them in the press just like anyone else."

Commenting on the relationship between the community and its oppressors, he pointed out that "while our lives are so carefully circumscribed, it does not mean that within these guarded borders we are left to work out our miserable frustrations upon ourselves. We are not alone for a

minute. This is why, for example, the decentralized community school districts have almost uniformly mouthed the same complacent axioms as their central board predecessors."

Because of undemocratic voting procedures, nearly all of the decentralized boards were taken over by anti-community-control slates. Fuentes pointed out the difference between the Lower East Side board and the white-controlled boards: "By an irresistible combination of luck and planning, despite the threats, District One has come together for its moment. We are not willing to pose as overseers for junky production lines."

Fuentes referred to another form of oppression the community faces, the denial of its right to maintain its language and culture. "Our district is 73 percent Puerto Rican, 8 percent Chinese. Two thousand of these children speak no English at all, 4,000 speak it hesitantly."

"Yet when I arrived in District One we had every bit of six Spanish-speaking teachers in regular classrooms in the entire district, one Chinese-speaking. With the budget squeeze and the virtual impossibility of forcing open new positions, we are hard pressed to change these numbers. But we are going to do it and are going to con-

tinue doing it, because we are determined."

The United Federation of Teachers leadership has gone on record opposing any changes in the makeup of the staff in District One and has called "racist" the proposals for special hiring of bilingual teachers. Fuentes noted that while it opposes this kind of "racism," the union has been "silent in the face of the racism of a system that leaves 85 percent of its Black and Puerto Rican youngsters functionally illiterate."

Fuentes further contended that "the union's seniority provisions and their adamant opposition to any fair method of evaluating a teacher's competence, combined with the payoff at the top of the scale [the \$4,000 increase some UFT teachers won in the recent contract], demonstrate that the UFT has selected a portion of its own membership to favor and another portion to abandon. New teachers are being abandoned at the bargaining table. In the excessing [firing] provisions, these new teachers are Black, Puerto Rican, and creative young whites that we have managed to recruit."

During the question period, four teachers spoke against the course the Shanker leadership of the UFT has taken in relation to the struggle for community control.

'No essential difference' between McGovern, Nixon

Sadaukai on Blacks and electoral politics

The following are excerpts from a speech given by Owusu Sadaukai on Sept. 2 at the Congress of African People conference in San Diego, Calif. Sadaukai is director of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C. The speech was printed in the Sept. 30 and Oct. 14 issues of *The African World*. The portion printed here is from a section dealing with "the pitfalls of electoral politics."

Sadaukai begins by criticizing "the so-called 'leadership' of Black people" that in recent months has supported Nixon or McGovern:

One group of niggers go to D.C. and raise \$200,000 for the election of Richard Milhous Nixon. One of the most notorious crackers that has ever lived. He is the titular head of a government that is supporting the killing and the robbery of African people . . . a government that is committing genocide and total destruction against the Vietnamese people, a government that has paved the way for the killing and imprisonment of thousands of Black people right here in the U.S. under the guise of law and order. In spite of all this, niggers gave him a dinner—Can you believe that? What manner of people would honor such a treacherous individual?

But really, Brothers and Sisters, the show we put on for the Democrats is just as bad. Our leaders cutting each other in the back to be the one to take McGovern over the top. . . . He feels the Negro leadership has been sufficiently pulled in and that Black folks really have nowhere to go but him. So, now he is free to make his deals with Daley, Johnson, Abel, Wallace or whoever else he needs to deal with. . . .

There really are a couple of points that I am trying to make here:

1. There is no essential difference between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. They are both controlled by the white capitalist class

that ruthlessly exploit Black people here and throughout the world. I talked about Nixon and McGovern only because they represent the "candidates." It would be the same if the candidates were Wallace, Kennedy, Agnew, Julian Bond or Shirley Chisholm. The Presidency is not a general's position, it is a lieutenant's position. The generals are the ones who control the economics of this country. So, when we show up as dinner clowns or convention clowns for the candi-

Ga. SWP backs Black candidates

The Georgia Socialist Workers Party is urging a vote on Nov. 7 for Eddie "Omar" Webster and Arlon Kennedy for state representative in districts 29 and 34.

Webster and Kennedy are candidates of the Committee for Independent Black Politics.

In a campaign leaflet Webster and Kennedy say, "We see no consistent commitment by either party [Democrats or Republicans] to the Black man in America, only opportunism and corruption."

The candidates are listed on the ballot as independents.

dates, it is a meaningless exercise in futility. Another level of the soft shoe of the old Negro song and dance.

2. You cannot trust the word of a white man who promises this or that during an election period. And even if he is honest, what can he really do to significantly alter the lives of the masses of our people in a society where racism is imbedded in the total framework of the society, a society where profit is more important than any human being. The reason I said lives of the masses is because he can

give a few of us jobs in his administration—Nixon has done that—But what about those of us who have no education? Who don't know how to praise white folks at every turn? You cannot reform a racist, capitalist system because ultimately the reformist is only trying to save it.

I could go on, but I have already kept you too long, and I do want to offer my suggestions for alternatives to the type of electoral politics I have discussed, and also alternatives to some of the other pitfalls I have mentioned this evening.

1. On Electoral Politics—It is not incorrect to deal with electoral politics. The only question to be asked is when and from what base. It is my feeling at this point that we should be dealing with electoral politics only as it is helpful to us in building an Independent Black Political Party that recognizes the validity of the total African Revolution. Our political party must not be a tool for a bourgeois element of the Black Community to sell out our people for a few jobs and some cocktail parties that are flooded with white women.

I am talking about a political party that has an ideology. A set of beliefs that will guide our behavior. I feel that ideology should be Pan-Africanism. That is that all of us are people of African descent, and that our ultimate objective is the freedom and liberation of African people wherever we are, and that crucial to our struggle is an independent and unified Africa, united under a socialist government.

An ideology, however is not enough. We must also be involved in practice. Practice that begins with self-reliance. Practice that says Black people can develop their own institutions. Educational institutions for example. Practice that understands we must organize our people at the point of production, organize our people who are unemployed, organize our young people.

Organize our people to make constant, consistent demands on the forces that govern this country. We must understand the necessity of a party that takes a stand on self-destruction (drugs).

What part will electoral politics play? That depends on where we are, and what we want to do with it. If we are in areas where we can take over counties and cities, we should take them over. If we want to run candidates on strict platforms we should do that. But, never should our party be a tool for any white political entity in this world.

We need a party where we tie ourselves directly into the Liberation struggles now going on in Africa. A party that works hand in hand with Progressive Countries in Africa and ultimately with other progressive countries of color throughout the world.

The basis of the party must be black people—not our individual leaders, but Black people. Our strength, vitality and direction must come from the masses of our people.



Militant/B.R. Washington

Owusu Sadaukai addresses African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., May 27.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Champaign, Ill.	10	13	130.0
New Haven, Conn.	25	27	108.0
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	26	104.0
Cedar Falls, Iowa	30	27	90.0
Edinboro, Pa.	60	54	90.0
Nashville, Tenn.	20	18	90.0
Storrs, Conn.	25	22	88.0
Oxford, Ohio	40	35	87.5
Boulder, Colo.	175	148	84.6
Madison, Wis.	200	167	83.5
Augusta, Me.	10	8	80.0
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	12	80.0
Cleveland, Ohio	1,500	1,148	76.5
Hartford, Conn.	125	90	72.0
Seattle, Wash.	1,185	812	68.6
Los Angeles, Calif.	2,000	1,367	68.3
Denver, Colo.	1,250	846	67.7
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,800	1,213	67.4
Portland, Ore.	815	548	67.2
San Francisco, Calif.	2,050	1,372	67.0
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,350	866	64.1
Oakland/Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	1,364	62.0
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,450	894	61.7
Detroit, Mich.	1,650	984	59.6
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,350	802	59.4
San Diego, Calif.	400	236	59.0
Boston, Mass.	2,500	1,444	57.8
Tallahassee, Fla.	150	84	56.0
Atlanta, Ga.	1,500	836	55.7
Chicago, Ill.	2,550	1,391	54.6
Bowling Green, Ky.	10	5	50.0
Youngstown, Ohio	20	10	50.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050	524	49.9
Austin, Texas	550	258	46.9
Corvallis, Ore.	33	15	45.5
Washington, D.C.	900	408	45.3
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	84	42.0
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
Bloomington, Ind.	350	139	29.7
Providence, R.I.	125	49	39.2
Houston, Texas	1,050	359	34.2
College Park, Md.	175	57	32.6
St. Louis, Mo.	120	37	30.8
Celina, Ohio	10	3	30.0
Durham, N.H.	50	15	30.0
Binghamton, N.Y.	200	55	27.5
Knoxville, Tenn.	30	8	26.7
Sarasota, Fla.	25	6	24.0
Cincinnati, Ohio	100	23	23.0
Allentown, Pa.	50	10	20.0
Bethlehem, Pa.	10	2	20.0
Huntington, W.Va.	40	8	20.0
New Brunswick, N.J.	20	4	20.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	8	16.0
Carbondale, Ill.	35	4	11.4
Long Island, N.Y.	100	11	11.0
Buffalo, N.Y.	20	2	10.0
Sacramento, Calif.	10	1	10.0
Kansas City, Mo.	150	14	9.3
Worcester, Mass.	175	13	7.4
Amherst, Mass.	150	10	6.7
Athens, Ohio	30	2	6.7
University, Ala.	100	5	5.0
Santa Barbara, Calif.	75	2	2.7
Bellingham, Wash.	50	1	2.0
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
General	500	133	26.6
Midwest national team	1,000	604	60.4
Southern national team	700	350	50.0
TOTAL TO DATE		20,146	61.1
SHOULD BE		22,812	69.2
GOAL		33,000	100.0

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

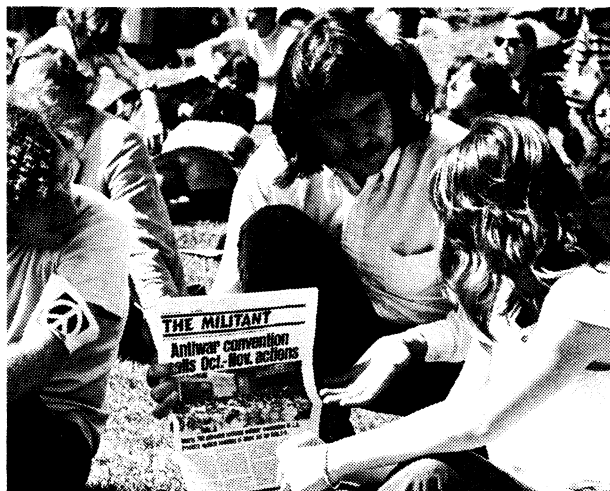
TEAM BREAKDOWN	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Denver	560	425	75.9
Cleveland	1,000	750	75.0
Seattle/Portland	850	620	72.9
Boston	700	503	71.9
San Francisco	700	436	62.4
Twin Cities	700	431	61.6
Detroit	750	456	60.8
New York #2	700	380	54.3
Oakland/Berkeley	700	360	51.4
Atlanta	850	433	50.9
Philadelphia/			
Washington, D.C.	700	345	49.3
Chicago	750	365	48.7
Los Angeles	750	334	44.5
New York #1	1,000	415	41.5
Texas	700	148	21.2
TOTAL TO DATE		6,401	56.1
SHOULD BE		7,463	65.4
TEAM GOAL		11,410	100.0

Subscription drive behind; steps taken to catch up

By NANCY COLE

NOV. 1 — The fall subscription drive for 33,000 new readers has three weeks to go. To date we are 2,666 behind where we should be. Although this gap has existed for several weeks and has been widening slightly, enthusiasm for the subscription campaign has not waned. We are confident that three weeks is ample time to catch up.

It is especially important that supporters put an extra push into getting subscriptions during the next few weeks so that new subscribers can read *The Militant's* analysis of the 1972 elections and the Vietnam negotiations.



Militant/Dave Warren

Several special efforts have been initiated to ensure that we meet our subscription goal. Another national subscription team is now on the road. It will travel throughout central Pennsylvania for the duration of the subscription drive. Heading the team is Steve Bloom, a top subscription seller in previous national drives. The two other team members, Andrea Brod and Mike Lux, are also experienced subscription sellers.

With a schedule that includes more than 20 campuses in 16 cities, Bloom feels they can sell close to 1,000 subscriptions in the next three weeks.

The second effort to ensure that the 33,000 goal is met is being taken by local areas and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams. During the last week, seven local areas increased their quotas for a total of 650 more subscriptions. Quota increases for the YSJP teams include 300 more for New York team #1, 150 for the Atlanta team, 100 for the Cleveland team, 50 for the Chicago team, and 50 for the Los Angeles team. We ex-

pect more increases from both teams and areas as they near their present quotas.

The third component of our plan to finish the drive on schedule is a concerted effort by those areas and teams behind schedule to catch up and complete their quotas by Nov. 22. This can include sending special teams several nights a week to campus dormitories, setting up tables featuring *The Militant* during the day on campus, and ensuring that subscription sellers are at every political meeting in each area.

One notable jump in the scoreboard this week was made by New Haven, Conn. Sending in 23 subscriptions moved them from 16 percent to 108 percent. And Hartford went from 46.4 to 72 percent.

Susan Winsten from New York team #2 writes that their efforts to finish on schedule include organizing their subscription selling much like local areas are doing it: "weekly projections, 'mobilizations,' selling every day, charts. It's helped. Each team member is now averaging five to 10 subs a night when we sell in the dorms."

Other teams are making similar progress, and most report an average of 30-40 subscriptions per team for each night of canvassing dormitories.

The teams have been consistently involving YSJPers and new members of the Young Socialist Alliance in their activities wherever they go. The potential for this is underscored by an example from the Chicago team. A new YSA member went selling with them and sold 15 subscriptions, more than any one of the team members.

Two teams have already hit the 700 mark, the original quota for each team. Cleveland now has 750, and although we haven't received all the subscriptions yet, the national Midwest team reports having 708.

Help make drive!

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.

African freedom fighter in N.Y.

By MALIK MIAH

NEW YORK — On Oct. 20 Amilcar Cabral, secretary-general of the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC — African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands) spoke to more than 100 Afro-Americans here. Those attending the meeting at the Africa Information Service (AIS) represented many Black and Pan-Africanist organizations. Cabral spoke on the liberation struggle being waged by his people in the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau.

Cabral was in the United States to receive an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Lincoln University, a Black university in Pennsylvania. He has been meeting a number of groups in the New York area since he received the degree Oct. 15.

On Oct. 16 Cabral spoke to the United Nations Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration.

This is Cabral's third visit to the U.S. In his short, informal speech at the AIS office, Cabral discussed the struggle in Guinea-Bissau and its accomplishments. He said the liberation forces now control more than two-thirds of the country. He pointed out that the U.S. and NATO are political and economic supporters of the Portuguese colonialists.

U.S. and NATO complicity with Portuguese co-

lonialism was made clear to the audience when Cabral pointed out that "Portugal is a country that doesn't even produce toy planes." In fact it is one of the most economically backward countries in Europe.

When discussing the relationship of the Black movement in the U.S. to African liberation struggles, Cabral said, "We think that in a certain way our fight in Africa against colonialism and imperialism is also a proof of an understanding of your problems. . . . A contribution for the solution of your problems in this country. Naturally the inverse is also true. All the achievements . . . of your problems here are a good contribution for our own struggle."

During the question period Cabral discussed the changing role of women and the development of a new social structure in the liberated areas.

The enthusiastic response at the AIS meeting indicated the growing support of Black activists for the African liberation struggles. Cabral summarized how the African freedom fighters view their struggle for national and social liberation: "Some people ask, 'Maybe you are now tired?' The answer of a 12-year-old boy in the northern liberated region was, 'We cannot be tired, it is our country.'"

Loophole discovered in pollution law after 14 months

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 27—The morning radio weather reports told New Yorkers the air would be "unsatisfactory" today. It has been all day, but since there are few if any alternatives, we have been breathing it anyway.

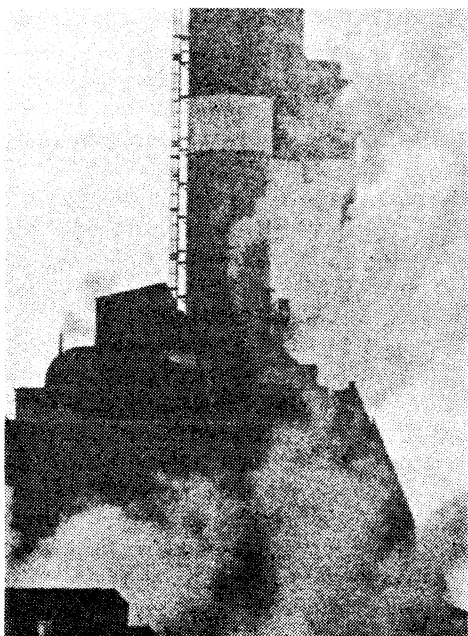
The New York *Daily News* recently carried an article on a big discovery made by the city's Air Resources Department. "Loophole Lets Pollution Out Over the City," announced the headline.

The loophole referred to is a section of the 1971 air pollution control code that exempts certain types of fuel oil burners from the code's requirements. Although the code has been in force since July 1971, the department has just now discovered that it lets off the hook approximately half of the city's 150,000 apartment-house furnaces. That it took 14 months to find out 75,000 furnaces were left out of the code offers a hint about how rigorously the code gets enforced.

The catch in the law is that fuel oil burners using No. 2 and No. 4 oil are not subject to upgrading requirements if they were installed before 1950. Since the older a burner is, the more it pollutes, this exemption is the exact opposite of reasonable.

The *Daily News* quotes with a straight face the explanation of Deputy Air Resources Commissioner John D. Simpson that the exemption "was simply an oversight that ought to be clarified." The *Daily News* says it "apparently escaped the code's drafters . . . as well as the code's adopters . . ." Of course. It escaped their notice. Just a little thing like half the apartments in the city.

No one should get the idea, however, that this "loophole" is the only problem with the code. Its provisions are hardly enforced at all even where they do apply, and it is not only pre-1950 fuel oil burners that are exempted. Automobiles, as well as Con Ed and other industries, remain free to pump high levels of nitrogen oxides, other oxidants, and hydrocarbons into the air. Limits have been set—although they are not enforced—on particulate matter (dirt) and on sulphur dioxide.



Militant/Howard Petrick

New York pollution code is tissue of loopholes. Con Ed stacks help make air 'unsatisfactory.'

92nd Congress fails to meet country's urgent social needs

By DICK ROBERTS

Last March 22, the Equal Rights Amendment was approved by the U.S. Senate. This culminated a half-century-long struggle of women to win an explicit Constitutional guarantee of their equal rights before the law. (The ERA has been ratified by 21 of the necessary 38 states to become part of the Constitution.)

That vote (84-8) is about the only thing you can say for the second session of the 92nd Congress. So rotten was this session of Congress and so little did it get done that even leading bourgeois newspapers and magazines complained about it.

"The problem of 'do-nothing' Congresses is not new," declared *Business Week* magazine Oct. 14. "But the accelerating pace of change in American society has left the present Congress straggling farther and farther behind. . . .

"The only satisfactory answer is for Congress to take charge of itself. If it does not, this drift will surely continue, and the public's disenchantment with the most basic government institution will deepen."

Here are some of the bills that Congress did pass:

- Water pollution control. This was about the minimum Congress could do and appear to be concerned about the deterioration of the American environment. In effect, it allows "U.S. industries to continue dumping poisons into the nation's rivers, lakes, and streams until 1985," as Lee Smith wrote in *The Militant*, Sept. 29.

- President Nixon vetoed this bill. The sum of \$24.6-billion over three years would create inflationary deficits, he claimed. Of course this is demagogic since the same sum of money could be subtracted from other federal expenditures (like military expenditures) to counteract the deficit.

- But Congress overrode Nixon's veto. It wouldn't look good to go back to the election campaigns with no pollution-control measures at all. At the same time the bill gives the president discretion in spending the authorized funds. "I mean to use those provisions. . . ." Nixon has already declared.

- Social Security. This was the big bill (almost 1,000 pages long) of the 92nd Congress. The Senate Finance Committee alone held 69 closed-door hearings on it. The results were minimal.

- Gone from the final bill were any attempts to guarantee a minimum income to all people. Back in 1969, President Nixon made such a "welfare reform" measure one of his big legislative promises. The House finally did pass a bill that would have established an income of all of \$2,400 for a needy family of four. This didn't get through the Senate.

- The one progressive measure of import in the final bill was upping from \$1,680 to \$2,100 the limit on the amount a retiree may earn without reducing Social Security benefits. It may sound like a small sum, and it is, but not for the poverty-stricken older people of this country. An estimated 1.7 million persons will receive higher benefits from this measure, averaging to about \$700 a person.

- But this token concession was couched in a bill that also drastically increased Social Security taxes. Payroll taxes will be increased by a third next year, and by 1974 the employment tax to middle-income wage earners will be up by one-half over the current total.

- There is considerable subterfuge involved here. In the first place, bil-

ions of dollars more are taken in in employment taxes than are paid out in Social Security benefits. These pile up in the "Social Security trust fund," now at nearly \$40-billion. The money supposedly going to take care of old people is actually used to pay for war and other current federal expenditures. It is one of the main sources of federal income.

In the second place, most congressional candidates this month are go-

- Highways. This would have been a routine extension of the federal highway slush fund. About \$6-billion a year goes into the government "highway trust fund" from taxes on gasoline, tires, and trucking tonnage. This subsidizes the multimillion-dollar highway construction industry, and it is also of no small benefit to the auto trusts.

- But environmental issues have increasingly asserted themselves. Why



Noise pollution bill failed to pass in 92nd session, although problem grows continually worse for millions of workers.

- ing about promising not to raise taxes. What they are talking about is income taxes; they've already raised employment taxes.

- Revenue sharing. This was another big idea of the Nixon administration. It allocates some federal tax money for state and city usage—\$30-billion over five years. This is less than 5 percent of federal income.

- But then what happens? "It is already plain that many states and cities will merely apply their windfall from Washington to cut existing local taxes without providing any new services at all," the *New York Times* stated Oct. 17.

- But this is what they wanted to do in the first place. The wealthier people who run the cities tend to live in the suburbs. They don't want to pay taxes for city improvements. Why not get the government to do this? That's the whole point of "revenue sharing."

- Health, education, and welfare appropriations. Congress also passed a bill that provided for a number of social improvements, including a national day-care program. This was vetoed by Nixon, and Congress did not overrule the veto.

- War spending. The 92nd Congress passed the biggest war appropriations bill since World War II—\$75.7-billion. In the course of this legislation the Senate managed to pass an amendment that would have limited the war. But this was dropped in a Senate-House conference.

- By and large the "doves" were more active campaigning for McGovern than doing anything in Congress about the war. This gave Republicans an opportunity for demagoguery. At one point Senator Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) declared, "The war is McGovern's main campaign issue. He had an opportunity to be effective, but he was out talking about it when he could have been here voting against the war."

- Here are some of the bills this session of Congress didn't pass:

- should there be so many highways pushing down natural scenery? Why should there be so many cars spewing forth poisonous exhaust? A bill got through the Senate that, while in no way limiting highway expenditures, for the first time would have provided cities with highway trust fund money for improving mass transit—buying buses and building rapid rail systems.

- This bill was killed in the House.

- Consumer protection. A bill that would have created a "consumer protection agency," supposedly to help consumers in courts and other federal regulatory agencies, was defeated by a Senate filibuster.

- Minimum wage. The House passed a bill increasing the minimum wage from the current rate of \$1.60 an hour to \$1.80 this year and \$2 next year. The Senate passed a bill that would have added several million workers, including domestic workers and government employees, to those covered by minimum wage. The Senate bill would also have raised the minimum to \$2 this year and \$2.20 in 1974. But since the legislators of the two houses could not agree on a compromise between the bills, no bill was passed. The \$1.60 minimum remains.

- Other bills that didn't make it included: a noise pollution bill that would have set up an agency to determine permissible noise-emission levels; a strip mining bill aimed at preventing the coal industry from destroying the countryside; and a bill designed to overhaul the federal housing program (which is so corrupt and so mismanaged that its own director, George Romney, recently called it a "\$100-billion mistake").

- All in all, the House met for 135 days (682 hours, 41 minutes) and the Senate met for 162 days (1,137 hours, 23 minutes). Both houses passed a total of 1,520 bills. The *Congressional Record*, including extensions of remarks not made on the floor, was 37,989 pages long.

In Review

Books

Fat Cats and Democrats

Fat Cats and Democrats: The role of the big rich in the party of the common man by G. William Domhoff. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972. 203 pp. \$5.95 cloth.

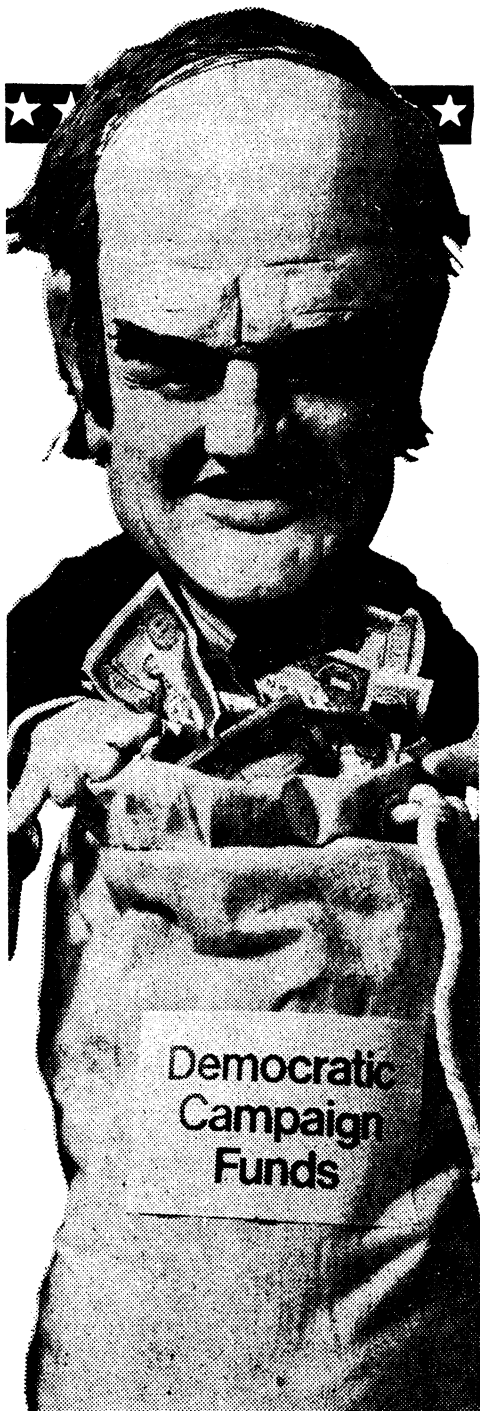
G. William Domhoff ought to be congratulated for this exploration into the world of big campaign financing. He examines the portfolios of the powers behind the throne of the Democratic Party, and finds them, not surprisingly, loaded. The "party of the common man," Domhoff reports, is controlled top-down by the uncommon man—the millionaire—who bankrolls Democratic Party campaigns, selects its candidates, and plays a decisive policy-making role in the government.

George McGovern, who pleaded pauperism in his campaign against Richard Nixon, won't like this book. And well he shouldn't. For it proves that the Democratic Party is as much a creature of big finance capital as the GOP.

Consider, for example, the gallery of big donors that oiled McGovern's campaign machine. (The names were unearthed too late for inclusion in Domhoff's exposé, but only reinforce the author's contention that the Democratic and Republican parties are only two wings of a single party, the party of the rich.)

There are the Motts—Stewart and Charles—who have loaned or given McGovern a half-million dollars. They are heirs to the General Motors fortune. There is Henry Kimmelman, chairman of the West Indies Corporation, who has loaned or given McGovern more than a third of a million.

There is Miles Rubin, a Los Angeles manufacturer, who has kicked in \$58,



300 for the McGovern effort and loaned another \$225,000. Or consider Max Palevsky of Xerox, whose gifts to McGovern total \$126,852, with additional loans of \$230,000. These 1972 figures come from the Citizen's Research Foundation, which also helped Domhoff research his book.

Trying to find out who shells out—and how much—is difficult to do, since both parties routinely set up thousands of dummy committees aimed at hiding the big-name givers from the public. Fat cat donors can conceal their gifts, if they try hard enough, as Domhoff points out. Nonetheless, enough is known to show that the Democratic Party would be a permanent resident of the poorhouse were it not for the massive contributions of the kingpins of capital.

Strip away the rhetoric and the Republican and Democratic parties become mirror images of themselves, tripping over each other in a rush for Wall Street's support. Domhoff describes the array of fat cats who lined the Democratic Party's pockets in the 1968 presidential campaign.

But he then tries to generalize—somewhat unconvincingly—that the Democratic Party is largely financed by a tripartite juggernaut of Jewish financiers, Southwestern millionaires, and "limousine liberals," with the sometime support of Southern Anglo-Saxons who are courted by both parties.

The existence of such neat categories is not proved by Domhoff's documentation, which is somewhat slipshod. The reality is that some millionaires give to one party, some to the other, and quite a few to both, lending credence to the argument that the financial czars don't care a whole lot which capitalist party wins.

A more troublesome aspect of Dom-

hoff's book is the political conclusions he draws. After dispelling the mythology of the Democratic Party, he then partly falls victim to it. The Democrats, says Domhoff, "probably are better for the common man." Where is the evidence, one might well ask? But since Domhoff doesn't bother to substantiate the assertion, the reader is left with the author's afterthought, that the Democrats are "not much better."

In a sense, Domhoff's own schizophrenia is a reflection of the American voters' quandary, on the one hand appalled by the corruption of the political process, but yet hoping beyond hope that one of the two parties is "a little better." Thus at one point Domhoff flatly asserts that the Democratic Party is bought and paid for by the big rich and controlled by the "power elite" and at another juncture contends that the Democrats provide a friendlier climate for Blacks and the working class.

Domhoff's solution to the dilemma also leaves something to be desired. "Until the unlikely day," he writes, "when millions of blue- and white-collar workers put aside their racial and ethnic differences and show themselves to be genuine democrats by contributing \$10 to \$20 a year to the support of anti-Big Property candidates, American politics will remain with few exceptions a staging area for blustery egotists, timid idealists, and the usual array of favor seekers, tax dodgers and outright embezzlers."

Unfortunately, that's the only alternative Domhoff can pose, which is something of an anticlimax for readers who may have become justifiably dismayed by the author's revelations about the Democratic Party.

—RANDY FURST

Film

Women's liberation: Hollywood style

Stand Up and Be Counted. A Columbia Picture. Script by Bernard Slade. Directed by Jackie Cooper. Produced by M.J. Frankovich. Featuring Jacqueline Bisset, Stella Stevens, Steve Lawrence, Gary Lockwood, Lee Purcell, Loretta Swit.

Stand Up and Be Counted is a Hollywood movie that attempts to portray the women's liberation movement. Through the lives of four women (and the men they are involved with), the beginnings and continued rise of women struggling for self-identity and individual purpose are explored.

However, no women were involved in making the film, and it has some regrettable drawbacks. One is that some scenes, which seem to be intended as representative samples of women in struggle, come off as fantasies.

For example, the beginning scenes ask the audience to accept quite a lot that's not really credible. The most fantastic theme is developed around the character of Karen. She researches the sexually active young men in her neighborhood and comes up with one

who meets her requirements. Why? So she can pay him \$500 to get her pregnant, with the condition that he have no ties whatsoever with her or the future child.

There is little motivational buildup for her action. The main point of her pregnancy seems to be that of free choice—to be pregnant or not to be. Women's liberation for Karen is choosing to have a child under the conditions she herself constructs. Besides the fact that few in this society have much choice about the conditions under which children are reared, this is far afield of such meaningful expressions of women's liberation as "Free 24-hour Child Care" or "Repeal All Restrictive Abortion Laws."

However, despite the unbelievable aspects, the character of Karen does get across the message of the movement as the movie sees it. This message is that women's liberation means choices for women.

And while the film avoids serious mention of the more controversial issues of the women's movement, it does develop the theme that any woman who examines what feminism is all about cannot but accept that we have

been brainwashed, abused, and used by this society.

The men in the script are indeed believable, even if stereotyped. They spare nothing in the lengths they will go to prove that they are—each and every one of them—dupes, dopes, pigs, and beasts.

The most realistic of the four couples presented is played by Steve Lawrence and Loretta Swit. They are the not-so-young marrieds with four children. As can easily happen to a woman who spends 24 hours a day with children in a usually boring atmosphere of dishes and laundry, Swit finds herself "talking back to Art Linkletter."

Her husband's answer to her fear of impending insanity from boredom and overwork is, "You'll get over it," and "All women go through something like this—you're not so unique."

These lines, so cruelly delivered by a husband, later become a motivational force toward positive solidarity with other women. Loretta Swit gives the best performance of the film as she portrays one more housewife escaping the isolated environment of the nuclear family.

Jacqueline Bisset, who plays Kar-

en's sister, a chic fashion writer, originally contends that women's liberation is just "seven women with hairy legs who have a genius for getting on the Johnny Carson Show." She later becomes convinced that the women's movement is not only viable but meaningful to her personally.

This theme, that women's liberation is an intensely personal search for self as woman, is heavily emphasized. It overshadows women's liberation as a political and social movement. Only through the demand of "Equal Pay for Equal Work" is the struggle for political power explored. Even this loses its potential impact by the way in which it is portrayed: a picket line that turns into a "bra burn-in," at, but what else—a bra factory.

Despite the drawbacks, *Stand Up and Be Counted*, as a Hollywood production, can be recommended for cracking the movie version of women as nothing but mothers, sex objects, and dingbats. It is unfortunate that in the process the back roads of fantasy take over what could have been a decent presentation of the front lines of struggle.

—JANE MELTON

Northwest Airlines makes profit off strike

By FRANK LOVELL

The 13-week strike of Northwest Airlines was settled Oct. 2 when the Air Line Pilots Association agreed to terms that appeared favorable to most of the 1,600 pilots who were employed by the company when the strike began.

According to company reports, average wage and fringe benefit improvements amount to a 29.5 percent increase. Senior pilots will get top pay of \$66,816 yearly, up from \$60,900 before the strike. Junior pilots will get a minimum of \$19,680, a raise from \$15,564. However, only 1,425 pilots are scheduled for immediate recall. What happens to the other 175 and what their pay will be has not yet been announced.

Other improvements in the new three-year agreement reportedly include shorter working hours, higher pension benefits, better health coverage, and more satisfactory working conditions. The settlement was worked out in consultation with Assistant Secretary of Labor W.J. Usery Jr. and National Mediation Board Chairman David Stow.

According to the Pilots Association, Northwest never complied with some provisions of the previous contract. Consequently, it is now understood that Usery or Stow or some other government official representing them will return quarterly to Minneapolis, headquarters of Northwest, and meet with company and union officials to guarantee that the terms of the present contract are respected.

It remains to be seen whether such government intervention will be beneficial to the pilots, and how great their gains have been under the present arrangement.

One thing is known. The company made the greatest gains during this long strike, just as it gained from the five-month-long strike in 1970 when the airline clerks were out. Company gains in both instances derive from the \$181-million war chest of the airlines.

This began as a Mutual Aid Pact against strikes back in 1958, started by six of the larger companies and subsequently joined by others. Since then it has paid out \$179-million in benefits to seven airlines that have been struck at various times. The fund pays 50 percent of normal operating expenses during a strike, 35 percent if the strike lasts more than two weeks. Northwest has collected more than

\$53-million in benefits in the course of three strikes.

The Mutual Aid Pact is maintained with the knowledge and tacit approval of the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), and government subsidies have been siphoned into the strike insurance kitty.

This is such an ill-kept secret that it has become the subject of ridicule and derision. An imaginary interview with a U.S. senator, originally pub-

so Northwest was the only member of the 'club' to show a profit for the year!

"REP: That's hard to believe, but why should a Pact member penalize itself just to bail out another member?"

"SEN: Each of them, of course, is looking ahead to the day when they may need help themselves—but what they fail to understand is that Mutual Aid isn't all it's cracked up to be. It robs stockholders, it neglects

in the best possible way—by forcing a carrier into the red. You see, no matter who loses, the banker comes out ahead.

"REP: You mentioned the passengers.

"SEN: Indeed I did, because the CAB is supposed to help them and that's why it requires service along non-profitable routes. But during a strike this rule is suspended and these low revenue routes are the first to be dropped. So the people who need service the most don't get it.

"REP: How are taxpayers involved?

"SEN: They're stuck because, believe it or not, payments to Mutual Aid are lumped with operating expenses, and this is the basis for figuring government subsidies. So the taxpayer, in a roundabout way, foots the bill for strike insurance. By law, you know, airmail subsidies must cover not only the cost of carrying the mail, but also help maintain and develop air transport. In other words, the mail subsidy must be sufficient to enable an air line to show a profit even though it loses money on everything else!

"REP: But the air lines don't show a profit—they're always in the red.

"SEN: That's just a temporary illusion, and it's due to the time lag between a reported annual loss and the increased subsidy that will eventually cover that loss.

"REP: It's plain to see that this anti-union Pact is aimed at the employees, but does the national economy really suffer?

"SEN: I'm glad you asked that, and I'm glad you phrased your question in just that way. Instead of halting strikes as it was supposed to do, the Pact actually makes them last much longer—at least five times longer, on the average, than strikes against what few non-Pact members still exist. And if this doesn't affect the economy, I don't know what does.

"REP: So what's the answer?

"SEN: As I told you at the beginning in this interview, my job is to defend the CAB and that's exactly what I intend to do. I'm going to recommend that the CAB take complete control of the industry—surely the government can't do any worse than the private operators!"

Anybody would know that this senator is a made-up character. Real senators understand that the government represents the private operators.



lished in a Seattle newspaper, was reprinted in full in the July issue of *The Air Line Employee*, a house organ of the union officials. Those parts relating to Northwest reveal how the strike insurance scheme works.

The senator called a naive reporter to his office for an interview, and this is the way it went:

"REP: How much did Northwest collect in Mutual Aid?

"SEN: Plenty—around \$47,000,000, as I recall. Anyway, it was enough

passenger service, it hurts taxpayers, and it may eventually wreck the industry itself. The only 'winners' are the banks to which all carriers are in hock.

"REP: How so?

"SEN: Bank officers are often found on the board of directors of an air line, and they call the shots. It doesn't make sense for them to bankroll competing companies, and why should it? That's like spending money against yourself. So they encourage mergers

L.A. cops say Black deaths 'a mistake'

LOS ANGELES—Two Los Angeles cops were indicted by a grand jury Oct. 10 for manslaughter in the "wrong man" killing of a Black factory worker. They killed Phillip Eric Johns, 23, in his bed. They said they thought he was a robbery suspect they were looking for.

Los Angeles Police Chief Edward Davis bitterly assailed the grand jury. He expressed confidence that the two cops will be exonerated when the charges "are reviewed by trained judges."

Since numerous Los Angeles judges seem well trained in railroading innocent people, it is not unlikely there will be "trained" judges available to help exonerate cops who shoot innocent people in their beds.

Mayor Sam Yorty was also quick to declare his solidarity with trigger-happy cops. Everyone is sorry the killing occurred, he assured, "But sympathy for the dead man and regret for what happened should not obscure the fact that the officers acted in the line of duty. . . ."

The facts that have emerged so far indicate this is not necessarily so.

The two Los Angeles cops assert they went to Johns's home in Inglewood, a neighboring community, because they had "reliable" information that a robbery suspect they were looking for would be found there.

According to the official police version, they knocked on the apartment door and after getting no response obtained a passkey from the manager. They entered—without a search warrant—and found a man in bed covered with a sheet.

They ordered him to get up and when he failed to do so, they assert, they drew their guns and pulled back the sheet.

Johns, they allege, tried to grab Hurley's gun and it accidentally discharged. The shot went wild, but Tregarthen thought his partner had been shot and opened fire. Hurley opened fire too. They pumped five bullets into Johns, and he was dead.

An Inglewood police department report obtained by the *Los Angeles*

Times disclosed that Inglewood police had checked out the Los Angeles cops' "information" and reported to them *four days previous* that there was no evidence that the wanted man, Carl Spottsville, had ever been in Johns's apartment.

It has also been disclosed that the cops apparently had the wrong address as well as the wrong man. It seems that a sister of Spottsville had been known to park her car in front of the building where Johns lived. The reason being that she lives across the street. Her address is one digit different than the dead man's.

Hurley and Tregarthen were released on their own recognizance. Chief Davis said he will petition the city council to make the services of the city attorney available in their defense.

A damage suit is being filed against the police department by the victim's father, Andrew Johns of Los Angeles.

He said he learned of his son's death 14 hours after it happened. Inglewood detectives came to his home "and told

me my son had been killed by mistake."

LOS ANGELES—A 16-year-old youth was killed Oct. 6 by a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff responding to a report someone was stripping a car.

According to the official version, Deputy Carl Peel and his partner, Michael Crowley, arrived on the scene and found two youths stripping tires from a car. The suspects fled.

Crowley followed one of the suspects into a backyard where he found him crouching near a fence. He ordered him to stand up. Instead, the youth, Rudolph Powdrill, tried to scale the fence.

Peel was waiting on the other side, gun drawn. When the youth came over, the report goes, Peel was startled by the noise and fell over backward. His gun discharged.

Wounded in the chest, Powdrill ran another half block, where he was found dead.

Calendar

BOSTON

ELECTION NIGHT RALLY. Speeches by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley live via national closed-circuit telephone hookup. Refreshments served. **Tues., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave.** (opp. South Station). Admission free. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

DON GUREWITZ, SWP candidate for U.S. senator in Massachusetts; and **JEANNE LAFFERTY**, SWP candidate for Congress from 9th C.D., will appear on WNAC-TV (Channel 7), **Mon., Nov. 6; 7:30-8 p.m.**

LOS ANGELES

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

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE REAL MEANING OF THE VIETNAM PEACE SETTLEMENT. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*. **Fri., Nov. 10, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor.** Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 982-5940.

PHILADELPHIA

AFRICAN LIBERATION—panel and movie. **Fri., Nov. 10, 8 p.m.** University of Pennsylvania, Houston Hall, Second Floor, 3417 Spruce St., Philadelphia. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by U of P Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PORTLAND

ELECTION EVE VICTORY PARTY. Celebrate with Oregon Socialist Workers campaign. **Tues., Nov. 7, 6:30 p.m. 1218 S.E. Madison.** Donation: \$1.50, h.s. students 75c. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

TWIN CITIES

SWP CAMPAIGN VICTORY RALLY AND DINNER. Speakers: Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for senator in Minnesota; Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for Congress from 5th C.D.; Gary Prevost, coordinator of Twin Cities NPAC; John Apitz, student body president, Gustavus Adolphus College; Koreen Phelps, activist in gay liberation movement. **Sat., Nov. 11, 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave., N.E., Mpls.** Donation: \$3 (rally and turkey dinner), \$1 (rally only). For more information call (612) 332-7781.

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.

...abortion

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social isolation she felt as all her friends found out and the moral disapproval and distrust of her parents.

Her parents were able to finance a trip to England for a legal abortion. But many high school women whose parents are not so fortunate are forced to carry unwanted pregnancies to term because of the super-reactionary laws in Massachusetts that not only deny all women abortions but also deny young women access to contraceptives.

One woman began her testimony by stating, "I had an abortion 18 years ago, and until last year I never told anyone."

A Catholic woman who testified, Margaret Karol, is an asthmatic and has borne four asthmatic children. She estimated that medical expenses for her family run \$9,000 a year. She outlined the impossible task of finding a safe, effective contraception method that would satisfy the Church and described the Church's ban on therapeutic abortions for Catholic women. "The Church had better come up with something better," she said, "because I just don't believe it anymore."

OCT. 29—Abortion hearings were also held in other cities over the week-end. One hundred fifty women attended hearings in Minneapolis sponsored by the Minneapolis Women's Political Caucus, the Minnesota Organization to Repeal Abortion Laws, the University of Minnesota Women's Liberation, and others.

In Chicago, the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition organized hearings attended by 135 people that were endorsed by the Chicago Women's Liberation Union and the *Feminist Voice*, among others. Speakers at the hearing included representatives from the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and the Midwest Population Center.

In Philadelphia 120 people attended abortion hearings sponsored by Pennsylvania Women's Liberation and Philadelphia WONAAC. One highlight of the hearings came when Emma Trout, an ordained Baptist minister, carried out a dialogue between a theologian and a "feminist" God.

On Oct. 25 an Abortion Tribunal, sponsored by the Woman's Abortion Action Committee, was held at the

University of Texas in Austin. More than 100 people attended. The tribunal was preceded by a campus referendum on abortion in which students voted for legalizing abortion as a woman's right by an overwhelming margin of 3,000 to a few hundred.

And in the pouring rain, 55 women turned out Oct. 28 in Washington, D.C., for abortion hearings that focused on the recent city council ruling forcing women to wait 24 hours after applying for an abortion in D.C. clinics and hospitals.

...Argentina

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chapter was launched with an initial budget of \$500 granted by the Puerto Rican Students Association. Articles appeared in campus and local newspapers for the meeting. Many professors, including the chairwoman of the Puerto Rican Studies Department, Professor Maria Josefa Canino, became USLA sponsors.

Media coverage has been excellent. Discussion programs and interviews were held on WPLJ-FM, WBAI-FM, and Public Access TV. Liberation News Service interviewed Rodriguez in Spanish and English.

Rodriguez had to return to Argentina suddenly, cutting off her tour before it was completed. However, meetings scheduled for her are being filled by substitute speakers until another Argentine, also active in the movement to free political prisoners, arrives to take her place.

Anyone interested in working with USLA on the tour should contact the national USLA office at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

...Mead

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going to touch. I suspect it was the League's money."

When faced by the workers' angry reaction to the red-baiting at the next strike meeting, Williams claimed he was misquoted but always found some excuse not to publicly disavow the news story.

Red-baiting has a long history as

one of the chief weapons used by the company, the police, and the government to attack and smash strikes or any social movement by sowing confusion and division. It can achieve its goal if it is not met forcefully and aggressively with the principle of non-exclusion.

The leadership of the Rank and File Caucus made mistakes during the strike, but they were honest mistakes—mistakes of young workers thrust into the leadership of a difficult, complex strike, with powerful forces arrayed against them, including the company, the news media, the police, the city administration, and the union itself. In many cases they recognized their mistakes and attempted to take steps to correct them.

...schools

Continued from page 24

be enrolled at JHS 211. That decision was subsequently upheld by State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist.

White parents in the Canarsie area have mounted a boycott of all public schools in response to the admission of the Tilden students. The white parents have denied that their campaign against the Tilden students has anything to do with racism, an issue they say has been invented, and claim that the problem is overcrowding in the schools.

But the real situation is all too clear. Some of the insults shouted at Blacks by white demonstrators, reported the Oct. 31 *New York Times*, included ones like: "You ain't people—you're animals"; "Go back on the boat to Africa"; "Go back to the zoo"; "Go get your welfare checks"; and "Come here, boy, and give me a shine."

One of the arguments parents in Canarsie give to show they are not racist is that Black students who live in Canarsie are allowed to attend JHS 211. However, this argument is undercut by the growing support from Blacks who live in Canarsie for the admission of the Brownsville students to JHS 211. The Oct. 31 *New York Times* reported that "Many [of the Canarsie Black parents] yesterday angrily stormed past boycotting white parents who were trying to block the entrances to the district's schools."

One Black parent explained that "if they pull off this thing on the Brownsville children, the same thing will happen to us in 1973."

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, 9 E. 13 St., Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

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

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

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 Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 453 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

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.

Storrs: YSA, P.O. Box 176, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o David Bouffard, 308 S. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

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 University, 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.

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.

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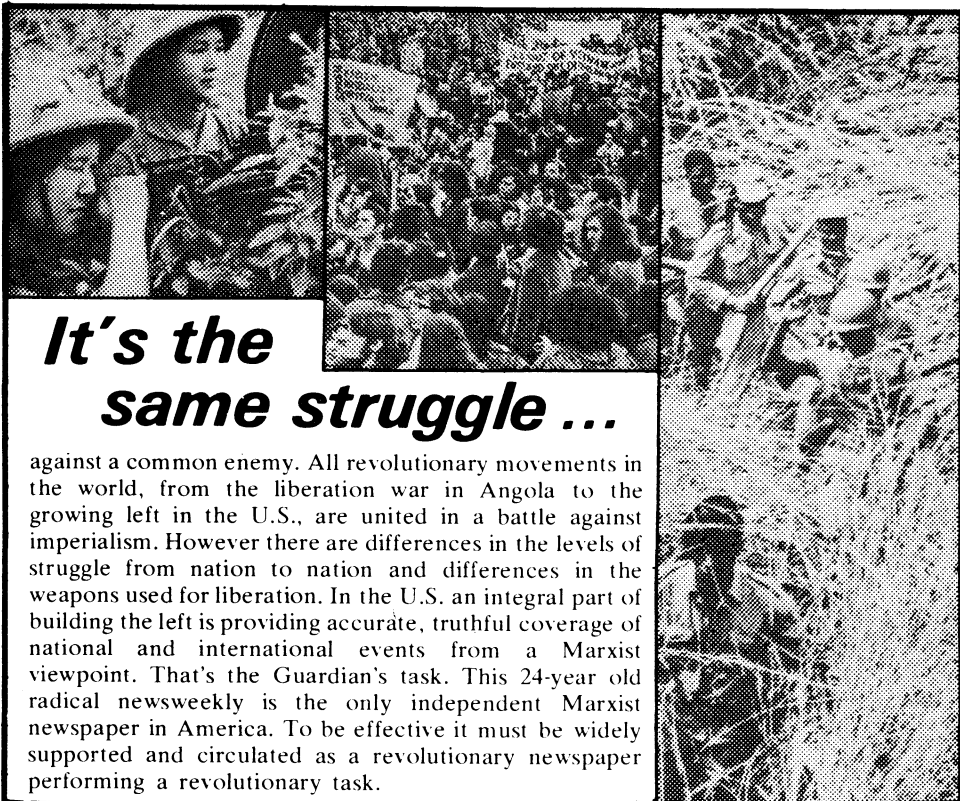
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THE MILITANT

Black students admitted to Brooklyn's JHS 211; racist whites boycott schools

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—Public schools here officially opened up for the new school year on Sept. 11—seven weeks ago. But for 32 Black and Puerto Rican students from the Tilden Houses, a public housing project in Brooklyn's Brownsville ghetto, the first day of school came on Oct. 23, when they were escorted into John Wilson Junior High School (JHS 211) by some 150 policemen. More than 1,000 demonstrators screamed racial epithets at the Brownsville students from behind police barricades.

Tilden has 4,500 residents, who are about evenly divided between Blacks and Puerto Ricans. According to the *New York Times*, about one-quarter of the families in the Tilden project receive welfare. For years children from Tilden, which originally had a sizable percentage of white residents, went to schools in East Flatbush, a mainly white area. In 1969 New York school districts were redrawn and a new district (No. 23) was created in Brownsville, although children from the Tilden Houses continued to go to school in East Flatbush (District 18).

"But as the residents of Tilden increased their Black and Puerto Rican proportions to its current 96 percent," reports Stephen Gayle in the Oct. 25 *New York Post*, "school officials in District 18 grew worried and began to turn away Tilden Houses children."

District 18 includes the areas of East Flatbush and Canarsie. Out of a population of more than 80,000 in Canarsie there are only 4,000 Blacks. Jews and Italians make up 90 percent of the population. Most of Canarsie's working adults are employed in manufacturing, and the average family income is \$12,303 a year. Canarsie was built up by people who moved out of Brownsville, East New York, and East Flatbush as the Puerto Rican and Black populations in those areas grew.

When schools opened on Sept. 11, local school officials barred 90 Black students from the Tilden Houses from registering at Meyer Levin Junior High School (JHS 285), which is

situated on the border between Canarsie and Flatbush.

The officials of District 18 claimed that the admission of these 90 students would cause overcrowding in the school and would "tip its racial balance," which is now 50 percent Black. Instead, they proposed that the children from the Tilden Houses should be sent to a District 18 school on the border of Brownsville. This school—Arthur S. Somers Junior High School—is 90 percent Black and Puerto Rican.

Harvey Garner, the acting superintendent of District 18, explained that as far as he was concerned this offer had "resolved" the dispute, and Black

parents. The Tilden parents rented a bus, and showed up at JHS 285 every morning, demanding that their children be admitted to the school.

Finally, on Oct. 13 the Tilden parents were allowed to register their children in integrated schools in District 18. The continuing demonstrations of the Tilden parents and the publicity they were attracting had forced School Chancellor Harvey Scribner to intervene in their behalf.

Fifteen of the Black children who had brothers and sisters already attending JHS 285 were registered there, and the rest were to be registered at JHS 211, which is 70 percent white. By this time about half of the 90

is 97 percent white. Chancellor Scribner ordered JHS 68 to make 50 seats available for pupils from the Tilden Houses. He hoped they would transfer there "voluntarily" in order to integrate the school.

Fifteen whites were arrested trying to prevent the registration of the Black students on Oct. 13, and racist demonstrators gathered at JHS 211 and JHS 68 to protest the decision to admit more Black children.

When school resumed on Monday, Oct. 16, racist demonstrators sat in at JHS 211 and forced the closing of JHS 68 as well. Although JHS 68 was reopened the next day, the occupation of JHS 211, where the Black children from Brownsville appeared each day, continued until Oct. 19. None of the Tilden parents chose to register their children at JHS 68 because of its greater distance and fear that their children wouldn't be safe at this virtually all-white school.

The white parents sitting in at JHS 211 were treated with kid gloves. They finally agreed to leave only after Scribner threatened to obtain an injunction against them. "If that were us in there," one Black mother said, "we'd be on our way to jail in two hours."

Scribner announced Oct. 19 that the Tilden pupils would be enrolled in JHS 211 on Oct. 24. Then, on the night of Oct. 22 he reversed his decision and announced they would be sent to JHS 68. This was precisely the same "solution" the District 18 school board proposed to the Tilden parents in previous meetings. In the name of "integration," Scribner was caving in to the demands of the racists that there must be a 2-to-1 majority of whites at JHS 211 in order to maintain the "correct racial balance" there.

The Tilden parents, supported by Blacks from the area around JHS 211, continued to come to Wilson each morning with their children, demanding that the school admit them. Finally, on Oct. 26, the New York board of education overruled Scribner and directed that the Tilden students

Continued on page 22



Militant/Jim Little

John Wilson Junior High School's (JHS211) assistant principal, Tony Roziano, warily eyes Black parents as he blocks their children from entrance to school. This scene took place the morning of Oct. 26, before city board of education ordered the school to admit the Black students.

parents who demonstrated for the right of their children to attend JHS 285 were "diehards."

The Tilden parents, however, refused to accept this proposal on the grounds that Somers JHS is a segregated school with inferior conditions. "We're dealing with a racist board," said Joan Boatright, one of the Black

students originally involved had registered at Somers JHS, the segregated school that the local school board had tried to force them to attend.

At this point the focus of the struggle shifted from East Flatbush to Canarsie, where JHS 211 is located. Also located there is Isaac Bildersee Junior High School (JHS 68), which

UAW 'weekender' strikes have little effect

By FRANK LOVELL

OCT. 30—The third successive round of "weekend" strikes by locals of the United Auto Workers against widely scattered General Motors assembly plants began Friday, Oct. 27. Among the strikes this time was one at the St. Louis plant, which employs 8,500 workers. It was the target of similar action in "round one" two weeks earlier.

Other strikes were set at the plant in Leeds, Mo., near Kansas City, where 3,000 UAW members work, and at the stamping plant in Hamilton Ohio, with 2,400 hourly rated workers. The Hamilton plant supplies parts for all GM assembly plants.

At the GM steering gear manufacturing plant in Saginaw, Mich., also a key operation that can effectively

paralyze all assembly units, the UAW local served notice of intent to strike in a possible fourth round of "quickie" strikes.

This strategy of short strikes at selected plants was devised by top officials of the union following the end of the 174-day strike at GM's Norwood, Ohio, plant on Sept. 27. It's designed to resolve the question of speedup in General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plants.

There have been eight short strikes since the Norwood strike ended. However, neither the long Norwood strike nor the quickies have resolved anything.

In the third round of scheduled shutdowns only the assembly plant at Leeds, Mo., actually went out. The St. Louis local continued work following a marathon 38-hour negotiating

session that ended in a "tentative agreement." The membership of Local 25 is to vote on the agreement at a special meeting Nov. 1. The scheduled strike at the Hamilton stamping plant has also been postponed pending the outcome of further negotiations.

These strikes and threats of strikes are tactical moves by the UAW International in Detroit, which seeks to reach an understanding with GM officials on production standards for the current car models under terms of the existing UAW contract. This contract is not due to expire until September 1973, but it has in effect been scrapped by GMAD.

The very cautious strike tactics of the UAW top officialdom have, despite the timid and limited use of the strike weapon, started a process of

organized mass resistance to GM's speedup policy. This can lead to demands by the rank and file in many of the hardest-hit locals to remove the decision-making powers from the bargaining tables, where they presently rest, to the assembly lines, where they rightfully belong.

The workers on the assembly lines need shorter hours of work and more workers on the job. They have been saying this for a long time. They will win these basic demands only when they challenge the "right" of the corporations to dictate conditions of work, and when they appeal to all other workers—organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed—to join a sustained, determined fight for a 30-hour workweek throughout the industry with no reduction in take-home pay.