

# THE MILITANT

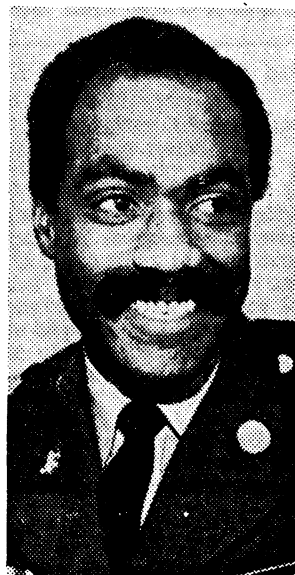
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Sailors rebel against racism in U.S. Navy



Sailors refuse to board Constellation in protest against racism in Navy - page 3

## Black GI freed on 'fragging' charges



Billy Dean Smith

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 15 — Billy Dean Smith was acquitted yesterday of the charge of murdering two Army officers and attempting to kill two others in Bienhoa, Vietnam. Smith is the first GI tried in the United States on charges of "fragging" (murder by fragmentation grenade).

After deliberating five hours and 40 minutes, the jury of seven career officers filed stiffly into the courtroom and stood at attention, awaiting the reading of the verdict. As the senior juror monotoned the verdict of "not guilty" on each of the murder counts, a muffled sigh of relief rose from the 25 spectators and family in the courtroom.

Minutes before, Judge Rawls Frazier had warned that expressions of emotion by the spectators were forbidden.

Although acquitted of the murder charges, Smith was convicted for assault

on a military policeman who arrested him about 90 minutes after the fragging on March 15, 1971. Smith was given a bad conduct discharge after being reduced to Private E-1, the lowest enlisted rank, for allegedly spitting on and kicking the arresting officer.

Smith spoke to reporters with Angela Davis and his attorney, Luke McKissack, today in San Francisco. The Black GI asserted that he had been chosen for trial because of his outspoken opposition to the war in Vietnam and to racism in the Army. He said that his trial was aimed at all critics of the war among enlisted men in Vietnam.

"No one can return the 20 months [spent in solitary] taken from my life," Smith said, "nor do I expect them to understand what went through my mind as I waited under sentence of death, charged with a crime I did not commit. As I sat in solitary confinement, I often thought of the different

treatment I was receiving, not even having had a trial, from that of Lieutenant William Calley, a white officer who was virtually freed after having been convicted after slaughtering hundreds of innocent, unarmed Vietnamese.

"I'm glad to be free, but I can't really feel free until the war in Southeast Asia is over. The blood of nearly six million Vietnamese has seeped into the soil of rice fields that will never grow again, and the gouged-out trenches of a devastated land run red with the life substance of a people who would be free had they not been made scapegoats in this vicious war game which would-be fascists choose to play at their expense. I now wish to dedicate the rest of my life to working toward guaranteeing that other persons like myself will not have to be subjected to the injustices I faced both in the military and in courts throughout the country."

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## THE MILITANT

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

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**DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST DOMINICAN DEPORTATIONS:** On Nov. 9 about 60 people picketed the Dominican consulate in midtown Manhattan to protest the imminent deportation of 40 Dominican political prisoners. The deportations planned by President Joaquin Balaguer follow stepped-up protests against political repression and the torture of political prisoners within the Dominican Republic.

The demonstration was organized by Comité Pro-Defensa de los Derechos Humanos República Dominicana (Committee for Human Rights in the Dominican Republic) and supported by a large number of radical, civil liberties, and Latino organizations, including the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

## Hugo Blanco in Chile



Militant/Ben Atwood

On Oct. 26 Hugo Blanco was sent to Chile by Argentine authorities. The exiled Peruvian Trotskyist, who gained international fame as a peasant leader in the early 1960s, had been held in an Argentine prison without charge since his arrest on July 12. When he was served with a deportation decree last July, Blanco indicated that he preferred to remain in Argentina, but that if that was not possible he would choose to go to Chile.

On the day of his departure, a delegation of some 150 supporters from the Argentine Socialist Party (PSA), headed by General Secretary Juan Carlos Coral, waited to greet him at the airport. Although the authorities reneged on their promise to let them meet Blanco before he boarded the plane, they were able to see him mount the steps with his clenched fist in the air, according to the PSA's weekly newspaper, **Avanzada Socialista**. "From below, 150 arms shot up into the air to greet him, and 150 voices shouted as loud as they could: 'Viva Hugo Blanco!'"

**U.S. TACTICS TRIED IN CANADA:** Apparently Canadian immigration officials have been following events in the U.S. In the wake of the U.S. refusal to allow Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist scholar and Trotskyist leader, to enter the U.S., Canadian immigration officials have refused to grant landed immigrant status to Dr. Istvan Meszaros.

Meszaros is a Marxist who left Hungary following the Soviet invasion in 1956. He taught at St. Andrews University in Scotland and at Sussex University in England before accepting a post at Toronto's York University. His exclusion from Canada has aroused widespread protest.

**ARAB-AMERICAN LAWYER FIGHTS FBI HARASSMENT:** Abdeen Jabara, a Detroit attorney who has been a prominent figure in the defense of civil liberties and of the Palestinian revolution, filed suit in federal court recently, charging the FBI with illegal surveillance. Jabara claims that the FBI has bugged his telephone, illegally investigated his bank account, and monitored his speeches.

Jabara is the president of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, and he maintains that the FBI is spying on him because he is an Arab. The suit asks for an injunction to prevent further surveillance and harassment by the FBI.

**INDIAN POPULATION INCREASING:** According to the 1970 census, there were 792,730 Indians in the U.S.

in that year, a growth of nearly 50 percent over 1960. Census officials indicated that one reason for the sharp increase in the count was an increased willingness of people to identify themselves as Indians.

Although some improvement in health standards was also claimed, infant mortality among Indians is still 40 percent higher than the national average. Average life expectancy among Indians is 47 years, compared to a national average of 71.

Unemployment among Indians is estimated to be 45 percent; their median family income is \$4,000, compared with \$9,867 for the nation as a whole. The suicide rate among Indians is twice the national average.

**IT'S ENOUGH TO MAKE YOU SICK:** In November 1969, President Nixon announced that in the future the U.S. would limit its research in biological warfare to "defensive measures such as immunization and safety," and destroy its stocks of biological weapons. In October 1971, Nixon even helicoptered to Fort Detrick, Md., to announce that the biological warfare facilities there would be turned into a cancer research unit. And this year he signed an international treaty prohibiting the development, production, and stockpiling of biological weapons.

However, the president has apparently decided not to be too hasty in phasing out those useful microbes. Funding for biological warfare research will be \$11.8-million for the 1973 fiscal year, according to figures made public by Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska). And Gravel's figures are too low.

The amount budgeted for the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases—still located at Fort Detrick, by the way—is set at \$4.2-million in Gravel's figures, while an Institute official concedes that their actual budget will be \$6.1-million. This figure is 50 percent higher than the 1972 funding level of \$4-million.

**A WARPED FORM OF SOLIDARITY:** Instead of opposing the undemocratic restrictions in the Soviet Union on the right of Jews and others to travel freely and emigrate if they choose, the New China News Agency attacked the recent loosening of restrictions on emigration for Jews. The Chinese news agency claimed Nov. 12 that the "practice of Soviet revisionists in this field is doing Arab countries considerable wrong and can only prolong the state of war in the Middle East."

In reality, it has been the failure of the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to eliminate the discrimination suffered by Jews, and in some instances their encouragement of it, which has led to large numbers of Jews wanting to emigrate to Israel. This has given new life to the false claim of the Zionists that anti-Semitism is part of "human nature" and can never be eradicated, and that those wishing to escape its effects must go to "the Jewish homeland."

**GAY ACTIVISTS MEET IN SACRAMENTO:** More than 200 people attended a gay activists conference at Sacramento State College in California Oct. 20-23. About half the participants were women.

The conference called for demonstrations this spring in Sacramento and other state capitals around the demands of repeal of anti-gay laws and in support of gay civil rights.

**BIG YEAR FOR TROTSKY BOOKS:** The relevance of Leon Trotsky's ideas and the mounting interest in his life and works are indicated by the publication this year in English of eight new books by or about the Russian revolutionary.

The five new titles by Trotsky are: **1905** (Random House); **The Young Lenin** (Doubleday); **Leon Trotsky Speaks, Writings of Leon Trotsky (1933-34)**, and, in December, **Writings of Leon Trotsky (1932-33)** (Pathfinder Press).

The three new books about Trotsky are: **Trotsky: A Documentary** by Francis Wyndham and David King (Praeger), **Trotsky and the Jews** by Joseph Nevada (Jewish Publication Society of America), and **The Assassination of Trotsky** by Nicholas Mosley (Michael Joseph). Mosley also wrote the screenplay of the Joseph Losey film with Richard Burton, but this is a separate nonfiction work, published in England.

This listing does not include the many Trotsky titles reprinted in English this year.

**PELIKAN LETTER REPRINTED:** The **Pittsburgh Fair Witness** is the latest underground newspaper to reprint the appeal for support to Czechoslovak political prisoners addressed to Angela Davis by Jiri Pelikan.

Pelikan, an exiled Czechoslovak, was expelled from the Communist Party there because of his opposition to the 1968 Soviet invasion. His appeal, which appeared in the Aug. 31 **New York Review of Books** and the Sept. 8 **Militant**, was reproduced in the October issue of **Fair Witness**. The **Los Angeles Free Press** printed the appeal in its Sept. 15 issue.

—DAVE FRANKEL

## Black sailors victimized

# Navy acts to defuse Constellation protest

By HARRY RING

SAN DIEGO, Nov. 14 — The Navy is making extensive use of duplicity and intimidation to defuse the courageous antiracist protest by Black seamen from the warship U. S. S. *Constellation*.

The protesters have been dispersed in three shoreside Naval stations here. They are being individually processed for "counseling" and administrative hearings. At these hearings a variety of penalties have been imposed and an undetermined number of the men have been given discharges from the Navy.

Three of those given discharges were arrested immediately afterward and are being held on a marijuana charge those close to the situation believe to be a frame-up.

It has not been possible to contact the protesters directly. However, I was able to get a report on the situation from Jake Colbert, a former Navy seaman who is now staff representative for the Black Servicemen's Caucus, a group that provided legal counsel for the *Constellation* protesters and focused national media attention on the action.

Formed last February to combat racism in the military, the Black Servicemen's Caucus is based in San Diego. Its center offers counseling and other services to sailors and marines stationed in the area.

The *Constellation* protest by the Black seamen began while the ship was at sea. It had recently returned from the Vietnam coastal areas, where it had participated in the bombing of Vietnam. The *Constellation* had been in the news a year ago when a number of antiwar crew members refused to report for the sailing to Vietnam.

An estimated 250 of the ship's approximately 4,500 crew members are Black. They began meeting aboard ship a couple of weeks ago to dis-

cuss the various forms of victimization they were being subjected to.

The protest was set into motion when the Navy decided the ship was overstaffed by 200 and, as Colbert put it, the *Constellation's* captain, J. D. Ward, "saw this as an opportunity to get some Blacks off the ship."

Ward began issuing administrative discharges, mainly to Blacks who had received low scores in aptitude tests at the time they had joined the Navy. While such discharges are in the "honorable" category, they indicate the recipient was "unsuited" for or "unadaptable" to Navy service, and are not particularly helpful as part of a job seeker's record.

In the discussion, the Black crew members came to realize that their grievances went a lot further than the problems of discharges. Comparing notes, they found it was an established practice to keep Blacks in menial positions far more than whites and that advancement to more skilled, better paying grades was very hard to come by.

Also they found a well-established double disciplinary standard, with Blacks receiving harsher penalties than whites for the same offense. Finally, at a mess hall meeting of some 120 Blacks it was decided that a delegation present their grievances to the captain.

The captain refused to see the delegation and the men decided to stay on the mess hall deck until he did. After 10 hours, Captain Ward came down. He told them there was nothing he could do about their grievances, that it was a matter for higher authorities. In an outburst of anger, Colbert said, Ward told the seamen, "Any of you people who don't like my ship, get off!"

The ship then returned to port Nov. 4 and the 120 Blacks were put ashore. Ten whites known to be sympathetic

to the grievances of the Blacks were selected to be put ashore with them so the Navy could avoid saying the issue was racial.

For several days they were at a nearby Naval station. On Nov. 8 the ship returned, and Captain Ward, who had apparently been briefed by the Pentagon, met with the men. According to Colbert, he told them, "I'm sorry. I was wrong. I didn't know the problem was that bad. So if you'll return to the ship, we'll see what we can do."

The sailors told him they would return if they were given written assurances their grievances would be met. At that point Ward ordered them to report for ship duty at eight o'clock the next morning.

The seamen then met with represen-

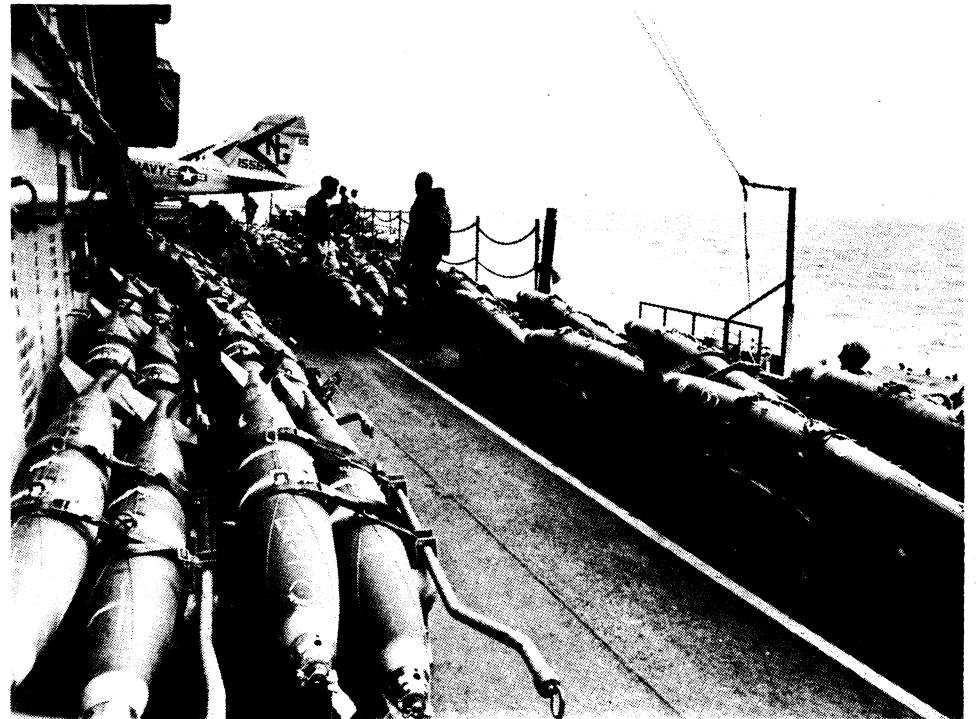
tatives of the Black Servicemen's Caucus and a half dozen attorneys the BSC was able to get together.

After discussion, the men decided they would go down to the pier the next morning so that they would not be charged with being AWOL. At the same time, they agreed, they would stay on the pier until they felt their grievances would be settled.

Accompanied by attorneys and with a wide media presence brought about by the BSC, they assembled on the pier the morning of Nov. 9. After trying unsuccessfully to address the protesters through an ineffective PA system aboard the ship, Captain Ward came down the gangplank and stood on a box on the pier to address them.

He told the men there were buses

Continued on page 22



Seamen ready bombs for loading on Navy planes on board *Constellation* last December. Black Servicemen's Caucus representative said of Black sailors from ship: "They felt that they were personally involved in the war even if they were just mopping floors, and they didn't like that."

## The Navy's 'morale crisis' is not brand new

By LEE SMITH

NOV. 13 — Two days ago, the editors of the *New York Times* sounded an ominous warning in their comment on the "Navy's morale crisis, which has disturbing parallels in the Army." The *Times* editors warned: "No amount of spending on sophisticated military equipment can make America strong if there is not a pervasive sense of loyalty, purpose and unity among the servicemen."

The editorial recalled the warning issued slightly more than a year ago by retired General Hamilton Howze. An article in the Sept. 24, 1971, *Militant* entitled "Army brass worried about GI morale" quoted Howze: "Should senior commanders not be able to reverse the trend toward indiscipline, this country will, not long from now, lose its status as the world's first power and stand almost helpless against those who would humble or destroy it."

The racist provocations against Black sailors on the *Kitty Hawk* last month and the strike and protests by Black sailors on the *Constellation* last week are the latest surface manifestations of a deepgoing problem for U. S. imperialism.

The Navy just began recruiting Blacks in earnest two years ago. In order to shed its WASPish image, it undertook special measures, including waiving the results of entrance tests loaded against Blacks disadvantaged by inferior schools. It was the cap-

tain's attempt to discharge Blacks recruited in this way that sparked the rebellion on the *Constellation*.

With its traditions of wealthy white officers and Filipino waiters, the Navy confronts Blacks with an environment even more hostile than the other branches of the U. S. armed forces. Black recruits to the Navy reached 12 percent this year, but the number of enlisted personnel still stood at only 5.8 percent—and less than 1 percent of the Navy's officers are Black.

The incident on the *Kitty Hawk* was described "as extreme, yet typical" by Navy officers interviewed by *New York Times* writer Seymour M. Hersh. His article in the "Week in Review" section of the Nov. 12 *Times* carries these officers' account of the incident.

They say that on Oct. 11, as the ship was returning to Vietnam duty from a brief liberty at Subic Bay in the Philippines, an investigating officer summoned some Black sailors for an inquiry into a racial clash the night before on shore. Angry that no whites were summoned, the Blacks stalked out.

By the time the *Kitty Hawk's* Black executive officer had calmed them down, a white senior enlisted man had already called the riot squad. A provocative action by the riot squad—attempting to make the Blacks massed on the mess deck leave by twos—sparked a new clash that involved up to 150 men.

The Nov. 9 *Washington Post* report-

ed that 25 sailors have been charged with assault and rioting on the *Kitty Hawk*. "No whites have been charged," according to the *Post*. The paper also said that 19 of the courts-martial had been postponed until the ship reaches San Diego, around Dec. 1.

The delay is due to an appeal from Black organizations to the secretary of the Navy, John Warner, to let civilian lawyers take part in the sailors' defense. Joining the appeal were the Urban League, the NAACP, the National Bar Association, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

The intervention of such civilian support has forced the Navy to publicly acknowledge its morale difficulties. The first such public mention by a high-ranking Navy officer, however, a retirement speech by Admiral Charles Duncan on Oct. 31, tried to brush aside the problem by referring to a handful of "activist, anti-social, anti-military, anti-U. S. misfits." This explanation does not stand up in face of the facts.

Even before the explosion on board the *Constellation*, the evidence was against Duncan's reference to "those few with mental aberrations who may cause sabotage." A Nov. 6 *New York Times* article headlined "Navy Acts to Halt Racial Violence and Sabotage on Ships" described such practices as inserting tools into machinery to jam it, dismantling valves, plugging or slashing fire hoses, destroying oil-pressure gauges, improperly fusing

bombs, and inadequately repairing jet aircraft.

An unidentified Navy officer quoted in the article explained part of what contributes to such a situation. "As the ground war wound down," the officer told the *Times*, "the bulk of it was picked up by the Navy. Well, we've got old ships that are undermanned. The guys are working 18 to 20 hours a day. And the Navy can't afford to take the ships to Japan or Hong Kong for liberty; there's no time. So they go to Subic Bay, spend a few days and turn it around."

Others recognize the role of antiwar sentiment working as a catalyst with the long shifts and lack of liberty. In the article by Seymour M. Hersh already mentioned, he reported that "some Navy officials are known to believe that the increase in alleged sabotage may be linked in some visceral way to the increasing racial violence—with the continuing anti-war feelings among young black and white sailors as a common denominator or triggering agent."

It should be added that a major factor in the shift from the ground to the air war was the antiwar sentiment of GIs affected by the mass sentiment and mass actions in the U. S.

As the Nov. 11 *Times* editorial put it: "Low morale in the armed forces reflects the conditions of the society from which military personnel are recruited."



## While negotiations continue

# U.S. bombers blast Vietnamese provinces

By DICK ROBERTS

NOV. 14 — The "final" secret meeting to negotiate an Indochina cease-fire treaty is scheduled to be held this week. This meeting was demanded by Henry Kissinger Oct. 26 at the news conference in which he declared U.S. agreement with the nine-point plan released by Hanoi. At that time Kissinger stated that one more extended session could settle the remaining issues in dispute.

Hanoi indicated today that it would accept the proposal for one more session, and Le Duc Tho, Hanoi's chief negotiator, left for Paris. Kissinger is also apparently headed for Paris.

But there still may be delays before the cease-fire treaty is actually signed, and there is the possibility that the negotiations will collapse. The White House has made it clear that the "final" meeting may not be the last one, and it is pressing the bombing attacks on Vietnam at record levels day after day.

Writing from Washington Nov. 13, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported that "Mr. Kissinger would still have to hold further consultations with Saigon following the 'final' session with Hanoi.

"The official also said he would not rule out some last-minute consultation with Hanoi, beyond the 'final' negotiating session."

The Nov. 9 *Times* gives an idea of the intensity of the continued warfare in its report that a record for concentrated bombing in a single South Vietnamese province in a single day was set Nov. 7. On that day, 70 B-52s dropped roughly 2,000 tons of bombs on Quangtri Province alone, the closely contested northernmost province of South Vietnam.

Washington is pounding South Vietnam and North Vietnam up to the twentieth parallel on a round-the-clock basis with its full fleet of 200 B-52s

based in Guam and Thailand.

Heavy ground combat is also continuing. Saigon reported last week that 597 of its troops had been killed and 2,548 wounded. Even at the peak of U.S. troop involvement in the ground warfare in early 1969, American casualties rarely reached this weekly level.

### Unsettled issues

Of the issues that apparently were not previously agreed upon between Washington and Hanoi it is difficult to tell whether further concessions have been made on either side.

After leaders of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam had demanded the release of political prisoners in Thieu's jails, Hanoi declared on Nov. 8 that a settlement would have to include the return of all military and civilian prisoners. Washington evasively answered this demand, stating that "the prisoner issue was a sensitive one for North Vietnam."

On the question of removal of North Vietnamese troops from northern South Vietnam, officials in Saigon claim that some of their requests have been met. Following two days of secret talks with Kissinger's assistant, General Alexander Haig Jr., Saigon Foreign Minister Tran Van Lam declared Nov. 13 that the North Vietnamese have agreed to withdraw troops from the Quangtri area. This "is not enough," Lam said.

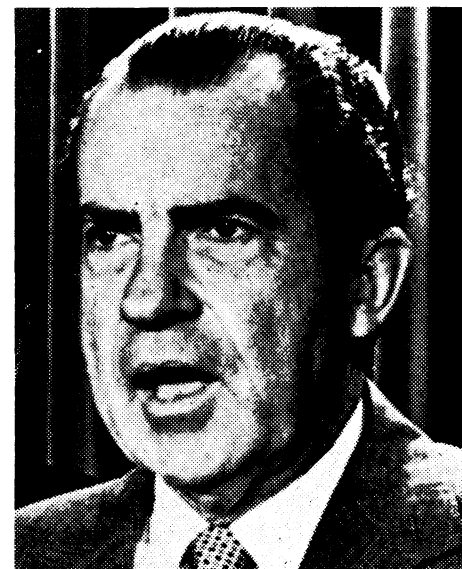
### Saigon's advantage

In a detailed analysis on the front page of the *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 14, Peter Kann concluded that the balance of power in South Vietnam will be on Saigon's side if the nine-point proposal is adopted, which Kann believes likely.

"If the cease-fire reflects present military realities," Kann stated, "the gov-

ernment flag . . . will keep flying over most South Vietnamese, at least for some time. The Communists control—or at least prevent Saigon from controlling—some large tracts of territory, but now they exercise control over relatively few people.

"To listen to some American officials, the Communist leopard spots will be few and far between. 'They will just gradually shrink away because of Saigon's peripheral police action and lack of supplies and pov-



Richard Nixon

erty and malaria,' one senior official says."

This remark is undoubtedly tinged with wishful thinking on the part of the U.S. military brass. Nevertheless it is a frank admission that counter-revolutionary activities by the Saigon regime will be carried out under a cease-fire. "Peripheral police action" is a euphemism for witch-hunt and terrorization.

The Saigon regime cannot peacefully coexist for an indefinite period of

time with the armed forces of the revolutionary front. A cynical Saigon official told *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Kann, "With the agreement and with reduced support from the great powers, we will just have to find simpler, cheaper, native methods of killing each other." But the Saigon military is equipped with the most advanced weapons of counter guerrilla warfare, including the third largest air force in the world.

### Moscow, Peking

Meanwhile, both Moscow and Peking have been stepping up their effort to prettify the cease-fire treaty and to press for its being signed. On Nov. 13, Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev called on the U.S. to remove "the obstacles created by the American side literally on the eve of signing. . . ." Brezhnev made it clear Moscow was prepared to bring pressure for a settlement. He stated, "We strive to facilitate the end of the war."

The same bureaucrat had the effrontery to declare that the election of Nixon to the U.S. presidency strengthened the prospects of world peace, according to a Nov. 13 Associated Press dispatch from Moscow. This while Nixon rains death and destruction on Vietnam in order to impose a settlement favorable to the proimperialist clique in Saigon!

Peking has been barely less outspoken in its pressure for signing. In an interview Nov. 11, Premier Chou En-lai stated, "For us, our attention is on having the Vietnam war settled and peace realized according to the agreement already reached." Asked if President Nixon's election was a good thing for China, Chou declared, "Yes, because he did play a role in improving relations between the United States and China."

## '90-day' wage freeze imposed in Britain

By DICK ROBERTS

On Nov. 6 British workers were subjected to a 90-day wage freeze with provisions for an automatic 60-day extension at the government's discretion. As in the U.S., the wage freeze reflects the deepening problems facing the capitalist rulers.

Intensified international competition, the threat of world overproduction, and spiraling inflation have buffeted the British economy even more than the economies of other major capitalist countries. This is because British industry lags behind its major competitors in the U.S., Japan, and West Germany.

The British rate of inflation is presently the sharpest of the big capitalist powers. Between July 1971 and July 1972, the corresponding inflation rates were: U.S., 3.1 percent; Canada, 4.5 percent; Japan, 4.7 percent; West Germany and France, 5.6 percent; and United Kingdom, 5.8 percent. This sharper rate of inflation has eroded the value of the pound. The recent moves by the Tory government against British workers followed a drop in the pound's value to a record low in world money markets.

The rulers of Britain cast a longing eye at the U.S. As President Nixon rolled in a landslide electoral victory, *The Economist* printed a picture of a Nixon button on its cover with the headline, "Freezing hasn't hurt him."

The influential magazine declared in an editorial, "Mr Heath can learn from the United States that a right wing government does not need to

show a narrow consistency in its policies, that it can win trade union votes even while freezing wages, but that it should always strive to look as if it is acting with national gravitas and in sober search for consensus."

The British imperialists are whistling in the dark. Nixon's ability to put over the wage controls did not come primarily from duping the public; it came from the trade-union leadership's failure to lead a fight against the wage controls.

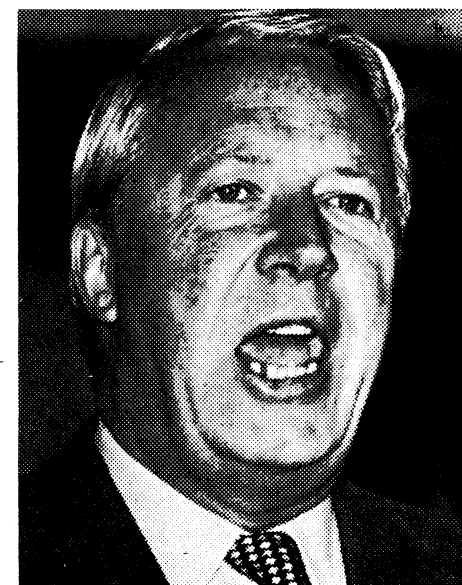
A long grinding recession that kept millions of workers out of jobs for months at a time facilitated the imposition of controls on wages. The union bureaucrats argued, with some success, that the workers should settle for wage hikes within the Nixon-imposed guidelines instead of staying out in long and costly strikes.

British workers are also facing a miserable job situation. Unemployment, at 921,594 jobless, is at a near-record level for the post-World War II period.

However the comparison ends there. British workers have been fighting a militant battle against the wage-gouging policies of the bosses, and they have already made some significant gains. One highlight of these struggles was the long battle of coal miners last winter, which culminated in a strike threatening to shut off Britain's power supply.

Another highlight was the massive labor upsurge in July that freed five dock workers jailed under Heath's antilabor legislation and threatened the first general strike since 1926.

*Business Week* magazine complained Nov. 11, "Indeed, 1972 has become Britain's worst year for labor strife since 1926. More than 22-million man-days have been lost since January, nearly double the number for the same period in 1971. In October alone, more than 1-million British



Edward Heath

workers won raises of up to \$23 a week. That compares to the average weekly industrial wage in Britain of \$81. Prices have been rising at a rate of 7% of late, with further big increases in rent and food certain to follow."

Under these conditions it is doubtful British workers will accept a wage freeze without a fight.

There is also a partially hidden dif-

ference between the British and U.S. situations that is worth noting. The so-called price controls in the U.S. were launched during a recession, when the "normal" functioning of the economy tends to depress price increases. And it was for this reason, and not out of anything the "Price Commission" did, that the rate of U.S. price increases was eased.

But the British economy is not in a recession. The fraud of controlling prices is likely to become more readily apparent. *The Economist* warned, "this week's extension of price control to competitively-determined prices is an economic nonsense, designed to buy acquiescence in an incomes freeze by pandering to the ignorance of the public. . . . Lasting price controls at the retail stage will more often keep prices up than bring them down. . . ."

These experts fear that the demagogic promise of price controls could do more harm than good in the long run as it is exposed by continuing inflation. "The history of incomes policies [wage controls] has often been that of unexpected immediate effectiveness, followed by unnecessary eventual collapse."

All they want is a wage freeze that will work forever! Even in this citadel of financial expertise, however, the struggles of British workers have produced an overall mood of exceptional pessimism. *The Economist* concludes its editorial: "We could be approaching the hurricane belt for the whole future of British society, and are supposed to welcome that Mr Heath is at last carrying an umbrella."



# Should socialists demand Nixon 'sign the treaty'?

By DOUG JENNESS

What position should the antiwar movement take on the nine-point proposal for settling the Vietnam war? Should it demand that President Nixon sign the proposition? Or should it expose the nine points as unjust and demand that the U. S. get out of Southeast Asia immediately, with no conditions?

The Communist Party and the *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, are both vigorously campaigning for Nixon to sign the proposed agreement.

tatives from other countries.

The settlement, if signed, not only imposes unjust conditions. It also cannot bring peace to Vietnam. None of the basic social conditions that led to the civil war in the first place will be resolved by the proposed pact.

At this point a CP member or a *Guardian* staff writer might interrupt and ask, "The Vietnamese support the proposed pact. Don't you support the Vietnamese?"

This is demagoguery, not sound reasoning. The fact that Hanoi has agreed to sign the settlement doesn't

was a setback to the revolution. In a report to the Central Executive Committee of the All Russian Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants Deputies on Feb. 24, 1918, Lenin explained:

"... the terms put to us by the representatives of German imperialism are unprecedentedly severe, immeasurably oppressive, predatory terms. The German imperialists, taking advantage of the weakness of Russia, have their knee on our chest. Not to conceal from you the bitter truth of which I am deeply convinced,

## Indians face threat of gov't reprisals

By ERNEST HARSCH

WASHINGTON D. C., Nov. 14 — In the aftermath of protests by Native Americans culminating in the seven-day occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the government appears to be preparing the ground for reprisals against the Indians.

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton and Attorney General Richard Kleindienst are studying what charges should be leveled against them, and the newspapers are playing up the damage to the building. Current estimates claim the damage runs to \$2-million.

Native American leaders have charged that the estimates are grossly exaggerated. In addition, Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement, said, "Damage at the BIA office resulted from Indians being coerced, intimidated, and threatened with assault. We went in peace, stood in peace, yet were met with violence. . . .

"The real crime is that the newspapers and the U. S. government will attempt to dig up this stuff to overshadow the real problem—that the Indian people are the most abused, mistreated sovereign people in this country."

During the negotiations between White House officials and Native American leaders last week, the Indians had been promised that no one would be prosecuted for the occupation. These ominous threats by government and BIA officials have signaled preparations to break yet another agreement with the Indians. In addition, the government has gotten members of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, an organization of conservative tribal officials, to denounce the protesters and to call for prosecution.

Chief Two Hawk, president of the association, declared the actions by the Native American militants as the work of a "small handful of self-appointed revolutionaries. When we've been confronted with this on our reservations," he continued, "we've kicked them out."

In reply, Charles Trimble, the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, charged that "In the most sinister atmosphere imaginable the Interior Department, the Bureau of Land Management, in conjunction with the vice-president's National Council on Indian Opportunity, are working to muster tribal leaders in defense of the administration."

In a similar vein, John Trudell, a Sioux from Oklahoma, said in an interview, "All the bureaucrats at the Bureau of Indian Affairs care about is their \$30,000-a-year salaries. Representatives of a new BIA should be directly responsible to the Indians, not to the government which has been sitting on our backs for centuries." One of the demands of the protests has been to abolish the BIA.

Reams of documents the Indians removed from the BIA last week outlined the criminal oppression of Native Americans by senators, congressmen, BIA officials, and corporations. A "documents conference" will be held somewhere in the Southwest in the next few weeks to evaluate the contents. Indian leaders have pledged that they will make the documents public when Congress reconvenes in January.



Daily World/Jose Perez

Militant/Mark Satinoff

'SIGN THE PEACE TREATY' or 'OUT NOW'? These are the two demands being debated in the antiwar movement. The Communist Party and the *Guardian* urge Nixon to sign nine-point proposal. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance support the demand 'Out Now, with no conditions.'

On Nov. 2 Communist Party National Chairman Henry Winston, referring to the proposals, declared, "The peace majority in the U. S. which fought courageously for an end to the war in Vietnam has won a signal victory, together with the heroic people in Vietnam and the world socialist movement—in the van of which is the Soviet Union—the national liberation movement and all peace loving people."

Front page headlines such as "Sign peace pact now" and "Peace Activists Spur Sign-The-Treaty Drive," have appeared in the *Daily World*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party.

The *Guardian*, in a Nov. 15 editorial entitled "Sign the treaty!," calls on the antiwar movement to "take to the streets now, demanding that the President sign the peace agreement worked out with the Vietnamese liberation forces. There is no more urgent task for left and progressive forces in the U. S. at this moment."

The CP and the *Guardian*, both of which claim to be Marxist-Leninist, are actively supporting "sign the treaty" demonstrations sponsored throughout the country by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and other groups.

They assume that Hanoi's agreement to sign a settlement represents a victory and should be supported by the antiwar movement and radicals in the U. S. Not only is this reasoning false, but it harms the Vietnam struggle.

The CP and the *Guardian* fail to mention that the nine-point proposal flagrantly violates Vietnam's right to self-determination. Just as the U. S. has no right to bomb Vietnam or send troops there, it has no right to negotiate a pact that imposes conditions on the Vietnamese.

One of these conditions is that the U. S. puppet regime in Saigon will remain in office if the agreement is signed. (It should be noted here that both the CP and the *Guardian* previously called for scrapping the Thieu regime.)

Another condition is that elections be held under the supervision of represen-

make it any less of an obstacle to the Vietnamese revolution. If the Vietnamese feel that the burden of continuing the war in the face of inadequate aid from the USSR and China is too heavy, they are the ones to judge that. They, and only they, have the right to decide when and if they will negotiate and sign treaties with other countries.

If officials in Hanoi agreed to sign the settlement because they feel they cannot continue the war, they are like a person whose house is robbed by a burglar. When the burglar comes into the house, points a loaded gun at the victim, and demands money, a "settlement" is made. The victim is allowed to keep his life and the burglar takes the money. The owner of the house is thus forced to make a major concession, but a necessary one if he is going to continue to live.

However, if the victim's neighbor comes along and looks into the window, it would be improper for him to say that a fair settlement was being negotiated. It would be treachery if he entered the house and helped the crook conclude the bargain as quickly as possible.

If the neighbor really wants to help the victim, he will try to do what he can to prevent the robbery. If he had the means available, he might try to overpower the burglar; or he might try to round up help to defeat the bandit.

In the long history of civil wars, strikes, and other forms of struggle, revolutionaries have often found it necessary to make compromises and concessions. There is nothing shameful about this if the reasons are explained openly and honestly.

An example is the Brest-Litovsk treaty the Bolsheviks signed shortly after the 1917 Russian revolution. At the time of the revolution, most Russians opposed continued participation in the war against Germany. Morale was low, and Russia was not militarily prepared to continue the war. So it decided to sign a separate peace with Germany.

The revolutionary leadership did not call this settlement a victory, but rather explained truthfully that it

the situation being what it is, I must tell you that we have no other way out than to subscribe to these terms."

The new workers republic was compelled to give up territory and make payments of weapons and money to German imperialism. In return they won breathing space to consolidate the revolution.

Did the revolutionary government, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, urge the working class and its parties in Germany to support this settlement? No. On the contrary they called on them to oppose it.

While German revolutionaries like Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg criticized the settlement, the German Social Democrats in the Reichstag voted to ratify it. They claimed that since the Bolsheviks had accepted it there was no reason why they should oppose it.

According to Leon Trotsky, in an article published in 1935 (see *Writings of Leon Trotsky: 1934-35*, Pathfinder Publishers, New York, 1971, pp. 291-300), the Bolsheviks answered them: "You swine. We are objectively compelled to negotiate in order not to be annihilated, but as for you—you are politically free to vote for or against, and your vote implies whether or not you place confidence in your own bourgeoisie."

Although the Brest-Litovsk treaty and the proposed nine-point pact are not identical, both are unjust. And the *Guardian* and the CP, like the German Social Democrats in 1918, are backing the bandit's settlement.

Why do they support such treachery? The answer is that both the CP and the *Guardian* back governments that are helping the U. S. pressure Vietnam to come to terms. The CP leaders are confirmed believers in the infallibility of the Kremlin; the *Guardian* is leading cheers for the officialdom in China.

The CP and the *Guardian* are trying to cover up the failure of their particular mentors to provide adequate political and military support for the Vietnamese. They have refused to criticize Moscow and Peking for making agreements with Nixon to twist Vietnam's arm to settle the

Continued from page 22

# In Our Opinion

## Potomac patriarch

In a recent interview with Garnett Horner of the *Washington Star-News*, President Nixon cleared up doubts anyone might have had about his plans for the next four years. He intends to become the father of the nation.

"The average American is just like the child in the family," he stated with paternal confidence. "You give him some responsibility and he is going to amount to something. He is going to do something. If, on the other hand, you make him completely dependent and pamper him and cater to him too much, you are going to make him soft, spoiled and eventually a weak individual."

This theme, that "permissiveness" is at the root of the country's social problems, permeates the entire interview. "The people are going to have to carry their share of the load," he preaches. There will be no "handouts" for *his* children.

He dismisses the idea that "massive new programs in terms of dollars and in terms of people" will be necessary to effectively improve conditions in education, health, and housing. However, it is precisely a crash program of funds that is urgently needed to build schools and houses and provide decent medical and dental care. Such a program would also provide tens of thousands of jobs for those out of work.

Nixon offers no proposal for alleviating unemployment. To him it is primarily a question of workers being lazy and undisciplined. This "running down what I call the work ethic," he claims, is behind the increasing number of welfare recipients.

While Nixon plans to try trimming down allocations for social needs, he told the *Washington Star-News* that there are some areas where cuts can't be made. One of these is law enforcement. He thinks the best cure for what he calls the "spiritual crisis" in the country is to eliminate "handouts" and apply a few knocks on the heads of those who don't go along.

To help the cops do their job, he plans to keep appointing reactionary judges. He wants to reverse what he considers to have been the liberal trend of the Supreme Court before he became president. We can, therefore, expect that there will be more attempts in the next four years to curtail or roll back basic rights of free speech, assembly, and travel.

But not only does the White House father plan to keep a tighter rein on his "children" at home, but also on those in other countries. He intends to maintain a strong war department ready to intervene anywhere in the world.

He singled out the Middle East as a high priority area for U.S. concern, because the situation there "can explode at any time." He indicated that he will continue to establish closer relations with Moscow and Peking, including negotiations for another disarmament agreement. This in no way should be interpreted as a softening toward revolutionary movements throughout the world. On the contrary, he feels that the most effective way to defeat these struggles at this time is to get a helping hand from these two regimes.

Nixon's proposals for the next four years hold no promise whatever for working people in the U.S. or the oppressed masses throughout the world. If he wants to pursue his arrogant analogy about children to its logical end, he will find that an authoritarian father generates considerable resistance from his "children."

## Historic impact

The revolt on the aircraft carrier *Constellation* has dramatically drawn world attention to the anger felt by Black sailors in the world's largest navy.

The impact of this action was seen in the dilemma it posed for the navy's admiralty.

Navy Chief Admiral Elmo Zumwalt Jr. summoned some 100 admirals and Marine Corps generals to the Pentagon Nov. 10. Using language described by the *New York Times* as "strong" and "brutally frank," Zumwalt told the senior officers they had failed to "command by leadership" in race relations.

The Navy chief ended his lecture by issuing a seven-point directive he said would be communicated to all flag officers and commanders around the world. The directive ordered "punitive" and "administrative" action against anyone "engaging in or condoning discriminatory practices."

It is historic when scores of Black sailors involved in war-time assignments defy orders and the principal response from the top brass is to admit that the fault was theirs.

Naval officials tried to avoid a major head-on confrontation with the sailors. However, victimizations are taking place that violate the constitutional rights of citizen-sailors. These must be vigorously protested.

# Letters

## Canarsie

I really enjoyed the article by John Hawkins in the "By Any Means Necessary" column on community control [*Militant*, Nov. 10]. As he pointed out, the racists in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn cannot use the issue of community control of the schools to keep out Black and Puerto Rican children. They cannot do this any more than the Southern racists could use the cry of "states rights" to justify keeping Black children from exercising their Constitutional rights by going to school wherever they wish in the Southern states.

*A prisoner  
Springfield, Mo.*

## Chicago train wreck

The Oct. 30 train wreck on the Illinois Central that killed over 40 people and maimed upward of 300 was the worst in Chicago history. The responsibility for this disaster is entirely management's.

In an attempt to cut back maintenance, one of the three Illinois Central commuter tracks was removed several years ago. This track had been used for express trains. If it had still been in service, the tragedy would never have occurred.

Another factor was that neither train had a fireman. The missing fireman, a victim of railroads' campaign against "featherbedding" several years back, would have increased the likelihood of spotting the first train's backing movement. Clearly, the railroad's cost cutting has caused another unnecessary calamity.

However, the railroad will find its usual scapegoat in the operating personnel involved. Trainmen and engineers are hurried, harassed, and encouraged to flout the railroad's own safety regulations. When accidents occur, management always claims the workers are at fault.

The carriers will hold hearings so known for their miscarriage of justice that the term "to railroad" derives from them. We can be sure that the men will be blamed and the railroad's equipment and practices will be exonerated.

*Guy Miller  
Chicago, Ill.*

## German antiwar action

Last Saturday [Oct. 28] here in Frankfurt, Germany, there was a demonstration against the Vietnam war. The Vietnam-Ausschusse, a coalition of German antiwar groups, sponsored the demonstration and did very well in publicizing it.

For a week before the demonstration members of the group passed out leaflets to GIs at all the barracks in the Frankfurt area. On Oct. 26 there was a meeting of organizers of the demonstration. Three GIs attended. The next day there was another meeting. This time five GIs and three civilian Americans attended.

On Friday, the day before the march, orders were given to all troops not to attend the demonstration. We were told that all GIs taking part would be arrested and prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

Saturday dawned with rain and cold weather. The weather was bad all day, but the demonstration turned out to be a total success. The German newspapers estimated the number of marchers at 7,000-10,000,

two to three times the number expected! Very few GIs marched, but many turned out along the way to show support.

At the end of the march there were speeches in German and English calling for an end to the war, support for the people struggling in Southeast Asia, and an end to U.S. imperialism.

(Due to repressive conditions in the Army, I cannot sign my name.)

*A concerned GI  
Frankfurt, Germany*

## Unhappy with Militant

I did not realize before I paid for a subscription to your paper that it is printed to corrupt and destroy democracy in this country. The United States government under democracy is the best form or type of government in the world. If you don't like the way things are run in this country, why don't you leave? The idea of running a woman for president!

*J. S.  
Richmond, Ky.*

## 'Super Fly'

I am really sorry to see that *The Militant* did not further review the movie *Super Fly* after the brief mention given it in "By Any Means Necessary" [*Militant*, Oct. 6].

At a time when the Black community is looking for an answer to the drug question, we find that the capitalist moviemakers begin making films that show pushers as heroes. (This despite Curtis Mayfield's antidope, antipusher songs written for *Super Fly*.)

In view of the debate in the Black community about the value and purpose of "Black movies," I think *The Militant* would be doing a great service by doing an in-depth analysis of this new crop of films.

It's good that *The Militant* is now including more articles on the West Indies, Africa, and Latin America. Keep up the good work.

*N. S.  
Chicago, Ill.*

*In reply*—An earlier article by Baxter Smith, "The Black film boom" [*Militant*, Aug. 4], commented on several of the recent Black films.

## The real terrorists

*The Militant* is to be strongly praised for printing the recent articles about West German and American persecution and Israeli terrorism against Palestinians.

West Germany's oppression of the General Union of Palestinian Students and the General Union of Palestinian Workers, and its expulsion of Palestinians, is reminiscent of the tactics used against innocent people and dissidents in Germany during the Nazi era. Nixon's witch-hunt against American Arabs and Arab students reminds one of the persecution of the Japanese-Americans during World War II.

The Israeli reprisals, consisting largely of genocidal bombing raids on crowded refugee camps, brings to mind Israel's previous genocidal acts against Palestinians and other Arabs. They make one realize that it is the Zionists who are the real terrorists



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

## Boyle & the law of averages

The law of averages was bound to catch up with United Mine Workers President W.A. "Tony" Boyle. Sooner or later a labor skate like Boyle—who moves in with the boss; holds a joint bank account with him; keeps the union pension funds in the joint account interest free; raids the union treasury by paying himself, his family, and his cronies executive-style salaries plus travel expenses suitable for astronauts; taps the till for "organizing expenses" while the union membership shrinks and open-shop territory expands; openly pleads the case of the boss for favorable government legislation; lashes out against the workers in every on-the-job dispute; undermines the union's grievance procedure; covers up for company violations of safety laws; unleashes a reign of terror against members of the union who object to such scandalous conduct; and finally resorts to murder—is bound to attract attention. He may even run afoul of the law and could end up in jail. It has happened before to others.

Boyle hasn't yet been convicted of any of the charges listed here. But there is plenty of evidence that he is guilty on all counts.

Last June Boyle was sentenced to five years in prison for making illegal political contributions with union funds. He is free on bail pending appeal and is asking coal miners to reelect him president of their union in a government-supervised election scheduled for the first week of December.

New charges are being prepared against Boyle, which he will probably face regardless of his fate in the election. Senator Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) charges that the Senate Labor Subcommittee, which he heads, has found that Boyle established a "miners loyalty fund" in April 1971 for the purpose of paying his defense attorneys.

By Sept. 1, 1972, the fund had collected \$252,970. But this money did not come from voluntary contributions of "loyal" coal miners. Sixty-six percent of it was contributed by loyal employees of Boyle who were on the union payroll. Where did they get the

money for these contributions? Boyle gave them all a raise so they could afford to contribute generously.

Another trick used in the operation was a mailing of 200,000 cards soliciting contributions. Such a mailing costs \$16,000, but the fund has spent only \$1,268.13 on postage. The mailing cost of the money-raising cards was paid by the union treasury.

Whether as a result of this appeal or in response to other methods, an officer of the National Bank of Washington, which is owned by the UMW, kicked in \$3,000 for Boyle's defense.

These latest charges against Boyle are mild compared to other accusations leveled against him. They have been turned over to the Justice Department for prosecution. They are typical of the kinds of legal infractions the government uses when it wants to lay a trap for union officials. Such charges, which in some instances may be groundless, can often be explained away or can be dropped unnoticed.

There are many examples of this, the most recent being the case of International Seafarers Union President Paul Hall. He is no less reprehensible a union official than Boyle.

Hall faced similar charges—misuse of union funds for political purposes. But Hall is a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and a George Meany sycophant. The Justice Department quietly dropped the charges against him. Shortly thereafter he turned up as chairman of a "Labor for Nixon" committee in the election.

The unscrupulous conduct of these bureaucrats of the Boyle type deserves different attention, the kind that can come only from the workers who have long been their victims.

Whether the miners will be able to render their verdict against Boyle through the government-supervised election will not be known until the vote is counted Dec. 8.

Until the past year, Boyle, like many others of his kind, enjoyed immunity from an indifferent government and an unscrupulous gang of protective mine owners in cahoots with him.

in the Palestine conflict and that indiscriminate killing of hundreds of people by an established government is much worse than a single terror attack by an unaffiliated guerrilla group.

America's hypocrisy in expressing "moral outrage" over the Munich attack while giving tacit approval to Israel's terrorism reminds one of American terrorism in Southeast Asia and around the world, coupled with American indignation over the conduct of socialist states that is used to justify the U.S. atrocities.

C.P.

Brown University  
Providence, R.I.

### Correction

Your roundup of parties' ballot status in the Oct. 27 *Militant* contained a few errors. When you release the figures for the Nov. 7 election it would be helpful if they are corrected.

The Peace and Freedom Party of California has been working with the People's Party until the election but has never affiliated. The PFP in California has nominated the same candidates as the People's Party for president and vice-president and has also participated in a national meeting for third parties interested in building a mass movement.

The D.C. Statehood Party has affiliated with the People's Party and ran Charles Cassell for nonvoting delegate to U.S. Congress. This is a districtwide (statewide) race. That would make 12 states where at least one statewide candidate is on the ballot.

The People's Party is not on the ballot in Indiana, but the Peace and Freedom Party is.

C. T. Weber

California State Chairperson  
Peace and Freedom Party  
Long Beach, Calif.

### 'Decline of the Dollar'

I require a little information. In the latest *Militant* we have received out here, the Oct. 27 issue, Dick Roberts's article on the international monetary crisis mentions a book called *Decline of the Dollar*. I get the impression from the reference that this is a collection completely made up of Ernest Mandel's essays.

Is this in fact the case? If so, could you find out the price of the book for me and send me an address I could write to so that I could get the book. I have never seen it referred to before and haven't seen it in a bookshop out here, so I am sure it's not available locally.

G. E.

Balmain, New South Wales  
Australia

In reply—*Decline of the Dollar* contains 15 articles by Mandel on the international monetary crisis. It can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (\$1.75 paper, \$4.95 cloth).

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.



## By Any Means Necessary

Tony Thomas

## Racists fight Newark high-rise

Usually, racist right-wing figures like Newark Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale are total supporters of the "free-enterprise system," the right of private property, and the enforcement of contracts. However, when confronted with attempts by Newark, N.J., Blacks and Puerto Ricans to improve their housing conditions, Imperiale and his supporters quickly lost any regard for "law and order."

Kawaida Temple, a group led by Newark Pan-Africanist leader Imamu Amiri Baraka, initiated a housing project based on a \$6.4-million grant from the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs. The project, Kawaida Towers, is to be a 16-story high-rise with 210 "low and middle income" apartments. Construction on the building in Newark's North Ward began Oct. 12.

Imperiale has risen to political fame by fanning racist opposition to attempts by Newark's Black and Puerto Rican majority to gain control over the city. In particular, he opposes the efforts of Imamu Baraka and his Committee for a Unified Newark (CFUN). His base is in the North Ward, a heavily Italian section of Newark.

Currently, Imperiale's main target is Kawaida Towers which he sees as a threat to racist privileges for whites in Newark housing. Although construction of the Towers began peacefully Oct. 12, Imperiale and his followers began to picket the site Nov. 9. Construction workers refused to cross these picket lines, and work on the Towers stopped at that time.

After a second day of picketing, Newark's city council passed a resolution directing "a halt in the construction of the \$6.4-million housing project until community representatives could meet with members of the Board of Education and the central Planning Board to work out a 'compromise.'"

The council's six white members voted for the resolution; its three Black members opposed it. Newark

Mayor Kenneth Gibson, an Afro-American, issued a statement condemning the resolution. According to the *Times*, Gibson "pointed out that the city had a legal and binding contract with the sponsors of the Kawaida Towers project and said the project 'will be built.'"

The Nov. 11 *New York Post* reported Baraka's view of the resolution at the city council meeting:

"'This is an illegal resolution,' Baraka told the council. 'All you're doing is stirring up these white people.'"

"'The North Ward is not a white preserve; it is one-third Black,' Baraka said. 'Kawaida Towers will be built, which may come as a shock to all of these people here.'"

On Nov. 12 Imperiale's followers held a meeting of more than 800 to oppose the Towers. Imperiale tried to mask his racist intentions by claiming he was opposed to having a high-rise and would be satisfied with a five-story or "garden apartment" plan that the Kawaida Temple refused.

Despite statements by Gibson that the near-bankrupt city would lose \$1-million if the Towers were canceled and that police would be used to break the racist picket lines, Imperiale announced, "If the police escort the workers, I'm chaining myself to that gate."

On Nov. 11, Baraka called on his supporters to write letters to New Jersey Commissioner of Community Affairs Lawrence A. Kramer. A letter circulated by Baraka and quoted by the Nov. 13 *Times* urged Kramer to intervene to prevent "protracted violence."

On Nov. 13, Superior Court Judge Irwin Kimmelman reenforced the city council's racist decision by calling for a seven-day "cooling off" period in which construction would be suspended. Kimmelman claimed that he was acting to "prevent violence."





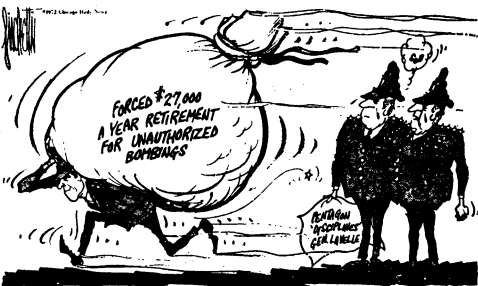
**Morality dep't**—Giuseppe Amedei, Italy's Social Democratic undersecretary of state, wants to abolish the national lottery. He feels it's immoral for the state to organize games of chance and that the people should realize that only hard work and sacrifice will make them rich. Unless, of course, they're fortunate enough to be Social Democratic officeholders.

**There's little left**—Older readers may recall the snappy parting advice, "Don't take any wooden nickels." Now Dr. William Sunderman, a Philadelphia pathologist, warns against nickel nickels. He says a sweaty palm can absorb some of the nickel and that the stuff may be poisonous.

**Everything's relative**—New Yorkers will receive new, reflectorized, more expensive car license plates. An official described the new plates as "permanent," meaning, he explained, they

should last at least five years before rust makes them undecipherable.

**Lame, halt, and larcenous?**—Bomb-happy Major General Lavelle, who was "punished" by being retired at \$27,000 a year, is drawing 70 percent disability for various ailments. Just previously he passed another exam qualifying him for flight pay. Fifty-three percent of the Air Force generals retired in the past seven years received at least 30 percent disability. Of these, 77 percent qualified for hazardous flight pay within six months of retirement.



"THAT'S A HEAVY BURDEN HE'LL HAVE TO CARRY FOR THE REST OF HIS LIFE"

**Plain talk dep't**—The authoritative Oxford English Dictionary announced that for the first time it is including "four-letter words." At a press conference, a representative spelled out one of the words the new Oxford defines as "transitive verb: to copulate." The word is included among "other colloquial and coarse expressions referring to sexual and excretory functions."

**A town with heart**—New York may have rent and price gougers, noise, filth, and pollution, and a few other faults. But the warm personal relations that develop between people there more than compensate. Like the Herald Square bank guard with a reputation for being particularly helpful in assisting blind customers with their deposit and withdrawal slips. He was charged with larceny and forgery when one such patron realized her account was some \$2,000 short.

**True grit**—In a moment worthy of

Horatio Alger, S. I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State, announced that Japan's Emperor Hirohito would be the recipient of the school's first honorary degree. He said the Emp has done remarkable work in marine biology even though "being an emperor, he couldn't go to college."

**Eh?**—Federal officials estimate that at least 80 million Americans are affected to a measurable degree by noise from construction, transport, and manufacturing equipment. Confronting the problem, Congress voted a fast \$21-million for a three-year anti-noise program.

**New York modern**—A New York gallery featured furniture designed by artists. For instance, an outsized can filled with pillow-like silvery blue sardines. It's a bed and only \$4,000. Or a sofa sculpted from plastic foam. Bare, \$1,500. Covered with suede or leather. \$4,000.

## Women In Revolt

### Cindy Jaquith



## Do they believe in witches, too?

"They don't ask me anymore if I'm going to blow up the world during my period," quipped Linda Jenness last spring while campaigning for president on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Maybe the news media is beginning to get over that myth—that women automatically flip out every 28 days—but there are still a lot of superstitions about women in this society.

For example, until last week the Colorado Highway Department officially sanctioned the belief that women are "bad luck" in tunnels. (Supposedly if you let a woman into a tunnel, chances are the roof will cave in the next day.)

The highway officials had to back down Nov. 9 when they permitted Janet Bonnema, an engineer, to walk through the partially constructed Eisenhower Memorial Tunnel in Silver Plume.

The tour was a victory for Bonnema, who has waged a two-year battle for the right to work on the tunnel project. In 1970 the Highway Department had hired her by mistake—they thought she was a man. As soon as they found out she was female they withdrew the offer.

Bonnema took her fight all the way to federal court and won a favorable decision. Since the highway officials were then forced to give her a position, "they invented a brand-new job for me—confinement to the office," Bonnema told the *New York Times*.

But when Colorado voters passed the state equal rights amendment Nov. 7, Bonnema finally got permission to enter the tunnel. The amendment outlaws discrimination on the basis of sex.

The news accounts of this incident have played up the fact that more than 50 workmen walked off the job when Bonnema came into the tunnel. According to the Nov. 10 *New York Times*, "The shouts rang down. . . . 'Get those women out of here.'" One worker even announced he was quitting.

Further on in the article, however, *Times* reporter Anthony Ripley writes: "Many of the men, sitting later in the 'dry house' . . . said they thought the whole thing was foolish. However, they said, their foreman had told them to leave."

The *Times* doesn't say if the foreman was acting

on company orders when he organized the walk-out, but it's obviously to the advantage of the construction outfit's owners to perpetuate the myth about women in tunnels. It becomes a convenient excuse for not hiring female employees, especially if the bosses can say that their male employees refuse to work when women are around.

The Nov. 10 *New York Daily News* ran an interesting exchange that took place during Bonnema's tour:

"'Do you realize that Colorado voted for women's rights?' one of Janet's companions asked a workman who yelled at her to leave.

"'Yeah,' said the worker, 'I voted for it.'"

In the meantime, it's not too comforting to know that highway departments actually uphold such "scientific" theories for why tunnels collapse. Certainly most people who have to ride through those tunnels would prefer it if highway officials spent more time worrying about safety violations and the use of substandard materials by the construction companies and less time about the "dangers" of women engineers.

## The American Way of Life

### David James



## Too many mouths to feed?

Three hundred million to 500 million people on this planet go to bed hungry every night. At least that's the number given in a report released earlier this fall by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. Actually the real figure is probably greater.

Most of the people who don't get enough to eat live in the less economically developed countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. And the gap between these countries and the U.S., Japan, and the advanced capitalist countries in Western Europe is widening. According to the UN report, the poorer countries increased their agricultural output by only 2 percent in 1971, compared to 8 percent in North America and 6 percent in Western Europe.

A World Bank report in September indicated that despite billions of dollars of foreign aid and "impressive" economic growth in the poor countries, "it is probably true that the world's burden of poverty is increasing rather than declining."

These are grim facts. Behind them lie the cold realities of high unemployment, excessive rates of infant mortality, low rates of literacy, widespread sickness, and hunger.

But poverty and hunger aren't restricted to the poorer countries. In the United States there are 26 million people who live in poverty, and about half of them are hungry. These figures come from a report prepared by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition entitled "Hunger U.S.A. Revisited." Based on the federally defined poverty level of \$4,000 for a family of four, the report's figures are low. It would be interesting to see if the federal bookkeepers, red-tape specialists, and two-bit politicians could make ends meet for a family of four on \$5,000, \$6,000, or even \$8,000. It's not easy. A lot of families of four with these incomes don't know they aren't living in poverty.

Why are so many of the world's people hungry? Are there too many people to feed?

The facts are that there's no problem about being able to provide enough food. Our planet can produce enough to feed 50 times its present population. At least that's the view of Dr. Frits Went of the University of Nevada as reported in the Oct. 17 *Denver Post*. He presented this opinion to a session on plant growth regulation at a meeting of the National Academy of Sciences in October.

Other participants shared his confidence. Dr. R. H. Burris of the University of Wisconsin, for example, said that "several substantial breakthroughs" in plant science in recent years will have "real impact" on both the production and preservation of food.

This is very impressive. Why then is there a gap between what can be done and what is being done?

The reason is that a handful of U.S., European, and Japanese bankers dominate the world. They have big investments in mines, oil fields, industry, and agriculture in countries throughout the world. They employ workers at starvation wages. And they funnel their profits out of these countries to provide themselves with a life of luxury and to invest capital elsewhere.

These plunderers aren't concerned that their investments don't develop the industry and agriculture of the world's underdeveloped countries, and that millions starve. Profits come first for them.

What's needed is a social revolution that will throw out the international overlords and establish a planned and nationalized economy. Only then can the gulf be closed between the food we can produce and the food we do produce and make available.

## Hanrahan defeat shows Black vote power

# No Nixon landslide in Black communities

By PETER SEIDMAN

Although unofficial election returns show that President Nixon carried the state of Illinois by a margin of almost 900,000, it is likely that the political machine of Chicago Democratic Mayor Richard Daley is far more disturbed by the defeat of its candidate, Edward Hanrahan, in his race for the office of Cook County state's attorney.

In a sharply contested "law and order" campaign, Hanrahan lost to his Republican opponent, former FBI agent Bernard Carey by 129,000 votes. The loss of the state's attorney post will open the Daley machine to investigation by Illinois Republicans. How serious this may be is indicated by the number of probes already launched by a Republican U.S. attorney in Illinois, James Thompson.

In recent weeks, Thompson has brought indictments against the county clerk, three officials in the county assessor's office (including a former alderman), and 75 precinct workers and election officials on charges of vote fraud in last March's primary.

Hanrahan was defeated by an unprecedented bolt of Black voters from the Democratic Party slate. He lost 10 of Chicago's all-Black wards and received only 38 percent of the vote in 15 predominantly Black wards. In the 1968 election, Hanrahan received 90 percent of the vote in Chicago's Black West Side wards.

These figures indicate that despite Hanrahan's acquittal on criminal charges stemming from the 1969 murder raid on the home of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton, the Black people of Chicago had reached their own verdict.

By defeating Hanrahan, Black voters expressed themselves within the electoral arena in the only way they could see, given the absence of any candidate on the ballot who represented the genuine interests of the Black community. An independent candidate for the office of state's attorney, such as Norman Oliver, who ran a write-in campaign for the Socialist Workers Party, is required to obtain 100,000 signatures. These must be approved by a Daley-controlled election board in order to be on the ballot.

The large margin of defeat Black voters handed Hanrahan was clearly not an endorsement of his Republican opponent, Bernard Carey. This was not a pro-Carey vote but an anti-Hanrahan vote. It had its origins in a break between Chicago Black Democratic Congressman Ralph Metcalfe and Mayor Daley after Chicago cops roughed up two of Metcalfe's Black supporters.



Edward Hanrahan

Metcalfe—along with lawyers and other volunteers from a good-government group called Operation LEAP; supporters of the Reverend Jesse Jackson's PUSH organization; and POWER, a West Side group organized by Charles Hurst, president of Malcolm X College—spearheaded the anti-Hanrahan drive. They organized poll watchers and lawyers to stem the usual voting fraud, which in the past has assumed massive proportions in the Black wards of Chicago.

Metcalfe's effort was the first break of a Black Democratic leader from the Democratic organization since Republican William Dawson switched his Black Republican organization to the Democrats in response to the New Deal of the 1930s.

The Nov. 9 *New York Times* reported indications that Daley was so aware of the danger this show of Black force at the polls could mean in the crucial state's attorney race that his machine tried to discourage a turnout of Black voters, thus denying its presidential candidate, George McGovern, any chance of winning in Cook

County, and hence in the state of Illinois.

Daley's fear of the power of the Black community when it organizes to participate in the elections on its own behalf—no matter how distorted this vote may be by undemocratic ballot restrictions—demonstrates the potential for and urgency of establishing an independent Black political party. Such a party could use the organizational and political strength revealed in the anti-Hanrahan drive to present a real alternative for the Black community—instead of just a Republican or Democratic Party candidate no different in any fundamental way from each other.

Further evidence that the Carey victory in Illinois in no way constituted a switch by Black voters to the Republican ticket exists in Nixon's failure nationally to make significant inroads into the Black vote. While, according to most commentators, Nixon's margin of victory among Jewish, Catholic, so-called ethnic, and trade-union voters represented the major reason for his high popular vote, he failed to make significant gains among Afro-American voters.

In Illinois, for example, Nixon won only 7 percent of the Black vote, compared to his 6 percent in 1968. The Joint Center for Political Studies reported that nationally, Nixon won 13 percent of the Black vote in 1972 as compared with 10 percent in 1968.

This occurred despite a serious Nixon effort to enlist the support of such prominent Black figures as Jim Brown, James Brown, Sammy Davis Jr., and Floyd McKissick. Although McGovern certainly failed to campaign in a meaningful way on behalf of the needs of Black people, many voters tended to see the biggest difference between the candidates to be the racial issue.

This was facilitated by the fact that the voters couldn't see any significant difference between McGovern and Nixon on other questions. Nixon clearly took a more openly racist stand on such questions as busing, school integration, the make-up of the Supreme Court, welfare, and preferential hiring for Blacks.

Thus it was no surprise that the votes that had gone to Alabama Governor George Wallace in his Ameri-

can Independent Party presidential campaign in 1968 constituted an important part of the Nixon sweep in 1972. For example, in five Detroit precincts, where Wallace ran well in 1968, Nixon doubled his percentage of the vote to 52.1 percent in 1972. Nixon's racist appeal also explains the record sweep of the Republican presidential ticket in the South, reported at 70.6 percent of the popular vote.

The scope of Nixon's presidential victory made little impact on races involving Black candidates for other national and state offices. Three new Black representatives were elected to Congress: the Reverend Andrew Young from Atlanta's 5th C.D.; Barbara Jordan from Houston's 18th C.D.; and Yvonne B. Burke of the 37th C.D. in Los Angeles. Young and Jordan are the first Black representatives elected from the South since Reconstruction.

According to the Nov. 13 *U.S.*



Yvonne Burke

*News & World Report*, this brings the number of Blacks—all Democrats—in Congress to an all-time high of 15 out of 435 Representatives. Republican Edward Brooke of Massachusetts retained his seat as the only Black among 100 U.S. Senators.

The Nov. 11 *Christian Science Monitor* reports that on the state level, Blacks gained five additional seats in state senates and 20 seats in state houses of representatives. This brought the number of Afro-Americans holding state legislative office to 207 out of approximately 7,500 seats nationwide.

## NIXON AND MELLONS' MILLIONS



By DICK ROBERTS

A brief article throwing light on the real wealth of the American ruling class appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* last month. It reported that the Mellon family plans to sell nine million shares of Gulf Oil.

Gulf—one of the seven international petroleum cartel corporations—is the

main bastion of the Mellon empire. This huge sale of stock, worth about \$216-million, will still leave the Mellons firmly in control of the oil company.

They presently hold 27 percent of the outstanding shares of Gulf, according to the Oct. 3 *Journal*. The sale of nine million shares will reduce their

holdings to about 23 percent.

What is involved is the continuous expansion of the wealth and power of the ruling class. On one side it is able to dominate corporations with decreasing percentages of the total stock. On the other side it is constantly able to take over new firms, squeezing out the weaker capitalists. The process is known as "diversification."

Seward Prosser Mellon, president of Mellon & Sons, said that the Gulf sales will come from "25 or 30 different entities." The reference here is to the variety of financial institutions—banks, holding companies, foundations, etc.—through which the ruling class holds its wealth. This allows them to avoid taxes and conceal the real extent of their ownership.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported that the Mellon family also owns "about 30% of Aluminum Co. of America, 40% of Mellon National Bank & Trust Co., and 20% each of Carborundum Co., Koppers Co., First Boston Corp. and General Reinsurance Corp." The net worth of the Mellon family is "close to \$3 bil-

lion" according to the *Journal*.

These figures are not greatly different from those computed by Ferdinand Lundberg in *The Rich and the Super-Rich*, a useful guide to the holdings of American ruling-class families. A few days before the Nov. 7 elections, President Richard Nixon's campaign finance committee disclosed in Washington that Richard Mellon Scaife, an heir to the Mellon fortune, was one of the two biggest contributors to Nixon's 1972 campaign. Scaife's contribution was listed as \$800,000.

But this did not include any contributions between March 10 and April 7, the period not covered by campaign-contribution-disclosure laws. In Pittsburgh, Oct. 25, an aide to Scaife said that he had contributed "an even \$1-million" to the Republicans in this period.

The other biggest contributor to the Republican campaign was the Chicago insurance millionaire W. Clement Stone. Stone gave \$1-million in the post-April 7 period.

# Jenness and Pulley urge activist youth to participate in Young Socialist convention

By PEGGY BRUNDY

CHICAGO, Nov. 15 — In the week since the elections, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate Linda Jenness has been urging young people to attend the Young Socialist Alliance national convention.

"We've got four more years of this Nixon," Jenness has told meetings in New York, New Jersey, and Illinois. "Now we need to discuss what to do next. The best way to do that is to come to the YSA convention, which

state coordinator of Youth for McGovern.

In his remarks, Tanzman said that "Many of the best activists in the antiwar movement went into the McGovern campaign, hoping to end the war that way. That tactic failed. . . . Ever since the election I've been trying to figure out what to do now, and I'm just not sure." When asked what eight months of hard work for McGovern had accomplished, Tanzman said, "Nothing. Absolutely nothing."



Militant/Dave Wulp

Linda Jenness speaking at recent meeting at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass.

will be held in Cleveland, Nov. 23-26. Young activists from all over the U.S. will be discussing what we can do to fight Nixon's policies most effectively and win our demands."

Many of the students who come to hear Jenness worked on the McGovern campaign. Their primary interest now, however, is figuring out what they can do to build the struggle that can withdraw all troops from Vietnam, that can win the demands of women in this country, and to strengthen the other struggles.

On Nov. 13 at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Jenness debated Ed Tanzman, former Illinois

## 'Bring us home now!'

The following letter, postmarked Oct. 21, was sent to the Socialist Workers Party national campaign office with \$30 in contributions from American GIs stationed in Korea.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

I've enclosed my October pledge. A bunch of us saw Jenness on Armed Forces TV on the "Issues and Answers" program. What a comparison with the other candidates! We even read about her in the semiofficial *Stars and Stripes* newspaper. Small wonder that a great many of us aren't receiving our absentee ballots!

The repression is terrible over here now, with a court-martial rate double that of last year and clashes between MPs and GIs occurring daily, especially with the blacks. Something has to give.

Best of luck to the campaign. Bring us home now!

Solidarity,

A GI (speaking for 11 others as well)

Camp Stanley, Korea

"I agree with Ed," Jenness said, "that many of the best antiwar activists quit organizing demonstrations and started pushing doorbells for George McGovern. McGovern came to the antiwar movement and said, 'Stop organizing, stop demonstrating, just vote for me, I'll end the war.' He came to the women's liberation movement and said, 'Look girls, stop organizing, stop demonstrating, just vote for me and I'll solve your problems.'"

"George McGovern's campaign hurt all the independent struggles. We told people just the opposite. We said, 'If you want this war ended, you have to build the antiwar movement.' Our campaign helped build these struggles and helped keep them together."

During the discussion at each of Jenness's campus meetings there has been a frank and serious exchange of ideas for activity during the next period.

At a Nov. 9 meeting of more than 175 at the State University in Binghamton, N.Y., a student expressed a very common concern. "The antiwar movement in this country," he said, "has not only helped to defend the Vietnamese against bombing and pillage of the United States, but has had a tremendous radicalizing effect on this country. If Nixon signs the ceasefire agreement it will undercut the antiwar sentiment and movement. What will take its place?"

At Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill., a student commented that there had been very few campus struggles during the last few months. "Does this mean that the student movement is dead?" he asked.

Many young people expressed interest in coming to the YSA convention when Jenness explained that these kinds of questions would be discussed there.

On Nov. 12, Illinois supporters of the SWP campaign held a fund-raising banquet in Chicago. The 90 people attending contributed \$1,300.

In her rally speech, Jenness noted the fact that the Black vote in Chicago had resulted in the defeat of State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan. In addition, she pointed out that three new Black congressional representatives were elected and that Washington, D.C., which is predominantly Black, was one of the two areas McGovern carried.

"What this Black vote showed was the crying need for an independent Black political party. In order to defeat racist Hanrahan, who killed Black leaders, Black people had to vote for a racist Republican," Jenness said.

"In order to express their disgust with Nixon, they had to vote for McGovern. But McGovern is against busing. At the Democratic convention he told his delegates to vote to seat the Wallace delegation.

"The power of the Black vote was obvious in the elections, and the fact that there was no Black party, that

lated how that organization had come to endorse the SWP's campaign in the last days before the election.

"At first," he said, "we said we would not get involved in electoral politics." But Blacks asked them who they were going to vote for, who they thought Blacks should vote for, and they had no alternative to Nixon and McGovern. "The wrath of the Black people convinced us that abstaining was unrealistic. We had to look at all the parties running and make a decision about which one offered an alternative.

"The most significant thing about the SWP," he said, "was its consistency in advocating a Black political party."

From Illinois, Jenness travels to Cleveland, where she will continue her speaking engagements to build the YSA convention.

DENVER, Nov. 11 — Andrew Pulley, the 1972 SWP candidate for vice-president, spoke here tonight on the meaning of the Nov. 7 election at a meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. Pulley urged young people to make plans to attend the YSA convention over Thanksgiving weekend.

The vice-presidential candidate had just concluded a tour of Northern California before arriving in Denver. On Nov. 9 he spoke to a class on "Racism and the Two-Party System" at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif.

Eighty students, many of them from other classes, came to hear the talk. Pulley who is a former Merritt student, was active in the 1970 struggle on that campus for Black and Chicano control of Black and Chicano education.

The students stayed for two and a half hours while Pulley explained why Nixon had won the election and took questions from the floor.

One student asked why the Socialist Workers Party does not support the nine-point "peace" settlement, when the Vietnamese liberation forces have endorsed it.

Pulley explained that the criminal betrayal by the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies forced the Vietnamese people to make concessions to the U.S. imperialists. This betrayal by the Moscow and Peking regimes, he said, meant that supporters of the Vietnamese liberation struggle must intensify their efforts to build the movement for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. The U.S. government has no right to negotiate anything in Southeast Asia, Pulley emphasized.

## Black ticket wins support

ATLANTA, Nov. 10 — Two Black candidates who ran as independents for Georgia state representative made significant showings in the Nov. 7 elections. Both were the candidates of the Committee for Independent Black Politics.

Eddie "Omar" Webster, who ran in the 29th state district, beat the Republican candidate in that race, Clarence Ezzard. Webster got 352 votes (10.7 percent) compared to Ezzard's 224. The winner, Democrat Frank Deeks, received 2,721.

Arlon Kennedy, campaigning in the 34th state district, got 807 votes (12.5 percent) running against Democrat Ben Brown, who received 5,664. Brown, a leading Black politician in the state, was the only other candidate on the ballot.

These voting results were released by the Fulton County Board of Elections.

Blacks had to choose between two racist parties, was certainly criminal."

One of the other speakers at the rally was Black activist Walter Chester, founder and chairman of the Black Masses Party, a Black nationalist group in Milwaukee. He re-



Militant/Derrick Morrison

Andrew Pulley held an outdoor campaign rally at San Francisco State College just before the elections.



# Mich. abortion referendum loss shows need for action

By CINDY JAQUITH

On Nov. 7 Proposal B, the Michigan referendum to liberalize the state's abortion law, was defeated at the polls, while in Massachusetts voters passed a nonbinding initiative in favor of the right to abortion. Michigan and Massachusetts were two of the eight states where voters decided questions relating to women's rights.

If passed, Proposal B would have reformed Michigan's abortion law to allow legal abortions through the twentieth week of pregnancy. An Associated Press dispatch on Nov. 10 said that the proposal was losing by 1,748,672 to 1,100,944, with 86 percent of the vote counted.

The failure of the Michigan referendum came after a well-financed campaign on the part of the Catholic Church hierarchy and other anti-abortion forces, and a crackdown on abortion clinics and doctors by the state.

The Voice of the Unborn is the chief anti-abortion group in Michigan. Following the election, the organization boasted to the news media that it had spent \$200,000 on its propaganda, which included glossy photos of aborted fetuses, mailings, door-to-door visits, phone calls, and billboard advertising.

The Catholic Church hierarchy used Sunday services to lecture against the referendum. Several parochial schools excused their students from classes so they could campaign for the defeat of Proposal B.

In the last few weeks before the election, the anti-abortion forces got an extra boost from the courts. Earlier in the fall, a circuit court had issued an injunction barring prosecutions under the state's archaic abortion law. But on Oct. 19, the State Supreme Court overturned the injunction.

This decision was the cue for a series of raids on doctors offices and clinics in Detroit. Among those arrested for allegedly performing illegal abortions was Edgar Keemer, a well-known Black doctor. The goal of these raids was to cast the abortion rights forces in the role of "criminals."

The impact of the arrests and the hysterical "abortion is murder" campaign was to reverse an earlier trend favoring passage of Proposal B. Previously, newspaper polls had shown that the measure would carry. But in the final weeks the polls indicated that the referendum would lose.

The defeat of the Michigan referendum and a similar measure in North Dakota shows the need to step up the struggle for the right of women to control their own bodies.

In Massachusetts, the nonbinding referendum to repeal all restrictions on abortion passed with 54.8 percent of the vote. The measure appeared on the ballot in districts in 17 eastern Massachusetts cities.

"This vote is especially important because Massachusetts is a largely Catholic state, and the Catholic Church hierarchy, particularly in Boston, carried on a major campaign against women's right to choose," said a Nov. 10 news release from the Abortion Referendum Committee. The ARC organized the campaign to win passage of the referendum.

The release also pointed out that the referendum carried in Roxbury, a Black community in Boston, and in working-class areas like Lynn. This fact helps undercut the myth that Catholics, Blacks, and working people oppose legal abortion.

State equal rights amendments were on the ballot in Colorado, Texas, Maryland, New Mexico, and Washington.

These measures called for amending state constitutions to make discrimination on the basis of sex illegal. Although results are not yet complete, preliminary returns show that the amendment passed overwhelmingly in Texas, and also carried in Colorado, Maryland, and New Mexico. The vote in Washington was very close and will not be decided until absentee ballots have been counted.

Passage of these equal rights amendments represents an important victory for the women's liberation movement, and shows the impact women's fight for equal rights has had on the electorate as a whole.

The victories in Texas, Colorado, Maryland, and New Mexico will help set a precedent for winning ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Twenty-one states have thus far ratified the ERA; a total of 38 must do so before it becomes law.

# 200 hear New York debate between Hawkins and Tyner

By SUSAN WINSTEN

BROCKPORT, N.Y.—Two hundred students at State University College here heard John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York's 12th C.D. (Brooklyn), confront Jarvis Tyner, Communist Party vice-presidential candidate, and Dr. Theodore Wilcox, a McGovern supporter, at a panel Nov. 6.

Wilcox used his opening remarks to attack the Nixon administration. He cited the economic problems in the U.S. and asserted that McGovern, unlike Nixon, wants to reform the tax structure so that "private initiative" can be used for the "benefit of all," not just the rich.

Tyner, who is also the chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), used most of his talk to indict the Nixon administration. In the Communist Party's opinion, he said, Nixon's policies pose "a tremendous danger of fascism." Tyner said that there are no "messiahs" in the Democratic Party, and that McGovern's proposals are "weak—a minimum—if they work." He went on to say that "the fight will go on beyond Nov. 7. We may be stuck with another four years of a lame-duck Nixon."

Hawkins, who is also on the Young Socialist Alliance national executive committee, stated that the SWP stands opposed to both the Democratic and Republican parties. He centered his remarks on the war in Southeast Asia, pointing out that "the war is a revolt of poor peasants, students, and working people against an oppressive society, against a clique of landlord capitalists, and against the imperialism of the U.S." He emphasized that the proposed peace settlement "has been wrung from the Vietnamese people through bombing and blockades and the murderous war carried on by the U.S. government."

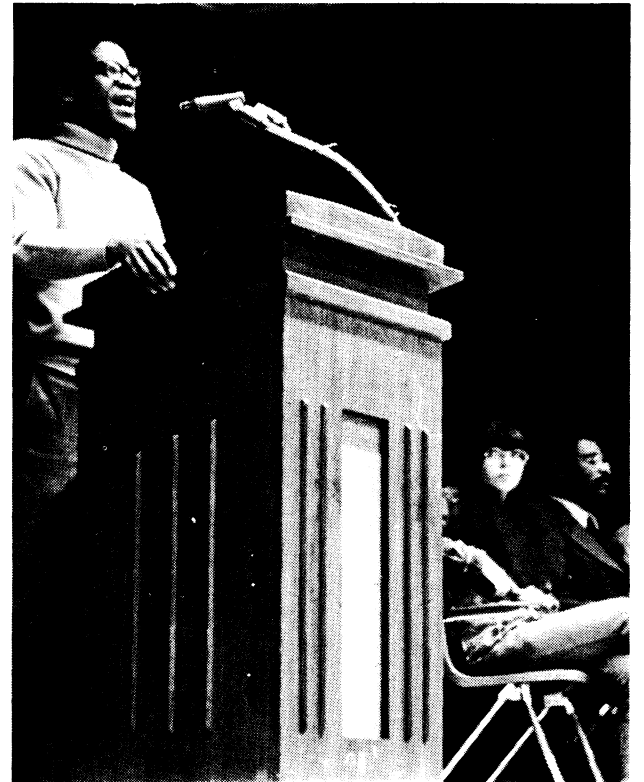
Hawkins said that "the nine points are a formula not for peace in Vietnam but for maintaining the capitalist system in Southeast Asia. . . . Shipments of war materials are being rushed to South Vietnam to help Thieu take the offensive should the agreement be signed."

Hawkins also indicted the treacherous role of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats, who wine and dined Nixon earlier this year and who placed tremendous pressure on the Vietnamese to sign the agreement. He urged people to turn out for the Nov. 18 antiwar actions demanding "Out Now!" from Southeast Asia.

During the discussion, Tyner defended the nine-point settlement. He claimed that Hawkins was opposed to the settlement because "the SWP has,

in the tradition of the Trotskyist movement, attacked those movements that are for national liberation and socialism." In answer to Hawkins's statement that the Soviet Union has provided only minimal aid to the Vietnamese revolutionaries, Tyner said this charge was "misinformed."

The Communist candidate also said he had to be very cautious about supporting antiwar actions such as the Nov. 18 demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). "In



John Hawkins, speaking, and Jarvis Tyner at table.

the past," he said, "there have been very bad moves by NPAC to co-opt and, in fact, take over the peace movement."

In his reply, Hawkins stated that "The Socialist Workers Party supports the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination." The way to help guarantee that right, he said, was to fight for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

"The U.S. government has no right whatsoever to negotiate anything in Southeast Asia," Hawkins said. "We think the only principled thing for us as Americans to demand of our government is that they get everything out right now."

## Partial ballot returns for Socialist Workers Party

The following are incomplete voting returns for some states where the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the People's Party were listed on the Nov. 7 ballot. For Raza Unida Party returns, see page 12.

### COLORADO (From *Denver Post*)

|                                  |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Fisher/Gunderson (SLP)           | 3,915 |
| Spock/Hobson (PP)                | 2,236 |
| Jenness/Pulley (SWP)             | 872   |
| Hall/Tyner (CP)                  | 371   |
| 1st C.D.—Fern Gapin (SWP)        | 301   |
| 2nd C.D.—Joel Houtman (SWP)      | 602   |
| Colo. U Regent—Jon Hillson (SWP) | 6,709 |

### WASHINGTON, D. C. (From Bd. of Elections)

|                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Reed/DeBerry (for Jenness/Pulley) | 250 |
| Hall/Tyner                        | 187 |

### KENTUCKY (From Sec'y of State's office)

|                |       |
|----------------|-------|
| Spock/Hobson   | 1,315 |
| Jenness/Pulley | 644   |
| Hall/Tyner     | 392   |

### NEW HAMPSHIRE (From Bd. of Elections)

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Jenness/Pulley | 368 |
|----------------|-----|

### NEW YORK (From *New York Post*)

|                                  |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| 12th C.D.—John Hawkins (SWP)     | 508   |
| 14th C.D.—James Mendieta (SWP)   | 426   |
| 18th C.D.—Rebecca Finch (SWP)    | 1,400 |
| 19th C.D.—B. R. Washington (SWP) | 972   |
| —Jose Stevens (CP)               | 824   |
| 20th C.D.—Joanna Misnik (SWP)    | 650   |

### TEXAS (From *Austin-American*)

|                |       |       |
|----------------|-------|-------|
| Jenness/Pulley | 9,700 | 0.28% |
|----------------|-------|-------|

The following are all SWP candidates:

|                             |        |       |
|-----------------------------|--------|-------|
| U. S. Senate—Tom Leonard    | 11,009 | 0.32% |
| *10th C.D.—Melissa Singler  | 11,937 | 10.9% |
| Gov.—Debby Leonard          | 23,404 | 0.69% |
| Lt. Gov.—Mike Alewitz       | 26,000 | 1.0%  |
| *Atty. Gen.—Tom Kincaid     | 58,384 | 3.3%  |
| *Comptroller—Anne Springer  | 92,039 | 3.9%  |
| *State Senate—Derek Jeffers | 9,529  | 9.3%  |
| State House—Laura Maggi     | 1,599  | 1.3%  |
| *Land Commissioner          |        |       |
| —Howard Petrick             | 56,367 | 2.45% |
| Travis Cty. Sheriff         |        |       |
| —Brad Kahn                  | 6,764  | 6.5%  |

\*Only Democratic and Socialist Workers parties were on ballot.

# Raza Unida vows to keep organizing

## Muniz wins six percent of Texas vote

By TANK BARRERA  
and NELSON BLACKSTOCK

SAN ANTONIO—This fall saw La Raza Unida Party's initial bid at the polls on a statewide basis in Texas. When the votes were counted it was clear that the young Chicano party had made its mark, leaving the state with its first non-majority governor since 1894.

With 48 percent of the vote, the Democratic nominee, millionaire rancher Dolph Briscoe, narrowly squeaked by Republican Hank Grover's 45 percent. The remainder of the vote went to Raza Unida nominee Ramsey Muñiz, who polled 6 percent, and to the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor Debby Leonard, who got close to 1 percent.

In a front-page story, the Nov. 9 *Houston Post* observed, "Muñiz failed to eat away at Briscoe's vote in Harris County (Houston) with the force he did in such Mexican-American strongholds as Bexar (San Antonio) and Nueces (Corpus Christi) counties, but he did chalk up 17,552 or 3.1 percent here. [Muñiz polled about 30,000 votes in Bexar County.]

"Certainly Muñiz could be considered the telling factor in the 49-year-old Briscoe's narrow win."

The final vote tally gave Muñiz more than 200,000 votes, well over the figure needed to assure the Raza Unida Party a place on the ballot in future elections.

On election night Ramsey Muñiz put it this way: "We haven't lost, we've won. And let me tell you how we've won. We said two things from the very start. We said we were going to win the governorship or be the balance of power. There's no way we can lose now because this is exactly what is going to happen. They are going to know that we are here."

The scene of Muñiz's remarks was the Key Hole Club in San Antonio, where more than 200 Raza Unida supporters, predominantly young but representing a cross section of the Chicano community, had gathered for an election night celebration.

It became obvious early in the evening that La Raza Unida was not making the kind of showing at the polls that some party leaders had

predicted in the final weeks of the campaign. But as the vote returns came in on the television sets scattered around a room, there did not appear to be a visible letdown among party supporters. Periodically, cheers would go up when the TV station turned its coverage to La Raza Unida, or there would be a chorus of boos when Briscoe or Democrat for Nixon John Connally came on the screen.

The TV cameras had been there



Militant/Howard Petrick  
Ramsey Muñiz, Raza Unida candidate for Texas governor.

all evening waiting for the "concession speeches," and at 10:15 p.m. Muñiz mounted the stage to address the campaign supporters. His moving speech was greeted with enthusiasm.

Muñiz thanked the campaign activists for their work. He said he was proud of those who "were men enough to stand up and tell the two parties that you've had it. . . .

"When you have something called pride, you have nothing to be ashamed of. Then you have something you can say to the other two parties. You can say that nobody but nobody controls me. Nobody controls my mind. Nobody controls my heart. Nobody controls what we do."

Muñiz promised that La Raza Unida would not be "something that comes out every two years. The party

is an everyday thing, day and night, every day."

He said he was going to tell the Democratic and Republican parties that "We are here . . . from here on out."

Similar sentiments were expressed by Rubén Sandoval and Hector Rodríguez, candidates for state representative, and Fred Garza, candidate for railroad commissioner.

One of the major Raza Unida campaigns in San Antonio was that of Albert Peña III, candidate for state representative in district 57-J. Nearly complete returns show Democrat Joe Hernandez with 6,563 votes to Peña's 3,223.

"Hernandez is not going to do what he says," Peña told the crowd, "because he's a Democrat and Democrats and Republicans aren't ever going to do anything they say, because they can't do it. They have too many strings attached. They have too many vested interests. . . .

Peña said, "We have to educate our people. . . . Many of our people would have voted for our candidates had we taken the time to educate them about that bastardly little lever on top."

Later, in a conversation with *Militant* reporters, Peña elaborated. In the final days of the campaign his district had been blanketed with leaflets by McGovern supporters. On one side the leaflets called for a vote for McGovern-Shriver and on the other urged a vote for La Raza Unida candidates.

Peña believes these leaflets cost La Raza Unida votes. Since there were no instructions on how to split a ticket, many voters began by pulling the big lever by McGovern's name in the Democratic column, thus locking in votes for the entire Democratic Party ticket and making it impossible to pull the levers for Raza Unida Party candidates for state and local offices.

There were reports that similar leaflets, unauthorized by La Raza Unida Party, had appeared in counties throughout south Texas.

Voting machines were not the only problem. Peña complained that some precincts in his district ran out of paper ballots at one p.m. and did not get more until six p.m., an hour be-

fore polls closed.

Voting irregularities were a statewide problem for the party. According to a Nov. 9 UPI dispatch, "Party founder José Angel Gutiérrez blamed part of the party's problems on voting fraud around the state. The boxes at Crystal City were impounded at the party's request, and Gutiérrez said the party was left off ballots in San Antonio and the lower Rio Grande Valley. There were also reports of similar incidents in Dallas."

Erasmus Andrade, Raza Unida Party candidate for state representative from the district in which Crystal City is located, told *The Militant* that José Angel Gutiérrez was arrested by Zavala County police while protesting voting irregularities at a polling place, and that Luz Gutiérrez, editor of the Crystal City newspaper *La Verdad*, was bodily carried out of a polling place.

Andrade explained that there was evidence of votes cast by dead people and by voters not meeting residence requirements. Two hundred absentee ballots, folded identically, were mailed from the same area and arrived on the same day. This was what led the party to demand that the ballot boxes be impounded.

Andrade polled 6,500 votes, losing to his Democratic opponent by 2,000 votes.

As was reported in last week's *Militant*, La Raza Unida Party took five county offices in Zavala County. (Crystal City is the county seat.) These include sheriff, county attorney, constable, and two commissioners. Also, one Raza Unida commissioner was reelected in neighboring La Salle County, and one Raza Unida constable was elected there.

Final returns in the vote in the governor's race show Muñiz polling 2,035 votes in Zavala County to Briscoe's 1,703 and Grover's 147.

The Associated Press reports that La Raza Unida Party ran a total of 49 candidates—five for state offices, 11 for state legislature, and the rest in county races in eight counties. Seven Raza Unida candidates in two counties were elected. The other Raza Unida candidates for statewide office trailed behind Muñiz's 6 percent.

## Colo. Raza Unida makes good showing

By LYLE FULKS

DENVER, Nov. 11—With a few polling places yet to report returns, the Nov. 8 *Denver Post* showed that the Colorado Raza Unida Party won a significant number of votes. In at least one case, votes for the Chicano party made the difference between winning and losing for the Democratic or Republican candidates.

Among the most important races for Raza Unida were those of José Gonzales, running for the State House in the heavily-Chicano 9th District

in Denver; Maria Serna, candidate for U.S. Congress in Colorado's 1st C.D.; Florencio "Freddie" Granado, running for University of Colorado regent; and Secundino "Sal" Salazar, candidate for U.S. Senate.

The campaign of Gonzales became the focus of much of the RUP's efforts. One tangible victory was the endorsement Gonzales received from Denver's most widely read daily, the *Denver Post*. The *Post* also endorsed the Democratic aspirant, Ted Ben-delow.

Each Saturday afternoon for almost two months, young RUP activists circulated thousands of pieces of campaign material throughout the 9th district. The result was an impressive 18.4 percent—1,586 votes—going to Gonzales.

Serna opposed the conservative Republican incumbent Mike McKeivitt and Pat Schroeder, the Democrat. Serna focused on the need for Chicano control of the Chicano community and opposed the deportation of "illegal aliens." She received nearly 1 percent of the vote—1,628 votes. Schroeder won the race. Fern Gapin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the same congressional seat, received 301 votes.



Militant/Harry Ring  
Jose Gonzales won 18 percent of vote for seat in Colorado State House.

Granado polled the highest vote total of any Colorado RUP candidate—22,903 votes in the regents race. He had experience of a unique kind. Last year as a student at CU in Boulder he had been a leader of UMAS (United Mexican-American Students). He was thrown out of school for spearheading a parity recruiting agreement in which Chicano students would be admitted in proportion to the Chicano population in the state. He received 3 percent of the vote. The RUP ran for one of the two regents positions open. SWP regents candidate Jon Hillson received 6,709 votes.

In a close race for U.S. Senate between incumbent Republican Gordon Allot and liberal Democrat Floyd Haskell, Sal Salazar brought away 12,422 votes, nearly 1.5 percent.

Michael Montoya, who ran for state board of education, got 6,499 votes, nearly 4 percent of the total. This vote meant defeat for Democratic candidate Kate Stonington, who had posed as a friend of Chicanos in her campaign.

José Calderon ran for Weld County commissioner. He received more than 6 percent of the vote.

### Ruiz wins 13%

Raul Ruiz, La Raza Unida Party candidate in California's 40th Assembly District (Los Angeles), won 5,130 votes in the Nov. 7 election, according to preliminary returns. This amounts to 13 percent of the total votes cast. Democratic incumbent Alex Garcia was reelected with 56 percent of the vote.

# World Outlook

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

NOVEMBER 24, 1972

## 'Chronicle' defies police dragnet

### Soviet dissident gets 5-year sentence

After a four-day trial that began October 26, prominent Soviet astrophysicist Kronid A. Lubarsky was sentenced to five years in a labor camp for alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Among the materials he was charged with possessing and distributing was the *Chronicle of Current Events*, a bi-monthly samizdat journal of dissent.

According to a dispatch from Moscow by Murray Seeger in the November 1 *Los Angeles Times*, the Lubarsky trial was only part of an all-out effort by Soviet secret police to eliminate the *Chronicle of Current Events*. The campaign to stamp out the *Chronicle* is called "Criminal Case 24" by the Soviet Committee on Internal Security (KGB). For the past ten months the KGB has questioned and arrested hundreds of Soviet citizens suspected of having connections with the journal.

Many of those questioned have disappeared into jails, others into mental hospitals used as prisons. Seeger's dispatch reports that in the last week

of October twenty-two-year-old Andrei Dubrov was sent to a mental hospital after being interrogated regarding the *Chronicle of Current Events*.

Despite this ten-month police campaign the samizdat journal has continued to appear every two months since it began in 1968. Issue number twenty-seven, however, which was due to appear in October, has apparently been delayed.

Seeger writes that although the *Chronicle* is only one of many samizdat publications circulating in the Soviet Union, it "is particularly embarrassing for the government because of its remarkably accurate reporting of violations of individual civil liberties."

"Each issue carries reports of trials and arrests from all parts of the country that are reported no place else in the Soviet Union. It contains letters and news items smuggled out of prisons, hospitals and labor camps."

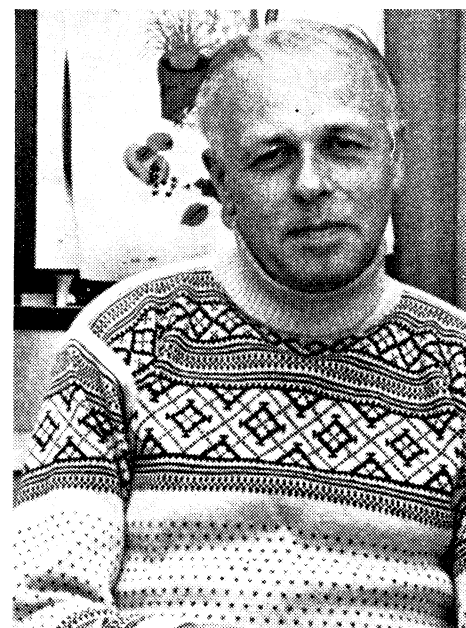
Describing the role of the *Chronicle* among dissidents in the Soviet Union, Seeger writes, "It serves to keep all

the disparate dissident groups of the country—political, intellectual, religious and national—informed of the others' activities and problems. In this way, it counteracts the official government policy of keeping dissident groups divided."

The *Los Angeles Times* article concludes that the reason the underground journal has been able to survive in spite of the police dragnet is that "more people are involved in its production than the few political dissidents known to Western observers."

"The *Chronicle* circle is bigger than even the KGB can encompass."

Another factor contributing to the *Chronicle's* survival is its method of distribution: Recipients of an issue reproduce the entire journal and pass copies on to others they think would be interested. Since it is illegal for an individual to own any kind of copying machine in the USSR, supporters of the *Chronicle* must type carbon copies or make copies by photographing the pages with a personal camera. □



Andrei Sakharov, one of the Soviet Union's top theoretical physicists, has sent an appeal to the United Nations, along with other Soviet civil rights activists, asking that the UN intervene in the case of Kronid Lubarsky. In an interview printed in the November 13 *Newsweek*, Sakharov said the situation was worsening for dissidents in the USSR. "Since Nixon's visit [to Moscow], things have gotten worse. The authorities seem more impudent because they feel that with detente they can now ignore Western public opinion, which isn't going to be concerned with the plight of internal freedoms in Russia."

## France

### Mass meeting protests Czechoslovak frame-up trials

The Paris town hall, the Mutualité, which holds four thousand persons, was almost filled on October 26 for a meeting in solidarity with the victims of the repression in Czechoslovakia.

The January 5 Committee, which organized the meeting, represented a fairly broad spectrum of the French

left, the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, French section of the Fourth International], the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party], Objectif Socialiste [Socialist Objective], the French CP opposition group led by the philosopher Roger Garaudy, the AMR [Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Marxist Alliance], and the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste—Internationalist Communist Organization].

Almost all the speakers stressed the connection between defeating the repression in Czechoslovakia and advancing the cause of the international socialist revolution. Some moderate and Social Democratic groups took the opportunity to express their support for democracy "in general." But the main Czech speaker, Jiri Pelikan, the director of Czechoslovak television during the Prague Spring and the Russian invasion, called for a very specific kind of democracy in the East European countries. He appealed for a "political revolution" that would open the way for the development of socialist democracy by removing the inefficient and dictatorial bureaucracy.

Speaking for the Ligue Communiste,

Alain Krivine explained that the 1968 invasion was not carried out in the interest of the workers in either Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union but of a privileged bureaucracy opposed both to developing socialism in the countries it rules and to extending the socialist revolution to other areas. He challenged dissident CP members who claim that the invasion was just a "mistake" by pointing to the enormity of one "socialist" country occupying a "brother nation," explaining what a blow this represented to the cause of socialism throughout the world. It could only be called a crime, and the perpetrators, enemies of socialism. The only answer was a political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy.

Krivine explained that the political revolution against the bureaucracy in the Stalinized workers states was tightly linked to the revolution against capitalism and imperialism in the rest of the world, that a victory of the fighters for workers' democracy in the Stalinized countries strengthened revolutionists in the capitalist countries and vice versa. It was a lucid, powerful revolutionary speech that drew enthusiastic applause and chanting from thousands of young revolutionists in

the audience, many of whom probably took part in the battles of the French May, which was denounced as a "Zionist plot" by one of the organs of the Polish bureaucracy.

The featured Czech speaker, Jiri Pelikan, seemed to direct his remarks primarily at Communist party activists who had questions about the invasion of Czechoslovakia. He stressed that the Prague Spring was not anti-Russian, describing the fraternization of the Czech and Slovak resisters with the Russian occupation troops. He emphasized also that, particularly in view of the Kremlin's rapprochement with the West, an international defense campaign had a good chance of forcing release or better treatment of the political prisoners.

To conclude the meeting, Jan Sling, the son of Ota Sling, one of the old Communists executed during the Stalinist terror of the 1950s, delivered a strong statement denouncing the bureaucracy and affirming his faith in socialism. Young Sling, who was brought up in state institutions and forbidden even to use his family name, became an outspoken advocate of workers' democracy during the Prague Spring. He was jailed after the invasion. □



## Chile

# Anti-Allende strike wave ends; gov't seizes Dow Chemical holdings

By David Thorstad

Chile began returning to normal November 6 after truckers and shopkeepers ended their twenty-six-day strike against the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. The strike, which cost Chile an estimated \$170,000,000, came to an end following three days of negotiations between the strikers and the new minister of the interior, General Carlos Prats.

The negotiations resulted in the following concessions being made by the government: All charges were dropped against the striking union leaders; requisitioned vehicles and sequestered

property were to be returned to their owners; plans to create a state transportation company in the southern part of the country were suspended; the activity of private truckers would be backed up by legal guarantees; trade and distribution will be reorganized and will remain in the private sector of the economy; a cabinet commission will be formed to look into complaints originating in all sectors of the economy.

According to *New York Times* reporter Joseph Novitski, writing from Santiago November 8, Senator Carlos Altamirano, the leader of Allende's Socialist party, "disagreed in a midnight speech with the Government's promise to return requisitioned factories and to avoid penalizing state

employees who had walked out." The Paris daily *Le Monde* noted in an editorial November 4 that as a result of Allende's appointment of three military men, including Prats, to his cabinet, the Chilean Socialists are "torn apart" and it is quite possible that Altamirano will resign as party head.

The other major force in the Chilean popular front, the Communist party, issued a statement November 3 "fully approving" the new cabinet, according to the November 4 *Daily World*, newspaper of the U. S. Communist party.

The MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), however, has issued a declaration criticizing the inclusion of the military in Allende's cabinet. "It's dangerous for the people to accept alliances made in their name with some high military officials without some guarantees and conditions for such a program," said the MIR, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Santiago November 9.

The composition of the new cabinet is as follows: interior—General Carlos Prats; foreign affairs—Clodomiro Almeyda (Socialist); national defense—José Toha (Socialist); economy—Fernando Flores (MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United People's Action]); government secretary general—Hernán del Canto (Socialist); finances—Orlando Millas (Communist); public works—Admiral Ismael Huerta; labor and social welfare—Luis Figueroa (Communist); public education—Jorge Tapia (Radical); justice—

Sergio Inzunza (Communist); land and settlement—Humberto Martones (Radical); mines—Air Force General Claudio Sepulveda; public health—Juan Carlos Concha (MAPU); agriculture—Rolando Calderón (Socialist); and housing—Luis Matte (Independent).

The opposition appears to regard the military cabinet members as guardians of its interests. The Christian Democratic senator and former president of the Senate, Patricio Alwyn, for instance, feels, according to an Agence France-Presse report in the November



Above, prosocialist workers in the streets of Sarpied lands despite opposition by Allende. The overs.

## MIR calls for popular mobilizations, workers councils

[The following are excerpts from an official statement issued October 19 by the Chilean MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) on the current offensive against the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. The excerpts were published in the October 24 issue of the Chilean bi-weekly magazine *Punto Final*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Local and foreign bosses have unleashed a new and stronger offensive. . . .

With their slogan of "civil resistance" they have unleashed an extensive strike by the bosses that aims at paralyzing the country, besieging the people with hunger, and creating chaos

in order thereby to bring about the overthrow of the government, or at least a decisive and permanent shift of power from the civilian sphere to the military. . . .

The relative breadth of social unrest that the bosses and imperialism have achieved with this strategy has been made possible by the weaknesses of sectors of the government over the past two years. The bosses and imperialism are continuing their attack on the people from the positions of power and wealth that they hold; the crisis created by the "civil resistance" is also the product of a weak and vacillating policy that urgently must and can be changed.

At the moment, these same governmental sectors are trying to relegate the working class and the people to the status of a secondary and aux-

iliary force in providing a solution to the problems confronting them; they want the people to be observers while the military and the government attempt to find a solution to the crisis. In this way they bring about a de facto paralysis and demobilization of the people and as a result are unable to resolve the crisis. . . .

The present confrontation is between the people and the big capitalists. The only solution to it lies in the workers taking things into their own hands. . . .

If the bosses refuse to produce, transport, distribute, and market their goods, the people can and must take these activities into their own hands. The working class does not need the big capitalists in order to carry out these tasks. If the lack of "democracy and freedom" to exploit and get rich stifles the initiative of the capitalists, workers' democracy can put the industries and the rural estates into production and commerce and transportation into motion. . . .

The basic task facing the workers if the crisis is to be resolved and its causes eliminated is the expropriation of the big capitalists in industry, trade, transportation, agriculture, and mining, and the mass communications network that serves them. This task must be complemented by workers' control over operations remaining in the private sector. . . .

Only in this way will it be possible to eliminate the economic bases upon which the "civil resistance" of the bosses rests. . . .

The above can only be achieved if a popular power, alternative to that of the bosses and the bourgeoisie, is developed. Such popular power can

only arise out of the struggle and mobilization of the people, out of it being unified from the bottom up and organized on a community basis into Community Workers' Councils. . . .

At the present moment, the people cannot allow the bosses to succeed in paralyzing the country and creating chaos. In order to prevent them from doing so, it must normalize transportation, trade, production, attention to the medical needs of the people, etc., by utilizing the organized action of the working class and the rest of the people, supported by the governmental apparatus, the armed

5-6 *Le Monde*, "that the presence of three high-ranking military men ought to guarantee a governmental program that respects the law and serves the interests of all Chileans, not only those of a few parties." A spokesman for the right-wing National party, Victor Garcia, said he thought the cabinet was that of a "moderate government."

The fact is that Allende has placed the fate of his Popular Unity regime in the hands of the military. It is significant in this regard that the promotion of General Prats to the most powerful post in the cabinet occurred

at precisely the time that a law was being implemented giving to the armed forces alone complete power to ban the possession of weapons of any kind by individual citizens.

Prats received his military training in the United States. Although he is expected to fulfill his cabinet duties in a "nonpolitical" fashion, Marcel Niedergang noted in the November 2 *Le Monde* that "it is recognized in Santiago that his political sympathies do not lean in the direction of Popular Unity. It is thanks to his insistent intervention that the American military mission has not left Chile and that the joint American-Chilean naval maneuvers, 'Unitas,' were able to take place at the height of the [recent] crisis, in spite of the violent objections of certain leaders of the Socialist party."

Meanwhile, Niedergang also pointed out that as the Kennecott Copper Corporation stepped up its campaign against Chile in October, Allende moved to seize all Chilean holdings of the American-owned Dow Chemical company. The official reason for the seizure was that the Chilean subsidiaries "have not delivered the agreed-upon plastic products." One of the subsidiaries, whose value is set at \$10,000,000, is insured by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a U.S. government body designed to protect imperialist investments abroad. Thus, in the case of the recent seizures—as with the nationalizations last year of Anaconda and Kennecott—the U.S. government itself is directly concerned. □

of the working class and the revolutionary forces. In order to accomplish this, daily assemblies must be held in the factories, on the land, in educational centers and housing projects, to discuss the political situation and find a solution to the present difficulties through the power and initiative of the workers themselves. . . .

But what is necessary above all is that Coordinating Committees of all working-class and popular organizations be formed in each community, uniting them in action and struggle and making it possible to move toward the creation of community councils.

We call on the working class, the people, and the left as a whole to respond in this way to the capitalist strike. In the face of the "civil resistance" of the bosses and of fascism, we call on them to open up the floodgates of workers' action, mobilization, and struggle in order to deal a unified blow to fascism. We must strike together, in spite of our differences and in spite of the need to step up ideological struggle and the struggle to win the leadership of the masses among the people and their organizations. . . .

The reactionary forces of the bosses and of imperialism, of the DC [Democracia Cristiana—Christian Democracy] and the PN [Partido Nacional—National party] must realize that the workers and the people will not passively permit their gains and their rights to be taken away; they will not permit the government to be overthrown, nor an authoritarian or fascist dictatorship to be set up. All these forces will achieve if they persist in their aims will be the unleashing of civil war. □

## 2,000 in French Basque town march against repression

"Seen from afar—from Paris, for example—you might think that the French Basque country was turning separatist, a word which, by the way, the nationalists reject. Is it? What has happened in less than three weeks?"

Jean Rambaud asked this question in the October 31 issue of the prestigious Parisian daily *Le Monde*. It was a development that surprised a broad spectrum of French public opinion, running from right to extreme left, that inspired this query. In the space of a few weeks the protests begun by a few individuals against the French government's persecution of Spanish Basque patriots grew to the first mass expression of national sentiment by French Basques in the memory of generations.

Some 2,000 people marched through the quiet provincial town of Bayonne in the French Basque country on October 27. Even capitalist, French chauvinist politicians were quick to try to identify themselves with the movement.

"Two thousand people in the streets of Bayonne, that's nothing to sneeze at. Even a UDR [Union de Défense de la République—the main Gaullist formation] deputy could be seen joining in with a delegation of general councillors and mayors who were going to demand explanations [for anti-Basque repression] . . . from the subprefect. And this Sunday [October 29] fifty mayors and councillors met."

The way for the October 27 march and other demonstrations was paved by the sharpening of the French government's persecution of Basque political refugees early in the month. On October 8, *Le Monde* reported that Paris had ordered seven Basque nationalists deported from France and exiled to the northern part of the country until some other state agreed to accept them.

Not only did this measure reveal the complicity of the Pompidou government with the fascist regime in Madrid, but it worked a cruel hardship on patriots who hoped at least to be able to take refuge with their own people across the French border.

On October 8, the reactionary Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin issued a decree outlawing the ETA on French soil. *Le Monde* commented in an editorial October 11:

"Taken suddenly on the basis of a thirty-year-old decree, the decision of the minister of the interior follows many recent deportations of Spanish Basques. It seems beyond doubt that the French government is determined to halt any extension of 'Basque sentiment' favored by the violent resumption of nationalist agitation in the Spanish Basque country. Already last April the government banned a legal

and duly authorized demonstration organized by the [French] Basque organization Enbata."

The first protest against the French government's repression was a hunger strike by four young Basques in the cathedral of Bayonne. By October 29, the number of hunger strikers had grown to eighty—forty-six in the cathedral of Bayonne, thirteen in Saint André, seven in Saint Martin de Biarritz, five in the church of Socoa, six in Mauléon, two in Saint Palais, two in Hasparren, and others in Ustaritz and Hendaye. Two demonstrations took place in Pau.

The mass demonstrations in Bayonne on October 27 were touched off when the police arrested a deported Basque nationalist, M. de Madariaga, who had come to join the hunger strikers.

"This was the turning point," Rambaud wrote. "Many people who were indifferent to the cause of the refugees—and still more of nationalism—did not appreciate the assault of the riot troops and the use of tear gas in the cathedral. That same evening, two thousand demonstrators marched. . . . 'Even though it was a mistake,' the moderates said, 'it was proof that Paris is ignorant of our feelings; it was the revelation of a chasm between us.'" □



Afrique-Asie

. Photo below shows peasants who have occurred a leading role in these land take-

forces, and the soldiers.

The people and the revolutionary forces are not opposed to officers and soldiers aiding in the fight against fascism and pushing to get paralyzed operations going again. On the contrary, we will strike together in this. But the armed forces cannot hold back the mobilization and struggle of the workers against the bosses, which is the only way to definitively resolve the crisis. . . .

In order to meet the immediate and underlying tasks, the masses must be brought into action and their initiative developed under the leadership



- FOR GRYNSPAN: Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels.
- Interview with the Copenhagen Social-Demokraten, 1932.
- Letter to the Communist League of China (section of the International Left Opposition).
- How the Workers in Austria Should Fight Hitler.
- Polish Fascism and the Mistakes of the Communist party.

These are just a few of the articles and letters by Leon Trotsky that *Intercontinental Press* has published. Most were translated from the original Russian and appeared in the pages of *Intercontinental Press* for the first time in English.

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## Antiwar, socialist groups protest Canadian role in Vietnam truce

[The following article is reprinted from the November 6 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly published in Toronto that reflects the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.]

By George Addison

OCT. 28—Hard on the heels of Henry Kissinger's announcement that "peace is at hand" in Vietnam, the U. S. State Department's favorite partner-in-crime, the Canadian government, made a predictable offer. External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp told the press that Canada is likely to participate in an international "peacekeeping" force in Vietnam.

"Canada is the most experienced in peacekeeping," Sharp said in an interview with the *Toronto Star* Oct. 26, "and we have been making suggestions based on our experience."

What kind of a force does Sharp envisage? He told newsmen that it could well be a "semi-military force," including, presumably, troops from Canada and several other countries.

The Oct. 28 *Toronto Star* quotes Prime Minister Trudeau as announcing "with relief and thankfulness" that Canada is ready to send peacekeeping troops to Vietnam, providing both sides agree on Canada's role.

A Canadian Press article datelined Washington, Oct. 28, reports that U. S. Secretary of State William Rogers has consulted Canada and a number of other countries "which might play a

useful role in the enforcement of an eventual Vietnam war settlement." Rogers was quoted as saying it was "quite possible that Canada will be one of the nations asked to help supervise the peace."

And the Canadian armed forces are dutifully moving to prepare plans to send Canadian troops to Vietnam. In Ottawa, a Defense Department spokesman said that longstanding contingents

The Nov. 10 *New York Times* reported in a dispatch from Washington that "progress was being made in setting up a 5,000-man truce supervisory force, which was expected to consist of 1,250 men each from Canada, Indonesia, Poland and Hungary." Nixon's top aide Henry Kissinger is quoted as saying it was hoped that this force could be in place in Vietnam "at the same time that the cease-fire was promulgated."

cy plans to move a Canadian peacekeeping force of up to 5,000 men to Vietnam are being dusted off. Particular attention is being given to getting the Canadian Airborne Regiment, on standby at Edmonton [Alberta], to Vietnam.

The scene is being set for another chapter in the 18-year history of Can-

ada's complicity in the Vietnam war. What was previously diplomatic support and cover through Canada's membership on the International Control Commission and exporter of arms to aid the U. S. war machine now appears to be entering a new stage—sending Canadian troops. They may be called "peacekeepers," but they will in reality be a new occupying army, a new foreign intervention to block the struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination.

While the cease-fire agreement announced by both Hanoi and the U. S. has not been signed and may be stalled by Nixon for some time to wring more concessions from the Vietnamese, or indeed may never come into effect, the provisions of the agreement clearly call for international "supervision and control." Neither side has publicly revealed the scope and nature of this international force, but the Washington view, as quoted in an article by William Beecher in the Oct. 29 *New York Times*, assumes that it will be a significant military force:

"American intelligence reports are filled with intercepted messages indicating an intention on the part of the Vietcong to delay compliance with the cease-fire. . . . Saigon's forces apparently intend to play a similar game. . . . The only way to counteract this trend, as Mr. Kissinger made clear, is by having the projected international supervisory force in place at the start of the truce.

"Military planners here (in Washington) say there must be several thousand members of a peacekeeping force, equipped with helicopters and good communications and free to move everywhere in South Vietnam. . . ."

Can Canada be a "peacemaker" in Vietnam? A look at Canada's record both in Vietnam and in other world "trouble spots" shows that Canadian intervention could only be of a counter-revolutionary nature.

Since World War II, Canada has participated in every single United Nations "peacekeeping" operation. Its participation, however, was not that of an impartial and neutral intermediary in conflicts, but that of a conscious agent of imperialism. Canada acted when bigger imperialist powers—the U. S., Britain, France, etc.—could not. Canada's aim was to crush revolutionary developments and stabilize the status quo.

A quotation from the Canadian government's 1964 White Paper on Defense shows how peacekeeping is seen as part of a general proimperialist strategy:

". . . Communist pressure, including the active fomenting and support of so-called 'wars of liberation' in less-developed areas, may well continue and intensify. In such areas, instability will probably continue in the decade ahead and call for containment measures which do not lend themselves to Great Power or Alliance action. The peacekeeping responsibilities devolving upon the United Nations can be expected to grow correspondingly."

Thus, in the view of the Liberal government, participation in U. S.-dominated nuclear alliances like NATO and NORAD is in no way contradictory to "peacekeeping" operations. They both serve the same general end.

Canadian military personnel have joined "peacekeeping" operations, in Kashmir (1949 to the present), Korea (1940-54), Palestine (1954 to date), Indochina (1954 to date), Egypt (1956-67), Lebanon (1958-59), Congo (1960-64), West New Guinea (1962-63), Yemen (1963-64), Cyprus

(1964 to date) and India-Pakistan (1965-66).

The most blatantly proimperialist action was Canadian participation in the phony United Nations force in Korea. The force included 8,000 Canadians but was commanded and financed by the U. S. The United States provided 50 percent of the troops (South Korea provided an additional 40 percent), 85 percent of the naval forces, 93 percent of the air forces, and paid for the entire operation. The U. N. authorization for the force was simply a formality. Like Vietnam, it was a brutal assault on the right of the Koreans to determine their own future, to provide a base for imperialist encirclement of the People's Republic of China.

Canadian participation in the Korean force helped give the appearance of legitimacy to U. S. aggression, as well as the obvious aid in terms of trained soldiers.

In the Congo, a United Nations force was created in 1960 on the request of its president Patrice Lumumba, supposedly to put down an imperialist-inspired secession of Katanga province under the Belgian puppet Moise Tshombe. The activity of the U. N. force was mainly aimed, however, at Lumumba's government. Canadian forces in particular, who were in charge of transport and communication, effectively cut Lumumba off from his supporters. Through a series of maneuvers, Lumumba was seized by his opponents and murdered, and by the time the U. N. was ready to withdraw, none other than Tshombe took power as the "saviour" of Congolese independence. The U. N. force had effectively turned the tables on the Congolese revolution.

Canadian troops have been ready for a "peacekeeping" role in Vietnam for some years now. Liberal cabinet ministers have hinted at such a force since 1968. Canadian forces have been training in "counterinsurgency" warfare for at least that long. CBC-TV reported in July 1968 an exercise at Camp Petawawa, Ont., where Canadian soldiers were practising maneuvers in a mock Southeast Asian village. Troops have been sent to several tropical countries for similar "counterinsurgency" training.

The Canadian government has been the most consistent supporter of U. S. aggression in Vietnam throughout the history of the war. As a member of the International Control Commission, Canada provided a rationale for the puppet regime in Saigon, justified the buildup of U. S. forces, carried threats to Hanoi for the U. S., and even spied for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). These assertions have all been documented by the Canadian antiwar movement and the socialist press.

Canada has no more right to be in Vietnam or Indochina than the United States does. Canadian intervention could be nothing other than another denial of the right of the Indochinese to their self-determination.

Recognizing the pressing need to awaken Canadians to the designs of the Trudeau government, the antiwar movement has already moved into action. On Oct. 28, 50 activists picketed the Canadian Airborne Regiment's barracks in Edmonton. Seventy protesters picketed the Liberal Party headquarters in Toronto.

In Ottawa, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee picketed the National Defense Headquarters. Activity is being stepped up across the country, stressing emergency speak-outs on university campuses.

Canadians must move to block any and all Canadian intervention into the affairs of the Indochinese people.



# Lessons for Vietnam

# How U.S. used 'peace' pacts in Laos

By PETER SEIDMAN

The nine-point peace plan President Nixon seeks to impose on Vietnam is supposed to bring peace to Indochina. This treaty is in fact simply an attempt by the American imperialists to continue their domination of Indochina. It's a weapon against the Vietnamese people.

The history of Laos, where provisions similar to those in the current peace treaty were included in the Geneva Accords of 1954, the Vientiane Agreement of 1957, and the 1962 Geneva Agreements, shows that the only treaties favored by Washington are those that bolster its own imperialist interests.

The U.S. government supported these treaties only because they offered the best possibility of maintaining pro-American, capitalist governments in Laos through which Washington could continue its counterrevolutionary drive in Southeast Asia.

Laos is a warning for those who support genuine self-determination for Vietnam as to why they should oppose the imposition of Nixon's nine-point peace plan on Indochina.

The origin of the Laotian freedom struggle is similar to that of the Vietnamese. After World War II, a split occurred within the anti-Japanese resistance forces when the returning French colonialists refused to grant full independence to Laos.

Prince Souvanna Phouma and his followers accepted the continued role of Laos within the French Union and established a government in Vientiane. Prince Souphanouvong, refusing to go along with his half-brother Souvanna, formed an alliance with the Viet Minh forces fighting the French in Vietnam.

In 1950, Souphanouvong established the Pathet Lao resistance movement in northeastern Laos. By the spring of 1954 the Pathet Lao had established itself from Phong Saly in northern Laos to the Bolovens Plateau in the south. It had found new allies among the hill tribes fighting the Royal Laotian Government (RLG); had swept the French out of Sam Neua province, where it established a government; and was threatening Luang Prabang and other key Mekong Valley towns.

Hence the Pathet Lao shared in what the Vietnamese accomplished in May 1954 at Dienbienphu—the collapse of French rule in Indochina.

## 1954 Geneva Conference

It was at this time that Washington began to intervene actively in the Laotian civil war. With help from the CIA, which did not trust Souvanna Phouma to check the Pathet Lao advance, the leader of a pro-American faction within the RLG, Phoui Sananikone, was installed as foreign minister.

Sananikone represented the RLG at the Geneva Conference held from May to July 1954, which was supposed to bring a settlement to the Indochina war. The western powers refused to allow the Pathet Lao, which controlled two-thirds of Laos, to participate in the discussions. Neither the Soviet Union nor China, which played active roles at Geneva, objected to this exclusion.

Rather, Moscow and Peking ratified the accords, which provided for the regroupment of the Pathet Lao into two northern provinces, Phong Saly and Sam Neua; pledged Laos to a policy of "neutrality" excluding any foreign military bases, troops, aid, or alliances; and called for general elections by August 1955.

In advance of the Geneva accord, China recognized the Souvanna Phouma government on the condition that

it would accept the Geneva policy of military neutrality and would admit the Pathet Lao into a coalition government and integrate Pathet Lao troops into the Royal Laotian Army (RLA).

Even while the Geneva talks were taking place, John Foster Dulles, then U.S. secretary of state, was holding a series of secret negotiations with British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden to define the real objectives of Washington's Indochina policy. In his *Memoirs*, Eden recounts how Britain, the U.S., and later France, agreed to a seven-point plan for continued imperialist rule in Indochina.

Part of the plan provided that the Geneva Accords must not in any way

Vientiane Agreement with the Pathet Lao-led Laotian Patriotic Front, Souvanna attempted to implement the Geneva Agreement: a coalition government was established with the participation of Souphanouvong and the Pathet Lao military was integrated into the RLA. In May 1958 the Pathet Lao and an allied party won 13 of 21 seats in by-elections for the new government.

The American embassy in Vientiane was so alarmed by these developments that it financed and organized a Committee for the Defense of National Interests (CDNI) under the leadership of a pro-American, Colonel Phoumi Nosavan. Three months after the Pathet Lao had proven its popular sup-

Moscow-aided forces, Khrushchev agreed to another Geneva conference on Laos. By 1962, the Soviet Union, the U.S., Britain, France, China, and nine other countries were sitting around the conference table and negotiating the fate of Laos. Once again a cease-fire was proclaimed and plans were made for a coalition government.

## Meaning of '62 treaty

For the imperialists, this treaty was simply a maneuver to maintain a foothold in Laos that would permit them another chance at crushing the Pathet Lao.

Referring to the 1962 Geneva Treaty, Roger Hilsman, assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs under Kennedy, admitted in 1965: "We all understood perfectly well that [it] was just the starting gun. . . . If we had . . . used the negotiations as an excuse to withdraw from Laos . . . we in effect would have been turning it over to the Communists."

After 1962 the Kennedy administration sought to achieve its objective not by militarily overthrowing Souvanna Phouma but by winning his participation in a pro-American government, a capitalist government, committed to continuing the war against the Pathet Lao.

This was accomplished in April 1964 when Souvanna was confronted by an army take-over of Vientiane and an ultimatum to either join the pro-American faction or be deposed altogether. Souvanna capitulated and merged his "neutralist" faction with the right wing.

The Kennedy plan had succeeded. With Souvanna Phouma, the most authoritative "neutralist" in Laos now installed as a figurehead in the pro-American Laotian regime of Phoumi Nosavan, Washington had created the situation it wanted. The imperialists now had a "neutralist" cover for their counterrevolutionary drive in Laos. By May 1964, the U.S. was carrying out a massive program of bombing Pathet Lao territories in Laos, all in strict secrecy.

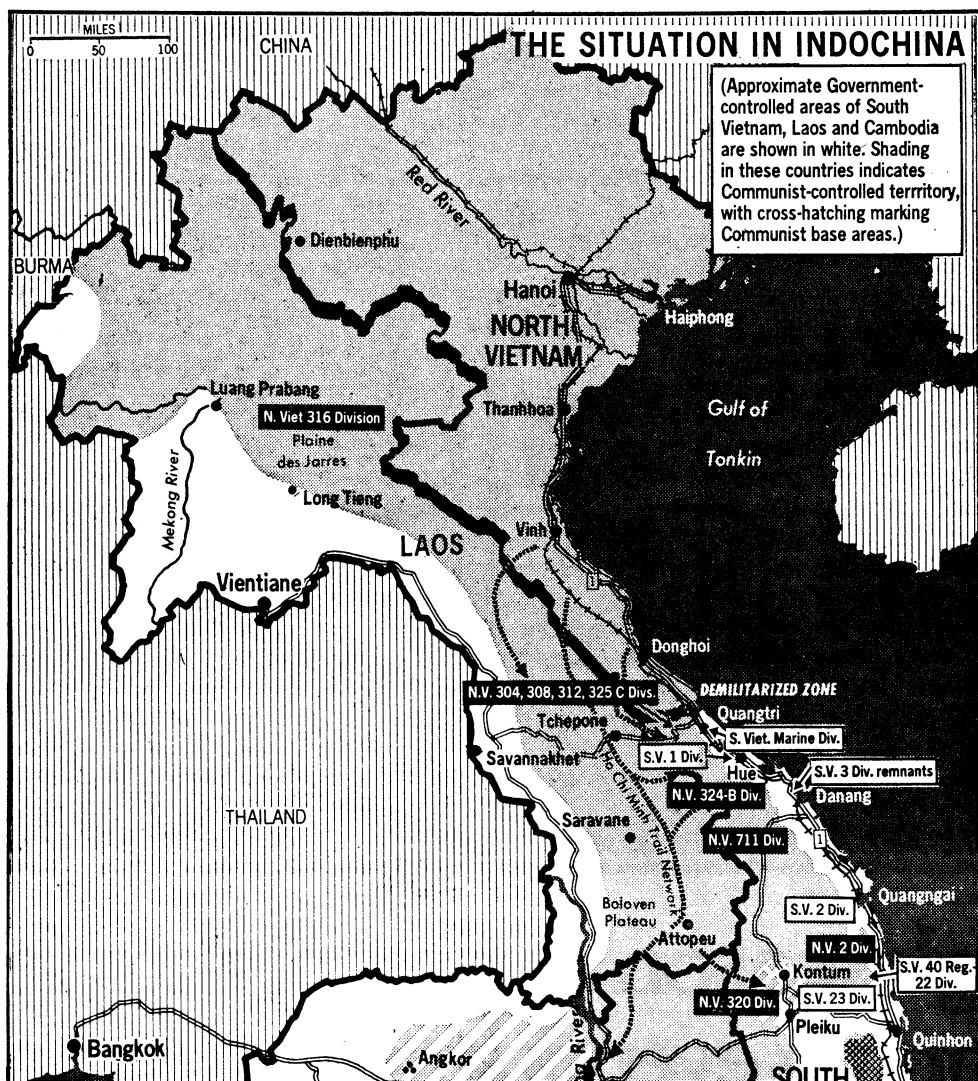
Today Laos is a country where more than a million people live underground in terror of U.S. bombing raids. Whole sections of the land are craterized and desolated from the ravaging of Pathet Lao-controlled areas that have been declared "free-fire zones" for American bombers. More than a half million people have been driven from their villages and farms to seek shelter in refugee camps.

An Oct. 27 *New York Times* map shows that the U.S. puppet government controls only a thin ribbon of land along the Mekong River valley. This government virtually doesn't exist; its functions have been taken over by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), its army is run by the CIA, and its entire income—spent largely to line the pockets of a corrupt and isolated group of tin-hat generals and warlord families—comes from the U.S. treasury.

The U.S. government has spent more than \$650-million in the last 15 years to obtain these results—its highest foreign aid expenditure per capita anywhere.

Washington is committed to the preservation of capitalism in Southeast Asia and seeks in the long run to reverse the social revolutions that have liberated the peoples of North Vietnam and China. There is no evidence or logic to justify a belief that they will follow any other course.

President Eisenhower wrote to  
*Continued on page 22*



New York Times map shows military situation in Indochina based on information from Washington. Shaded area in Laos is conceded to be in Pathet Lao hands.

be understood to "impose on Laos, Cambodia, or retained Vietnam any restrictions materially impairing their capacity to maintain stable noncommunist regimes; and especially restrictions impairing their right to maintain adequate forces for internal security, to import arms and to employ foreign advisers. . . . [or] contain political provisions which would risk loss of the retained area to communist control."

China and the Soviet Union hailed the Geneva Accords as a step toward peaceful coexistence, just as today they support the nine-point "peace" plan. But the reality of the 1954 treaty was that through diplomacy the imperialists won concessions they could not win on the battlefield. Washington moved almost immediately to consolidate this victory.

In September, contrary to the Geneva provisions for Laotian military neutrality, the U.S. set up SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) and against the wishes of Premier Souvanna Phouma, extended its protection to Laos. By January 1955, a new U.S. Operations Mission in Vientiane began pouring funds into the RLG, making it totally dependent on American support.

On the basis of the November 1957

port in the election, the CDNI forced the ouster of the Souvanna Phouma coalition government, installed a new government led by Phoui Sananikone, and proceeded to break all the agreements that had been made with the Laotian Patriotic Front.

All the Patriotic Front ministers and sympathizers in the government were dismissed, Souphanouvong was placed under house arrest, and the Pathet Lao troops in the RLA were dispersed. Sananikone then initiated talks with Diem in South Vietnam and Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, and asked for substantial U.S. aid.

With U.S. financing and sponsorship, the Phoumi Nosavan-Phoui Sananikone government outlawed the Patriotic Front in July 1959. The same month the Pathet Lao forces resumed their military activities, and civil war once again raged in Laos.

By 1961, the military advances of the Pathet Lao, as well as of Soviet- and Chinese-supplied armies loyal to Souvanna Phouma, forced the Kennedy administration to change its tactics. Because Kennedy's support to the Phoumi Nosavan forces in 1961 risked a military confrontation with the Soviet Union, Washington turned to the negotiating table.

Despite the battlefield successes of

## Threat to U.S. workers

# Corporations, gov't plot speedup scheme

By FRANK LOVELL

The ruling class in this country is worried about foreign competition, and that spells trouble for wage workers here.

Big U.S. combines are determined to regain their advantage in the world market, which has slipped badly in the past 10 years. Automobiles are an example. German and Japanese cars are better built, last longer, and sell for less than cars manufactured here. A complete list of examples would include thousands of products for the consumer market. It would also include many items used in manufacturing, such as steel.

In order to underbid foreign competitors in the world market, U.S. products must be turned out cheaper and better. This means increasing productivity, producing more goods in less time with fewer workers. This is the way the capitalists cut labor costs and raise profits, their first priority.

Recently the big U.S. capitalists have increased their profits by developing

multinational corporations and building factories in foreign countries. They are able in this way to take advantage of low-paid labor everywhere in the world.

The shift last year in the balance of foreign trade, when for the first time in this century more goods were shipped into this country than were exported, alarmed the rulers of America. They are now developing a national plan to cut labor costs here.

The business and financial correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Harry Ellis, reported Nov. 8 from Washington that "Quietly, over a period of many months, experts in several government departments—Commerce, Labor, HEW, HUD, and the Price Commission—have hammered out a grass-roots approach to the problem."

How to raise productivity is "the problem." This despite the fact that the U.S. Labor Department reports private industry showed a third-quarter increase in output per hour of 3.7 percent, well above the post-

war average. The problem arises from the more rapid increase in productivity in competing nations, Japan especially.

The man in charge of the National Commission on Productivity (NCOP) is Secretary of Commerce Peter Peterson, and the federal government has allocated \$100,000 to start "pilot projects" in a number of firms across the country to turn out more products with fewer workers.

This is not one of Nixon's "secret schemes." It has bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress and is endorsed by top-ranking labor bureaucrats. A bill by Senator Edward Kennedy will be reintroduced in the next session of Congress for federal funds to finance engineering schools to develop new speedup techniques. Meanwhile, NCOP, created by Nixon in 1970, will develop its on-the-job experiments in collaboration with private industry.

Government officials have already approached top union officials, seeking their support in the speedup projects. The extent of their collaboration is beginning to show in the 1973 bargaining demands of some major unions. Officials of the United Auto Workers are talking about "humanizing the work place." President I.W. Abel of the United Steelworkers continues to talk about "our new Industrial Conference approach to bargaining" in which it was agreed in the 1971 steel negotiations to set up union-management "productivity committees."

All this is only soft soap for the workers to make them think something is being done for them instead of to them. Now that government agencies have taken over direction of the projects to raise productivity, they have enlisted the willing services of the union bureaucracy.

As one unnamed government representative explained, the union officials

have been asked to suggest plants where new speedup techniques can be given a trial run instead of first working out all details with management. "To do it the other way around," he said, "might have suggested to unions that something was being pushed down their throats."

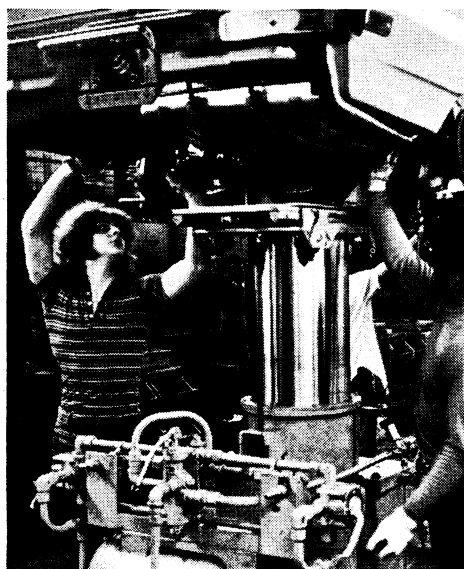
Government surveys, reports Ellis in the *Monitor*, "show that a majority of all U.S. workers, taken together, regard productivity as a device to make them work harder, to boost profits for the firm." The workers are right.

But the theory, as explained by Commerce Secretary Peterson, is that increased productivity will bring "price stability, an increase in real wages, higher profits, and an improved quality of life."

The validity of this theory seemed to be demonstrated in the advanced capitalist countries during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when capitalism was expanding and new labor-saving equipment and advanced technology were introduced. This raised the standard of living in the most industrially advanced countries at the expense of the colonial and semicolonial areas of the world.

Today the new technology is worldwide, the colonies refuse to be colonies anymore, and the system of world capitalism must now turn upon the industrial workers and drive down their standard of living to maintain its profits.

The quality of life in this country is deteriorating, not improving. With all the advanced technology the workplace is a worse place, not better, as any worker knows. It is harder and more dangerous to work in a coal mine, a steel mill, or an auto plant today than it was 50 years ago, but productivity is higher. Productivity is what counts under the profit system.



In order to underbid foreign competition, U.S. auto companies are introducing speedup conditions here, such as at General Motors plant in Lordstown, Ohio (l), and developing factories in other countries, like this Ford plant in Ontario, Canada (r).

## Steelworkers are victims of pension fraud

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND, Nov. 7 — Officials of the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO, recently announced they are demanding protected pensions for workers covered by USWA contracts. Joseph Kender, director of USWA District 28, told Cleveland *Plain Dealer* reporter Robert Daniels yesterday that union representatives were preparing to negotiate a protective plan with the National Tool Company in this city when it closed its doors last January.

The closing of National Tool was another in a long list of plant closings bringing the high unemployment that plagues this industrial area. Lack of protected pension plans is tragic for many who have been thrown out of work and will never find other jobs.

In the past 10 years 45 companies have closed, casting out approximately 25,000 workers. Many of these workers are in the combined category "too old to get another job, too young to qualify for Social Security." They are among the many thousands of unemployed or underemployed not listed by federal or state governments in either group.

The closing of these plants has also revealed the distressing fact that many of these workers, formerly unionized, will not get their pensions when they reach retirement age.

Thirty-year employees of National Tool are now being told that there is only enough money in the pension

plan to pay a few but not all former employees.

These workers happened to be members of the Steelworkers union. However, their fate is not limited to workers organized by USWA. All unions have failed to demand protected pensions. It is estimated that up to 90 percent of all pension plans are inadequately funded.

Union officials and the victims of these fraudulent pension plans are complaining to the Democratic and Republican party politicians in Congress. They correctly point out that the vested interests of working people who spend most of their lives with a company should be protected, even if the company is forced to go out of business or to move.

Peter Pohorence, 52, worked 31 years at National Tool. "I thought my pension was guaranteed after 31 years, but I'm not old enough to retire," he said. "As a matter of fact, most of us knew very little about what we had coming from the pension fund. The arrangement was so complex it took a Philadelphia lawyer to figure it out." Pohorence started at National Tool when he was 20.

Another National Tool worker, Richard Sullivan, expressed despair. "A lot of guys with a lot of time in the place are left with nothing. They might as well dig a hole someplace and go crawl into it," he said.

What compounds the tragedy of the National Tool workers, as well as others in similar straits, is the hope

they have that the Democrats in Congress or the state legislatures will do something to help them. Such ill-founded hopes are fostered, of course, by the spineless union bureaucrats.

The official USWA monthly publication, *Steel Labor* (November issue), has a big spread on the pension scandal, headlined "Business, White House Pressure Guts Pension Security Bill in Senate." Accompanying this are excerpts from the NBC documentary "Pensions: The Broken Promise," which was televised nationally Sept. 12.

What does the union suggest? Try again, that's all. The article in *Steel Labor* says, "The death of the measure [Williams-Javits pension reform bill] in this session means that the bill will again have to go through the lengthy legislative process, from hearings to subcommittee and committee action prior to reaching the floor." Not a very promising prospect, but this is the only hope the union tops offer.

A scheme to establish a National Industrial Group Pension Plan involving 12 major insurance companies is a lucrative prospect for the private insurance companies but hardly protection for the victims of existing fraudulent insurance plans. Already low pension payments will be lower after the insurance companies take their rake-off.

Frank Valenta, president of the Cleveland AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, has little hope for protection

against fraudulent pension plans except from government. "It is obvious to me," he says, "that situations such as this cannot be handled through collective bargaining alone. For one thing, the cost would be astronomical."

What should be equally obvious is that Democratic and Republican party politicians have not passed any basic social legislation to protect workers' living standards and welfare rights since the 1930s. The government at that time was forced to enact new social measures by workers who took to the streets or sat down in the plants demanding industrial union recognition and a better life. Under pressure of a radicalizing working class Congress passed such legislation as Social Security, the 40-hour workweek, industrial accident compensation, and unemployment insurance laws.

Guaranteed funding for pension plans is a national need, and the lack of it is a political crime. This problem will not be resolved by relying on the representatives of big business in the halls of Congress and the state legislatures.

Without doubt, an independent party of labor based on the unions in this country, even with a few representatives in Congress, could expose the pension plan racket as a national scandal. And a militant union movement could once again force the enactment of legislation that protects working men and women.



# Short-term strikes continue to hit GM

By FRANK LOVELL

NOV. 12 — The 8,000-member United Auto Workers Local 1112 at the General Motors assembly plant in Lords-town, Ohio, voted by a 78 percent majority Nov. 5 to strike when their union officials give the signal.

The Lordstown plant is where the Chevrolet Vega is built. A 22-day strike there against layoffs and speed-up ended March 27 without settling anything. More than 400 workers had been laid off prior to the strike, and management tried to maintain the same production schedule of 100 cars per hour with the reduced work force.

If Lordstown workers walk out again it will be part of a general pattern of short-term strikes against GM plants around the country designed to force the corporation to relax pressure on workers in its assembly division.

After the strike vote a local UAW official said, "We are trying to settle our differences, and talks are going on now to avert a strike between the local and management." Any strike at this time will require approval of the UAW International and will be part of the union's top-level strategy in negotiations with GM management over the speedup issue. While no apparent progress has been made in these negotiations, the series of "week-end" strikes has tapered off sharply during the past two weeks.

Short-term strikes had continued for the fourth consecutive week when UAW members at other GM plants walked out on the weekend of Nov. 4, some remaining out until after the Nov. 7 general election. This fourth round of "weekenders" hit three plants, the steering gear plant in Saginaw, Mich., and two assembly plants in the Atlanta area, involving in all about 15,000 workers.

The Saginaw plant, which employs 7,000 UAW members, is one of GM's key operations. It supplies steering units for all GM cars and trucks as well as for such competitors in the industry as Ford, Chrysler, American Motors, and International Harvester.

Factories struck in the Atlanta area, at Doraville and Lakewood, are both GM assembly plants. The one in Doraville was hit in the first round of weekend strikes, which began Oct. 13.

Threatening to continue the tactic of closing GM operations for short

of the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). Top UAW officials say GMAD is primarily responsible for the new GM speedup technique.

The successive rounds of "quickie" strikes are claimed to aid the union in current negotiations with the corporation. There has been some loss in overall GM production during the past month of weekend strikes, ranging as high as 10,000 units according to some estimates. But there has been no move on the part of the corporation to rehire any of the 18,000 workers laid off this year under the GM speedup policy.

A sign that GM management and UAW top officials are approaching an understanding on production schedules and work standards for the present 1973 model year was an agreement reached Oct. 2 at the huge St. Louis assembly plant. This plant had been the center of much strike talk and some action since the series of "quickies" began. More than 1,000 workers there have been laid off due to speedup.

The terms of the agreement in the St. Louis plant have not yet been publicized, and what substance there is to the promises that were made to UAW members of Local 25 is not yet known. However, none of the 1,000 workers laid off were immediately rehired.

Present union-management negotiations at the highest levels are preparing for new contract negotiations, which will formally begin in August 1973, one month prior to expiration of the UAW contract in the auto industry. The successive short-term strikes have a double purpose. The union officials seek to give UAW members the impression that important action is being taken in their behalf. These officials also hope to impress upon GM that the union has the power to halt production anywhere at anytime unless some concessions are made. What is being asked is modest enough, couched in the most conciliatory terms.

The UAW bargaining goal, according to an Oct. 15 announcement of the UAW Canadian council, is "humanizing the work place." This formulation of the union's "top table" demand comes straight from Solidarity House in Detroit. Dennis McDermott, a UAW vice-president and the Canadian director, explained that "hu-



Strikers at GM's Lordstown plant last spring.

manizing the work place means . . . we're going to be tackling the boredom, the brutalizing, and the indignities which workers are heir to in today's industrialized society."

Most auto workers say what they are looking for right now is a way to tackle the more immediate and easily understood problems of unemployment, speedup, and rising prices. The present limited strike tactics and labor-management negotiations of the UAW top officials have been of little help thus far.

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# Canadian actions call for right to abortion

The following are excerpts from an article in the Nov. 6 *Labor Challenge*, the Canadian biweekly that reflects the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSA/LSO).

By PENNY SIMPSON

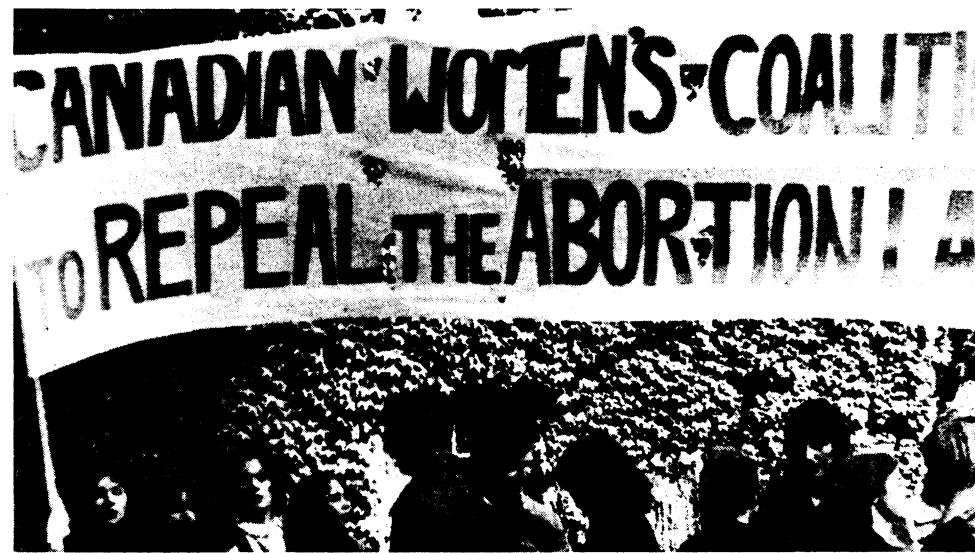
"Abortion — a woman's right to choose!" rang out loud and clear in spirited actions for repeal of the anti-abortion laws, from Vancouver to Montreal, Oct. 21-22.

In Edmonton [Alberta], Joan Cameron, chairwoman of the Edmonton chapter of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, summed up the militancy of the cross-

who came to the Toronto meeting, explained how he had disagreed with repeal but that the women working in his campaign had convinced him.

Beardsley was challenged by "Students for Life," who demanded to know if all the social problems that now exist in the rearing of children were solved, would those who advocate abortion stop fighting for repeal of the abortion laws. Beardsley won the enthusiastic applause of the 150 participants with his categorical, "No. Our position is that it's a basic right of women."

Lorna Grant, executive secretary of the Canadian Women's Coalition, ex-



Toronto, Oct. 21

Wendy Johnston/Labor Challenge

country demonstrations. "The protest cannot stop with the day's demonstration," she said. "We have to build a strong movement that will force Parliament to grant our demands."

The actions in Hamilton and Peterborough [Ontario] were the first ever in those cities, while the Ottawa group held its first purely local demonstration.

Most important of all in the election period, the actions brought out the NDP [New Democratic Party — Canada's labor party] consistently throughout the country to identify with the abortion campaign.

Bob Beardsley, one of the NDPers

plained the purpose of the [Toronto] rally:

"We don't have the resources of the Catholic Church, or the power of the prime minister, nor have we the courts or the laws on our side. We have only ourselves and the power we can bring together in our numbers. We intend to make this campaign so big that no government can ignore us any longer."

Only the NDP among the political parties picked up this challenge in a serious way. Their candidates came out to declare their support for repeal in Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Montreal, and Vancouver.

## Seattle abortion hearing

SEATTLE—More than 200 women and men participated in a day of activities around the theme of "Women: The Fight to Control Our Own Lives" held here Nov. 1. The activities were sponsored by the Seattle Abortion Action Coalition of Women and the University of Washington Campus Abortion Committee.

At the day session about 150 people watched "It Happens To Us," a movie about abortion. The group also heard Gloria Albee speak on the Women's

National Abortion Action Coalition, and State Representative Lois North discuss the campaign to pass the state equal rights amendment, which was on the Nov. 7 ballot here. Dr. Barbara Puckett spoke on the abortion situation in Washington.

That evening, about 50 women came to a speak-out on crimes against women. During the discussion three Black women spoke on the "double struggle" faced by Black women and Chicanas.

## 2nd French abortion trial

NOV. 12 — International attention continued to focus on the abortion situation in France as the trial of Michelle Chevalier, a subway worker, came to a close last week.

Chevalier is being tried for complicity in procuring an abortion for her 17-year-old daughter, Marie-Claire. Last month, as the result of a campaign in her behalf by women's liberation and abortion rights groups, Marie-Claire was acquitted.

During the past week, prominent individuals such as author Simone de Beauvoir appeared at Chevalier's trial to testify in her behalf.

Nobel prizewinner Jacques Monod testified that he gave Chevalier money to reimburse her for the cost of the abortion.

Professor Paul Milliez, dean of the medical school at Broussais Hospital, told the court that he was a Roman Catholic and was personally opposed to abortion. However, he said, the law in France must "provide for abortions on social grounds. . . . I have never heard of a rich woman who couldn't get an abortion. As for the poor, I've seen them die."

A decision on Chevalier's case is expected in two weeks.



# David Siqueiros admits he attempted to kill Trotsky on orders from Stalin

It has long been known that the Mexican muralist and Communist David Alfaro Siqueiros played a central role in the May 24, 1940 attempt on Leon Trotsky's life. In this assault, Robert Sheldon Harte was taken prisoner and later murdered.

In his review of Joseph Losey's film, *The Assassination of Trotsky* (printed in *The Militant's* Nov. 3 issue), Joseph Hansen, one of Trotsky's secretaries at the time of the assault, challenged the Mexican painter in a footnote. Hansen wrote:

"Siqueiros, still living, has not yet revealed the inside story of this murder in which he participated, or what means he utilized to escape being brought to trial. Is he waiting to speak posthumously?"

The article below appeared in the

here to ask me about things I don't want to remember."

But I had come to this place, to the plain of Cuernavaca, precisely to talk to Siqueiros about assaults, intrigues, and murders.

David Siqueiros is sixty-three years old, with a robust look and a tough temperament. He is considered one of the major figures in contemporary Mexican painting (his works bring prices in the hundreds of thousands of pesos and his school is frequented by the most talented young artists in all of Central and South America). In 1940, however, he wrote a bloody and wasted page in world history. It happened when he led about twenty followers guns blazing into the fortress-villa in Coyoacán in an attempt

and by using a strategem. But finally he guessed at the trap and exploded: "It looks like I'm going to have to give in and talk about that damned assault. So be it. And since I am a painter, I will paint while I am telling the story." He dipped a brush into some thick black paint and began to outline forms.

"Those days," he recalled, "were days of grimness and suffering. We had just come back from the Spanish civil war in a very depressed state. In the Soviet Union the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky had undermined the unity of the international Communist movement. We felt that our ideals had been compromised. We thought that ideological unity had to be restored around the Kremlin ruling

tine operations and was used to danger. I had participated in political struggles in Central and South American countries. But despite this, I had never found myself faced with the necessity to kill anyone in cold blood. But even so we fired about three hundred shots from the patio into the bedroom where we thought Trotsky was sleeping."

Even today in the walls of the Coyoacán refuge, carefully watched over by Trotsky's grandson, we can see many bullet holes left by the guns of Siqueiros's commandos. The assault failed, either because the attackers acted precipitously or because the Russian exile had gotten into the habit of sleeping in a different place every night in order to thwart a possible attack. The balance sheet of the action was about ten people wounded and one killed, the American Sheldon Harte, whose body was found a little later buried in the garden of a villa rented by Siqueiros.

"The Mexican police," Siqueiros continued, while he kept on drawing figures with his brush, "arrested me on June 17, along with many of my companions who had taken part in the action. Fortunately a strong solidarity movement on our behalf developed in South American political and cultural circles, and as a result of this I was only sentenced to a few months in jail."

Siqueiros told the judge that the assault was not intended to hurt anybody but only as a "gesture designed to put psychological pressure on Trotsky and get him to give up his political activities." The defendants were acquitted on almost all charges except unauthorized use of military uniforms and interfering with officers in the performance of their duty, that is, disarming and immobilizing the police guarding Coyoacán. The judge did not take into consideration the death of Harte, ruling it "unintentional and accidental."

Nonetheless Siqueiros was held in jail to stand trial for stealing two cars that were parked in the patio of Trotsky's home. He was released in order to go to Chile when the poet Pablo Neruda got him the job of decorating a palace in Santiago.

"Three months later, on August 20," Siqueiros concluded, "Ramón Mercader had no trouble getting into the semifortress of Coyoacán, claiming that he wanted Trotsky to read an article of his. He was introduced by an American Trotskyist, Sylvia Ageloff, whom he had befriended in the United States. He had an ice ax under his raincoat. When Trotsky sat down at his desk to read the article Mercader struck him violently in the head. I did not know Mercader and I had no desire to meet him when he was in prison. I don't want to express any judgment about him or his action. Everybody has his own principles, and history alone will deliver a just and irrevocable verdict."

In his film *The Assassination of Leon Trotsky*, Joseph Losey tried to scrupulously reconstruct the last days of "Stalin's No. 1 enemy," centering his investigation on the personality of the victim, played by Richard Burton, as well as of the assassin, played by Alain Delon. But the critics have unanimously recognized that the best part of the movie is the bloodthirsty and powerful portrait drawn of Siqueiros. "A strange combination of a fanatic and a political bandit thun-



Standing with Trotsky in this 1938 photo are: (left to right) Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo (Rivera), Natalya Sedova (Trotsky), Reba Hansen, and Andre Breton.

Oct. 9 issue of the Dominican weekly magazine *Ahora!* under the title "Siqueiros Narra Atentado Contra Trotsky (Siqueiros Recounts Assault on Trotsky)." In this interview by Norberto Valentini, Siqueiros reveals part of that inside story, but, as Hansen points out in the adjoining article, only part. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

"Here you are in the world's most colorful country, a wild, vivid, mysterious, and evocative place. See the air, how subtle, transparent, and pure it is. And have you come here to talk to me about assaults, murders, intrigues, things of the past that aren't worth talking about anymore?"

David Alfaro Siqueiros was looking at me through half-closed eyes, almost sleepily; he was wearing a broad-brimmed sombrero and heavy shining leather boots. "Believe me," he continued, "the thing to do is to let yourself go in this countryside. It is best to wander through the fields and discover the mysteries of Mexico in the churches, in the markets, in the mountains, where you will find complete and moving solitude, in the splendid blue mountains where you still hear the legends about Quetzalcoatl, the plumed serpent born of a virgin mother through divine intervention. This is what you should be looking for instead of wasting your time coming

to kill Leon Trotsky, who had taken refuge there after being exiled from Russia.

I had approached the guard at the house at No. 7 Calle Venus in the residential area of Los Jardines with the sort of feeling people have when they think they are embarking on an enterprise foredoomed to failure. Siqueiros does not like being interviewed or photographed. His wife, Angélica, a sweet, gentle woman of about fifty, came to open the door. Thanks to her and the kindness which she immediately demonstrated, the distrust and hostility that the artist usually shows to outsiders were quickly overcome.

Siqueiros received me in the drawing room of his villa but almost immediately he wanted to move to the big shed that he calls his workshop, where he paints and teaches his pupils. "This is the only place I feel comfortable," he said. I recalled a scene in the recent film *The Assassination of Leon Trotsky*, which I saw twice. The role of Siqueiros was played by the actor Luigi Vannucchi. The painter himself is more massive, more imposing. Vannucchi did not completely capture his romantic but tough character, his overbearing but still introverted personality.

In order to get Siqueiros to talk about the events of May 24, 1940, I had to lead him to it by degrees

class. Stalin was worried that in his exile in Mexico Trotsky might be the center of another chauvinist movement aiming to substitute itself for Soviet power. So he ordered a high official of the NKVD, Leonid Eitingon, to organize Trotsky's physical liquidation and granted him unlimited means.

"But the leader of the Mexican Communist party, Laborde, proved reluctant to support this act of violence and in practice refused to help carry it out. Finally, Laborde and his people were expelled and the party was left under our control."

Siqueiros stood in front of a sheet of paper and drew a wide oval with an "s" in the middle, his initial. In fact he was one of the intransigent leaders of the Mexican Communist party who decided to kill Trotsky.

"On May 24, 1940," Siqueiros continued, "we said that it was time to break from our inertia. I got hold of an army major's uniform and disguised myself as an officer. Twenty of my companions disguised themselves as soldiers. We took the police guarding the Coyoacán fortress by surprise and immobilized them. We captured the American Sheldon Harte, who was Trotsky's personal guard, and broke into the patio of the house. I confess that at that moment I was paralyzed by emotion.

"I had taken part in various clandest-

# Artist's confession only part of truth

dering in the midst of his enormous arsenal of weapons."

I mentioned this. He responded only with a grimace. "Things of the past, things of the past," he repeated. And he added, "People get the craziest ideas." Then, clearly sorry that he had said anything, that he had evoked those bygone times, he no longer hid his impatience to be rid of me.

While he was showing me to the gate of the villa (which like the villa of any self-respecting rich person is surrounded by broad grounds with an elegant swimming pool full of bright blue water), Siqueiros showed me the immense panels he and his students are working on. Half cheerful, half sullen, the old revolutionary today is an untiring worker who carries himself like one of the great Italian masters of the Renaissance. He makes suggestions, retouches the work of his students, raises objections, certain that his works are worth hundreds of thousands of pesos.



David Alfaro Siqueiros

From *Intercontinental Press*  
By JOSEPH HANSEN

The interview granted by David Alfaro Siqueiros to Norberto Valentini is of considerable interest, since it is the first time that the Mexican painter has indicated the true story of the machine-gun assault that he led on May 24, 1940, in an attempt to kill Leon Trotsky and his companion Natalia Sedova.

When Siqueiros and other members of the Mexican Communist party were arrested for their crime, the well-known

*Joseph Hansen is the editor of Intercontinental Press and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.*

artist claimed that the assault was not intended to kill Trotsky. In his interview with Valentini, he now admits that his intent *was* to commit murder. After breaking into the patio, he says, he was "paralyzed by emotion" because he had never before found himself faced with the "necessity" to kill anyone "in cold blood."

Another important admission concerns Robert Sheldon Harte. Some sources have speculated that Harte was not in reality a Trotskyist but a Stalinist who had succeeded in penetrating the household. In his film *The Assassination of Trotsky*, for instance, Losey presents Harte as being in collusion with Siqueiros. To believe Losey, that was why Harte opened the door, permitting the gang of Stalinists dressed in stolen police uniforms to enter. Siqueiros says, in contradiction to this version: "We captured the American Sheldon Harte, who was Trotsky's personal guard . . ."

Siqueiros also confirms Trotsky's charge that Stalin had set up a special section of the GPU to carry out the assignment of assassinating him. Stalin, says Siqueiros, "ordered a high official of the NKVD, Leonid Eitingon, to organize Trotsky's physical liquidation and granted him unlimited means."

Trotsky also charged that Stalin had intervened in the internal affairs of the Mexican Communist party and ousted the Hernan Laborde leadership in order to place the party apparatus completely at the disposal of the sector of the GPU assigned to organize the assassination.

Siqueiros's confession, however, is far from complete. He fails to describe how he himself became a GPU agent, how he became enmeshed in the special section assigned to kill Trotsky, and why he found himself faced with the "necessity" of killing the cofounder of the Soviet Union and organizer of the Red Army. Who were the go-betweens with whom he worked? Who gave him the orders?

Siqueiros even fails to tell who gave the order to murder Harte in cold blood. And he fails to tell who carried out this assignment.

Siqueiros mentions that he was held by the police for but a short time after the attempt to kill Trotsky and the murder of Harte. He says nothing about the other members of the Mexican Communist party who participated under his command and who were likewise arrested. What happened to them? How did they manage to escape justice? In particular what happened to the Arenal brothers, both close associates of Siqueiros, who van-

ished after the assault? It was said at the time that they were the ones who actually killed Harte and that they had fled to the United States. Who gave them refuge in the United States? Members of the Communist party?

Other questions are raised by what Siqueiros admits. He says that he was "fortunately" saved by "a strong solidarity movement on our behalf" which "developed in South American political and cultural circles . . ." There was no such public movement at the time. None whatsoever. Is he, then, referring to the efforts organized by the GPU to save his hide as one of their loyal operators? Was it through GPU influence that he was sprung from jail and whisked to Chile with the collaboration of the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, then as now a prominent member of the Chilean Communist party?

A rather astonishing item is the denial by Siqueiros that he knew Ramon



Ramon Mercader in Spanish Republican Army uniform. During Spanish civil war he worked with NKVD, Stalin's secret police.

Mercader, the GPU agent who succeeded in assassinating Trotsky in August 1940. Yet he mentions him by his real name and not by the name that appeared on his false passport, "Frank Jackson." Not once—from the time he was turned over to the police by Trotsky's guards until May 6, 1960, when he was flown out of Mexico by officials of the government of Czechoslovakia—did the assassin ever admit to his real identity. Is Siqueiros, then, lying when he says he did not know Mercader?

In recalling the details of the May 24, 1940, assault, Valentini makes one error worth noting. He says that the casualties in the affair amounted to ten wounded and one killed. Actually only one person was wounded—Trotsky's grandson Seva. No one was killed at the time, Trotsky and Natalia having escaped the assassins' attempt by rolling under a bed as the machine-gun bullets crisscrossed over them. Harte was murdered several days later in a mountain hideout after being taken there by the gang.

The reason for killing Harte was, of course, to do away with a witness able to identify the assailants. This was crucial for the success of the next attempt. It was necessary from the viewpoint of the plotters not only to save Siqueiros as long as possible but in all probability to keep the identity of Mercader hidden. Mercader may well have been the one in real command of the May 24 assault. Does Siqueiros still fear him?

# N.Y. gays protest cops' actions

By JOHN LAURITSEN

NEW YORK, Nov. 11—Despite all-day rain, more than 100 gay men and women turned out at noon to demonstrate against police abuse here today. The demonstration was held across the street from police headquarters in downtown Manhattan.

Recent actions by New York police, judges, and district attorneys prompted the demonstration.

*Village Voice* reporter Arthur Bell, speaking at the demonstration, described how he and a friend were cursed and pushed around by two policemen in Greenwich Village merely because they were holding hands as they walked down the street. When Bell attempted to write down the policemen's badge and squad car numbers, his writing materials were seized, and both he and his friend were issued summonses for jaywalking.

New York City Councilman Eldon Clingan, referring to the Michael Maye case from last spring, told the demonstrators, "If people get away with beating other people because they don't agree with their way of thinking, then equal justice is breaking down."

During the Inner Circle dinner at the New York Hilton Hotel in April, Michael Maye, an ex-prizefighter, according to the testimony of half a dozen New York City officials, sadistically attacked and stomped a prone, semiconscious gay activist. No charges were brought against Maye until public pressure and articles in the *New York Post* forced District Attorney Frank Hogan to act. Maye was charged merely with "harassment" and was acquitted even of this trivial charge after a week-long trial.

Other speakers at the demonstration included Thomas Sisco, the executive director of New York State Americans for Democratic Action, and Morty Manford and Bruce Voeller of New York Gay Activists Alliance.

The demonstration was covered by several television stations, the *New York Times*, and United Press International. Supporting groups were Gay Activists Alliance of New York, New York Mattachine, Gay Alliance of Brooklyn, Americans for Democratic Action, Bronx United Gays, Flatbush Gay Friends, and Gay People at Brooklyn College.



New York, Nov. 11 Militant/John Lauritsen

# Scoreboard

| AREA                     | QUOTA | SUBS   | %     |
|--------------------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Pittsburgh, Pa.          | 25    | 31     | 124.0 |
| Lexington, Ky.           | 30    | 37     | 123.3 |
| Bethlehem, Pa.           | 10    | 12     | 120.0 |
| Edinboro, Pa.            | 60    | 72     | 120.0 |
| Storrs, Conn.            | 25    | 29     | 116.0 |
| New Haven, Conn.         | 25    | 27     | 108.0 |
| Cedar Falls, Iowa        | 30    | 32     | 106.7 |
| Oxford, Ohio             | 40    | 42     | 105.0 |
| Nashville, Tenn.         | 20    | 19     | 95.0  |
| Brooklyn, N.Y.           | 1,450 | 1,354  | 93.4  |
| Lower Manhattan, N.Y.    | 1,450 | 1,340  | 92.4  |
| San Francisco, Calif.    | 2,150 | 1,980  | 92.1  |
| San Diego, Calif.        | 400   | 358    | 89.5  |
| Upper West Side, N.Y.    | 1,350 | 1,202  | 89.1  |
| Madison, Wis.            | 200   | 178    | 89.0  |
| Detroit, Mich.           | 1,650 | 1,467  | 88.9  |
| Los Angeles, Calif.      | 2,000 | 1,777  | 88.9  |
| Boulder, Colo.           | 175   | 154    | 88.0  |
| Cleveland, Ohio          | 1,700 | 1,485  | 87.4  |
| Seattle, Wash.           | 1,270 | 1,079  | 85.0  |
| Tallahassee, Fla.        | 150   | 125    | 83.3  |
| Portland, Ore.           | 880   | 729    | 82.8  |
| Twin Cities, Minn.       | 1,900 | 1,566  | 82.4  |
| Augusta, Me.             | 25    | 20     | 80.0  |
| Wichita Falls, Texas     | 15    | 12     | 80.0  |
| Oakland/Berkeley, Calif. | 2,200 | 1,735  | 78.9  |
| Boston, Mass.            | 2,500 | 1,970  | 78.8  |
| Philadelphia, Pa.        | 1,050 | 797    | 75.9  |
| Denver, Colo.            | 1,315 | 996    | 75.7  |
| Washington, D.C.         | 900   | 665    | 73.9  |
| Atlanta, Ga.             | 1,500 | 1,094  | 73.0  |
| Hartford, Conn.          | 125   | 91     | 72.8  |
| Chicago, Ill.            | 2,600 | 1,780  | 68.5  |
| Corvallis, Ore.          | 33    | 20     | 60.6  |
| Youngstown, Ohio         | 20    | 12     | 60.0  |
| Austin, Texas            | 550   | 324    | 58.9  |
| Athens, Ohio             | 30    | 16     | 53.3  |
| Bowling Green, Ky.       | 10    | 5      | 50.0  |
| Mt. Pleasant, Mich.      | 200   | 98     | 49.0  |
| Houston, Texas           | 1,050 | 505    | 48.1  |
| College Park, Md.        | 175   | 84     | 48.0  |
| San Antonio, Texas       | 50    | 23     | 46.0  |
| Providence, R.I.         | 215   | 54     | 43.2  |
| Bloomington, Ind.        | 350   | 146    | 41.7  |
| Burlington, Vt.          | 25    | 10     | 40.0  |
| Columbus, Ohio           | 30    | 12     | 40.0  |
| Geneseo, N.Y.            | 15    | 6      | 40.0  |
| Huntington, W.Va.        | 40    | 16     | 40.0  |
| Knoxville, Tenn.         | 30    | 12     | 40.0  |
| Saranac Lake, N.Y.       | 25    | 10     | 40.0  |
| Durham, N.H.             | 50    | 19     | 38.0  |
| Cincinnati, Ohio         | 100   | 37     | 37.0  |
| St. Louis, Mo.           | 120   | 38     | 31.7  |
| Celina, Ohio             | 10    | 3      | 30.0  |
| Champaign, Ill.          | 60    | 17     | 28.3  |
| Binghamton, N.Y.         | 200   | 55     | 27.5  |
| Carbondale, Ill.         | 35    | 9      | 25.7  |
| New Brunswick, N.J.      | 20    | 5      | 25.0  |
| Sarasota, Fla.           | 25    | 6      | 24.0  |
| Allentown, Pa.           | 50    | 10     | 20.0  |
| Phoenix, Ariz.           | 50    | 8      | 16.0  |
| Long Island, N.Y.        | 100   | 12     | 12.0  |
| Alfred, N.Y.             | 10    | 1      | 10.0  |
| Amherst, Mass.           | 150   | 15     | 10.0  |
| Buffalo, N.Y.            | 20    | 2      | 10.0  |
| Sacramento, Calif.       | 10    | 1      | 10.0  |
| Worcester, Mass.         | 175   | 17     | 9.7   |
| Kansas City, Mo.         | 150   | 14     | 9.3   |
| University, Ala.         | 100   | 7      | 7.0   |
| Santa Barbara, Calif.    | 75    | 4      | 5.3   |
| Bellingham, Wash.        | 50    | 1      | 2.0   |
| Gary, Ind.               | 100   | 2      | 2.0   |
| Red Bank, N.J.           | 50    | 1      | 2.0   |
| Aliquippa, Pa.           | 20    | 0      | 0     |
| Lawton, Okla.            | 10    | 0      | 0     |
| Louisville, Ky.          | 20    | 0      | 0     |
| Springfield, Mass.       | 25    | 0      | 0     |
| Wichita, Kans.           | 25    | 0      | 0     |
| General                  | 500   | 155    | 31.0  |
| Midwest National Team    | 1,000 | 918    | 91.8  |
| Southern National Team   | 700   | 438    | 62.6  |
| Special National Team    | 1,150 | 701    | 61.0  |
| TOTAL TO DATE            |       | 28,104 | 84.9  |
| SHOULD BE                |       | 30,036 | 91.1  |
| GOAL                     |       | 33,000 | 100.0 |

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

| TEAM BREAKDOWN          | QUOTA | SUBS   | %     |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Detroit                 | 750   | 751    | 100.1 |
| New York #1             | 1,000 | 995    | 99.5  |
| San Francisco           | 800   | 781    | 97.7  |
| Los Angeles             | 750   | 698    | 93.1  |
| Boston                  | 700   | 633    | 90.4  |
| Cleveland               | 1,200 | 1,053  | 87.8  |
| Seattle/Portland        | 1,000 | 874    | 87.4  |
| New York #2             | 700   | 605    | 86.4  |
| Denver                  | 625   | 531    | 85.0  |
| Chicago                 | 800   | 596    | 74.6  |
| Oakland/Berkeley        | 700   | 517    | 73.9  |
| Philadelphia/Washington | 700   | 514    | 73.4  |
| Twin Cities             | 800   | 516    | 64.5  |
| Atlanta                 | 850   | 547    | 64.4  |
| Texas                   | 700   | 285    | 40.7  |
| TOTAL TO DATE           |       | 9,896  | 81.9  |
| SHOULD BE               |       | 11,480 | 91.3  |
| GOAL                    |       | 12,075 | 100.0 |

## 4,436 in one week!

# Biggest week yet for subs

By NANCY COLE

NOV. 15—With exactly one week to go in the fall subscription drive, we have 4,896 subscriptions yet to come in to make our 33,000 goal. Yesterday the business office received a record number of subscriptions for one day—1,963. The total number received for the week was 4,436.

Besides those areas and teams listed on the scoreboard with 100 percent or more, the following areas or teams report having just completed their quotas: Cleveland, Philadelphia, Seattle, Boston team, Los Angeles team, and New York team #1.

Seattle's goal was successfully completed this early largely as a result of a special two-day team to Washington State College in Pullman, Wash., which sold 126 subscriptions. And last week was the best sub-selling week yet for New York team #1, with 309 subscriptions sold at Ithaca, N.Y.

Philadelphia is an area that has been behind in the last weeks, but the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party there mobilized this week to change that situation. The result was 260 subscriptions sold at nine schools in their region.

They found students extremely receptive to *The Militant* at all the schools they visited, including the Delaware Valley Agricultural College, where four people sold 38 subscriptions in one evening. At the University of Delaware, Ginne Welty—her second time on a subscription team—sold 22 subscriptions during one day by presenting *The Mili-*



## Militant Gets Around

The end of '72 electioneering has removed some very lucrative sales locations for *Militant* supporters—McGovern rallies and meetings. But before we leave those gatherings to history, one more merits reporting.

The Austin Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party raised their *Militant* bundle from 200 to 350 for the week preceding the elections. At a McGovern rally in Waco, Texas, four sellers sold 80 *Militants* in one hour.

Sales director Melissa Singler writes, "The crowd was composed of quite a few older people, youth, Blacks and GIs. About 50 copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper were also sold, along with 40 Nixon and McGovern truth kits. . . . A good deal of the other *Militants* were sold while campaigning at grocery stores in the Black and Chicano areas of Austin, in the University of Texas married students' housing projects, and on the university drag, across from UT."

• You can usually estimate that for every *Militant* sent out to a subscriber, two or three other people also read it. For prisoner subscriptions, you can probably double or triple that.

At a school in northern California, the San Francisco team was amazed at the titles of Pathfinder books that students were asking for—such as *The Permanent Revolution* and *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* (both by Leon Trotsky). Finally they learned that these students were ex-prisoners attending the school on a "rehabilitation program." Many had become familiar with *The Militant* and Pathfinder Press while in prison.

At that campus and two others in the area,

tant as the socialist alternative to *Time* and *Newsweek*.

All those areas and teams that have finished their quotas are continuing to sell subscriptions in an effort to put the national drive over the top.

The Twin Cities YSA and SWP, after raising their quota by 100 a few weeks ago, sent out a special team to four schools in Iowa. This team was out for three days and four nights and sold 134 *Militant* subscriptions.

At Wartburg College in Waverly, Iowa, they sold 60 subscriptions in one day. Sub drive director Diane Groth writes, "During the day at Wartburg the team enlisted the help of two students who volunteered to help sub at night. One of the students got 11 subs going through the dorms."

As of yesterday the special national team reports having exactly 800 subscriptions—the result of two weeks on the road. More than 500 of those subscriptions were sold last week at nine schools in Pennsylvania. During one day at Bloomsburg State College they sold 126, and at Harrisburg Community College the student paper bought a subscription to keep up on news of the Young Socialist national convention, which they plan to cover.

The team reports that in 60 to 70 percent of the rooms that they find someone home in, they sell subscriptions. Steve Bloom even took the opportunity to sell a subscription while students were returning to a dorm after a fire drill.

The special national team has now raised its quota by 150. In addition, two other teams made their quotas of last week—but then raised them this week. They are the Cleveland team, which went from 1,000 to 1,200, and the Seattle/Portland team, from 850 to 1,000.

## Top sub sellers

According to reports received so far, Joel Hodroff from the national Midwest team is the top sub seller with 370 subscriptions. Other YSJP team members who have sold more than 200 subscriptions are: Lee Artz, national Midwest; Julie Bingham, Cleveland; Steve Bloom, special national; Marie Head, Denver; Gary Johnson, Seattle/Portland; Dan Kuschke, Twin Cities; Mike Lux, special national; John Olmstead, Boston; Richard Orawiec, New York #1; Sheila Ostrow, Detroit; Bernie Senter, Cleveland; Debbie Shayne, national Midwest; and Mary Zins, Cleveland.

## Nancy Cole



which have large numbers of ex-GIs as well as ex-prisoners, the team sold 210 *Militants*. Many of these were to off-duty GIs. Team captain Norton Sandler writes, "After selling those *Militants*, we could see why the military brass is so intent on denying SWP candidates their constitutional right to campaign on military bases."

• Bard College in upstate New York sends out press releases to newspapers that first-year students list as their hometown papers. One student this fall listed *The Militant*, and a sympathetic worker in the college office sent us a release with a note

*If you haven't yet, be sure to take advantage of the special introductory Militant subscription offer of 20 weeks for \$1. The offer expires Nov. 30. After that the introductory offer will be \$1 for three months*

at the bottom saying in part, "Bard is not a hotbed of SWP activity, but we have had a few very fine YSA people here. Activity may increase after Linda Jenness's visit in early November."

• When Joe Callahan from the Seattle/Portland YSJP team sent in 80 subscriptions recently, he included the following note: "We noted in the Oct. 28 issue of the *People's World*, the West Coast paper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, that the entire West Coast CP has sold a grand total of 222 subs to the *PW* after 12 weeks. So far, after six weeks on tour, Gary Johnson from our team has sold 235 subs to *The Militant* by himself."



## Blasts repression Argentine tours U.S.

By DOROTHY HAWKINSON

SEATTLE, Nov. 13—Having won entrance into the U. S. despite harassment from immigration officials in Miami, Daniel Zadunaisky has held several successful meetings in his national tour for the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). Zadunaisky, an Argentine medical student, is speaking in this country on the repressive conditions political prisoners in Argentina face.

On Nov. 10 about 80 people came to a talk by Zadunaisky here at the University of Washington, organized by the Linguistics Department, the Organization of Arab Students, the Latin American Studies Committee, the Iranian Students Association, and the Young Socialist Alliance. Many of those in attendance were foreign students.

Two hundred Chicanos who have occupied the abandoned Beacon Hill School (now called La Raza Central) heard the Argentine speaker on Nov. 12. He expressed his solidarity with their efforts to establish a center serving the needs of the Chicano community.

Following his meeting with the Chi-

cano protesters, Zadunaisky traveled to Tacoma to speak at the Shelter Half, a GI coffee house.

Before arriving in Seattle, Zadunaisky addressed a meeting of more than 70 students at Portland State University. His tour received major coverage in both Portland dailies as well as in the campus press.

In Denver, where Zadunaisky began his tour in this country, he spoke to an assembly at the Escuela Tlatelolco, the Chicano school operated by the Crusade for Justice. Raul Gonzales, USLA tour coordinator in Denver, reported that "At the conclusion of the meeting three students from the 11th and 12th grades were chosen to draft a statement of political support to be sent to the Argentine political prisoners. The statement was later read to a barrio meeting, attended by 100 people that night."

The statement reads in part: "We the students of Escuela Tlatelolco share the same struggle with our brothers and sisters in Argentina and the bronze continent. . . . We are oppressed too, and because we live in the belly of the shark, our actions that we take here will benefit your struggle. . . ."

## Puerto Rican Socialist Party sets campaigns

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, Nov. 11—The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) announced plans today for two national campaigns. One will oppose the drafting of Puerto Rican youth into the U.S. Army; the other will press for the release of all Puerto Rican political prisoners.

Che Velásquez told a news conference the reasons for the projected antidraft campaign. He cited the numbers of Puerto Ricans (not counting those living in the U.S.) who served in World War I (200,000), and World War II (400,000). Figures for the Vietnam war are not available.

Velásquez said, "U.S. citizenship has been forced on us, but we cannot vote for the president; thousands of our people must serve in an army that does not serve our interests."

Velásquez went on to stress that the PSP was opposed to the war in Southeast Asia and felt that the struggle of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. and in Puerto Rico to free themselves of the

domination of U.S. imperialism was the same struggle that the Vietnamese were waging.

He cited the discrimination in the U.S. armed forces as another reason for Puerto Ricans to oppose the draft. He pointed to the role of the U.S. government as one of the biggest dope pushers in Asia and the tragedy of thousands of young Puerto Ricans returning from Vietnam as addicts.

In the campaign to free all Puerto Rican political prisoners, particular emphasis will be given to the freeing of five who have been in jail for about 20 years. These are Lolita Lebrón, Raphael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, Andres Figueora Cordero, and Oscar Collazo.

Ramón Arbona, the PSP's first secretary for the U.S., spoke on the recent elections in Puerto Rico. Luis Ferré, the incumbent governor, was defeated in an upset by Raphael Hernández Colón of the Popular Democratic Party. Ferré's party, the New Progressive Party, is closely aligned to the Republican Party, and the Popular Democrats, with the Democratic Party. Ferré favors Puerto Rico becoming the fifty-first state, while Colón supports the present "free associated state" or "commonwealth" status.

The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), whose candidates were supported by the PSP, received 50,000 votes, less than had been expected by proindependence forces. Referring to these results, Arbona said, "Nevertheless, this represents a victory for the independence movement. The PIP is stronger than ever before and the independence movement has grown."

PSP leaders announced that a convention would be held in April 1973, the first since the party's founding a year ago. The party grew out of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) that was formed in 1959 in response to the victorious revolution in Cuba.



Ramon Arbona

Claridad

## YSA Convention Countdown

The Young Socialist Alliance has printed some 225,000 posters advertising its Nov. 23-26 convention, and they're getting around. When a group of YSA members set up a table at Bowie College, a Black school in Maryland, they found that students on the campus were organizing three cars to go to the Cleveland convention.

YSA national executive committee member John Hawkins has completed his convention-building tour in the Ohio area and is moving on to Chicago and Detroit. Hawkins spoke to meetings at Cuyahoga Community College, Ohio University, and Bowling Green State while he was in Ohio. He was interviewed by three campus newspapers and appeared on radio

• The YSA national office has announced that the convention will have a workshop on revolutionary strategy in the trade unions and a panel on community struggles with activists from the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano movements.

• The YSA now has 53 locals, and at-large members in 161 other areas. A number of the at-large areas are on the verge of being constituted as YSA locals. Since last week's column YSA locals have been chartered in Cedar Falls, Iowa; New Paltz, N.Y.; Huntington, W.Va.; and Santa Barbara, Calif.

• Students at San Diego State College (SDSC) recently elected Young Socialists Carol Chaffin and Marta Richmond to the Associated Students



programs for three hours.

Many inquiries on the convention are coming in to the YSA national office. One former McGovern supporter, a student body president at a New York college, called to ask about joining the YSA. He said that the student government at his school was working to get people to the convention.

Another McGovern supporter, a high school student, said, "I've been to a lot of your meetings this year, and I agreed with many of the things you said, but this election convinced me that you are 100 percent right."

Council there with the second and third highest votes out of 11 candidates. The Young Socialist campaign opposed the victimization of students and professors for their political views—something the SDSC administration is known for—and supported the demands of women, Chicanos, and Blacks on such issues as open admissions to the college, and an abortion clinic and contraceptive services on campus. The candidates also called for support to the Nov. 18 antiwar actions and the socialist campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

—DAVE FRANKEL

## YSA convention schedule

THURSDAY, NOV. 23: International Called Me Nigger/"Black Unity: Report/Panel: Imperialism's Anti-Breaking the Chains of Oppression"/Arab Witch-hunt/Political Report and Various films on struggles in Latin Discussion/Panel: Defending Political America. Prisoners Around the World/Party.

FRIDAY, NOV. 24: Antiwar Report and Activists' Meeting/Florida Defense Campaign Presentation/Women's Liberation Report and Workshop/Socialist Rally featuring Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley/Party.

SATURDAY, NOV. 25: Black Struggle Report and Workshop/Chicano Struggle Report and Workshop/Panel: Revolutionary Strategy in the Trade Unions/Panel: Defending the African Revolution/Panel: Community Struggles/Party.

SUNDAY, NOV. 26: Organization Report/Final Reports on Credentials, Press, Constitution, Expansion of the Socialist Movement.

WORKSHOPS: International Revolutionary Movement/High School Organizing/Gay Liberation/Student Governments.

FILMS: "To Make a Revolution"/"A Luta Continua!"/"No Vietnamese Ever

REGISTRATION AND HOUSING: Registration begins Wednesday evening, Nov. 22, in the Mezzanine of the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio; \$5 or \$1.50/day, \$3 or \$1/day for high school students. Housing at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel (reasonable rates). Inexpensive mass housing also available (bring sleeping bag).

Send me more information.  
I want to join the YSA.  
I'm coming to the YSA national convention.  
Enclosed is \$1 for six months of the Young Socialist.

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471  
Cooper Station, New York, N.Y.  
10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7570.

# In Review

## Books

### 'War Without End'

**War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams** by Michael T. Klare. Foreword by Gabriel Kolko. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. New York, 1972. 464 pp. \$10 cloth, \$2.95 paper.

Using official government and military sources, Michael Klare documents in this invaluable study the changes made in American military strategy in the past decade in response to the challenge of revolutionary struggles around the world and, more important, the plans and preparations of U. S. imperialism to intervene in the colonial struggles of the 1970s and 1980s.

During the cold-war period, the specter of nuclear war with the Soviet Union drove the Pentagon into a frenzy of stockpiling nuclear armaments. But gradually, in Cuba, in Vietnam, in the Middle East, and in Latin America, the Pentagon analysts began to see the shadows of an even more dangerous threat to U.S. imperialism—the rise of the colonial revolution.

After the abortive Bay of Pigs Invasion of Cuba in 1961, President Kennedy realized that the American military machine was not properly equipped to crush revolutions in underdeveloped countries. So he had Defense Secretary Robert McNamara spearhead the drive to modernize and streamline the Pentagon into an effective counterrevolutionary tool. The new face of the Pentagon was soon put to the test in Vietnam.

The generals and military strategists, who had up until then thought in terms of megatons and overkill, now had to learn quickly how to fight a new, more elusive kind of war. America's "Fourth Armed Service," the university scientists, the specialists, the staffs of the military think-tanks, came into play. They studied the development of revolutionary movements in different countries and the best methods of countering the embryonic rebellions before they hatched into full-grown popular revolutions. Project Camelot was the most well known of these studies.

Early attempts to counter the revolutionary movements politically, such as the "pacification" program in South

Vietnam, quickly failed, forcing the U. S. to launch a full-scale ground war with its high casualty rates. Because of the failures to "win over the hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese and because of the rise in antiwar activity at home, the Nixon Doctrine has been to withdraw ground combat troops while increasing the use of airpower and artillery.

Similarly, the studies and activities in other countries shifted, emphasizing the use of intimidation and maneuver to forestall any revolutionary developments, and often using oppressed minorities, such as the Meo tribespeople in Laos, as mercenary armies. The U. S. helped move the pro-U. S. officer castes in many underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America into the dominant positions in those countries.

Recognizing that another full-scale, drawn-out intervention of the Vietnam kind would be near to impossible given the antiwar sentiment among the American people, the Pentagon and the CIA began to search for some technological solution to the world revolution, should maneuver and intimidation fail.

#### Technological warfare

Moving into the era of technological warfare, the military began to hand out contracts to universities and corporations to study a wide variety of topics, from the use of battlefield equipment in various climates to the actual development of weapons and devices that would be used and tested in Vietnam. Klare reports that the Combat Developments Command, for instance, "is now planning American strategy for the limited wars of the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's. . . . CDC personnel are currently studying new battlefield vehicles. . . , advanced battlefield-surveillance systems, and computerized tactical-data systems."

These studies have led to the development of numerous electronic detection devices to track guerrillas and call in air strikes on them. These devices track the insurgents by their sound, smell, the chemical traces they leave in the air, their bodyheat, and the metal they carry. Infrared sensors, for example, were used in Bolivia to help hunt down Che Guevara.

Another series of studies emphasized

mobility, which would enable the government to retain most of its troops in the continental U. S., quickly transporting them and their equipment by air or sea to almost any potential "trouble spot" in the world when needed.

A key part of the strategy of trying to avoid the deployment of large forces of U. S. combat troops in "other Vietnams," is the systematic training, funding, and equipping of mercenary armies. As Klare points out, "Popular disaffection with the Vietnam war in particular and with defense spending in general has created a serious problem for Pentagon officials: on the one hand, they recognize the need for a continued United States military presence in Asia to protect American investments, while on the other hand public resentment toward U. S. policy can force the government to reduce or withdraw its Asian garrisons. To resolve this dilemma, the Pentagon has evolved a multitiered formula for the use of mercenaries in counter-guerrilla operations." The "multitiered formula" involves the use of: irregular mercenaries, regular mercenaries (armies of the client governments), elite mercenaries (Anglo-Saxon armies from Australia or New Zealand, for instance), and heavy reliance on U. S. air support. This approach is already clearly emerging in Southeast Asia.

#### Puppet regimes

In an effort to strengthen its puppet regimes, the U. S. has also been training the police forces of underdeveloped countries in modern techniques of riot-control and the tracking and surveillance of political figures. Since 1954, the "Public Safety" Program has trained more than a million foreign police, including more than 100,000 in Brazil alone, and a significant number of the West Pakistani forces that carried out the repression in Bangladesh in 1971.

Klare also devotes an entire chapter to the training and equipping of Latin American armies. He notes that most of the military leaders who carried out the nine coups between 1962 and 1966 had received U. S. training.

An area of the world that is receiving increasingly more attention from the Pentagon analysts is the entire South Asian-Indian Ocean sector, stretching from Indonesia to the Philip-

pines. According to the business-minded *Forbes* magazine, this area has "the fastest economic growth rates in the world and the most rapid increase in international trade."

Klare writes, "A socialist revolution in any of these countries [India, Indonesia, and Pakistan] would unalterably change the balance of power in the region and threaten the West's continued domination of Asia." So bolstering the native military forces in that area and finding new U. S. bases in the Indian Ocean takes on importance for U. S. imperialism in the next few years.

Finally, what are the prospects for success of the U. S.'s new, revised counterrevolutionary strategy of using technology and mercenaries? "How well will the mercenaries perform when they no longer can rely upon American ground troops to bail them out of threatening situations?" asks Klare.

"And how long will the American public tolerate an endless war, even if the casualty rate is much lower? Most important, what will happen when the mercenaries finally realize that they are being used as cannon fodder by an absentee imperial power?" The disastrous outcome (for the South Vietnamese army of the 1971 invasion of Laos suggests an answer to Klare's first question. The future will have to provide answers for the rest. —ERNEST HARSCH



# 'Akwesasne Notes'

# Indian paper threatened

By LEE SMITH

AKWESASNE—Several dozen square miles here where the borders of New York, Quebec, and Ontario come together are designated by the government as the St. Regis Indian Reservation. To the people of the Mohawk nation who live here, the area has traditionally been known as Akwesasne.

A longstanding division on the reservation has flared up into a crisis. The division is between the traditional Longhouse government and the council recognized by the government. The current crisis threatens the work of the North American Indian communications group known as White Roots of Peace and the newspaper they publish, *Akwesasne Notes*.

Having begun four years ago as a single sheet of offset clippings of which less than 1,000 were run off, *Akwesasne Notes* has grown to a 48-page tabloid with a circulation of 37,000 (for the Early Autumn 1972 issue).

The attack on the paper is being led by the trustees of the tribal council. It involves the attempt to have the editor deported and an effort to seize land White Roots of Peace recently purchased. These moves are the culmination of a campaign of harassment, intimidation, and slander that has been waged against *Akwesasne Notes* at least since last spring.

The editor, Rarihokwats or Jerry Gambill, appeared at a hearing in Buffalo, N.Y., Oct. 31 at which he had to show cause why he should not be deported to Canada. He is now awaiting a written decision from Administrative Judge Aaron Malin.

An 87-acre tract of land White Roots of Peace purchased in August in the name of Longhouse Chief Richard Cook was seized Sept. 15 by the tribal trustees. A hearing on this land will be held in Franklin County Court in Malone, N.Y., Nov. 10.

## Rarihokwats

Born and raised as a white man, Rarihokwats has been taken into the Mohawk nation by the women of the Bear Clan in a ceremony recognized by the nine Longhouse chiefs. Anna Jock, his Clan Mother, says Rarihokwats "has been formally and in all ways made a citizen of our nation. He has become a Mohawk in all the definitions our people have ever had of their own. . . ."

But to the Canadian and U.S. governments, Rarihokwats is Gerald T. Gambill, a U.S.-born Canadian citizen. Before he became a Mohawk, Gambill worked in Indian affairs for the Canadian government. He lost his position because he took the side of traditional Mohawks against the official Band Council.

Rarihokwats lives on Cornwall Island on the Canadian side of the reservation. The work of putting out *Akwesasne Notes*, however, is done on the U.S. side. The effect of a deportation order would be to hinder Rarihokwats's ability to help in the production of *Akwesasne Notes*.

## 1968 int'l bridge blockade

*Akwesasne Notes* was born during the struggle around the international bridge blockade at Akwesasne in 1968. That year 500 Indians blocked the bridge across the border to pro-

test denial of Indians' rights to travel and trade freely across the border. (These rights are guaranteed in the Jay Treaty, signed in 1794.) The action led to the arrest of 48 people. The newspaper grew out of publicity efforts around the defense of these 48.

White Roots of Peace grew out of some visits made by people working on the paper to people who subscribed to the paper. The visits "developed a kind of format," Rarihokwats says, and the group eventually took a name "that comes from a tradition of the Iroquois people."

(The Iroquois Confederacy, joining the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, was organized under the leadership of a historic figure called The Peacemaker. The Peacemaker described the league of these five nations as a "Great Tree." He said, "The Tree has four white roots, white roots of peace, that go to the four winds. If any man or nation shall show a desire to trace these roots to their source and obey the Law of the Great Peace, they shall be made welcome beneath this tree.")

Today the name refers not only to the traveling group, but to all of the communications efforts at Akwesasne. These include the newspaper, the film rental service, the mail order service for books, and the mail order service for LP records and tapes.

nels and perhaps the most effective" for informing, educating, and inspiring Indians.

It is among the traditional Mohawks of the Longhouse that *Akwesasne Notes* and White Roots of Peace have their strength.

## Traditionals vs. progressives

Some 6,000 Mohawks live on the reservation. A minority of less than 1,000 belong to the Longhouse. But an even smaller minority adhere to the elected trustees. The majority do not participate in the elective system. Those I talked to estimate that the trustees have perhaps 200 loyal followers.

While the majority do not belong to the Longhouse, "they give us passive support," Edgar Jock says. Most Mohawk men work at jobs off the reservation, many as iron workers. They travel around the Northeast working on high steel construction. A majority of Mohawks are Roman Catholic. But Jock insists they feel a strong sympathy for the Longhouse.

The Longhouse people keep alive the traditions, practice the Mohawk religion, speak the Mohawk language, and follow the Mohawk customs. As *Akwesasne Notes* has grown in the last few years, so has the Longhouse. It has gained new members, purchased tractors for communal raising

cially prominent in campaigning against the Longhouse, *Akwesasne Notes*, and Rarihokwats. Lawrence Lazore is a retired lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy. Russell Lazore works for New York State promoting "economic development."

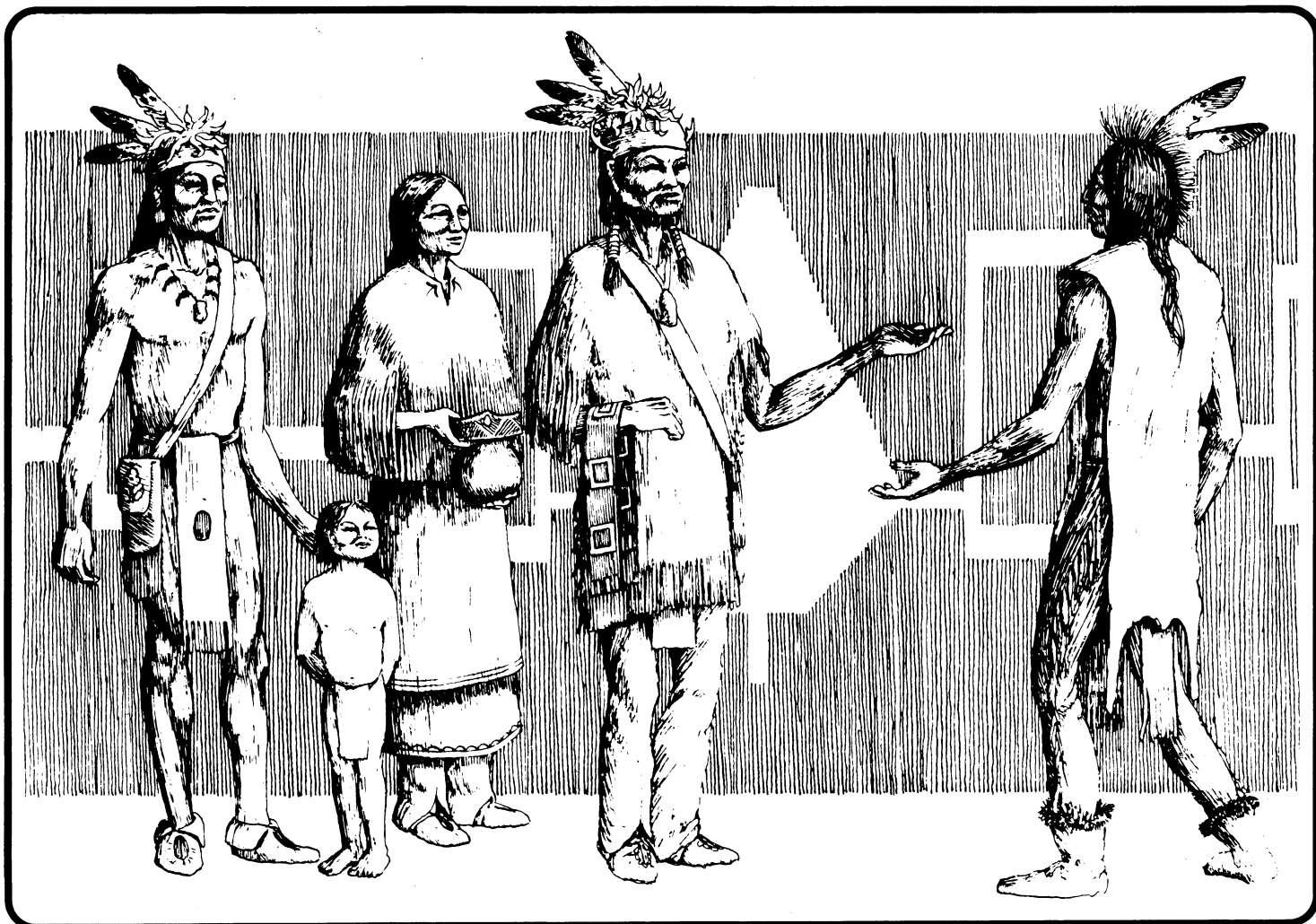
In March, the trustees had Rarihokwats picked up by the Border Patrol for investigation. He was extensively questioned by immigration officers about the possible "Communist influence" in *Akwesasne Notes*, about his finances and connection with the paper, etc.

In June, Lawrence Lazore circulated an anonymous letter alleging that Rarihokwats intended to bring a large number of Black people and Puerto Ricans onto the reservation to live. The same month Russell Lazore sent out a letter with his name on it reading: "Hi! I'm working on Economic Development for our reservation and one of our stumbling blocks is this white man, Gerry Gambill, editor of *Akwesasne Notes*. He is up to no good on this reservation. . . ."

One night in June, fired up by the rumors Lawrence Lazore was spreading, two carloads of men from nearby bars attacked the Mohawk Nation House in Hogsburg, N.Y., breaking eight windows with stones and beer bottles. The Nation House serves as an office and residence. Much of the work on *Akwesasne Notes* is done there.

In August, White Roots of Peace bought the 87 acres mentioned earlier. Richard Cook, the Longhouse chief in whose name the land was purchased, long ago had his name removed from the official tribal rolls as a matter of principle. Indians listed on the rolls are recognized as recipients of government benefits whereas Cook believes the U.S. should be forced to deal with the Mohawk nation as a sovereign government.

Evidently believing they could use the absence of Cook's name from the



This drawing, used on the masthead of *Akwesasne Notes*, is by Mohawk artist Kahonhes (John Fadden) of the Turtle Clan. The wampum belt design in the background symbolizes the union of five nations in the Iroquois Confederacy.

*Akwesasne Notes* is widely recognized as a vital link in the communications network of the Native American movement. For example, Charles Trimble, an Oglala Sioux who is executive director of the American Indian Press Association, wrote in an Oct. 12 letter to Lawrence Lazore, one of the trustees behind efforts to suppress the paper, that *Akwesasne Notes* "is one of those principal chan-

of food, and last winter it began the Indian Way School. The accredited school teaches children their own language and culture along with other subjects, sparing them the racism of white-controlled public schools.

The growing strength of the Longhouse has apparently alarmed the officials of the tribal council. Two leaders of the council, Lawrence Lazore and Russell Lazore, have been espe-

tribal rolls to deny him the land, the trustees moved by posting the land Sept. 15. Longhouse people tore down the "No Trespassing" signs.

The next day Lawrence and Russell Lazore showed up at the site where Longhouse people were working. They brought about 100 men with them, most of whom had been drinking and all of whom carried clubs

*Continued on page 22*



# ...Navy

Continued from page 3

waiting to take them to a nearby Naval barracks and that whoever wanted to discuss their grievances with him should simply board the buses. "We'll go over there and try to work the grievances out," he told them.

At the barracks, the men were told their lawyers could not enter. Once inside, they were told they were being sent to three different Naval stations in the area. They were also told that they faced disciplinary action for being AWOL the six hours they had been on the pier.

Once dispersed, the process of imposing fines and demotions began. At the same time, all evidence indicates there was heavy intimidation, including assertions that what they had done left them open to such grave charges as mutiny and even treason.

To encourage dispersal of the protesters, a number were offered immediate discharges.

Meanwhile, the Black Servicemen's Caucus had sought unsuccessfully to enlist the aid of members of the Congressional Black Caucus. Colbert said he had spent an entire night on the phone to Washington, D.C., urging Black congressmen to come to San Diego to intervene in the situation. But all were too busy.

"This was a big disappointment to the men," Colbert said. "They were counting on it." He said he was informed that Representative Ron Delums (D-Calif.) had wired Naval authorities urging revocation of any penalties imposed on the sailors and an investigation of their complaints.

While the *Constellation* protest was triggered by Navy racism, Colbert feels that antiwar sentiment helped spark the action.

"All the Blacks from the ship that I've talked to, also the Chicanos, they all agree they had no business over there," Colbert said. "They felt that regardless of what type of job they were doing, it was helping the ship to get over there and to send airplanes out to bomb those people. They felt that they were personally involved in the war even if they were just mopping floors, and they didn't like that."

"I didn't talk to very many whites," he added, "but the few I did, they seemed to be against the war as well."

The Black Servicemen's Caucus is asking that people urge their congress-

sional representatives to intervene in support of the demand that all penalties be revoked. They are also demanding that Captain Ward be tried for violating the military code of justice and for dereliction of duty.

Copies of such letters and of organizational protests should be sent to: Black Servicemen's Caucus, 3101 Imperial Ave., San Diego, Calif. 92102.

# ...treaty

Continued from page 5

war.

Socialists in this country cannot help the Vietnamese by promoting a bandit's settlement. They must seek ways to get Washington's heel off the necks of the Vietnamese. This can be done most effectively by honestly explaining that the nine-point proposal is an obstacle to the Vietnamese struggle—not a victory—and by organizing actions demanding that the U.S. get out of Southeast Asia immediately.

# ...Laos

Continued from page 13

Churchill in 1954: "Our painstaking search for a way out of the impasse has reluctantly forced us to the conclusion that there is no negotiated solution of the Indochina problem which in its essence would not be either a face-saving device to cover a French surrender or a face-saving device to cover a Communist retirement. The first alternative is too serious . . . for us and for you to be acceptable."

Eisenhower's words should serve as a warning to all those who wish to save the war-ravaged land of Vietnam from a repetition of the imperialist barbarism already inflicted on Laos in the wake of three "peace" treaties. Washington uses these treaties as a means to continue its control of Indochina. There is nothing in Nixon's record to suggest that his treaties are a departure from his predecessors', or that they deserve any more support.

# ...Indian

Continued from page 21

or chains.

While the Longhouse people's refusal to be provoked avoided a bloody battle, Russell Lazore did

jump on the pickup truck of Willie Lazore, a Longhouse man, and slash at him with a chain until Willie Lazore shook him loose by making a series of power turns. Then Russell Lazore had the state troopers arrest Willie Lazore for "reckless endangerment."

Four days later Rarihokwats was arrested by the Border Patrol. At a subsequent meeting between the Longhouse chiefs and the tribal council held Sept. 25, Lawrence Lazore offered to ease up on the harassment if the chiefs would get rid of Rarihokwats. The chiefs, of course, emphatically rejected this suggested deal.

Although Rarihokwats's Oct. 31 hearing was in Buffalo, N.Y., some 300 miles from Akwesasne, more than 40 Indians showed up to demonstrate their support for him. The four hours of testimony from Rarihokwats, the sole witness, made it "exceedingly clear" in the words of Rarihokwats's attorney, Millard Ring, that the hearing was part of an effort to shut his mouth and that he was not deportable.

The government's contention, taken from Lawrence Lazore, was that Rarihokwats's work editing *Akwesasne Notes* amounted to employment in violation of the terms under which he entered the U.S. Sept. 15. Administrative Judge Aaron Maltin was visibly irritated at the government attorney, Gordon Sachs, for failing to present even the semblance of a case to help cover the judge's refusal to render an oral decision then and there.

The hearing clearly established that Rarihokwats receives no money for his work on the paper. In fact, except for a sum of slightly less than \$50 (for Ontario hospitalization), the entire \$2,000 a year he earns outside the reservation from writing articles and working on films goes to pay his ex-wife child support for their two daughters.

Rarihokwats lives without money, wearing secondhand clothes, eating Longhouse communal meals, living in communal housing, and working in the communal gardens.

Meanwhile, since the trustees seized the 87 acres Sept. 15, it has been discovered that two trustees and a third person had originally hoped to buy the land themselves. They were unable to raise the necessary amount, which was more than \$10,000.

But had they purchased the land, they were prepared to negotiate with

Reynolds Aluminum to lease the land for dumping and burning off liquid chlorine from Reynolds' nearby plant.

The trustees would also have been given control over truckdriving jobs involved in carting the poison from the plant to the reservation. The purchase of the land by traditional people put a crimp in these plans. Whether the Longhouse will be allowed to retain its purchase or not will be decided in court in Malone, Nov. 10.

In the meantime, those who want to show their support and at the same time begin informing themselves about the Indian movement in general can write to *Akwesasne Notes*, Mohawk Nation, Via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683. There is no subscription price. They simply ask that you send what you can afford and think is fair.

# ...Sri Lanka

Continued from page 24

in Sri Lanka itself. He told me that the main defense was being organized by the Human and Democratic Rights Organization, which is supported by many trade unions, mainly by the Ceylon Mercantile Union, and also by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese Trotskyist party. The Human and Democratic Rights Organization charges that the trials are an attempt to cover up the government's illegal actions of 1971.

The committee has organized a number of actions, Wickrama reported. "The largest so far was the Oct. 18 hunger strike in which over one million participated. The organization is fighting for an end of the emergency provisions and the release of the political prisoners."

"Even these types of actions are difficult because under the emergency laws everybody who opposes the government can be arrested and detained without giving any reason. The actual organization of actions has to be done very carefully without giving the government any opportunity to smash the mass movement, because it is only through the building of a mass opposition that you can actually end this repressive regime."

Wickrama will be touring the U.S. until February. For more information on his tour and to find when he will be in your area, write Rich Feigenberg, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

# 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.

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# The right to organize

The Young Socialist Alliance was denied the right to organize on Florida state campuses as a legitimate student organization in March 1970. In July 1972, a federal district court upheld the banning of the YSA. Currently the Florida ACLU is appealing this decision to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) was formed in 1970 to launch a legal and public campaign to win the right of official recognition for the YSA on Florida campuses.

FAPEC urgently needs the help of all who believe in the rights of free speech and assembly. Letters of protest from individuals, student governments, and campus organizations can be sent to Board of Regents, 210 Collins Building, 107 North Gaines St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304 (send copy to FAPEC). Contributions and requests for more information can be sent to FAPEC, P.O. Box 6693, FSU, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

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# THE MILITANT

## Black students win some demands

# Protests continue at Louisiana campuses

By BAXTER SMITH

BATON ROUGE, Nov. 11 — Having won some of their demands, students are continuing their three-week protest on the predominantly Black campuses of Southern University in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

On Oct. 30, Black students at Southern University of New Orleans (SUNO) took over the administration building after the administrators reneged on their promise to answer student demands within 48 hours. The students vowed to hold the building until an answer was given. The administration reacted by suspending classes for the rest of the week.

A special "blue ribbon" negotiating committee was named by Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards to bargain with the students concerning their demands and the release of the building. The demands centered on the ouster of university vice-president Emmett Bashful; more student voice in university functioning, including the hiring and firing of faculty; curriculum improvement; and the termination of the present cafeteria contract.

Members of the committee, which included all eight of the state's Black legislators and other prominent individuals, met several times with the students in the building. During that time, Governor Edwards claimed that Black Panthers and members of the Republic of New Africa had smuggled guns into the building.

Earl Ticard, the student government association president and one of the spokesmen for the students, said, according to the Nov. 9 New Orleans *Morning Advocate*, "There is no truth to the reports that weapons have been brought into the building. Our intentions are to bring about constructive change at SUNO, not violent confrontation. Edwards's statement is an attempt to whitewash, to legitimize, the presence of armed police and troopers in order to effect the collective assassination of the students."

State Representative Louis Charbonnet, head of the negotiating committee, later told *The Militant* that he had been in the building for several



Students discuss issues during strike at Southern University in Baton Rouge

days and he could confirm there were no weapons there.

Nevertheless, Edwards gave the students until 1 p.m. Nov. 9 to clear out of the building. He gave the police orders to use any means necessary to retake the building. However, the deadline came and passed with the students still inside. Then, an hour and a half later, the students proudly marched out of the building they had held for 10 days. They held a news conference in front of 1,500 onlookers and an array of battle-armed state police, and announced that Dean Bashful had agreed to resign and that their other demands had been met.

The demands won included bus service from the main campus street,

emergency medical care on campus, revamping the freshman orientation program, and the right of students to audit the school's financial records. A major demand that the students won was academic amnesty. This means that the striking students cannot be suspended from school for participating in the building take-over.

Bashful, commenting on his resignation, claimed that he would rather resign "in glory" than serve as an administrator with the blood of a police attack on his hands.

Despite the fact that the students won these immediate demands, they vowed to continue to boycott classes until the other demands are met.

While most of the activities of the

past week have occurred on the New Orleans campus, the situation on the Baton Rouge campus continue to boil. Students here have been maintaining a successful boycott of classes for more than three weeks to protest campus problems. They are demanding the resignation of university president G. Leon Netterville as well as more student voice in the control of the university.

On Nov. 8, students staged a march around the campus to persuade the remaining students who were attending classes to come out. The marchers went into classrooms and successfully persuaded the students to leave. This move upset the administration, and that night a bomb exploded in the washroom of a classroom building.

The next morning, students awoke to a campus occupied by hundreds of state police and sheriff's deputies armed with semiautomatic rifles, shotguns, and Thompson submachine guns. They also had a mobile jail and an armored personnel carrier. Arrest warrants had been issued for the leaders of the strike, and they did not appear on the campus.

News came later in the day about the victory at the SUNO campus and the fact that the negotiating committee was traveling to Baton Rouge to meet with the students here.

On Nov. 10, the strike leaders appeared before a student meeting and informed the students that they had met with the negotiating committee and won several immediate concessions: that the cops be removed from the campus; that the charges in the arrest warrants be dropped; that those students who had been suspended be given academic amnesty; and that the students be given the use of any building on campus to hold strike meetings.

The students are scheduled to meet with the negotiating committee again in an effort to come to an agreement on the other demands. The boycott is continuing, and Governor Edwards has promised to give the negotiating committee the power and financial backing to meet student demands.

## Sri Lanka activist describes repression

By TONY THOMAS

Recently, *The Militant* was able to interview Vijaya Wickrama, a Ceylonese activist touring the U.S. in defense of democratic rights in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). Wickrama is an activist in the London-based Ceylon Solidarity Campaign and has recently returned from a visit to Sri Lanka.

"The purpose of my tour," he said, "is to publicize the repression in Ceylon, because in many parts of the world people do not know what is going on there. They do not know that there are over 7,000 people in jail or the fact that 15,000 people were killed last year. I am trying to organize the type of international solidarity for these prisoners that can win freedom for political prisoners and the restoration of democratic rights in Ceylon. In addition, we hope to raise funds to help the defense campaign in Sri Lanka and to assist the prisoners and their families financially."

The repression in Ceylon dates to the declaration of a state of emergency on March 16, 1971, and the initiation of an "insurrection" by members of the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front), a youth organization.

Wickrama told me, "The government repression began on March 16, much before the so-called uprising on April 5. Between March 16 and April 5 thousands of people were arrested and held in detention camps and interrogated. It was after this that you had the police going from village to village on search-and-destroy missions."

"It seems very clear to us, and even by the evidence given in recent trials by the government witnesses, that what happened on April 5 was an act of desperation for defense against the inhuman repression that had been going on at that time."

"After April 5," he continued, "when the JVP attacked some police stations,

the government for its own reasons exaggerated this and during the first two weeks afterwards a vast number of people, mostly innocent young people, were killed out of hand. One of the Sri Lanka army colonels explained, 'We don't take prisoners because we have learned too many lessons from Vietnam.'

"Anybody who was unlucky enough to be caught in the first two weeks of April was shot. We estimate that between 15,000 and 20,000 were killed. Over 7,000 are now being held in concentration camps. This is very dangerous. We now hear of claims by the army that detainees were shot while attempting escapes. We also know of several definite incidents where the army shot at random into the camps, killing the detainees."

"Only recently four hundred people from the Tamil area in the north of Sri Lanka were arrested because they had made a movement for their rights

as a linguistic and national minority. Even though they were not connected in any way with the JVP, they were arrested because the emergency laws still exist and the government can still arrest people without any charges."

Currently 41 detainees are on trial faced with treason charges.

Wickrama said, "This is not really a trial; it is an inquisition. These people can't be charged for any specific thing because the vast majority of them were inside the jail already on April 5. Rohana Wijeweera [one of the central leaders of the JVP and a principal defendant in the trials] was imprisoned on March 16. What they are really being tried for is building a political movement against the government, a movement which professes the idea of a revolutionary overthrow of the government."

I asked Wickrama if there was any activity in defense of the prisoners

*Continued on page 22*