

THE MILITANT

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



Watergate shows corruption of entire capitalist system.
For socialist alternative to Nixon gang, see pages 3, 12.

U.S.-Soviet deal on Mideast denies rights of Palestinians/6

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SUPREME COURT WILL NOT HEAR CHALLENGE TO 'SUBVERSIVE' LIST: The U.S. Supreme Court has refused to consider a challenge to the constitutionality of the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations.

The challenge was brought by the Socialist Workers Party in a suit arising from the case of Duncan Gordon, who was fired from his Post Office job because of his membership in the SWP. The government quickly rehired Gordon in an attempt to head off an unfavorable court ruling. A lower court ruled that the summary firing of Gordon was unconstitutional but refused to outlaw the list itself.

The SWP appealed to the Supreme Court in an effort to get the list banned. Three Supreme Court justices voted to hear the appeal, one short of the necessary minimum.

A similar challenge to the list is included in the Watergate suit filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance this summer. Lawyers hope that this suit, backed up by revelations of illegal government attacks against the SWP, will finally knock down the infamous blacklist.

Anti-Zionist meeting attacked by JDL thugs

BROOKLYN—A meeting addressed by anti-Zionist speakers at Brooklyn College Oct. 24 was attacked by right-wing Zionists of the Jewish Defense League. One anti-Zionist member of the audience, James Mendieta of the Socialist Workers Party, was later beaten up by six JDLers armed with a lead pipe. Mendieta, who required seven stitches to close a head wound, is the SWP candidate for Brooklyn district attorney.

The campus meeting, entitled "Israel and the Arabs," was sponsored by the student government, Umoja Society (a Black student group), Dominican Students, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance. It was attended by 250 people, 150 of them Zionists and 20 to 30 members of the JDL.

The first speaker was Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for city council-at-large. Despite heckling, he was able to finish his talk on why Zionism is not in the interests of Jews. The second speaker, however, Dr. M. T. Medhi of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations, was stopped by the Zionist heckling. Finally, JDL members rushed the stage and fighting broke out. Most of the audience left, and the meeting was unable to continue.

Mendieta was jumped when he was walking away from the meeting alone. Apparently JDLers thought he was an Arab (he is a Cuban-American). Mendieta was able to recognize three of his attackers and is pressing charges against them.

Mendieta and organizers of the meeting have called a news conference for Oct. 25 to denounce the JDL's hoodlum tactics and appeal for support of the right of free speech on campus. A petition is planned to denounce the attack, and Friedman and Medhi have declared their intention to reschedule their talks on the campus to show that supporters of the Arab struggle will not be intimidated by such cowardly hoodlum tactics.

JANE FONDA SUES PRESIDENT NIXON FOR \$2.8-MILLION: Jane Fonda, actress and antiwar activist, filed a civil suit seeking \$2.8-million against Nixon, individuals in his administration, and former officials. The suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation in Los Angeles Oct. 18.

At the news conference announcing the suit, Fonda presented an FBI dossier on her and said she has been subjected to overt and covert physical surveillance, undercover intelligence gathering, and intimidation and harassment because of her public criticism of the Nixon administration and the Indochina war.

NEW BOUND VOLUME AND INDEX OF THE MILITANT FOR JANUARY-JUNE 1973: The bound volume and index of The Militant for January-June 1973 is now available and can be obtained for \$10.50. The index alone is \$1. Send check or money order to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

POLICE KILL INDIAN LEADER: Pedro Bissonette, an American Indian Movement leader in the occupation of Wounded Knee, was shot and killed the night of Oct. 17 by police in Pine Ridge, S. D.

Police claimed Bissonette was shot with a shotgun after he pulled a gun. However Mark Lane, a defense lawyer for the Indian militants indicted as a result of the Wounded Knee occupation, said that the seven bullet holes in Bissonette's chest were too big for shotgun pellets.

After inspecting the body Lane concluded, "It was evident that the shots were fired at close range or after holding him down on the ground or by more than one person firing simultaneously." Lane accused federal officials of sending the body away for an autopsy over the objections

of Bissonette's family.

The Indian rights section of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department is investigating the killing.

DEFENSE OF BANNED FRENCH COMMUNIST LEAGUE GAINS NEW SUPPORT: The Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, remains banned by the French government, and Michel Recanati, a leader of the dissolved organization, is still in prison. On Oct. 8, 200 people met in London's Conway Hall to protest the ban and demand freedom for Recanati. This was part of the continuing international campaign demanding that the ban be lifted and that all charges against members of the League be dropped.

The Pompidou regime dissolved the Communist League after it organized a demonstration last June against a racist, fascist rally in Paris. The ban was protested by thousands of French citizens.

The London meeting against the ban involved people from a wide spectrum of organizations. In addition, support for the defense campaign has recently come from the British National Council for Civil Liberties.

In this country, the Committee for Defense of the Rights of the Communist League in France is conducting a petition campaign demanding that the ban and all charges against leaders or members of the League be dropped.

Committee secretary-treasurer Francoise Collet told The Militant one recent supporter of the petition campaign is Martin Sostre, a Black frame-up victim imprisoned in New York.

Sostre wrote to French President Pompidou, "from my cell in solitary confinement," that "the Communist League must have the right to exist if democratic norms are to be observed in France."

Copies of the petition are available from Francoise Collet, 2310 Creston Ave., Apt. 6A, New York, N.Y. 10468.

INDOCHINA WAR ATROCITIES AIRED AT HEARING FOR KARL ARMSTRONG: A 38-year-old former Marine Corps drill instructor and platoon sergeant told how he and his troops opened fire on a school bus, killing 24 Vietnamese school children. The incident led him to quit the Marines in shame and disgust.

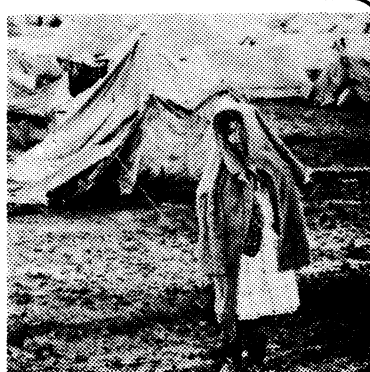
Other Vietnam veterans described how the U.S. armed forces terrorized Vietnamese civilians. Terms such as "crispy critters" were used in reference to napalm and its effects on human beings, and the "Bell Telephone Hour" was another way of saying torture-time, when the electrical coils of field telephones were used to create high-voltage shocks on the genitals or breasts of suspected "Vietcong."

This and other war-related testimony was heard by Madison, Wis., Judge William Sachtlein in the two-week pre-sentence hearing that began for Karleton Armstrong in mid-October. Armstrong has pleaded guilty to reduced state charges of second-degree murder and arson in the August 1970 bombing of the University of Wisconsin's Army Mathematics Research Center in which a physics researcher was killed.

The three defense lawyers are trying to show that Armstrong was carried away "by nothing more than an absolute abhorrence of what was being done in Southeast Asia" in an effort to get the greatest reduction of a possible 25-year sentence.

—DERRICK MORRISON

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WAR IN THE MIDEAST: The Militant explains the roots of the war—the establishment of Israel on the homeland of the Palestinians—and the stakes involved for U.S. imperialism. Read The Militant for honest reporting of the latest developments and for a Marxist explanation of what lies behind them.

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Why gov't is cesspool of corruption

What alternative to the Nixon gang?

By CAROLINE LUND

The recent avalanche of developments in the Watergate scandal has confirmed to more and more Americans that the government in Washington is nothing but a stinking cesspool of corruption.

There is a rapidly growing feeling of disgust at the entire gang of scoundrels in the Nixon administration and a desire to clean out the whole mess. One congressman said there is "a greater anger in the country than I have ever seen before in my public life."

Under a headline "Trust in rulers found to decline," the Oct. 14 *New York Times* reported a Gallup poll finding that 66 percent of those questioned were "dissatisfied" with the way the country is being governed.

This poll was taken two weeks before Agnew's resignation. The number of dissatisfied was up sharply from 54 percent two years ago. It would no doubt be even greater today.

"Honk for Impeachment" read the signs of young people picketing the White House Oct. 21, the day Nixon fired Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox. "All day long and into the night the blare of car horns . . . echoed against the White House," said the *New York Post*.

The Oct. 23 *Washington Post* said the anti-Nixon demonstrators who immediately gathered around the White House "ranged from one Socialist Workers Party peddler of 'The Militant' newspaper to Jane Beach, 29, of New Carrollton, Md., who insisted, 'I'm a middle American and I'm proud of it.'"

Western Union reported Oct. 23 that 150,000 telegrams—the largest volume on record—had flooded the White House and Congress over the latest Watergate developments. Senators and representatives report that the content of their telegrams is overwhelmingly for impeachment.

Congresswoman Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) asked her constituents in Denver to call her office and say whether they thought the president should be impeached. The results were 2,500 calls for, and 32 against.

At the time of Agnew's resignation, the *New York Times* called 1973 "one of the most tumultuous years in the recent history of American politics and government, the year of the Watergate scandals."

'The Watergate Show'

After more than six months of watching "The Watergate Show"—with its revelations of illegal spying, burglaries, cover-ups, and payoffs—the American people have gotten an unprecedented glimpse into the criminal workings and depraved methods of the capitalist government and its politicians.

Democratic and Republican politicians have long been considered crooks by many people. Back at the turn of the century Mark Twain was writing that "it could probably be shown by facts and figures that there is no distinctly criminal class except Congress."

But rarely has this generalization been confirmed so compellingly. For example, the U.S. attorney for Northern Illinois, James Thompson, an-

nounced Oct. 11 that the charges against Agnew were "the strongest case of bribery and extortion I have ever seen." He called Agnew "a crook" and said "the country is well rid of him."

In response to Nixon's firing of Cox and take-over of Cox's office, Senator

tivists and radicals, but at Nixon's opponents within the ruling class itself, like McGovern and other Democrats.

The deep social problems underlying Watergate were reflected in President Nixon's "speech to the nation"



"Look—Nice Tapes—Okay, Boy?—Okay?—"

Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.) declared, "The president has defied the courts, defied Congress . . . this sounds like a brown-shirt operation 30 years ago—these are Gestapo tactics."

Watergate is not just a run-of-the-mill scandal involving illegal acts for personal power or enrichment—although that is certainly involved. The current government crisis is completely intertwined with social questions of concern to masses of American people.

The Watergate disclosures have exposed ruling-class attempts to suppress rising dissatisfaction over the experience of the Vietnam war and U.S. war policy in general, inflation, racial oppression, and the other issues that have fueled the current radicalization.

The continuing Watergate crisis reflects disagreements among the ruling rich and their agents over how to stem this radicalization, a process now being fed by Watergate itself.

To some sectors of the capitalist class, Nixon's tactics of repression were poorly timed, poorly executed, and excessive—especially because they were directed not just at antiwar ac-

tioning Gerald Ford to fill Agnew's post.

'Be thankful'

Nixon avoided mentioning that his previous choice for vice-president had turned out to be a crook all along. Instead, he told us we should "be thankful" that the U.S. is now supposedly "at peace with every nation of the world" and "in the midst of a rising expansion of our economy in which more Americans have better jobs at higher wages than at any time in the history of our country."

Nixon's words of "peace" came just as the Pentagon was readying massive shipments of U.S. arms to help the Israeli regime in terrorizing the Arab peoples.

His lies about "prosperity" came after the Department of Labor reported that real wages have declined 2 percent in the past year because of rampant inflation.

But the times are past when Nixon's lies are swallowed by the majority of the American people. "He's still trying to get people to forget Watergate," a Portland man told a reporter

for the *New York Times*. "Every time he gives a speech he starts off with the same malarkey."

According to the *Times* reporter, who was interviewing people watching Nixon on TV at a shopping mall in downtown Portland, Nixon's arrogant speech "seemed to tap a well of resentment that had been bubbling just beneath the surface."

The new contempt of many working people toward the government was reflected in interviews conducted by the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* following Agnew's resignation. Reactions ranged from "Beautiful!" and "Right on!" to "And Tricky Dick with him!" According to the *Times*, a woman sales clerk "chortled" over Agnew's fall: "He talked down to everyone, everyone was dirt beneath his feet."

Problem is the system

What is beginning to happen is what the capitalist rulers fear the most. After the Vietnam war, the inflation, and now the Watergate revelations, more and more people are beginning to wonder whether the problem isn't the system itself, not just the mistakes or failings of individual rulers like Nixon.

The rulers fear that their entire setup of capitalist "democracy" is being exposed for what it is: rule by force and deception, rule by the rich few.

Questions about the system itself were bound to occur to many of those who

The front-page drawing on this week's *Militant* is taken from a button designed by Jules Feiffer for the Political Rights Defense Fund. The button can be obtained for 50 cents (25 cents each on orders of 10 or more) from PRDF, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011.

listened to Agnew say, "Our democracy, with its balanced federal system, its separation of powers, and its fundamental principles of individual liberty, is working better than ever before."

He said this after sitting in the White House for five years stashing away cash payoffs; as part of an administration that was bombing and carrying out war behind the backs of the people; as part of an administration suppressing any dissent against the crimes of this system with an illegal secret police apparatus.

By giving Agnew the ax, Nixon hoped to stem the ferment over Watergate and provide his crumbling administration with the image of "a new beginning." But the opposite occurred. Agnew's resignation confirmed the seriousness of the charges against the vice-president, while setting a certain precedent. "One down, one to go" was a common sentiment.

The blatant double standard of justice applied to Agnew heightened questioning of the whole system of law, prisons, and "justice."

Many have begun to conclude that the prisons of this country are full of the wrong people. A poor Black

Continued on next page

...What alternative to the Nixon gang?

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teen-ager suspected of stealing a few dollars sits in jail for a year awaiting trial. Agnew, on the other hand, doesn't get even one day in jail for swindling hundreds of thousands of dollars and who knows what other crimes. Instead, he gets free time on TV to try to explain the "temptations" he was beset with during his career!

Normal practice

Agnew was right when he protested that his crimes were only normal practice among capitalist politicians. In fact all Democratic and Republican politicians work the way Agnew did. They are paid off by the capitalists and, in return, they represent the interests of the banks and corporations.

This is why Nixon so desperately wants to scuttle the Watergate investigation, as limited as it is. One lawyer on the staff of Watergate prosecutor Cox told the *New York Times*



STENNIS: Nixon's candidate to 'verify' tapes summary cooperated with Nixon to hide U.S. bombing of Cambodia in 1969.

that as the investigation proceeded, evidence of government crimes seemed to appear in a sort of "geometric progression."

"We would find ourselves in this position," he explained. "As we got to the end of an investigation, we would sit down and go over details on the law and prospective defendants. We would decide to get more evidence on some point and suddenly open up a whole new area."

The commonly accepted view now is that in fact Nixon engineered the whole confrontation over the Watergate tapes to give himself an excuse to fire Cox and abolish his investigation.

Washington Post reporters found out from "high administration sources" that "as long ago as June, just a month after Cox was appointed . . . the President had determined that the existence of a special prosecutor was 'unworkable' and some way would have to be found to abolish his office."

The *Washington Post* reporters were told by sources close to former Attorney General Elliot Richardson that Nixon fired Cox "because his investigation was hitting too close to the President and his friends and former aides and was digging too deeply into every aspect of White House activity going back to 1969."

Nixon's first proposal with regard to the Watergate tapes—that Senator John Stennis would "verify" Nixon's

version of them—went over like a lead balloon. Stennis, one of Nixon's most avid backers, was one of the few members of Congress who were told about the secret U.S. bombing of Cambodia in 1969 and 1970. He kept the secret well.

Demand for impeachment

Popular revulsion with the Nixon administration has found expression in growing sentiment for impeachment of the president, the only procedure provided by the U.S. Constitution for getting rid of a president before his four years are up.

Of course Nixon is unfit to rule—he belongs in jail along with Agnew and all the rest of them. And most people will rejoice if Congress removes him.

But the issue is much greater than whether Nixon should be impeached. The real question is, what kind of government should replace the Nixon administration?

The question posed by Watergate is how to get rid of a system that breeds Watergates, a system that breeds Nixons. Nixon's crimes raise the deeper question of what kind of system this is, where the highest office is a dunghill of lies, conspiracies, and corruption.

If Nixon is impeached, who will take over? Clearly, if the rulers feel compelled to throw Nixon to the wolves, they intend to replace him with another capitalist politician. The crooks in Congress would remain. The capitalist politicians would all keep their hands in the till. The new "clean" administration would continue military aid and imperialist wars to defend the "free enterprise" system of class and racial oppression around the world and at home.

In fact, if Nixon had been impeached a few weeks ago, who would have replaced him? Agnew!

Now who would it be? Gerald Ford? He's the man who said, "The president and I have always had a high identity philosophically."

In 1968 Lyndon Johnson was forced out of office by mass rejection of his war policies. This showed the power of the antiwar movement; but who did we get instead? Tricky Dick himself!

Or what about Senator Edward Kennedy? A Harris poll reported Oct. 15 that by 43 to 41 percent, the American people don't trust Kennedy's integrity.

Despite the talk of the "separation of powers" with "checks and balances," the fact is that Congress, the courts, and the executive branch all basically work together to hoodwink the majority of the American people. This was shown by the fact that Congress



Demonstrators at White House think Nixon belongs in jail

and the courts never did anything to stop the Vietnam war.

If Congress does impeach Nixon, it will only be because the politicians see no other way to attempt to restore illusions in this rotten system.

Nixon's real crimes

The real indictment of the Nixon administration should be much more extensive than the issues being currently discussed as possible bases for impeachment.

The indictment of Nixon by American working people would include the history of U.S. war crimes in Southeast Asia; U.S. arming of the Portuguese army in its African colonies; U.S. backing of the bloody coup in Chile; holding down workers' wages while prices soar; the maintenance of racist oppression, poverty, and degradation.

But these kinds of crimes did not begin with the Nixon administration. Similar policies have been carried out by Democratic and Republican administrations for years.

Nixon's attempts to cover up the Pentagon papers and his secret bombing of Cambodia came after LBJ manufactured the Gulf of Tonkin incident to justify sending thousands of American troops to Vietnam. Kennedy used the same methods of deception in his secret preparation of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

The true indictment of Nixon, from the point of view of the masses of people in this country and throughout the world, is an indictment of the entire capitalist system. And the existence of

the system of capitalist exploitation is the biggest crime of all, and the source of Nixon's crimes.

Under capitalism, as Watergate shows, the rich hold the power. Capitalism is the rule of the bankers and corporate fat cats over the millions who have to work for them for a living. This rule of the few over the many is disguised with "democratic" trappings.

Watergate is exposing to the American people that capitalist "democracy" is really rule by force, deception, and payoffs. Any capitalist politician who has a post in this system got there by using the same methods.

They need deception to prevent their system from crashing down over their heads as the American people learn what rats these "distinguished" high and mighty rulers are.

As long as the capitalist system exists there will be Watergates. Under the private property system the government will never violate the right of the capitalists to their business secrets. Given this right to keep profit figures and financial manipulations hidden, and their operations uncontrolled, the capitalists will always find ways to get around any laws to continue buying off the government.

Likewise, the capitalists' bloody foreign policy must always be shrouded in lies and secrecy, because it is conducted in the interests of maximizing the profits of the ruling rich rather than in the interests of the American people or the working people of the world.

What is needed to clean out the Watergate mess in Washington is a transformation of the entire political and economic system in this country. We need a political movement on a whole new basis that can challenge and throw out all the crooks in Washington. This movement must be based on the *opposite* class than the capitalist class Nixon represents: that is, the working class.

The lesson of Watergate is that working people should break for good with the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of the capitalists. Working people need their own party, a labor party based on the power of the trade-union movement, that can fight for a government that will serve the interests of the majority of people, rather than serving to enrich tyrants, swindlers, and corporate millionaires.

The Democrats are just as bad

Marvin Mandel, who took over from Spiro Agnew as governor of Maryland in 1967, insists that his administration, unlike Agnew's, is not involved in any kickback operations.

However "a source close to Mandel" told *Washington Post* reporter Charles Krause, "The difference between the guys around Agnew and the guys around Marvin is this: Marvin's guys are pros, they're too smart" to get caught with unrecorded payments from contractors.

Democrat Dale Anderson, who

took over Agnew's former job as Baltimore County Executive, has already been indicted on 43 charges of extortion, bribery, tax evasion, and conspiracy.

Meanwhile, the Maryland Transportation Department announced in August that it had to lift its moratorium on doing business with construction companies under investigation for corruption. The state transportation secretary said there were so many firms being investigated the moratorium would mean a halt to road work in the state.

Denver Political Rights Defense Fund links spying on YSA to 'plumbers' unit

By PETER SEIDMAN

DENVER—The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) disclosed new links between police infiltration of the Denver Young Socialist Alliance and the White House at a news conference here Oct. 11.

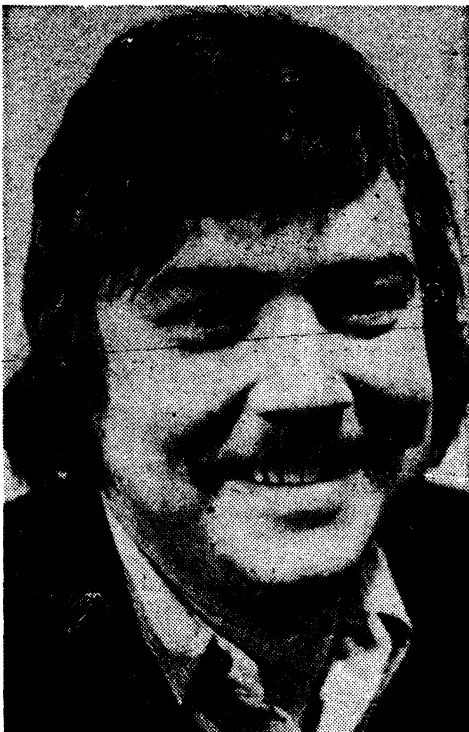
In the fall of 1971, the Denver YSA expelled Robert Wilkinson from membership because he was an agent. The *Rocky Mountain News* has now revealed that Wilkinson is under investigation for bugging the hospital room of ITT lobbyist Dita Beard just six months after his spying on the YSA. Previous revelations have implicated White House plumbers G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt in the effort to silence Beard.

Denver PRDF spokesman John Maley Jr. noted at the news conference that "to whom Wilkinson reported while he was infiltrating the YSA—and at whose behest he functioned—is as yet not certain. However, it is logical to assume that he worked for the same people during his infiltration of the YSA as he did during the Dita Beard affair."

Maley added that the allegations against Wilkinson, made by two investigators for the special subcommittee on investigations of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, "constitute important new evidence in the suit presently being supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund."

This is a suit the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have brought against President Nixon, former Attorney General John Mitchell, the directors of the CIA, the FBI, and the Secret Service, John Dean, and others. The suit is demanding an end to the Watergate-style harassment of the two socialist organizations as well as \$27-million in damages, and the abolition of the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations.

Also speaking at the news conference



ROBERT WILKINSON: Admits infiltrating Young Socialist Alliance but ducks question of his ties to White House.

was Marie Head, YSA candidate for student government at the University of Colorado in Boulder. "It is no accident," Head said, "that Wilkinson and other Watergaters have infiltrated and attacked the YSA. . . ."

"We have been active supporters of the antiwar movement, the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, the efforts by Black people and Chicanos to rid their communities of the racist rule of the Democratic and Republican party Watergaters and their police—both secret and public."

Stories on the news conference appeared in both the *Denver Post* and the *Rocky Mountain News*, this city's two daily papers, as well as in the *Pueblo Journal and Chieftain*. PRDF's charges against Wilkinson were also the second story, after Agnew's resignation,

on KOA-TV, the local NBC affiliate.

The prominence given the PRDF case focused new media interest on Wilkinson. Follow-up articles have appeared in both the *News* and the *Post* featuring interviews with Wilkinson in which the agent admitted that he infiltrated the YSA, but avoided answering allegations that he had ever worked for the White House plumbers.

Wilkinson told the *News* that PRDF's charges "merely show the extent these leftwing freaks will go to gain public attention." He supplied both the *News* and the *Post* with a cover story in which he claimed he was hired by the parents of a YSA member to probe the "atmosphere" in which the YSAer was living.

A former federal narcotics agent, Wilkinson is currently under indictment for illegal eavesdropping, unlawful possession of wiretap devices, and other charges resulting from the use of prostitutes to entrap a police official (see *The Militant*, Oct. 12). He tried to avoid answering PRDF's charges by slandering the YSA and red-baiting the Colorado Peace Action Coalition (CPAC).

"The thing that disgusted me," Wilkinson told the *News*, "was the way they [the YSA] worked on some of the young people who had a genuine interest in ending the war in Vietnam." He claimed CPAC was a "front" organization for the Socialist Workers Party.

"The Socialist Workers Party," he said, "was sort of the parent group, and working under them was the YSA and such groups as CPAC, the Committee to Abolish All Abortion Laws, Gay Liberation, and the like."

Wilkinson's evasion and slander were answered by PRDF spokesman Maley in a news release. "In Wilkinson's statement to the press he refused to talk about the Dita Beard affair and his connection with the mat-

ter," Maley noted.

"But this is the essential point raised by PRDF—six months after Wilkinson was expelled from the YSA he was implicated in a White House bugging job in Dita Beard's hospital room. This charge he has not denied. And this evasion, coupled with his cover story—a cover story as unconvincing as any of the other Watergate cover stories—raises again the question of the nature of his activities while he was in the YSA."

"Every witch-hunt carried out against those who dissent from the government's policies comes with the argument that communists and socialists are 'duping' and 'using' people. Wilkinson's claim that the YSA and SWP 'duped' antiwar demonstrators is a slap in the face and an insult to the intelligence of the millions who marched against the war in this country."



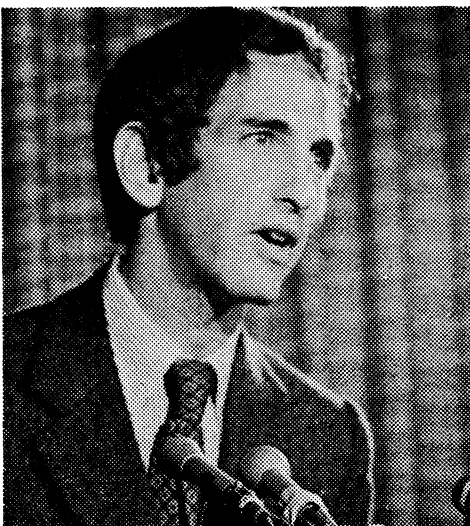
Militant/Flax Hermes

YSA's role in helping build antiwar movement was major reason for government infiltration.

An appeal from Daniel Ellsberg 'How to answer the Watergate crimes'

Pentagon papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg and other prominent individuals have issued an appeal for contributions to the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) in a special letter "How to Answer the Watergate Crimes."

The letter is signed by Ellsberg, Daniel and Philip Berrigan, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, Ms.



Militant/Harry Ring

ELLSBERG: Appeals for donations to Political Rights Defense Fund.

editor Gloria Steinem, former senator Eugene McCarthy, Dr. Benjamin Spock, playwright Arthur Miller, and John Leonard, editor of the New York Times Book Review.

The letter is being distributed by the PRDF to raise money for the suit against government Watergating filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Attorney Leonard Boudin is handling the suit, which demands an end to wiretapping, mailtapping, spying, and other illegal harassment against the two socialist organizations.

Excerpts from the letter follow:

We are asking for your help in a major civil liberties case that deserves your active support.

All of us who have been dismayed by the government's contemptuous disregard for constitutional freedoms welcome this significant step in countering the Watergate threat to the political liberties of every citizen.

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are expressed by this quotation from Voltaire:

"I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

The Political Rights Defense Fund has undertaken a national campaign to publicize the issues at stake and raise the necessary funds to cover the legal costs and related expenses. Total expenses for the suit will exceed \$50,000 for the first year. They will, of course, rise rapidly once the case

goes to trial.

The suit follows a series of hard-fought victories in defense of political rights such as the cases of the Gainesville 8, Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, the Harrisburg 7, and Dr. Spock. This suit likewise deserves to be won.

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U.S.-Soviet deal will not bring peace

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 24—Washington and Moscow have agreed to impose a settlement on the Middle East. The agreement was reached in two days of secret talks between Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev.

Within hours of the conclusion of the Kissinger-Brezhnev meeting, held in Moscow Oct. 20-21, the United Nations was hurried into a midnight session and the Security Council rubber-stamped the big-power settlement with Egypt's and Israel's consent.

Fighting continued on both fronts of the war. *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr was with Israeli

flict." But this phrase has little meaning.

Israel has occupied this territory for six years. The ambiguity of the UN resolutions, past and present, provides "legal cover" for indefinite Israeli occupation of the lands seized in the June 1967 war under the pretext that terms for negotiation cannot be reached.

In Israel on Oct. 23 Premier Golda Meir, who met with Kissinger after his Moscow trip, explicitly underlined this interpretation of the resolution. "In all our contacts with the United States," said Meir, "I have learned that not only does the United States not have a plan regarding borders and the other components of peace, but also that it

four days before agreeing to the settlement, Golda Meir boasted in Tel Aviv that "the Egyptians and Syrians have seemingly not yet been beaten enough to evince any desire for a cease-fire. The time for a cease-fire will come indeed when the enemy's strength has been broken."

But Israel was unable to repeat the bloody Arab defeat of 1967. On the Syrian front, the *Washington Post* reported that a strong Syrian army offensive had driven Israeli advance units back toward the Golan Heights on Oct. 21, the day before the cease-fire settlement was announced.

Testimony to the preliminary military success of the Egyptian and Syrian forces came in the massive U.S. military supply operation and Sixth Fleet mobilization mounted by the Nixon administration to come to Israel's aid.

U.S. airlift

Time magazine called it history's biggest airlift. Reporting from Pease Air Force Base in New Hampshire, *Time* stated, "During the day, half a dozen blue-and-white Boeing 747s had shuttled in and out of the base."

"The frenetic activity at Pease A. F. B. was part of a mammoth U.S. airlift to resupply the Israeli army. The KC-135 tankers . . . were refueling U.S. aircraft en route to Israel over the Atlantic. The 747s, owned by El Al, were ferrying bombs, ammunition and spare parts to Israel."

According to *Time*, "The Defense Department stationed what it called a 'limited' number of Air Force logistics experts in Tel Aviv to help unload antiaircraft and antitank missiles, 105-mm. shells, bombs and radar jammers."

At the same time, President Nixon asked Congress for \$2.2-billion to fi-

But there was also a significant new factor. "Clearly, there is a different quality in the American attitude toward the Israelis and their latest war with the Arab world," *Time* reported Oct. 29. "Once, U.S. public support was automatic and emphatically in favor of the Israelis." But this has changed. *Time* repeated the results of the Gallup poll noted in last week's *Militant* showing that "a surprisingly large 22% backed neither side, and 25% voiced no opinion at all about the war."

Time found in its own surveys that "there are . . . quite a few supporters of the Arabs, such as Ad Copywriter Jeffrey Mullen, about 25, of Boston, who explains: 'They are fighting for land that they have a better claim to than the Israelis.'"

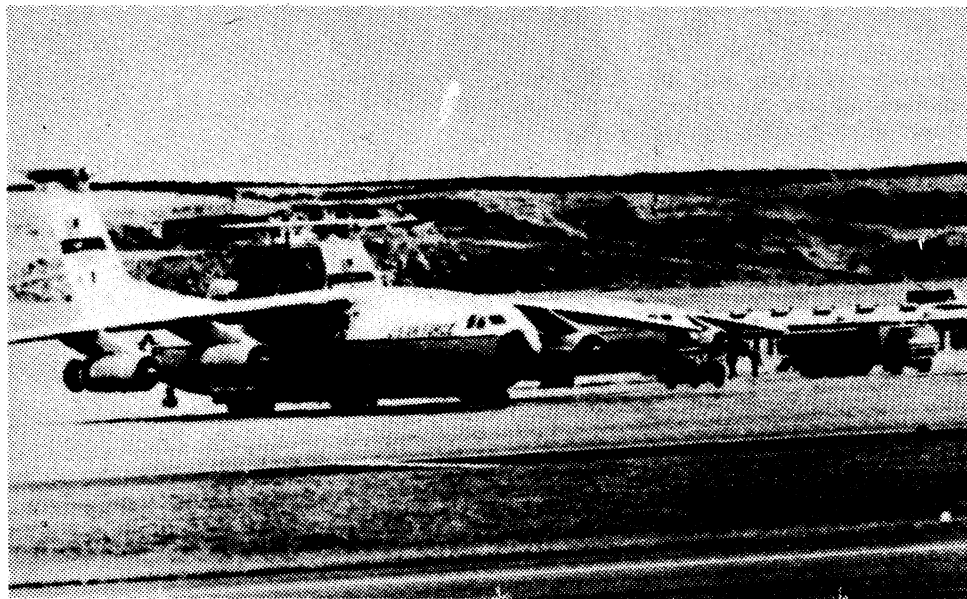
The reluctance of Americans to get dragged into another war was also reflected on Capitol Hill where a few politicians spoke out against U.S. aid to Israel. Representative James Johnson (R-Colo.) denounced the U.S. aid as an "act of war" against the Arabs.

Johnson explained that the United States' posture of support for Israel has now "somehow expanded to encompass an area from the Golan Heights to the Suez Canal."

"Did anyone in this body vote that expansion?" Johnson asked on the floor of the House of Representatives. "Did anyone have the opportunity to vote for that expansion? Why are we making war against the Arabs?"

Detente under fire

The fact that Washington and Moscow mounted a historic airlift of weapons to the opposing sides in the Middle East led many to conclude that the U.S.-Soviet detente was at an end. They missed the point of the detente to begin with.



As U.S. carried out history's biggest airlift . . .

forces as Tel Aviv poured troops and tanks across the Suez to strengthen its hold on the Egyptian lands west of the canal. But this jockeying for position will probably remain within the confines of the secret agreement worked out in Moscow Oct. 21.

The superpower agreement cannot bring peace to the Middle East. Whatever the current boundary settlements may be, the central provision includes permanent recognition of the "right" of Israel to occupy the Arab lands first seized with the formation of the Zionist state in 1948 and subsequently enlarged in three wars of expansion. The struggle of the Arab people against this historic injustice will continue and flare up again and again until victory is achieved.

A spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization, which denounced the settlement, declared in Damascus Oct. 22, "Nobody has asked us, as Palestinians, to cease fire. . . ."

"We have been fighting the Zionists since 1917. Our armed struggle resumed in 1965 before the last war. As a result of the new cease-fire, Israel would still occupy our homeland. We will continue to fight in Jordan, in the Golan Heights, in Israel."

Meaning of agreement

On paper the Oct. 22 resolution is intentionally ambiguous. The UN statement says that "immediately and concurrently with a cease-fire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

The resolution also calls for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 of Nov. 22, 1967. This earlier resolution calls for the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent con-

flict." But this phrase has little meaning. Israel has occupied this territory for six years. The ambiguity of the UN resolutions, past and present, provides "legal cover" for indefinite Israeli occupation of the lands seized in the June 1967 war under the pretext that terms for negotiation cannot be reached.

Moscow's agreement with the double-talk sanction of Israel's conquests was signaled in *New York Times* UN correspondent Robert Alden's report of the resolution, published Oct. 23. "The Soviet diplomats," said Alden, "in their most private contacts, are more conciliatory on the withdrawal question than in their public comments. They say that they do not rule out the possibility of 'minor rectifications.'"

Arab position

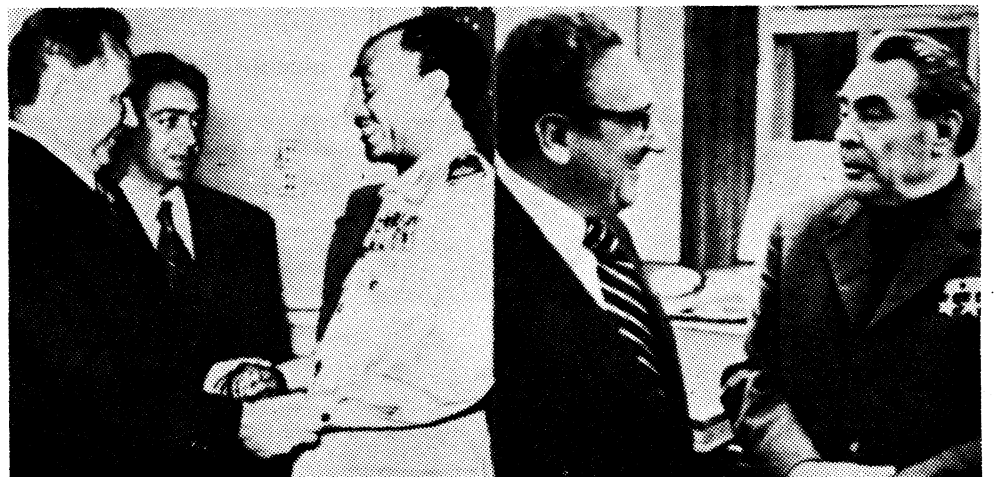
The Washington-Moscow settlement favoring Israel is imposed within a basic political context that has long been accepted by the Arab regimes themselves. This is Israel's permanent existence in the Middle East.

The Arab regimes refuse to mobilize the kind of mass revolutionary struggle against the colonial settler-state that is needed to return Palestine to its rightful Arab occupants.

Fearing that such a mobilization of the Arab masses would threaten capitalist rule in the Arab countries, Cairo and Damascus had limited ends in view in the current war. They hoped to gain sufficient concessions from Israel to appease the mass sentiment for Palestinian liberation and for the return of the territories seized in 1967.

On this score the settlement imposed by Washington and Moscow is totally insufficient. It leaves the Israeli forces in place in the occupied territories. It will be the inevitable takeoff point for future Israeli aggression and war.

Nevertheless the Arab armies destroyed the myth of Israeli military invincibility. As recently as Oct. 18,



. . . U.S. and Soviet diplomats were working overtime to force Arab acceptance of status quo. Above, Kosygin and Sadat (left), and Brezhnev with Kissinger.

nance the military operation. It hardly needs to be commented that New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who has a personal interest in Middle East oil, was among the most vociferous supporters of raising the funds and rushing the weapons to support Israel.

"On Capitol Hill," *Washington Post* correspondent Marilyn Berger wrote Oct. 19, "more than two-thirds of the Senate and half of the members of the House yesterday introduced resolutions supporting the supply of U.S. aircraft and other equipment to Israel. . . ."

"In the Senate, 67 members of both parties introduced a resolution calling for the shipment of whatever military equipment Israel needs to repel what the resolution called aggression."

The understanding reached initially by Nixon and Brezhnev in connection with the war in Southeast Asia aims at maintaining the global status quo.

The point of the detente is to weaken and repress revolutionary upheavals when they take place to preserve the agreed-upon global balance of power between imperialist and Soviet spheres of influence.

In the Middle East this agreement includes maintaining Israel as a superior military power. The *Christian Science Monitor* spelled this out in an editorial Oct. 16. "There is nothing in the Nixon-Brezhnev contracts which prohibits some resupply to the warring sides in the Middle East. . . ."

"It is fully understood between Moscow and Washington that the United

Communist Party backs deal, denies rights of Palestinians

By TONY THOMAS

The Communist Party has hailed the Mideast settlement imposed by Nixon and Brezhnev.

The headline in its *Daily World* for Oct. 23 is "Cease-fire terms in Mideast called victory for peace." The same issue lauds the cease-fire as a "tremendous political victory for the forces of peace and anti-imperialism."

The views of the American Stalinists contrast sharply with those of the Palestinian resistance fighters. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO, a coalition of the major Palestinian resistance groups) told the *Washington Post* that "the Palestinian commandos will not agree to a cease-fire in the Middle East and will continue fighting no matter what Egypt and Syria accept."

The *Post* explained that the reason for this stand was that "neither the cease-fire proposal nor UN resolution 242 makes any specific mention of Palestinians who assert they have the right to return to the lands from which they were expelled or fled in the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars."

It is this right that is central to the divergence between the views of the American Stalinists and their leaders in the Soviet bureaucracy on one side, and the Palestinian freedom-fighters on the other. The Stalinists support the continued existence of the Israeli settler-state, and thus oppose the Palestinian demands for self-determination.

The roots of the current war lie in the colonialist character of Israel. Established in 1948 by conquest against the Palestinians and the other Arab states, the Israeli regime has been on a permanent campaign against any effort of the Arab peoples to struggle for national liberation against imperialism and Zionist colonialism. It is this Zionist campaign and the accompanying military aggression that have led to countless military adventures by the Zionists and four major Arab-Israeli wars.

The permanent war danger in the Mideast is the normal relationship between a colonial occupying force and a colonized people struggling for liberation. This danger can only be eliminated with the destruction of Israeli colonialism.

The CP rejects this point of view. In an Oct. 8 statement, the CP's Political Committee said, "The only just and meaningful settlement of the escalated conflict [in the Mideast] can be based on a return [of Israel] to the borders preceding the 1967 war." The West Coast CP weekly *People's World* wrote that the path for peace includes "guarantees for Israeli existence."

In a recent speech the CP's general secretary, Gus Hall, proudly pointed out that the position taken by the CP and the Soviet bureaucrats was not new. He said that today, "the Soviet Union will be found to be the best friend of Israel, too, just as it was when it fought for the right of Israel's establishment in the United Nations to begin with." Hall was referring to the Stalinists' political and material support to Israel's 1948 colonial war against the Palestinians and the other Arab peoples.

Resolution 242

Because the Moscow bureaucrats and their followers in the CPUSA have a concept of peace in the Mideast based on the utopian goal of reconciling the Arab peoples with Israeli colonialism, they favor UN Security Council



Aim of detente in the Mideast is to suppress struggle of Palestinians. But without recognition of their rights there will be no peace.

Resolution 242. This resolution was passed unanimously by the UN Security Council in November 1967.

The basic outlines of the resolution are: 1) Israel will withdraw from "territories occupied" in the 1967 war, while it is assured of borders that will be "secure"; 2) the Arab states are to recognize the sovereignty of Israel and recognize its right to exist; 3) this is to be done through direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel supervised by the UN.

There is absolutely no indication that implementation of the resolution would actually mean the return of all or even the bulk of the territories seized in 1967. Resolution 242 calls for withdrawal "from territories occupied," but deliberately does not call for Zionist withdrawal from "all" territories, or even from "the occupied territories."

Taken together with the guarantee of sovereignty and "secure" boundaries for Israel, this resolution has been understood by the U.S. and Israeli governments to mean a partial withdrawal from the territories. The Zionists have insisted on keeping the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip, the most important parts of the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights.

The fact is that any guarantee of the Israeli settler-state's right to existence, any recognition of its right to "secure" borders, means accepting Israel's need to keep the Arab peoples at a decisive disadvantage. It was under the rubric of gaining "secure" boundaries to "guarantee the existence of Israel" that these territories were seized in 1967.

Resolution 242 has been endorsed by the UN, the U.S., the Soviet Union, Israel, and the Arab states. But this fact has failed to help in the recovery of any Arab territory. It was this that led the Egyptian and Syrian rulers to launch the current war.

The only change in the six years since this resolution was adopted has been the Soviet bureaucrats' decision to put more pressure on the Arab states to make concessions to Zionism. This hardly constitutes an anti-imperialist victory for the Arab peoples.

In claiming that the current settlement is a victory for the people of the Mideast, the CP is ignoring the demands of the Palestinian people, those suffering the most from Zionist colonialism. The Palestinians have com-

pletely condemned Resolution 242 from the beginning.

A September 1970 statement against Resolution 242 reflecting the views of the PLO and the Palestinian National Congress, a broader body, points out that Resolution 242 "punishes Palestinians, who have already lost all, and rewards Israelis, who have already taken far more than they had any right to. . . ."

They wrote that by ignoring the 1948 occupation, Resolution 242 implies "that the older Zionist occupation has become more respectable because of its age, irrespective of its immorality. . . ."

"The confirmation by the Arab regimes of Israel's legitimacy," the Palestinians continue, "would amount to an attempt to liquidate the Palestine resistance movement by shutting off its support from the Arab nation." (Emphasis in original.)

The truth of this has been seen in the refusal of the Arab capitalist rulers to support the Palestinian resistance, and the continued repression of that movement since Egypt accepted Resolution 242 in 1970. In fact, this campaign to eliminate the Palestinian obstacle to the CP-backed settlement has resulted in casualties comparable to the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars. Twenty thousand were massacred in September 1970 in Jordan alone. Is this the type of victory for peace the CP is after?

Road to peace

The real road to peace in the Mideast is the removal of Zionist and imperialist influence in the area. The CP's position would preserve the cause of war, death, and repression for both Arabs and Jews.

It is necessary to meet the Palestinian people's demands for the establishment of a Palestine in which Arabs, Jews, and other national groups will have political civil, and economic rights; a Palestine to which the exiled Palestinians will return and get restitution for their years of oppression.

This solution can only come through the class struggle of the Arab and Israeli working people against Zionism, imperialism, and the Arab regimes. It can only come through socialist revolution—not through the diplomatic deals and utopian "peaceful coexistence" schemes backed by the Stalinists.

States will not allow the State of Israel to be wiped out."

Thus bloodletting in the Middle East is fully within the context of the détente, only provided that the Arabs do not try to eliminate Israel—in other words, only provided that the initial cause of the conflict to begin with, the aggressive colonial settler-state of Israel, is allowed to remain in existence. Moscow's long-term recognition of Israel is itself one of the factors that has undermined and derailed mass movements in the Middle East for more than two decades.

Far from the détente collapsing dur-

Detroit: 53% say no to U.S. airlift

The shift in views of the American people away from U.S. support for Israel was reflected in a poll taken by the *Detroit Free Press*. The newspaper runs a "Sound-Off" column each day that describes the phoned-in responses of readers to questions posed in the column.

The question posed in the Oct. 21 *Free Press* was, "Do you think we should airlift supplies to Israel to offset the weapons Russia is sending to the Arabs?" Of the responses, 53.8 percent said no, making comments such as, "Didn't Vietnam teach us anything?" "Let's help ourselves; why should we encourage another fuel shortage?" "Next thing it'll be our boys!" "Let's help the Arabs," and "The Israelis are nothing more than territorial imperialists."

ing the airlifts, it went into high gear and exhibited a closeness of cooperation between Washington and Moscow that is new, even taking into consideration the Nixon-Brezhnev summits.

Before Nobel Peace Prize winner Kissinger was summoned to Moscow, Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin had spent three days in Cairo to pressure Sadat into accepting terms. And while that was going on, Kissinger had spent much of the week in secret talks in Washington with Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin. Kissinger's post-Moscow trip to Tel Aviv has already been mentioned.

The détente is not aimed at bringing peace. Its purpose is to quell the class struggle, to hold back the advance of revolution. In Southeast Asia the central purpose of the Paris accords imposed on the Vietnamese by Washington, Moscow, and Peking was to preserve the imperialists' foothold in Saigon.

It is worth noting that North Vietnamese Paris negotiator Le Duc Tho turned down the Nobel Peace Prize that he was jointly offered with Kissinger because war is still going on in Southeast Asia.

In the Middle East, one of the main purposes of the détente is to preserve Israel as an outpost of imperialist aggression.

The bloodshed of the past two weeks exposes the fundamental fallacy of the détente. There cannot be peaceful coexistence between the oppressor and the oppressed. So long as the Palestinian Arabs remain driven out of their homeland by Israel, so long as Israel occupies Egyptian and Syrian territory, the seeds have been planted for a new flowering of resistance.



'Blacks, Indians, and socialists take up Arab cause,' said Denver Post report on Oct. 11 demonstration in Boulder, Colo.

Actions on campuses voice support to Arabs

As was the case following the rightist coup in Chile, the campuses have again become a center of debate and protest around another major international development, the Mideast war.

Rallies and teach-ins in support of the rights of the Arab peoples have been larger than ever before—sometimes bigger than pro-Zionist rallies on the same campus. At San Diego State College, 300 students attended an outdoor rally sponsored by the Arab Student Organization and the Young Socialist Alliance Oct. 18. A rally called by supporters of the Zionist regime in Israel the day before attracted only 250 students.

One purpose of the pro-Arab rally at SDSC was to answer questions about the nature of Zionism and the Palestinian struggle. A lively discussion period dealt with questions from students who hadn't fully made up their minds yet.

At the University of Texas in Austin an ad hoc coalition has been formed to get out the truth about the Mideast, including the Organization of Arab Students, the Iranian Students Association, the YSA, and the Middle East Solidarity Committee.

The groups sponsored an emergency protest meeting Oct. 9 that drew 350 students. On Oct. 18 they organized another meeting of 125 at which speakers discussed the role of the U. S. in the Middle East.

To raise funds for further activities in support of the Arab struggle, the coalition sponsored a dinner with Arab food, which was held at the Socialist Workers Party hall.

Along with the Arab student organizations, the Young Socialist Alliance has been in the forefront of campus protests around the country. Three hundred people attended a YSA-sponsored teach-in at the University of California Berkeley campus Oct. 17.

The crowd was about evenly divided between supporters of the Arab masses and the Zionist regime. They heard Paul Boutelle and John Votava of the SWP, a Sudanese student, and representatives of the Radical Jewish Union and Israeli Student Organization.

In New York City, the YSA chapters at City College and Columbia University built meetings of 60 and 100, respectively, to hear supporters of the Arab struggle. The Columbia meeting was cosponsored by the Latin American Students Organization.

Jack Lieberman, who spoke repre-

senting the YSA at both meetings, was attacked Oct. 18 by a member of the right-wing Zionist Jewish Defense League. The JDL member, who wielded a board studded with nails, was restrained by Lieberman and others who were with him at the YSA literature table on the City College campus.

In general, however, such attacks by Zionists have been far less prevalent than in past years. Arlene Rubenstein from the Columbia YSA told *The Militant* that dozens of students have gathered around the YSA literature table at the noon hour, debating the issues in the Mideast.

"The pro-Arab students—many of them Arabs or Iranians—would jump behind the YSA table, holding up our literature in support of the Arabs, especially telling people they should read the documents of the Palestinian movement that were on our table."

In Boulder, Black, Indian, and Chicano student organizations took the lead in organizing a march Oct. 11 from the University of Colorado campus in Boulder to the Boulder County Courthouse. The report on the march in the *Denver Post* said, under a large photo, "Blacks, Indians and socialists take up the Arab cause. . . ."

The *Post* quoted Lyle Fulks, who spoke at the rally representing the YSA, as emphasizing the need "to educate the American people about the Middle East so it won't become another Vietnam."

Another demonstration through downtown Denver took place Oct. 17. About 150 students from the area marched to the state capitol to oppose U. S. military involvement in the Mideast.

At the University of Illinois in Champaign, 100 students rallied on campus Oct. 17 and then marched to the federal building. The demands of the demonstration, sponsored by the Mideast Solidarity Committee, were: no U. S. intervention in the Mideast; no U. S. aid to Israel; and respect for the democratic and human rights of the Palestinian people.

The Arab Student Organization at Oregon State University in Corvallis organized two teach-ins, Oct. 12 and 17, of 150 each, and plans a third in the future. In Houston, 75 people rallied on the university campus in support of the Arab cause.

A speak-out on the Mideast took place at the University of Minnesota Oct. 17, sponsored by the YSA, The Dispossessed, and Israelis and Arabs for Justice in the Mideast.

2,000 Arab backers at rally in Los Angeles

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—More than 2,000 people met at the Convention Center here Oct. 14 to demonstrate support for the Arab cause in the Mideast conflict.

The rally, sponsored by a coalition of more than 40 Arab organizations, drew from a Southern California Arab population of approximately 100,000.

The main speaker at the rally, Dr. Sabri El Farra of the Islamic Foundation of Southern California, told *The Militant* the demonstration was held to give humanitarian support to the Arab cause and to protest U.S. interference by supplying war matériel to Israel.

Another speaker, Dr. George Sheibly, appealed for support to "our brothers and sisters who are being killed by napalm manufactured in the United States."

The rally included several hundred non-Arab supporters, including some Jewish people.

Palestinians were very visible, with signs reading "Arab Palestine for all Palestinians" and Al Fateh posters reading "Revolution Until Victory." A large banner read, "U.S. hands off the Middle East; No U.S. intervention!"

On Oct. 21 more than 500 Arabs and their supporters held another demonstration against Israeli aggression in Hancock Park. Monitors managed to maintain a disciplined march despite continuous, loud provocation from members of the right-wing Zionist Jewish Defense League.

The demonstration, organized by a coalition called the Middle East Support Committee, marched past the Bonds for Israel office on Wilshire Boulevard.



Los Angeles, Oct. 21

Militant/Della Rossa

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 17—Harvey McArthur, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city controller, testified today at the Philadelphia city council meeting against a proposal for the city to purchase \$1 million of Israel bonds. The proposal was introduced by Mayor Frank Rizzo.

Supporters of the bill included Dr. Klein, professor of finance at the Wharton School of Finance; James H. Jones, president of the Negro Trade Union Leadership Council; and John Ryan, treasurer of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. Ryan said the PFT had just bought \$125,000

Continued on page 26

Militant forums hear opponents of Zionism

At this time of widespread discussion of the Mideast war, Militant Forums have played an important role in clarifying the issues and building support for the Arab liberation struggle. These regular public forums, sponsored by supporters of *The Militant* throughout the country, have been unusually large and lively.

"Arabs Claim Liberation Fight" was the headline in the *Houston Post* the day following a Houston Militant Forum on the Mideast Oct. 19. More than 100 people—twice the normal forum size—packed into the hall to hear Aziza al-Hibri of the Organization of Arab Students.

In response to a question from the audience regarding the Arab people's ability to fight against the apparent military superiority of Israel in alliance with the U. S., Aziza replied, in part:

"The oppressed people . . . internalize the picture given to them of themselves by the oppressor. That is, they tend to believe that they are really inferior; that they really cannot use war machinery; that they are really doomed to be at the bottom of the ladder because that's all they deserve."

"It's when the objective conditions of their oppression become so severe that they need to resist, or disappear forever, that they start to overthrow the psychological as well as the eco-

nomic and other shackles that are imposed upon them by the oppressor. . . .

"And it is the fact that we finally have confidence in ourselves, and we are willing to fight in the face of great odds, that we threw away our negative self-image . . . this is the reason the Arab people are so happy. That psychologically they have broken the chains and soon they will break the military and political and economic chains."

Militant correspondent Louis Proyect reports that this reply evoked tremendous applause, cheering, and stamping of feet from the audience, nearly half of whom were Arab students from campuses throughout the city.

Militant Forums have provided a platform for Arab student and community leaders in Denver, Atlanta, Minneapolis, Detroit, and other cities. In Pittsburgh, the newly launched Militant Forum held its largest meeting to date on the topic of the Mideast war. Speaking was Andrew Nakrin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council.

At the Upper West Side Militant Forum in New York, more than 100 people heard Dave Frankel, staff writer for *The Militant*, and Dr. M. T. Medhi, a leader of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations.

Why do socialists support the Arab side?

By TONY THOMAS

One of the most frequent questions asked of speakers from the Socialist Workers Party is why we support the Arab side in the current war with Israel. Some questioners reason that since both Israel and the Arab states are capitalist, we should not take sides.

Others say it is contradictory for us to favor the overthrow of the capitalist Arab regimes, yet support the Arab side in a war against Israel.

These questioners confuse our stand on the Arab-Israeli war with the position revolutionary Marxists take in regard to wars between two imperialist countries. The question in imperialist wars is the division of spoils taken from the working class and colonial peoples by the different imperialist robbers. The victory of neither side advances the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples.

However, the basic issue in the current Mideast war is the struggle of a nationally oppressed people against colonial oppressors. In that struggle socialists take the side of the oppressed despite our differences with their leadership. A victory for the Arabs in the war against Israel would be an advance not only for the struggle of the Arab peoples but in the general colonial struggle against imperialism.

The Arab states have yet to overcome the legacy of colonial domination, left them first by the Ottoman Empire and then by the European and U.S. imperialists. Today, their economies—including oil resources—remain dominated by the imperialist powers.

Israel's colonial domination of Arab lands is based on the imperialist-imposed backwardness of the Arab states, as well as the massive U.S. aid the Zionist colony has received since 1948.

Backed by this imperialist power, Israel was established in 1948 with the seizure of the Arab lands in Palestine. Seven hundred and fifty thousand Palestinians were driven from

their homes. Those who remain face national oppression in their own homeland.

Israel again expanded in 1967 with the seizure of the Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank of the Jordan River. Half a million Arabs were driven out of their homelands in this operation.

The dynamic of the Mideast war centers on the struggle of the Arab peoples to rid themselves of the Zionist colonialists and the struggle of the colonialists to weaken the Arab peoples. In struggles against colonialism and national oppression, Marxists give unconditional support to the colonized peoples. By the word "unconditional," we mean we support the struggle against oppression regardless of our differences with the current leadership of the Arab states.

Revolutionary socialists do not think the Arab capitalist leaders have a program that can win the struggle against Zionist colonialism. In the years since 1967, these leaders have opposed the revolutionary anti-Zionist, anti-imper-

ialist sentiments of the Arab masses. Instead of mobilizing the Arab masses against Israel, they chose to make concessions to Zionism and to Israel's imperialist backers.

They have repressed the attempts of the Arab masses to move against Israeli colonialism, such as the Palestinian resistance movement and the massive anti-Zionist, anti-Sadat actions carried out by Egyptian workers and students over the past few years. The rulers of the Arab states feared that such mobilizations could lead to the overthrow of their own corrupt regimes.

Revolutionary socialists believe that only through the process of socialist revolution can the resources of the Arab world, and the full power of the Arab workers, students, and farmers, be mobilized against colonialism. This perspective is opposed by the Arab rulers.

But in the current war with Israel, the difference Marxists have with the Arab rulers is over *how* and for what to wage this struggle, not whether to

wage it. A refusal to support the Arabs in this struggle would be a refusal to support the active fight against Israel.

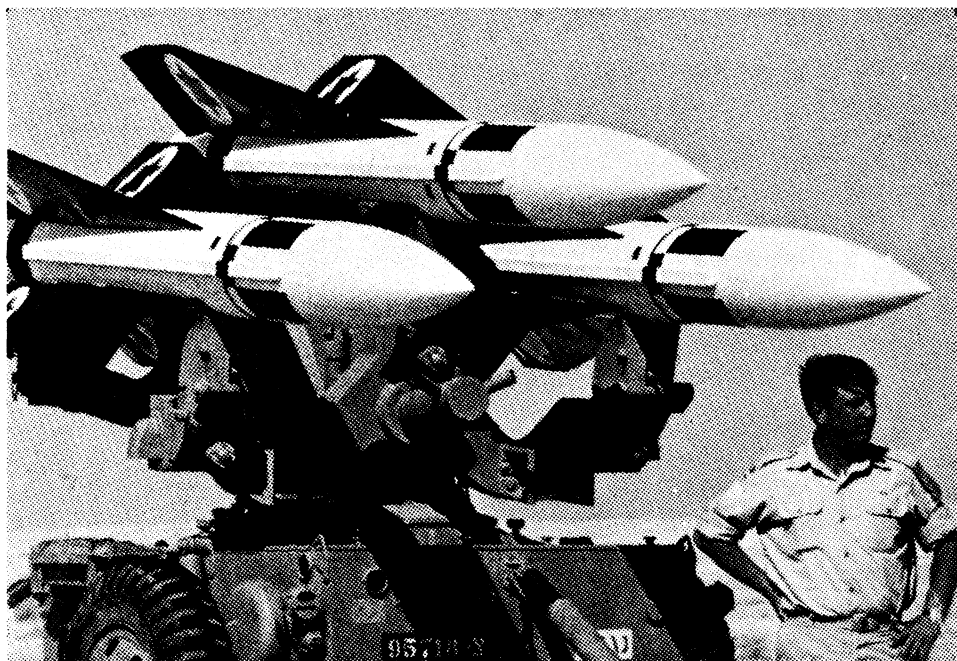
To use an analogy, we support the Black struggle against white racist oppression in this country, in spite of its inadequate leadership. At different times this struggle may be led by forces that support the Republican and Democratic parties, such as the conservative, procapitalist NAACP.

But it would do nothing to advance the Black struggle is revolutionists refused to support a specific struggle because it is being led by NAACPers, or by Black Republicans or Democrats. In fact, a position of unconditional support of such struggles is a key condition for revolutionary socialists to win Black activists to a revolutionary socialist perspective.

At the same time, of course, revolutionary socialists would oppose any of the limitations such procapitalist leaders might try to place on the struggle.

Similarly, revolutionary socialists support the struggle of African liberation organizations that are fighting Portuguese, Rhodesian, and South African colonialism, even if their leadership is not explicitly in favor of socialism. Would it be correct for revolutionary socialists to refuse to support Tanzania or Zambia if they took military action to aid the African liberation struggles? Of course not! Such opposition would only play into the hands of Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa.

To fail to be at the side of the Arab masses in the struggle against Israel because this struggle is led by the Arab capitalists would be a refusal to take sides in a concrete struggle against Zionist racism and colonialism, and would only stand in the way of the efforts of Arab revolutionary socialists to win the leadership of the Arab workers and farmers in a struggle against both the Arab regimes and Israel.



U.S.-made Hawk missile launcher in Israel. Israel represents imperialist interests in the Middle East, while the Arab peoples are the victims of colonialism.

Arab-American meeting marked by militancy

By DAVE FRANKEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The mood at the annual convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) held here Oct. 19-21 was reflected in the two spirited demonstrations the participants organized.

On Oct. 19 a candlelight march of 700 protested U.S. aid to Israel and demanded no U.S. involvement in the Middle East. A smaller action on Oct. 21 again stressed these issues, and also demanded that the news media report the truth about the conflict.

This was the first opportunity for large numbers of Arabs living in the U.S. to come together and discuss the current war, and 500 people, from every part of the U.S., responded.

The convention adopted a resolution supporting the Arab fighters and denouncing the U.S. role in the conflict. The resolution also indicated the widespread mistrust of the Arab governments among those at the convention. It called "upon all Arab people and their Governments to commit their political, economic, and military resources to the ongoing just struggle for national liberation, urging all Arab people to be vigilant in insuring

that their governments shall in fact implement such a commitment."

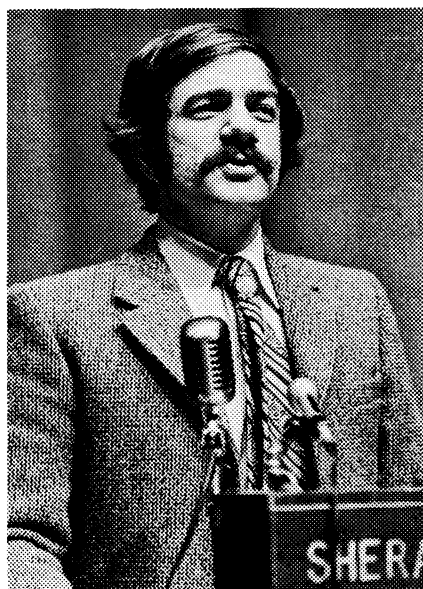
Many of those at the convention had been in the forefront of local activities aimed at getting out the truth about the struggle in the Middle East, and there was widespread sentiment in favor of national coordination of such work. However, the AAUG convention had been planned as a forum for the dissemination of information and the exchange of views, and coordination of local actions was discussed only in informal meetings.

The theme of the convention was the similarity of the struggles against colonial settlement and domination in Palestine, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

Among those speaking were representatives of the Southern African Committee, the Africa Information Service, the Organization of African Unity, and the African National Congress. Consciousness of other struggles was also in evidence, as when a telegram of support was sent to the United Farm Workers Union.

The Reverend Daniel Berrigan and Eqbal Ahmad, two of the Harrisburg Seven antiwar defendants, also ad-

dressed the convention. Ahmad discussed the role of Israel as a guardian of imperialist interests in the Middle East and exposed the role of U.S. diplomacy there. His speech was given at a banquet, which was interrupted by a bomb threat.



Abdeen Jabara, leader of Arab-American University Graduates, warns of diplomatic deals at expense of Palestinians.

Many of the speakers at the conference expressed anger at attempts to make diplomatic deals at the expense of the Palestinians. Abdeen Jabara, a leader of the AAUG, pointed out that the detente between Nixon and Brezhnev was "an attempt to put the Middle East on the back burner." He saw the war as a revolt against this and pointed out that the war has a dynamic of its own, which can release popular forces and energies that the Arab governments have not counted on.

Armr Armanazi said the struggle being waged by the Arab peoples will provide the basis for a further development of anti-Zionist sentiment within Israel itself. Others insisted on the need to arm the Arab masses and to involve them directly in the struggle.

The Militant was the only newspaper of the American left sold at the convention, and it was well received. Out of 500 participants, 39 bought subscriptions, and 265 papers were sold. One woman took a bundle of 30 to sell at her campus. And a speaker at the candlelight demonstration Oct. 19 held up *The Militant* and said: "The problems in the Middle East are spelled out in this newspaper."

Revolutionists in Israel and Lebanon speak out against Zionist aggression

Israel

The following statement on the war in the Middle East was issued Oct. 7 by the Political Bureau of the Trotskyist organization in Israel, the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist). We have translated the statement from the Oct. 19 issue of the French Trotskyist newspaper Rouge.

Once again war has broken out between Israel and the Arab countries. It matters little to us who fired the first shot or which army first crossed the cease-fire lines. Because for us the responsibility for this war, like all the wars that have gone before, falls above all on Israel.

- Because it has conquered territories and has no intention of giving them back.

- Because it plunders, expels, and oppresses the Palestinian Arab people, and it has to expect that the Arab masses will do all they can to restore the Palestinians' rights.

- Because it has taken on itself the role of imperialism's policeman in the region, and its arrogant policy results in provoking even the ruling classes of the Arab East.

Those who have plundered the Palestinians and expelled them from their land, those who bombed Abu Zabel, Hatzabie, and dozens of other places with napalm, those who committed

and the Arab East that this war is not our war, that we consider Zionism responsible for every drop of blood, whether Jewish or Arab, that is shed in this region, and that our enemies are not the Arab masses who want to recover the territories that Israel has conquered and restore the rights of the Palestinians; our enemy is our own ruling class and the Zionist state.

Already we have seen what this war will cost the Israeli workers:

Above all in human life: There is no doubt that hundreds have fallen in this war, and hundreds more will fall. This will prove once again that the security Zionism affords the Jews is only an illusion. Instead of providing security, Zionism prepares for the Jews the trap of permanent war, of 1,000-year war, as General Dayan put it.

And then in terms of standard of living: Today we are already hearing appeals for greater production and for the special efforts needed for the war. The Histadrut pompously announces that this is not the time for workers to struggle to defend their own living standards. Through this the Israeli workers will learn what their real interests are; their class interest is contradictory to and opposed to the so-called national interest, which is in reality the interest of the Israeli bourgeoisie and imperialism.

And finally in democratic rights: "In



Rescue workers after Israeli terror-bombing of Damascus.

Do not allow support for the Israeli war effort! Not one cent, not one man, not one weapon for Israel!

This war is not our war. . . . But we pledge ourselves before the working class of the whole world to use this war to expose to the Jewish masses the fatal trap that Zionism represents for them, the permanent war that it represents; that is how we will be able to break the Jewish workers from Zionism and join them to the revolutionary war of the Arab masses against imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.

Down with Zionism, imperialism, and Arab reaction!

Long live the socialist revolution in the Arab East!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Lebanon

The following is the concluding part of an interview with a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Group, the Trotskyist group in Lebanon. The interview was taken Oct. 10 in Beirut, and is printed in the Oct. 29 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Q. What is the position of the RCG on the war?

A. In the present war no Marxist can remain neutral under the pretext that this is an interbourgeois conflict. This type of puerile and sectarian argument is fine for ultraleftist dogmatists for whom only things that are pure are counted and the 99 percent of reality composed of impurities is ignored, as Lenin put it. We are not tempted by political schizophrenia.

Between the Zionist state, the military base of U.S. imperialism and the national oppressor of the Arab peoples, and the oppressed Arab states—even if they are bourgeois or feudal—we are on the side of the latter, with no hesitation. We are, in fact, the most resolute partisans of the war against Israel. And it is exactly from that standpoint that we make our criticisms.

Our support to the Arab states

against the Zionist state, while it is unconditional in its anti-Zionism, is nevertheless not uncritical as regards the Arab regimes. That was true in 1967; and it is even more true today when the collusion of these states with "Saudi" Arabia and U.S. imperialism is flagrant.

This is what should not be misunderstood about our position: We are not opposed to the withdrawal of Israeli troops to the 1967 borders. On the contrary, we are for the total and unconditional withdrawal of the Zionist army to the pre-1967 borders. That would be a step forward that would be childish to reject. But I say "a step forward"; that is, the objective of withdrawal is not counterposed to the objective of the liberation of Palestine—it is in the service of that objective.

The "peaceful solution" is just the opposite. It entails a partial withdrawal and several conditions. What we reject in the UN resolution is not the withdrawal as such, but the conditions of the withdrawal. And this is the crucial point that the Stalinists pretend not to see, since they are advocates of the "peaceful solution" at the Kremlin's command.

Unlike the opportunists of all stripes, we do not content ourselves with expressing solidarity with the Arab armies against Israel. We advance a body of transitional demands that allow for fueling our struggle against all the established powers of the Arab region, for the Arab socialist revolution:

NO to the "peaceful solution"! NO to recognition of the Zionist state!

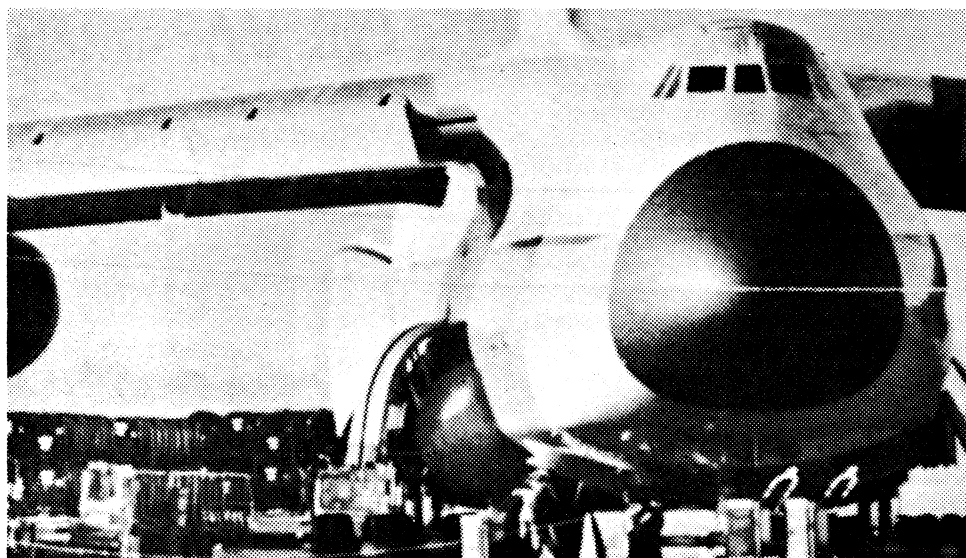
Total and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli army to the pre-1967 borders!

NO to a cease-fire! NO to intervention of the great powers to settle the conflict!

Prolonged war until victory! Arming and training of the masses! Total boycott of imperialism!

Full democratic rights for the Arab masses!

Freedom of action for the Palestinian resistance within the Arab countries and freedom to operate from them!



U.S. cargo plane loading arms for Israel. 'Not one cent, not one man, not one weapon for Israel!'

massacres at Deir Yassin and Kfar Qassim, those who make daily incursions into Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt, those whose criminal provocations extend even overseas, those who murdered Ghassan Kanafani, Abu Yusef, Hamshari, and dozens of Palestinian leaders in cold blood, those who more recently murdered more than 100 persons in the Libyan airliner—those people have no right to speak of aggression, for they are the aggressors.

As long as the Palestinians are not granted their rights, as long as the Zionist state exists, it had better understand that the Arab masses will not give up and that they will fight. As long as Israel serves imperialism's interests in the region and does all it can to hold back the Arab revolutionary movement, it had better recognize that war is inevitable and that Israel is responsible. . . .

Our forces are very limited and we cannot influence the course of the war. But it is in our power at least to say clearly to the working class in Israel

a time of crisis, the people must be united," say all the Zionists, whether left or right. Such unity allows the authorities to strike new blows against the democratic rights that the Jewish population in Israel still possesses. There will be new antistrike laws, new limitations on freedom of the press, on freedom of organization, etc. In this way the Jewish workers will learn in their bones that "a people that oppresses another people cannot be free."

That is what our comrades are explaining and will continue to explain to the Israeli workers, even during the war, especially during the war.

We leave to our comrades in the Arab countries the task of settling accounts with their own ruling classes and of exposing before the Arab masses their incapacity in the struggle against Zionism. We have no doubt that they will do this.

And to our revolutionary comrades throughout the world we say: Do not fall victim to the propaganda of the allies of Zionism in your countries!

Spread the truth

This week *The Militant* is continuing its coverage of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East with a special 32-page issue. Help us get out the truth about the Mideast war! Help us counteract the lies that come out every day in the mass media. Order a bundle of next week's *Militant* to sell in your area, and send a contribution to help us pay the extra expenses of our expanded coverage.

Send me _____ copies of the next issue of *The Militant*. (You will be billed 17 cents per issue for five or more.)

Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____ to help in the work of *The Militant*.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Send to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

New pamphlet on roots of Mideast war

By **DICK ROBERTS**

A new pamphlet on the very pressing questions of the Mideast crisis has just been issued by *International Socialist Review*.

Roots of the Mideast War is a collection of recent articles from the *ISR*, a monthly socialist magazine. These articles are particularly timely because they reflect the current debates arising in connection with the Arab revolt against Israeli aggression.

The pamphlet discusses the founding and subsequent history of Israel; the program of Zionism; and the movement for Palestinian liberation, which has been in the forefront of the struggle against Zionism and imperialism.

The 1971 resolution of the Socialist Workers Party on the Mideast—"Israel and the Arab Revolution"—is reprinted in full.

The pamphlet also contains a debate over whether the right of national self-determination applies to the Jews in Israel.

Benyamin Neuberger, a graduate of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, argues for the right of Jews to an Israeli state in Palestine.

Neuberger is answered by Peter Buch. Before breaking with Zionism, Buch was a member of Hashomer Hatzair. Today he is a leading Socialist Workers Party spokesman on the Mideast.

"Peace can be achieved in the Middle East, Neuberger tells us, only by a 'mutual recognition of the right of national self-determination of Jews and of Palestinian Arabs,'" Buch comments.

"But see what this definition of 'mutual' rights actually comes down to. The Jews and the Palestinian Arabs, we are told, have an equal right to national self-determination—the Jews in a place of their choosing, and the Arabs in a place . . . of the Jews' choosing!

" . . . by ignoring the actual context of Israeli dominance, land seizure, and settlement of occupied territories (to which he offers no objection), his proposal amounts to setting up no more than a reservation for the Palestinians in some part of Palestine which the Israelis have not yet found a use for."

An insuperable barrier to some kind of Mideast "settlement" leaving Israel in power has been the resistance of the Palestinian refugees to the Zionist state.

An important episode in this struggle was the bloody September 1970 massacre of Palestinians launched by Jordan's King Hussein under the close auspices of the Nixon administration.

Roots of the Mideast War contains an informative balance sheet by Nabil Sha'ath on the Palestinian movement following the September blood-bath. Sha'ath is a leader of Fateh, the largest of the Palestinian resistance organizations. He presents Fateh's viewpoint on "The Palestine of Tomorrow," cutting across Zionist propaganda that Arab liberation fighters favor exterminating Jews.

A democratic Palestinian state, says Sha'ath, "offers the Jew in Palestine equality and freedom from persecution, discrimination and anxiety and yet retains his option to remain a Jew, to practice his religion and speak his language and share coequally in the building of a challenging, and visionary new country, a country where he is no more oppressor and no more oppressed; no victim and no aggressor with no exclusive superior rights

nor a second-class status; possessor of a universal, pluralist vision, not a sufferer from ethnocentric claustrophobia."

Roots of the Mideast War should be particularly useful in building opposition to U. S. intervention in the Mideast and to Washington's multibillion dollar support to Zionist Israel.

The pamphlet is being offered free to everyone who buys a subscription to *International Socialist Review* (\$1 for three-month introductory subscriptions, or \$5 a year).

At 75 cents a single copy, the pamphlet is also available at a reduced rate of 37.5 cents each for bundles of five or more.

Roots of the Mideast War can be ordered from International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.



Palestinian refugee camp. New pamphlet outlines roots of Israeli aggression and role of Palestinian resistance movement.

Reading on Mideast & Arab revolution

BURNING ISSUES OF THE MIDEAST CRISIS by Peter Buch, \$.40

DOCUMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, Anthology, \$.40

THE JEWISH QUESTION: A Marxist Interpretation by Abram Leon. 272 pp. \$7.95, paper \$2.95

ISRAEL: A COLONIAL SETTLER-STATE? by Maxime Rodinson. Introduction by Peter Buch. 128 pp. \$4.95, paper \$1.75. A Monad Press Book

MIDEAST OIL AND U.S. IMPERIALISM by Dick Roberts, \$.35

HOW CAN THE JEWS SURVIVE?: A Socialist Answer to Zionism by George Novack, \$.25

LEON TROTSKY ON THE JEWISH QUESTION, \$.50

ORDER FROM: PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 741-0690

Interview with Arabs in U.S.

'Palestinians have right to our own land'

By **MIKE KELLY**

DETROIT—How do Arabs in the U.S. view the Mideast war? Recently I spoke with Ahmad Ali and Mike Doleh, who work at GM's Detroit diesel plant and are members of United Auto Workers Local 136; and Hammie Aziz and Mosabi Hamed, students at Fordson High School. All four were born in or around Jerusalem.

I asked them their reaction to the U. N.-proposed cease-fire. Doleh thought Israel had agreed to it "because it was losing." He, along with the others, feared the cease-fire might be a trick. But if the Arabs "don't get their land back, the war will go on," he explained. "If Jerusalem is not part of the agreement, the Palestinian people will fight again for it." Doleh also said the Arab people won't accept less than Palestine.

Ali thought the occupied Arab territories, or many of them, might be returned, but that the Palestinian problem would not be solved. "If you can't live in your own home, you never settle down, you never forget it. Palestinians have got to have the right to our own land."

I asked what the reaction of fellow workers and students was. Which side did they support?

Ali said, "I talked with many guys who don't know me, and they thought that Arabs had rights and that the U.S. shouldn't get involved. Most, I think, agreed with me."

He added, "They knew what we'd been through in Vietnam."

"The \$2.2-billion in U. S. aid being sent to Israel could be better used for jobs at home; we have so much unemployment here," Doleh pointed out.

Aziz said most students didn't know much about the issues in the Mideast but were open to his point



Response to Mideast war has shown increased militancy in U.S. Arab communities.

of view. "I spoke before two English classes and one history class. Many students were won over. It was the first time American students had heard the other side.

"There are maybe six or seven Jewish students in my school. We talked after class. I feel I won them over."

When I asked how the Arab community has been affected, all four agreed that the war showed a greatly increased unity of the Arab peoples. Aziz

said, "Before, many Lebanese, for example, didn't give a damn. Now they're interested; they're supporting us."

"Even if we lose, we've won," Doleh said, "because for the first time Arab people fought hand in hand together, like brothers."

Ali noticed a change in attitude in the large Arab community in Dearborn, Mich. "Now we have confidence in our own people. This time we showed people we are capable of doing what we should have done before."

All four considered the coverage of the war in the U. S. capitalist media untruthful. "Definitely one-sided. Certainly the Israeli side," said Ali. "I depend on information from outside the U. S."

Aziz said his mother had just returned from Jerusalem. She gave an entirely different picture of Israeli morale, he said. She also reported Israeli casualties as much higher than figures in the U. S. media.

Aziz likened the lies in the U.S. press to "the bombing of Cambodia for three years in secret." He also said he and Hamed were forming an Arabic club in their high school to "bring the truth to our fellow students. Two months ago we couldn't have done this. Now all the Arabs are together."

I asked what attitude they took toward Jewish people. Were they and their fellow Arabs against all Jews?

Aziz said: "No, but to be truthful, some are. But most are only against Zionist Jews. Jews and Arabs could live together. We want a democratic Palestine. We don't want a Christian, or Jewish, or Moslem rule, but one where we all are equal, where no sector is higher than others. This will happen only when the Zionist state is eliminated."

Labor vs. Nixon

The delegates to the AFL-CIO convention echoed the sentiments of millions in this country when they gave a standing ovation to George Meany's call for Nixon to resign or be impeached.

"We believe the American people have had enough. More than enough," thundered Meany. He did not bring up the fact that he had favored Nixon's election less than a year ago.

In another convention speech, Meany linked Watergate to Nixon's "big lie technique" in covering up his economic crimes, such as wage controls, inflation, unemployment, and hand-outs to big business. Meany did not mention that he had welcomed Nixon's "wage-price" controls, or that he still sits on wage-control advisory boards.

Meany knows that working people are disgusted. They are beginning to feel there is no end to the corruption that is unearthed and no limit to Nixon's arrogance in trying to cover up the Watergate crimes. The mass sentiment for impeachment is based on the belief—completely justified—that Nixon and his clique are not fit to govern the country.

The question is what can be done. If not Nixon, then what? Here's Meany's answer: "elect a Congress that can get this country back on the track again." But last year Meany hailed the current Democratic-controlled Congress as "progressive." He said the 1972 election results "more than adequately reflect the effectiveness" of labor support. If supporting these politicians were really the best labor could do, there would be cause for despair. But it isn't.

Why should we replace one gang of capitalist crooks with another gang of capitalist crooks, just because they try to look honest for a while because the last bunch got caught? No one beholden to the two parties of big business can be trusted to do anything but serve their masters' interests, and grab as much as they can for themselves at the same time.

The real alternative is for the union movement to break with both capitalist parties and launch an independent political party of labor. Working people will need to take political control away from the capitalist minority to build a new society without war, racism, and exploitation.

In the convivial atmosphere of their Miami Beach convention hall, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats may give fiery speeches about the dangers of Watergate and the economic crisis facing American workers. But they do nothing, because they don't have one-tenth the concern for the real needs of the workers that they have for their own fat salaries, plush offices, and the thrill of personally hobnobbing with the likes of Nixon. They will be out of a job when the working class begins to fight in its own interests, along with its allies among the oppressed: the unemployed, the Black and Chicano peoples, women, and students.

In the political arena today, this perspective of independent working-class political action is being raised by the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, who are contending for municipal offices in cities across the country.

We encourage all those who want to impeach, convict, and remove not only Nixon but the system he represents to vote for the SWP candidates this fall. And we urge our readers to join in the struggle for the complete transformation of society by joining the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party.

Support SWP suit

The latest Watergate crisis, the outrage against Nixon's arrogance, and the rising demand for impeachment have prompted increased interest in the lawsuit against government gangsterism brought by the Political Rights Defense Fund on behalf of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

This case provides a way of fighting for the rights of the real victims of Watergate: working people, activists in the fight against war and racial oppression, and socialists. Nixon's crimes against them are still largely concealed and whitewashed by the mass media and condoned by the capitalist politicians.

The demonstrations, campus meetings, and other protests that have occurred are excellent opportunities to publicize the issues of the case and win endorsement and financial aid. Supporters of PRDF can leaflet, hold teach-ins and forums, and set up campus and sidewalk literature tables. Prominent individuals and organizations such as trade unions, Black groups, and student governments can be asked for endorsement. Now is the time to step up such activities.

Rouge

As a *Militant* subscriber, I am always interested in the activities of the Fourth International organizations throughout the world. I particularly enjoy the World-Outlook section of *The Militant*.

I would like to obtain copies of radical French newspapers—preferably *Rouge*, the paper of the now-banned Communist League.

I realize at this time, with the outrageous banning of the Communist League, recent copies of *Rouge* may be extremely difficult to get hold of. Could you let me know a source from which I may obtain them?

A.M.

Tempe, Ariz.

Reply—Subscriptions to *Rouge* may be obtained by writing to *Rouge*, 10 imp. Guéménée, Paris 4, France. A six-month subscription costs 55 francs (at the current exchange rate approximately \$11).

Can't take it

You canceled my sub after one notice! I've missed the last three weeks and can't take it any more! I was going to pay another bill this time around but they'll have to wait.

They have raised my welfare payment from \$77 to \$80 every two weeks. Three dollars to pay for the rise in the "cost of living." More like the cost of dying.

Walter Foster

Springfield, Mass.

Twin evils

It appears that your idea of liberation and mine do not concur. Your recent issue of *The Militant* (Oct. 19) condemned two current issues to which I am most sensitive: the Zionist and Pro-Life movements (i.e., Pro-Israeli and anti-abortion). I am furious about it and order you to cancel my introductory subscription immediately.

John Ozella

St. Louis, Mo.

From Martin Sostre

The Militant has been my main source of information as to what's really happening out in the world. It's one of the best newspapers published.

I (and my defense committee) shall keep you informed of what's going on inside the prison walls so you can pass the information along via your informative paper.

Martin Sostre

Dannemora, N.Y.

Gospel of love

With regard to Linda Jenness's Women in Revolt column in the Oct. 19 issue of *The Militant*, I should like to make a clarification. Describing the recently inaugurated "Respect Life" program of the Catholic Church, Ms. Jenness characterized it as "This anti-abortion project," and in so doing completely discolored the true nature of the "Respect Life" program.

Now, while it is true that advocacy of abortion is not included in this program, its focus is hardly abortion alone. Rather, the "Respect Life" program concerns itself with all phases of our lives.

To illustrate, I will list some of the lectures designated in my local parish: "Fidelity in Marriage," "The Quality of Life," "The Aging," "The Servant Church," and, of course, "The Unborn."

May I also recommend that Ms. Jenness subscribe to a journal of some sort that would give her focus on the activities of the Catholic Church that are directed towards the amelioration of poverty, pollution, hunger, and neglect. Not only does the Church espouse solutions in the real level, but also on the ideal level, in the Gospel of love of Christ.

David Drewelow

Lawrence, Kans.

A cancellation

Your fanatic support of the reactionary Arab states in their efforts to destroy Israel through war is itself reactionary. The possibility that such a war could end in a bloodbath and expulsion of Jews, as Arab leaders have promised, is never considered by you.

Cancel my subscription.

Donald Goldrose

Worcester, Mass.

Nuts to Butz

Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz recently told an audience that if housewives didn't have "such a low level of economic intelligence" we would know we were going to have to pay higher prices for food because the price of everything else had gone up and "you can't get more by paying less."

It's not our economic intelligence that is at a "low level," rather it's our tolerance of those kinds of remarks. You don't have to be a Harvard professor to know when you are paying more and getting less. In fact, housewives know it sooner, understand it better, and feel it more than Butz ever will.

When the richest country in the world cannot even manage to feed its citizens decently, it's proof that this *system* not only has a "low level of economic intelligence," but that it's totally irrational and stupid. It has to go, and Butz can go along with it.

E.J.

New York, N.Y.

Viva la huelga!

We are members of the Farm Workers staff and have limited resources, but we really enjoy your Chicano and UFW coverage. This issue [*Militant*, Oct. 5], for example, gave us a chance to find out what's happening to Tomás's father, Gil Padilla, because we rarely get to call him! So thanks.

We've worked in Wisconsin, D.C., Virginia, and now here. The YSA has always been our most active friends. Viva la huelga!

Barbara Luetke

Tomás Padilla

Minneapolis, Minn.

An idea for the ILWU

With a little help from members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on your West Coast, scab grapes could be kept out of Britain.

The executive committee of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), Britain's largest union, passed a resolution in Septem-

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

NOVEMBER 2, 1973

Member of Chilean MIR explains view of coup, calls for worldwide outcry against repression

[The following are excerpts from an interview given October 1 in Chile by a leader of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left). It was published in the October 5 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[The MIR was formed in 1965 around a basically Castroist perspective. Later it launched a campaign of rural guerrilla warfare. The group abstained from taking a stand in the 1970 elections in which Allende was elected. Following the elections, the MIR concluded that guerrilla warfare was no longer on the agenda for the time being, and the former guerrillas served for a period as bodyguards for Allende.

[Although the MIR was never formally part of Allende's Popular Unity coalition—criticizing it as reformist—the group failed to draw a sharp line between its own politics and that of the Popular Unity coalition. It functioned generally as a critical supporter of the UP.

[Since the 1970 elections the main activity of the MIR has been leading seizures of land by poor peasants, including the Mapuche Indians, and organizing shantytown dwellers on the outskirts of Santiago. Several of these struggles had led to sharp clashes with the Allende regime.]

Question. Had you expected this coup d'etat? What are the first lessons you have drawn from it?

Answer. The coup d'etat that took place September 11 was politically on the agenda. We were prepared for it both politically and organizationally.

And we prepared the sections of the working class and peasantry over which we had direct influence.

We never ceased to denounce the illusions of the reformist strategy, illusions that could only disarm the Chilean masses in the full sense of the term. From this standpoint, the September 11 coup only confirmed our analyses and our perspectives in the most tragic way.

A coup was on the agenda in the near future after June 29. At that time it became clear that a section of the army was ready for anything to take on a constantly widening popular mobilization.

From that time, the concern of the military chiefs and those who were brought into the government could be boiled down to one thing—maintaining the discipline and cohesiveness of the armed forces, the last bulwark

of the bourgeois order and the imperialist order. The majority of the officers were in favor of a coup.

Parallel to this, throughout these last months we have seen a mobilization and a growth of consciousness on the part of the Chilean workers that is completely new and out of all proportion to what had occurred previously.

This is a phenomenon that, according to what you tell me, was widely discussed in the revolutionary press throughout the world. So I won't go into this aspect at length, although in the last period it has been the fundamental factor. In practice, by their concerns, by their enthusiasm, whole sections of the Chilean working class were beginning to break from the orientation of the reformist leaderships.

While the bourgeoisie and imperialism could tolerate reformism to a certain extent, such a development could not long continue. The apparatus of production was passing more and more into the hands of the workers.

This mobilization not only made the coup inevitable. It made a confrontation inevitable—it is important to stress this—a massive, general confrontation.

Q. What did you do to assist the birth of this proletarian power and consolidate it?

A. All our members participated fully in the process of the birth of a popular power and in many cases played the decisive role in consolidating it. But they are far from being the only ones who did so. The members of the Socialist party also played a major role in many cases. But inasmuch as this was a phenomenon of extraordinary breadth, especially in the *cordones* [organs of workers management in local industrial concentrations], you can't just speak in terms of adding up the organized forces. In fact, it was a completely exemplary phenomenon of consciousness developing in masses of workers.

Q. Regarding this work in the army, without going into details that would be out of place in a public interview, were there important splits or signs of opposition in the army at the time of the coup d'etat?

A. Rumors have been circulating constantly about this since September 11. In fact, while there was no decisive split in the armed forces as a whole, you would have to be blind not to see the shadings of differences between the different sectors.



Troops surrounding Allende's palace during Sept. 11 coup. Soldiers who refused to obey orders during coup were immediately shot.

To answer the specific question you raise, I can pass on the fragmentary information we have on the situation in the army. It indicates that at the start there were quite a few cases of soldiers or noncommissioned officers refusing to obey orders. All were immediately shot! At least a dozen such cases have been reported directly or indirectly. There must, therefore, be many more of them.

This makes work in the army very difficult, if not virtually impossible in certain cases. On the other hand, in the event of a political and military offensive by the revolutionists, one that could offer a real alternative, there is no doubt that a not inconsiderable number of noncommissioned officers and soldiers would be on our side. On several occasions during the searches soldiers, noncoms, and even officers have, let us say, closed their eyes when they found weapons. "All we ask is that you don't use them against us," they say.

Given this situation, we are being careful in the coming period not to carry out any irresponsible actions that could help to weld the armed forces into a monolithic bloc, and we are working toward increasing modest but significant forms of resistance inside the army.

Q. You talk about perspectives for work, for a political and military offensive by the revolutionists, but one of the things that is most striking is the lack of any visible signs of such an offensive.

A. That is true. At least on the surface there are no signs of resistance. But we must be clear-headed about this. Because of the weight of the

reformist illusions, especially because of the blind policy of the reformist leadership, the Chilean workers have lost a battle and this defeat has cost them dearly, very dearly.

Piecing together the reports we have been getting from all the suburbs of Santiago and from the rest of the country, we have to estimate the number of those who lost their lives in this battle at no less than 25,000. According to our information, the same figure is circulating in the top military circles. And every day this number mounts.

On the day of the coup, the workers gathered massively at the workplaces they had been occupying, often for several weeks. In many factories they defended themselves heroically, disputing every foot of ground, against the military, who were determined to "take back the factories." But the relationship of forces was too lopsided. The military were armed to the teeth with modern equipment, often using tanks and sometimes airplanes. Facing this, the workers had very few weapons, almost none in certain cases. The military functioned as a coordinated, centralized force, executing a plan carefully worked out in advance. The workers in the different plants, the different *cordones*, had no centralized direction; they were not even coordinated among themselves. Nonetheless, it took almost five days, sometimes more, for the military to reduce the *cordones industriales* in Santiago.

Q. You characterize what is happening now as a retreat and not a crushing defeat?

A. Yes, there is no doubt about this
Continued on following page

...Interview with member of MIR

Continued from preceding page

because despite the extraordinarily high number of victims, the repression was by no means selective in most cases. It is true that too many comrades, trade-union and political activists, died at their posts. This must be understood and made known abroad.

But the revolutionary organizations, and ours in particular, have not been destroyed. Despite too heavy losses, essentially our structures and our apparatus remain absolutely intact.

A. We are for forming a Revolutionary Front, which we think should include the UP parties and ourselves. The task of this front should be to prepare the counteroffensive as rapidly as possible against the present regime, a political and above all a military offensive.

We hope this front will see the light of day very soon. We will make all the necessary efforts to accomplish this. We are also thinking, after the necessary debates and discussions in our ranks, of proposing a real political and military plan for this front

experienced, the left is going very quickly to undergo big shake-ups and a real regroupment.

Q. You have spoken about the massacres that followed the coup d'etat, but the repression has continued for three weeks without letup. Every night during the curfew from 10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. the neighborhoods are searched, people are arrested, tortured; they disappear, they are murdered. Just yesterday, I saw with my own eyes the bodies of five persons recently killed lying on the banks of the Río Mapuche in the middle of the city. Do you have any over-all, national picture of this situation?

A. This is the most urgent, the most dramatic problem. The repressive forces are carrying on their work now in a more discreet way but on a very large scale. I don't know how to describe it. It is gruesome, unbelievable. Every day, all you have to do is take a walk in the early morning through the streets of Santiago to see it. Bodies are lying here and there, especially on the banks of the river; this is the work that is done during the curfew! There are search parties and the pursuit of known activists and political cadres, though they have had little effect. In the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois neighborhoods especially, you find denunciation and informing. Without any questions being asked, without any evidence, any denunciation leads almost certainly to imprisonment in the National Stadium, where more than 5,000 prisoners (even more today) are being held, when it doesn't lead to death. I won't go into this particularly unspeakable aspect of repression; you have as much information about it as I do.

The papers and the radio call constantly on the population to inform; everyday they repeat the telephone numbers to call and announce enticing rewards.

In the shantytowns, as well as in the factories, there were many massacres when the population showed a certain resistance. And this is continuing.

I saw one example in a Santiago shantytown. A group of youths seized a fire department vehicle, took the

uniforms from the firemen who were in it, put them on, armed themselves, and started driving around the suburbs. As soon as they saw any soldiers, they opened fire, killing several here and there. When they were caught, they were taken back to the neighborhood and executed on the spot. The inhabitants, who had been forced to gather on the execution site, were cynically machine-gunned down. The body count? Several dozen, several hundred dead? Will we ever know? This is an example that you should take to your comrades so that everyone abroad will understand concretely what is happening here.

Let's be very clear about this. This anecdote is not an isolated example. You have been able to take account of this quite concretely. Still today it is impossible to walk in the poor neighborhoods of Santiago without finding bodies in corners here and there.

As for the climate of xenophobia the junta is trying to develop, it is beyond the ordinary imagination. We must mobilize abroad on this question. Our Bolivian and Brazilian comrades especially, exiled political activists or mere residents, are in constant peril of their lives. They have become the junta's Jews.

Just because they have an accent, they are turned in by their neighbors. On a mere denunciation, they are arrested and taken to the stadium; often they disappear.

This story must be told; a hue and cry must be raised about it. A campaign must be organized because there is a danger that a curtain of silence will be lowered over it. Still today, the junta is threatening severe penalties—and we have seen what such threats can mean in the mouths of hangmen like these—against any journalist or any person who spreads "alarmist" reports outside Chile about the repression and the position of foreigners in the country.

Everything must be done to get out as much news as possible. The reports that you have brought us about the reactions to the coup d'etat and about the campaigns in progress are an extraordinary encouragement to our struggle. Your presence here in such a difficult time has had an inestimable value for us, since right now we are so completely isolated from the rest of the world. Take our most fraternal greetings to the comrades of Rouge, and tell them that we are certain that they in France will be firm supporters of our revolutionary struggle, which is only beginning.



The cordones, workers self-management bodies, in Santiago fought the junta for several days but were without sufficient arms or centralized direction.

Q. What about the other left organizations, especially the parties of the Unidad Popular?

A. Although I have had some contacts with the CP, the SP, and the MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action, a breakaway from the Christian Democrats], I should not make any hasty judgments and just offer you my personal opinion, let us say.

As for the MAPU, although it is a small organization, I think I can say that its structures also have not been too badly damaged.

As for the CP, it seems that a lot of its intermediate cadres have disappeared or been arrested. One thing is certain. The rank and file of the party, especially in Santiago, is completely disoriented. In a single blow, their illusions about peaceful roads to socialism have collapsed. What is more, the structures of the CP seem profoundly disorganized, and although the leaders of the CP participated in the battles in the cordones, a great many of the members have no precise directives and have been totally left to themselves.

As for the SP, the situation is relatively complex in view of the complexity of the currents running through the party when it was in power. The structure of the SP itself did not help prepare it to face such a situation. But a number of members and revolutionary currents within the SP had their own structures and organized cadres that stood up well against the repression and are preparing for the struggles to come. Here also, our responsibility is very great.

Q. How does the MIR envisage assuming these responsibilities?

so that it can lead the counteroffensive to victory. But the orientation of such a front must be clear and must incorporate all the lessons of the past.

From this standpoint, such a front must be for us the framework in which, maintaining the greatest possible unity in action, we continue to wage more than ever a struggle against reformism, about which the Chilean workers have just learned such a tragic lesson.

Already, even in trying to form such a front, we are running up against conceptions of a reformist type. While the CP members with whom we have had initial discussions on this subject have expressed their agreement with the idea of unity and notably unity with us (which is something new), while they have expressed their agreement that a rapid counteroffensive is needed to prevent the present disorientation in many sectors from turning into profound demoralization, they nonetheless do not agree with the character and objectives of such a front.

Some have advocated and continue to advocate the idea of a broader front including certain sectors opposed to the military. Concretely their perspective would be to include sectors of the Christian Democracy, if not the Christian Democracy in its entirety, in such a front. This is an old orientation, a classical one, in the same logic as the policy the CP always advocated within the UP, that is, an alliance with the Christian Democracy against the right and the fascist extreme right. It seems today that under the pressure of a number of its members and especially those in the Communist Youth, the CP has shifted in recent days and agreed to participate in the kind of revolutionary front we are proposing.

In any case, without going in for any big speculations, it is evident that after what the Chilean masses have



Indian peasant supporter of the MIR

Unclear on nature of Allende gov't

The MIR in Chile: An evaluation

[The following article is from the October 3 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, an Argentine organization that maintains fraternal ties with the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] warned many times that there were no "peaceful roads" to socialism. It criticized the Allende government's vacillations and concessions to the Christian Democrats. It sparked many mobilizations. And in the period before the coup, it was the only current that developed a campaign—although an insufficient one—directed at the army, trying to turn the soldiers against the putschists.

Nonetheless, the MIR was unable to win the leadership of the working class away from the Communist and Socialist parties in order to keep the workers from being defeated. Why? Was it because victory was only possible through a "prolonged war" and there was no time to form an "armed wing" to carry this out? We think that the MIR failed because it held on to ultraleft deviations and because along with these it committed a series of opportunist vacillations and errors typical of the guerrillaist currents.

Although the MIR warned about the reactionary nature of the "capitalist state" and its apparatus, it did not uphold the Marxist position—that is, the only consistently revolutionary position—in regard to the army. Not only did it fail to remind the masses of the army's role as the repressive arm of the exploiters and draw their attention to this, but it made centrist-type statements that broached the possibility of winning the armed forces, or large sectors of the officer corps, to supporting the revolution.

For example, a month before the coup, these compañeros said in their paper, *El Rebelde*: "Today the bosses and the reactionary officers are carrying out an elaborate maneuver to bring about a clash between the armed forces and the people. . . ." As if the armed forces and the overwhelming majority of their officers have not always been in conflict with the people!

Before this, in a press conference May 22, Miguel Enríquez, one of the top leaders of the MIR, said that "some sectors of the Unidad Popular and the government . . . rather than recognize that there are some bad officers prefer to say that there are bad peasants. . . . They do not have the moral courage to admit that bad officers and bad policemen exist and criticize them."

The Chilean experience has shown once again in a tragic way that what Miguel Enríquez should have explained to the workers was that, "bad" or "good," the immense majority of the officers defended the interests of the exploiters, heading up repressive squads.

Furthermore, the MIR's vacillations helped to confuse the masses about what kind of government the Allende regime was.

Following the press of the MIR, we



The MIR criticized the Allende regime but did not call for a break with the capitalist parties and a fight for a workers and peasants government.

see that it constantly denounced the Allende government's concessions to the Christian Democrats and the right. Following the thread of these denunciations, you can see that the Allende government did not fundamentally alter the capitalist structure of Chile (most of the factories, the land, wholesale and retail trade, etc., remained in the hands of capitalists) and that it used all means including repression to resist the advances of the workers toward changing the property relations (e.g., the land occupations). It left intact the armed forces and the police, the jails, the courts, the laws, and the constitution, all instruments of capitalist exploitation. Likewise, Allende subordinated himself to a parliament dominated by the opposition and even made room for the military in his cabinet.

However, in the face of all these facts showing that under the UP government Chile remained capitalist, the most that the MIR was able to denounce was the existence of "reformist sectors in the UP and in the government." That is, it didn't even define the government as a whole as reformist and still less as bourgeois.

That is, the MIR never pointed out clearly to the masses that the Allende government was not their government, that while it was correct to make demands on it to carry out certain measures and to defend it from the right, they should not place any confidence in it. The MIR never clearly pointed out that the masses should rely only on their own mobilizations, create their own organs of power and their own army—workers militias—in order to go on from this to take power in fact.

For years the MIR worked among peasants, the unemployed, etc., rather than in the workers movement. While it corrected this error, it nonetheless continued to follow incorrect guidelines that resulted from its insufficient confidence in the capacity of the working class.

Thus, instead of firmly supporting the cordones industriales [organs of workers management in local industrial concentrations] (which developed, in spite of being boycotted by the UP and the unions, as embryonic forms of workers power), the MIR insisted that the cordones should subordinate themselves to the comandos comunales [municipal commands], which were made up of neighborhood fighters, housewives, etc., and never

became more than peripheral organizations of the MIR.

Capitulating to the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers], the MIR opposed setting up a coordinating committee of all the cordones. Nor did it try to promote the formation of workers militias based on the cordones, limiting itself to forming small armed nuclei in the comandos comunales that it controlled.

Thus, its final slogan, "soldiers, don't follow the orders of putschist officers," which we supported, was insufficient because the MIR was not in a position—and it didn't even raise the idea clearly—to get the masses of workers to bring their full pressure to bear on the soldiers to win them over to opposing the putschists.

The reasons that we have pointed out here are the ones that we think prevented the MIR from becoming the revolutionary party of the working class that could have won the workers away from the traitorous leadership of the reformists. These reasons are what prevented them from becoming the indispensable tool that the heroic vanguard of the Chilean workers needed, and need, to prepare for and to win the fight against the national and foreign exploiters and their armed forces—the revolutionary party.

...Britain

Continued from page WO4

intensity of feeling in the unions against runaway inflation and the successive attempts of both Tory and Labour governments to regulate wages.

It was this rhetoric that frightened much of the bourgeois press. The *London Times* headed its October 3 editorial "Giving Way to the Left." It was greatly concerned that the party ranks should not take this radical-sounding speechmaking too seriously. The editorial complained of the possibility of a revolution of expectations being generated and noted that the demands of the left of the party are meeting with "less effective resistance than in the past from the centre and right, where the case for some increase in public ownership is apparently conceded."

The October 6 *Times* said that "if a future Labour government is to serve the nation effectively, the party will have to shed the spirit of Blackpool."

Two commonly held views of the Labour party are proved erroneous by the events of the Labour party conference. One view, the more common of the two, is to hold that the party's left will mount a serious challenge to the capitalist system, thus rendering unnecessary the task of constructing a revolutionary Marxist party. This theory was thoroughly discredited by the abject capitulations of the leaders of the Labour "left" at Blackpool. They spoke and voted in collaboration with the Wilson leadership against the socialist policies needed on wage controls, the Common Market, and nationalization.

The other myth to take a knocking was the sectarian theory that revolutionaries should steer clear of the Labour party. This conference demonstrated beyond doubt that as the radicalization builds up in Britain, it will be reflected inside the Labour party, and that the job of British revolutionists will not be to stand on the sidelines but to enter the battle to break the ranks of the party from their present misleaders, both left and right.

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Labour Party conference reflects sharpening of class struggle in Britain, bankruptcy of leaders

By Tony Hodges

London

From a glance at the press headlines one might have gotten the impression that the British Labour party had moved mountains at its annual conference, held in Blackpool, the first week of October. "Marxist Challenge to Party Leadership," announced the *London Times*. "Wilson Rides High on Takeover Tide," said the *Manchester Guardian*. And the *London Evening Standard*: "Socialist Britain Limited."

It is true that the deepening radicalization that has marked recent British politics made a distinct impression at the Labour party conference. Debate hinged around the big issues of program and strategy that are facing the British labour movement: nationalization of industry, wage controls, the Common Market, the coup in Chile, and party democracy.

But it is false to conclude, as the bourgeois press has, that the party adopted a militant socialist program.



HAROLD WILSON: Wriggled out of commitment on nationalization of big companies.

With the cooperation of the "left wing" of the party brass, leader Harold Wilson managed to steer the conference away from pinning him down to a clear socialist program.

Prior to the conference it did not seem that Wilson would have it all his way. In June the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) had adopted a draft program for a future Labour government that angered Wilson by including a commitment to nationalize twenty-five of Britain's one hundred largest firms.

Wilson threatened to veto the NEC proposal, thus reopening the long-standing controversy in the party as to whether final authority rested with the delegates at the annual conference or with the party's parliamentary wing. Up to the conference the party's "left wing" had insisted that the parliamentary wing should be forced to comply with decisions made by the conference.

Two days before the opening of the conference, the left-wing NEC agreed unanimously to a "compromise" formula on the question of nationalizations. The essence of the compromise was to eliminate any definite commit-

ment to nationalization (especially the specific proposal to nationalize the twenty-five companies) and at the same time to place before the conference a vague resolution intended to placate the party's grass-roots support.

And then Wilson delivered a rousing speech to the delegates that seemed to go beyond even the plan to nationalize the twenty-five companies, but in reality adroitly avoided any specific pledge.

The nationalization proposals Wilson outlined to the conference included land required for development and redevelopment; underground and underwater minerals; registered and unregistered ports; shipbuilding and ancillary industries; the aircraft industry; sections or firms in the pharmaceutical, construction, and road haulage industries; and industries denationalized by the Tories.

Just to be sure that delegates at the conference would not get the impression that the proposals discussed at the conference would necessarily be included in the party's election manifesto, no vote was taken on the NEC document or even on the proposals contained in Wilson's speech.

After letting Wilson off the hook over nationalization, the left did him another turn by quashing moves to increase party democracy. In a closed session of the conference David Skinner, a delegate from North East Derbyshire Constituency Labour party moved a resolution declaring that "the Parliamentary Labour Party must accept conference decisions as party policy and that the National Executive Committee shall refuse candidature endorsement to any Labour MP refusing to be so bound." Skinner, saying that previous conference decisions had been "thrown in the dustbin," demanded that the party conference become the real decider of party policy.

James Margach, writing in the October 7 *London Sunday Times*, described how left-winger Michael Foot saved the day for the Parliamentary Labour party: "Mr Foot has been the idol and darling of the Left for so many years that he is now worshipped as the unquestioned leader in all things. But fervent Left-winger though he is in all policy, social and human issues of liberty and human rights, he is first a great Parliamentarian, his truest love and passion, for without a sovereign Parliament, he fears, the people are lost. His speech at the secret session on Tuesday afternoon, when he successfully beat off militant demands that Labour MPs must obey conference decisions, was a classic of of its kind."

Foot argued that "our party is a democratic party, not a totalitarian party" in his defense of the right of Labour MPs to flout conference decisions. Skinner's resolution was heavily defeated.

The myth of a fighting socialist program went out the window in two further debates: wage controls and the Common Market. The conference took no decisive stand against wage restraints and voted down a resolution advocating opposition to the European Economic Community (EEC).

The debate on wages clearly showed that a Labour government would at-

tempt to work out a "voluntary" agreement on wages with the unions.

Michael Foot was up on the platform once again to fend off the challenge to the leadership posed by a strongly worded motion calling for total opposition to the EEC. This resolution, from the Southampton Test Constituency Labour party, declared its "opposition on principle" to British membership in the EEC on the grounds that it was against the interests of the British working class and was set up solely to advance the interests of big business. The resolution went on to state: "The fight for a socialist Britain is part of the fight for a socialist united Europe which alone can meet the needs of European workers."

"Conference therefore instructs the NEC to convene a European conference of Labour, to plan and put forward a campaign of opposition to European big business, with a socialist alternative."

The conference took Michael Foot's advice and voted down this radical motion, though only by a very small majority. Labour policy remained the same: to renegotiate the terms accepted by the Tories for British membership and to place the new terms before the electorate in a referendum.

Despite the ability of the party leadership, both left and right, to wriggle out of embarrassing commitments on the major issues before the conference, the conference debates did reflect the strong leftward pressure on the party from the unions and the constituency parties. This was shown particularly by the large minority vote in favor of complete opposition to the Common



Labour Party conference demanded intervention of Prime Minister Heath on behalf of Luis Corvalan, above, Chilean Communist Party leader held by rightist junta.

Market. Both the AUEW and the Transport and General Workers Union, Britain's two largest unions, swung their bloc votes behind the resolution.

The left pressure was also evident in the debate on foreign affairs.

Though a motion demanding withdrawal from NATO was defeated, the platform suffered a reversal when the conference carried a resolution in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament, the withdrawal of U.S. polaris missile bases, and a £1,000 million cut in military expenditures.

An emergency session was scheduled on the coup in Chile. Delegates were particularly angered by news that Chilean Communist party leader Luis Corvalan, held under arrest by the Chilean military, was in imminent danger of execution. The conference voted unanimously to send a telegram to Prime Minister Heath demanding that he intercede on Corvalan's behalf.

Present at the conference were Ala-



MICHAEL FOOT: 'Darling of the Left' helped defeat all proposals for militant stands.

varez Bunster, Allende's former ambassador to Britain, and Carlos Parra, a leader of the Chilean Radical party. An emergency resolution passed by the conference condemned the coup and the British government's recognition of the new regime. The resolution demanded the recall of the British ambassador from Santiago; withholding of all aid, loans, and credits to the new regime; British assistance to refugees from the political terror; and waging of a campaign throughout the British Labour movement to restore Chilean democracy.

A strong motion was passed on Southern Africa. It called for a future Labour government to withdraw investments from South Africa, strengthen sanctions against Rhodesia, and grant diplomatic and financial support to the liberation movements in Rhodesia, South Africa, and Portuguese Africa.

For the first time in its history, the Labour party scheduled an entire session to discuss women's rights. The conference voted for legislation that would repeal or revise all laws that discriminated against women, make discrimination on the basis of sex illegal, and establish an antidiscrimination board.

The sharpening of the class struggle was reflected in the conference not only by the nature of the topics discussed but also by the flights of rhetoric used by the top leaders of the party as they tried to adapt to the new mood of the party. The party bureaucracy was well aware of the

Continued on page WO3



ber promising all tactical support to the United Farm Workers' grape boycott.

This union, with about 1.5 million members, is the equivalent of the Teamsters in the United States. All truck drivers in Britain belong to it. It also includes practically all British dockers and the market workers who handle the distribution of fruit and vegetables in the big warehouses and markets.

Britain imported 535,500 pounds of U.S. grapes in the year ending June 30. (No U.S. lettuce is imported.) U.S. grapes for this year begin to arrive in the next couple of months.

The problem facing the TGWU is that most of the grapes arrive in containers that are not marked as holding grapes. If they were, say TGWU officials, these containers would be stopped. I'm told that up to 1970, during the previous grape boycott, the ILWU sent the TGWU the numbers of the containers containing grapes so that they could be intercepted in Britain. This was so successful that the companies involved had all their grapes tied up, and they decided to halt all grape shipments to Britain.

A TGWU official told me that if the ILWU would send the container numbers again, the grapes would be stopped.

T.H.

London, England

An excellent book

In the Oct. 5 issue of *The Militant* an ex-marine wrote in to remind us all of the discrimination and disregard the Veterans Administration has shown toward the Vietnam veteran—especially those who received a bad conduct discharge (for refusing another tour of 'Nam!).

I'd like to recommend to him a book recently published by Monad Press, *The Case of the Legless Veteran* by James Kutcher. Here was a man who really caught hell—to paraphrase the former marine. Kutcher lost both legs in World War II, got a job with the Veterans Administration in Newark, and then was fired *only because he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party*.

The guts and determination he showed in fighting this utter disregard for his civil rights makes inspiring reading. He fought it for nine years and finally won a partial victory. He got his job back in 1957 and \$13,000 in back pay, and worked there until retiring in 1972. The events leading up to this, in light of Watergate, make this story valuable to everyone who is concerned about their civil rights.

[The book can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y., 10014 for \$2.95—Ed.]
Sam Chetta
Catskill, N.Y.

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.

Black misleaders & Israel

Various Black misleaders have attempted to rally Black support for Israel in the current war.

They unfortunately fall victim to the lie that Egypt and Syria were aggressors when they struck first blows at the Israeli army in the Sinai (occupied Egypt) and the Golan Heights (occupied Syria).

"Black people are in support of the cause of Israel," because they "know what it is to survive," Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president, told a Zionist rally Oct. 16 in New York City.

William Tate, the Black vice-president of District 65, Distributive Workers of America, told the same union-sponsored rally, "we believe in the existence of Israel; they are a minority in the Middle East just like we are a minority here."

Then a group of Black trade unionists placed a pro-Israel ad in the Oct. 21 *New York Times*. It was sponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The executive director of the institute is Bayard Rustin, the cochairman of Social Democrats USA. The ad harped on the "Arab aggressor" theme and falsely claimed that Israeli Jews constitute an oppressed minority in the Middle East.

Israel has since its inception in 1948 been the aggressor and oppressor in the Mideast. Israeli Jews have never constituted an *oppressed* minority in the Middle East similar to that of Blacks in the U.S. Rather, they are an *oppressor* minority in relation to the Arab majority.

Malcolm X once said, "If an armed robber, a criminal, comes into my house seeking to do me harm, it doesn't make me a criminal if I get my gun and chase him out." Although he wasn't referring to Egypt, Syria, Jordan, or Palestine, the analogy is a good

one.

The territory in which Egypt and Syria are now fighting is land Israel illegally took from these Arab countries in 1967. But more than that, the Zionists stole the territory, comprising Israel itself from the Palestinian Arabs. Israel was set up with the backing of British and U.S. imperialism and remains a junior partner of imperialism.

The Zionists who founded Israel were at work long before 1948 to transform Palestine into an exclusively Jewish state carved out of Arab lands and settled by outside—mainly European—Jews. In this light, the settler-state of Israel, imposed by force on indigenous Arabs, should be as much opposed by U.S. Blacks as are the white settler-states of South Africa and Rhodesia that were imposed by force upon indigenous African Blacks.

Moreover, the only European nation that has allowed the U.S. to use its territory for landing and refueling purposes in its arms airlift to Israel is Portugal. U.S. planes have been refueling at the U.S. airbase in the Portuguese islands off West Africa, the Azores. Portugal preferred that this be kept quiet to minimize protest from those who oppose its colonial role in Africa.

The Black misleaders mentioned earlier should take the example of most Black African nations, which back the Arab cause.

By and large, the cries of the Rustins and Suttons have fallen on deaf ears. Since the fighting began, many Black students and other Blacks have stood with their Arab brothers and sisters by sponsoring and helping to build demonstrations, teach-ins, and rallies in protest of U.S. complicity with Israeli aggression.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Labor misleaders & Israel

The Mideast war sent old George Meany into his war dance again, this time with an extra flourish. He has added a routine about Israeli democracy and union principles, but it's basically the same one he used for the Vietnam war.

As soon as the fighting in the Sinai started, Meany shot off a telegram to the State Department urging that "no nation must be allowed to doubt, even for a second, where the United States stands." As if any nation did.

He blames the Soviet bureaucrats for the latest outbreak of war. In a telegram to Histadrut, Israel's central labor union, he charged that the war "represents an all-out Soviet effort . . . to destroy the democratic state of Israel."

He directed AFL-CIO departments holding conventions in Bal Harbour, Fla., prior to that of the federation, to put defense of Israel at the top of their agendas.

Meany's aides and associates also got into the act. Thomas Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, threatened to tie up all grain ships to the Soviet Union until arms shipments from Moscow to Cairo stop.

All this was the continuation of a long-established practice of support to Israel. Last March at an Israel bond dinner honoring John Lyons, president of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers and a staunch Nixon supporter, Meany made a pitch for the bonds. He said, "You don't have to be Jewish to like Israel, you just have to believe in certain principles. And these principles happen to be the principles of the American labor movement."

As Meany enumerated them, these principles include "a belief in democracy."

He spoke highly of Golda Meir. "She came out of the labor movement," he said, as did "most of the members of the Israel Parliament."

Carried away by his own oratory, Meany told his audience that "Israel is a nation created largely by the labor movement." He said "the state of Israel bears the union label."

So it was no surprise to anyone when Meany and

the AFL-CIO executive council came out "whole hog," as they boasted, for the victory of the colonial settler-state of Israel over the Arab peoples in the current war.

Of course, they felt free to direct a few jibes at Nixon and Kissinger because of the U.S.-Soviet detente, which they think threatens the interests and needs of the capitalist system and their way of life within it.

But right now Tel Aviv and the Sinai hold their attention. They have a special interest in these places and that accounts for their extra excitement over this war. They not only push Israel bonds on others, they invest in them themselves, thinking them safe and lucrative.

All their talk about democracy has nothing to do with the right of workers to belong to unions of their own choice and to elect their own officials that will represent their interests. If they did that, Meany and his gang would not be in office.

They admire Histadrut because it operates the way they think they should in this country.

The Israeli union set-up is a power in the government. It owns corporations, farms, and banks, and is the biggest employer in Israel. The Histadrut helped spearhead the colonization of Palestine. It now has more to do with breaking strikes and with defending the government's wage controls than with defending the interests of the workers. And this goes triple for Arab workers in Israel and the occupied territories.

Meany has never shown any interest in the oppressed peoples of the world except in ceremonial speeches. If he were interested in helping them he would have to be on the side of the Palestinians and other Arabs in this war, because they are the ones who have been deprived of their lands and their homes by the European settlers.

Meany will support Nixon's \$2.2-billion emergency aid for Israel, which will have to be paid by the workers here. This must be the meaning of Meany's remark that Israel bears a union label. It is a costly one for the working men and women Meany professes to represent.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



How much more can he do for us?—Although the president has asked us to lower the thermostat four degrees to save energy, this won't be done at the White House out of concern for the visitors and the furniture. However, the president is no longer running the air-conditioner in his study at full blast so he can have the fireplace going even in warm weather. "He's given that up, even though he just loves fires," said Helen Smith, press secretary to the First Lady.

At least someone's getting relief—The generals' mess at the Pentagon (six entrees, eight appetizers, 17 desserts) is still serving up dinner for a dollar. Obviously we can't help everyone that way, so the commercially operated cafeterias for GIs and civilian employees are charging normally inflated prices.

He's going to submit a bill?—A government spokesman said that such security landscaping as replacing sand with grass, shrubs, and flowers had detracted from, not increased, the value of President Nixon's Florida and California properties.

True patriotism—A bill was signed into law by Governor Reagan instructing California bridge officials not to collect tolls from funeral processions for persons who have died while on active duty in the armed forces.

Besides, how much air do they need?—To emphasize that approving toll-free funerals doesn't mean he's become a reckless spender, Governor Reagan vetoed a bill to provide senior citizens free admission to state parks.

Hard times—Chief Justice Burger says low wages are making it difficult to

get decent state and federal judges. This was confirmed by the Federal Judicial Center, which reported that 11 "highly qualified" lawyers recently turned down federal judgeships because they couldn't afford a pay cut. The jobs are for life but pay only \$40,000 per annum.

Stiff resistance?—Delegates to the national funeral directors' convention cheered triumphantly as their president announced that while the past decade saw a 41.3 percent hike in the cost of living, the cost of dying increased only 32.1 percent.

Imagine if he hadn't smoked!—Alvin Alonzo Wetmore, an old-time cowboy, died at his home in Oroville, Calif., at age 102. At 101, he said he drank "all the bourbon I can get my hands on," and smoked a pack of coffin nails a day.



Cover-Up III, Phase II 1973+HERBLOCK

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Peronism and the coup in Chile

The following is the second of two guest columns by Militant staff writer Mirta Vidal, who recently returned from Mexico and Argentina.

While in Argentina covering the presidential elections there, I had a chance to talk to some of the first refugees from Chile, who arrived a few days after the coup. Some were Brazilian revolutionaries who had fled to Chile during Allende's regime to escape torture, imprisonment, or death under their own repressive governments.

After the coup in Chile, they had fled to Argentina, not only because it was close, but because it was one of the few places left in Latin America where they thought they would be safe.

As the days went by, the attitude of the Peronist regime toward Chile and the refugees helped further clarify the true nature of the "popular government" headed by Perón.

First we heard that the Peronist government—before any other government in Latin America, and even before the U.S. government—had recognized the Chilean military regime.

Around that time, the government had granted

Juan Carlos Coral, the candidate of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) the customary meeting granted all presidential candidates to discuss Argentina's foreign policy. Coral told me later that when he, on behalf of his party, denounced at that meeting the decision to recognize the Chilean junta, the government representatives replied that they had done this to ensure that Chilean refugees at the Argentine embassy would have less trouble getting out.

This argument was not convincing. The hypocrisy of it was soon demonstrated.

What has the "popular government" done for these refugees since Perón took office?

Although many were able to escape Chile through Argentina, the government has refused to grant asylum to any non-Argentine citizens.

When the first wave of refugees arrived in Buenos Aires, they were met at the Ezeiza Airport by soldiers pointing machine guns at them. They were then taken to the International Hotel and held incommunicado for several days.

Among the refugees were many children. Some

of the women were pregnant. Yet the government refused to feed them for two entire days.

Although the government insisted that the refugees were not being detained, they were not able to leave the International Hotel and were constantly questioned by police about their personal and political activity. All foreign refugees, except Chileans, have been given a deadline to leave the country.

Moreover, the Argentine embassy in Santiago has been closed so that no one can seek asylum there any longer, nor try to escape that way.

Undoubtedly, for those Latin Americans who are being turned away from what they thought would be a refuge, the Peronist government does not seem quite so "popular" now.

And for the thousands of young Peronists who marched in demonstration after demonstration of solidarity with the Chilean people in the days after the coup, the government's treatment of their fellow anti-imperialist fighters can be no less savory. It can only be one more step toward shedding their illusions about Perón.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



The Three Marias of Portugal

The following is a guest column by Dianne Feeley, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and long-time feminist.

In June 1972 three feminist writers—Maria Velho da Costa, Maria Isabel Barreno, and Maria Teresa Horta—were arrested under Portuguese censorship laws for committing "an outrage to public morals and good customs."

Their crime: the publication of a 400-page book of essays, poetry, and stories in the form of 15 letters. The unifying theme of the now-banned book, *New Portuguese Letters*, is the oppression, degradation, and isolation of contemporary women, and their cry for complete liberation.

The suppression of the *Letters* has provoked international protest from feminists, civil libertarians, and writers. Last July, before the trial was scheduled to open, the National Organization for Women (NOW) spearheaded protest demonstrations in New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Washington, D.C., and Houston. Similar demonstrations have taken place in France, Italy, England, Belgium, and Finland. Portuguese intellectuals, American

PEN (an organization of writers), and British writers including Doris Lessing, Iris Murdoch, and Stephen Spender have protested the banning of the book and the arrest of the three Marias.

The trial was postponed until October—partly because of the attention these protests focused on the repressive Portuguese government, and partly because Maria Teresa Horta, who has tuberculosis, was too ill to withstand the court proceedings. The trial is now scheduled to begin Oct. 25.

The three Marias, out of jail on \$700 bail each, are published writers in their 30s. They all consider themselves socialists. One edits the literary supplement of a Lisbon newspaper. The two others are researchers for the Ministry of Economics.

They not only face two years' imprisonment and a fine but the possibility of not being able to publish anything further under Portugal's strict censorship regulations. Maria Horta's 1971 book of poems, *My Lady of Me*, was banned earlier. This second charge, if allowed to stand, would effectively block publication of any of her subsequent work, despite the critical acclaim she has

won among critics of Portuguese literature.

New Portuguese Letters mercilessly unmasks society's deepest myths. As one of the Marias put it, in speaking of the clearly defined and romanticized "woman's place": "The social institution that shackles them worst is the role of mother. Society idealizes the role, of course, but the idealization masks the slavery of it."

Although I have been able to read only the sections of the book that have been translated into English (Doubleday plans to publish the entire book next year), it is apparent that the authors' fundamental honesty is what has infuriated the Portuguese government. The three Marias rip away at the status quo by also speaking out against the Portuguese government's wars in Africa. As second-class citizens within their own country, the authors solidarize themselves with the Africans who are fighting for control of their own destinies.

That these women, who are established writers, dare to dramatize the rage of women and other oppressed people indicates the depth of intellectual ferment in Portugal today, and the potential for the emergence of a feminist movement.

Masses force end to military regime

Student upsurge brings down Thai gov't

From Intercontinental Press

Two days after the student explosion that toppled the military regime in Thailand, Malcolm Browne observed in a dispatch from Bangkok: "Officials and diplomats in the region are already looking upon the student rising here as something only a little less momentous than the French Revolution."

The rapidity of the events, and to a certain extent their unexpectedness, took both American and Asian governmental officials by surprise.

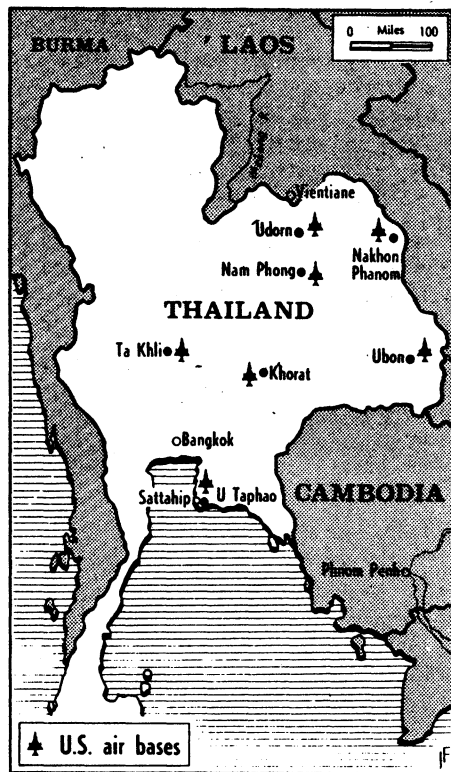
No less surprised were former Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn and ex-Deputy Premier Praphas Charusathien, who quickly resigned and fled the country, as the student demonstrations and the clashes with the police and military continued to escalate.

There are presently about 38,000 U.S. troops stationed in Thailand and Washington pours in an average of \$70 million in military aid every year

(\$128 million in 1972). The October 16 *Washington Post* pointed out that "virtually all the tanks, helicopter gunships, machineguns and ammunition used against the demonstrators were American-built or supplied by the U.S. military assistance program." Much of this aid also goes to assist the Thai counterinsurgency operations against the guerrilla forces in northeast Thailand.

Since the signing of the "peace" accords in Vietnam, the U.S. military presence in Thailand has taken on even more strategic importance for Pentagon intervention in revolutionary situations in Southeast Asia.

The snowballing of events that may very well threaten these plans was sparked when the Thai government arrested thirteen students and lecturers at Thammasat University for distributing leaflets calling for a permanent Thai constitution to replace the present temporary charter. The uni-



Thailand is Washington's strongest military stronghold in Southeast Asia.

versity students, as well as thousands of high-school students, immediately responded with massive protests that lasted for five days and assembled more than 200,000 demonstrators. They demanded the release of the thirteen and the drafting of a new constitution.

Under this massive pressure, the government conceded that it would release the thirteen and would inaugurate a new constitution within a year. But the students put no confidence in the word of the government and about 40,000 occupied various government buildings throughout the night of October 13.

The next morning several thousand tried to take over the offices of the Public Relations Department and broadcast from its radio. The military forces, led by Thanom Kittika-

chorn's son, Colonel Narong Kittikachorn, then moved in to crush the uprising, initiating a massacre.

A report by John Burgess in the October 16 *Washington Post* described the events of "Bloody Sunday": "Most [of the demonstrators] were shocked and embittered by the brutality of the government forces, who had killed unarmed girls, high school students and passers-by with indiscriminate rifle and machinegun fire into crowds. Unofficial estimates from hospitals placed casualties as high as 400 dead."

"A column of tanks confronted the students when they tried to take over government buildings near Thammasat [University]."

"Though tear gas was fired, the students ventured close to the tanks, apparently believing they would not shoot. But the tanks and soldiers opened fire with .50 calibre machineguns and M-16 rifles. A Huey helicopter armed with machineguns directed fire into the Thammasat campus. Scores of students were hit. Three young girls were seen lying in pools of blood"

"People stopped newsmen on the street and pleaded with them to send accurate reports out of the country. 'Don't believe the government,' said a 35-year-old man who was taunting armed soldiers 20 yards away. 'Tell the Americans to stop sending guns to the Thai army.' A 15-year-old student, who was in a state of near shock, described with a faltering voice how several of his friends had been shot dead around him while walking near soldiers."

Seeing that the students would not back off and that the uprising might spread to the rest of the population, the government ordered the withdrawal of the armored vehicles and troops from Bangkok in the hopes of calming the demonstrators down. But the students continued to burn cars

and buses and showed no signs of dispersing.

The ruling class, fearing that the students might detonate broader social struggles, felt it necessary to make even more concessions. On October 14, Field Marshal Thanom announced his resignation as premier. The next day he and ex-Deputy Premier Praphas Charusathien fled the country. King Phumiphol Aduldet then announced the appointment of Dr. Sanya Thammasak, dean of Thammasat University, as the new premier.

The Thai student movement, which had shown growing strength and militancy during the last year, rallied opposition to dictatorial rule, U.S. domination of Thailand, and the rampant military and government corruption.



Thailand's former military ruler, Thanom Kittikachorn, resigned and fled country.

The student revolt also stemmed from such fundamental social problems as inflation, unemployment, and the generally low standard of living caused by imperialist economic domination.

The new government faces the same basic problems the old one did. The military is far from powerless, and the U.S. bases remain. While the students, in the initial flush of victory, put a considerable amount of faith in the new regime, the realization that not much has really changed may quickly lead to disillusionment and the continuation of the struggles.

Korean students protest rule by secret police

By GEORGE JOHNSON

Student demonstrations in South Korea against the Park Chung Hee regime's repression continued last week, in defiance of the martial law declared by Park a year ago.

Four hundred students from the Seoul National University College of Liberal Arts and Science took to the streets Oct. 2. Riot and plainclothes police arrested 150 at the demonstration and dragged 50 more out of classrooms.

On Oct. 4, 250 students from the National University Law College demonstrated. Police made 31 arrests.

Despite the arrests, protests have not stopped. The Oct. 22 *Newsweek* reported that "students at Seoul's College of Commerce boycotted classes and police scurried from campus to head off anti-Park rallies."

The students are demanding an end to what Koreans call "intelligence" politics, including the abolition of the feared Central Intelligence Agency. The Korean CIA has been one of Park's main instruments of rule since shortly after he assumed power in a coup d'état in 1961. He has used these secret political police to crush all op-

position to his rule, of which there have been many manifestations, particularly by students.

The students are also demanding an end to Japan's economic domination of South Korea, a goal the stu-

dents have fought for in their many protests during the last 14 years.

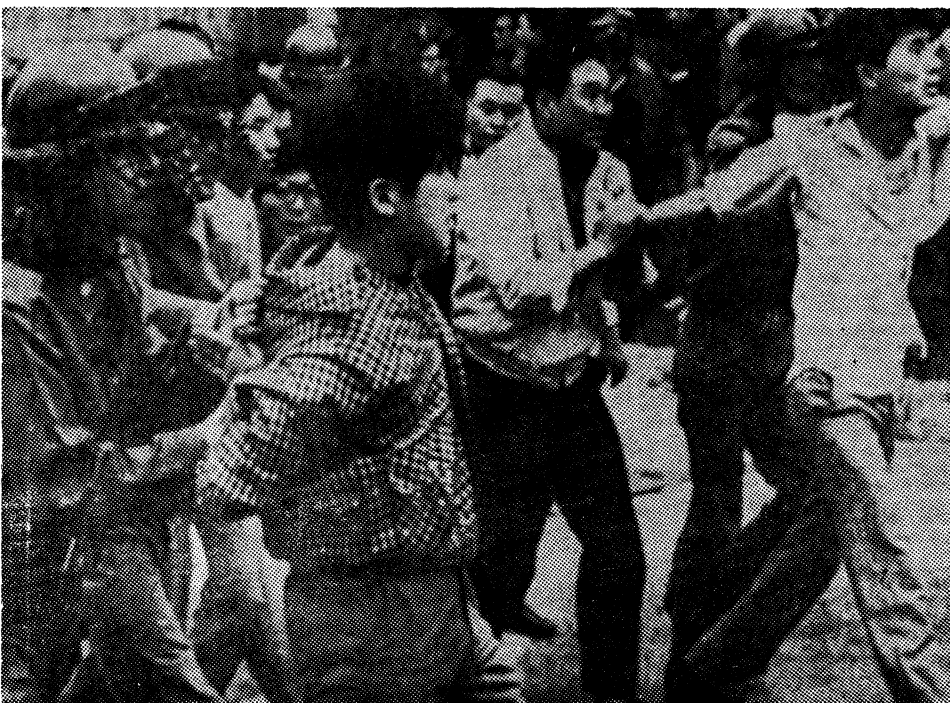
Behind this demand lies the fact that South Korea is a puppet state, set up and maintained by U.S. imperialism with help from Japan. Popular

protests against this subjugation have in the past quickly led to questioning of the post-World War II division of the country by the United States to maintain a foothold for imperialism.

The current anti-Park actions by the students were stirred in part by the Korean CIA's Aug. 8 kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung in Tokyo and his abduction to Seoul. Kim had opposed Park in the 1971 presidential campaign. He remains under heavy police and CIA guard at his Seoul home. He was released by Park when both the Japanese and U.S. governments protested, embarrassed by this flagrant breach of Japanese sovereignty by their client.

South Korean students have a long history of militant struggle. In 1960, student demonstrations led to the downfall of an earlier dictator in South Korea, Syngman Rhee.

An editorial in the *New York Times* of Oct. 7 began, "Remembering the fate of the late President Syngman Rhee, whose dictatorial regime was toppled by a student revolt, the present [South] Korean Government and its supporters have reason to be apprehensive about last week's eruption of student protests. . . ."



Protests by Korean students have persisted despite hundreds of arrests.

Will work for liberal Democrats

'Left' social democrats set up own group

By GEORGE KAPLAN

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee held its founding conference in New York City Oct. 13-14. The DSOC was initiated by Michael Harrington, the former co-chairman of the Socialist Party (now called Social Democrats USA—SDUSA).

Harrington resigned from the SDUSA after the majority insisted on



Militant/Michael Smith

MICHAEL HARRINGTON: Wants 'socialist caucus in Democratic Party.'

backing the "neutral-for-Nixon" policy taken in 1972 by AFL-CIO President George Meany. Harrington sided with those labor bureaucrats who backed McGovern.

The dispute came to a head after McGovern's resounding defeat, when the SDUSA took the lead in organizing the right wing of the Democratic Party to try to purge McGovern backers from posts in the Democratic Party.

The SDUSA has been beating the drums for Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), the evident choice of the Meanyites for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination.

The DSOC is backed by a number of labor bureaucrats who favored McGovern and would like to see another "left-wing" candidate in 1976. Those signing the call for the formation of the DSOC included Victor Reuther, former international affairs director of the United Auto Workers; David Selden, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT); Ralph Helstein, Patrick Gorman, and Hilton Hanna, officers of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; and Paul Silver, member of the UAW executive committee.

At the conference, Helstein and Reuther were elected vice-chairmen of DSOC. Selden and Silver were elected to its national committee.

Harrington was named national chairman.

Like the SDUSA, the Harrington group is completely committed to working inside the capitalist Democratic Party, and opposed to working people forming their own party to fight for their own interests.

Harrington described the DSOC as a "socialist caucus in the Democratic Party."

"As socialists," Harrington told the audience of 400 people in his keynote address at the convention, "we are part of the mass left, part of the liberal left, part of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party."

He emphasized that it "would be wrong to propose a socialist program for a liberal party." So the new "socialist" organization will "propose a liberal program for a liberal party" with the aim of making the Democrats "a liberal first party of a new American majority." He urged his listeners to recognize that "a liberal Democratic victory in 1976 is of supreme importance."

At a labor workshop held later that day, AFT President Selden dotted the i's and crossed the t's in Harrington's

remarks. He warned that Meany and his backers in the SDUSA have helped give Jackson a head start in the race for the Democratic nomination.

Selden assured his listeners of his loyalty to the Democratic Party when he stated that the missile-rattling Jackson "would make a fairly good president, especially compared to Nixon." He added, "We need more choice at the Democratic convention in order to move the country back on the course of liberalism. That is my main motivation at this time for being part of this organization."

Harrington made it clear that, like the SDUSA, the new group is opposed to struggles by oppressed people independent of the capitalist parties and politicians. He claimed to see "a decisive turn taking place in Black Amer-



Delegates at 'socialist' conference sided with Zionist Israel against struggle of Palestinian Arabs like these.

ica," typified by "an orientation toward the Black congressional caucus" of the Democratic Party, instead of "nationalism."

While praising the women's liberation movement as a "vital new movement in American life," he insisted that "all of these movements are in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party."

On international politics, the DSOC planted itself firmly within the pro-imperialist tradition long established by social democrats.

The delegates approved a resolution on the Middle East presented by Victor Reuther that condemned the Egyptians and Syrians for fighting to recover the lands stolen from them by the Israeli state. The resolution called on Nixon to provide whatever military aid Israel required for its "survival."

The efforts by a small minority to win at least verbal recognition of the national rights of the dispossessed Palestinian people was voted down.

The conference was greeted by David Lewis, head of Canada's New Democratic Party. Lewis indicated that the NDP, like some other social democratic parties around the world, has been embarrassed by SDUSA's strident cold-war rhetoric and policies, and is considering backing DSOC's application for membership in the Second International. This international club of social democracy includes such "socialists" as Golda Meir, Willy Brandt, and other heads of capitalist states among its adherents.

The conference left little room for doubt about the objectives of Harrington and his co-thinkers in trade-union officialdom. They hope to attract young people by the occasional use of radical rhetoric, and use them as foot soldiers in their effort to influence the power brokers in the Democratic Party as the 1976 elections approach.

Boston meeting protests racist witch-hunt

By SUSAN LAMONT

BOSTON—More than 300 people, about one-third of them Blacks, attended a meeting at the University of Massachusetts Oct. 16 to protest the white racism being whipped up here.

The meeting scored the anti-Black hysteria of the police, the mass media, and Democratic and Republican politicians that followed the recent killings of two whites.

The deaths, of Evelyn Wagler and Ludivico Barba, occurred after a period of clashes between whites and Blacks that began with a clash causing the closing of Dorchester High School for two days. The student body of the school is 60 percent Black. During this period gangs of white youths roamed the streets attacking Blacks.

On one occasion 60 whites forced six Blacks off a school bus and severely beat them. Although police witnessed this racist brutality, no arrests were made.

There is also a well-established pattern of police brutality—including killings—against Black people in Boston, despite its "liberal" reputation.

The capitalist politicians, the mass media, and the police are silent when Blacks are killed. But what was their response to the recent deaths of two whites?

The Boston *Herald-American* ran such headlines as "Violent Murder Stuns City—Leaders Meeting in 'Ex-

plosive' Terror Crisis." Chester Broderick, chairman of the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association, called for more police on the street.

Boston's liberal Democratic mayor, Kevin White, put a \$5,000 bounty on the heads of the killers of Wagler and then sent the tactical and state police into Roxbury, a predominantly Black community. The FBI was also called in.

The role of the police has been particularly pernicious. Following the death of Barba, the police released reports that he had been stoned to death by 40 young Blacks. Two days later Bar-



300 attend meeting at U. of Massachusetts to protest harassment of Boston Black community.

ba's autopsy revealed that he had died as a result of stabbing in an apparent robbery attempt. The police admitted they had been aware of this all along and said that earlier statements that he had been stoned to death were an "unfortunate mistake."

Two Black teen-agers have been arrested and are being held on \$30,000 and \$20,000 bonds in connection with the murder.

In contrast with these measures, Evelyn Wagler's former husband told Chicago reporters she had been killed "by the system, a system that creates ghettos and racial hatred."

On her deathbed, Evelyn Wagler, a feminist who lived with Black and white women in a commune in the Black community, said she hoped the Black youths who forced her to douse herself with gasoline and then set her afire would not be jailed for this senseless act.

At the University of Massachusetts meeting, John Boone, Black former state corrections commissioner, cited the examples of the August killings of two farm workers in California and of Black and Puerto Rican prisoners in Massachusetts prisons.

Boone contrasted the way police and politicians treated these deaths to the hypocritical "concern" over the death of Evelyn Wagler. He also pointed to U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the American government's support for

the Thieu dictatorship, which has hundreds of thousands of people in prison, as examples of the violence perpetrated by the government.

John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, traced the roots of the recent killings to the oppression of the Black community in Boston, particularly in regard to the school system. "For years," Powers said, "politicians like Louise Day Hicks have made their political careers by furthering the superoppression of the Black community."

Powers concluded by supporting the demand raised by members of the Black caucus of elected officials and Black community leaders that the mayor rescind the \$5,000 bounty. They had pointed out that such a bounty had not been offered when Blacks had been killed by whites.

Also speaking were State Representative Mel King; Paul Parks, head of the Boston Model Cities Program; and Pat Bonner-Lyons, Young Workers' Liberation League candidate for Boston school committee.

The meeting was sponsored by a broad spectrum of campus groups and individuals, including Marianne Stetshansky, editor of *The Mass Media* (the University of Massachusetts student newspaper), Bob Tynes of UJIMA (U. of M. Black student organization), the Asian-American Society, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

N.Y. rally to back UFW

AFL-CIO fails to sanction boycotts

By ANDY ROSE

OCT. 24—The AFL-CIO national convention in Bal Harbour, Fla., failed to take any action to aid the struggle of the United Farm Workers, despite preconvention reports that the federation would at least sanction boycotts of non-UFW grapes and lettuce and Gallo wines.

There is little doubt that if the power of the 13.5-million-member federation were mobilized behind a massive boy-

NEW YORK—The Nov. 3 rally to support the United Farm Workers will begin at 1 p.m. in the Central Park Bandshell. For more information call (212) 799-5800.

cott campaign, the union-busting California growers could be brought to terms.

Unfortunately, instead of using the

convention to launch such a united labor mobilization, the AFL-CIO officials voted only to appoint a "special committee" headed by AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland.

Resolutions calling for more active support to the UFW were referred to the AFL-CIO executive council.

According to the Oct. 20 *AFL-CIO News*, the special committee will work out "an approach to the strike and boycott problems." Meany, Kirkland, and UFW President César Chávez are to meet with officials of unions that have contracts with boycotted supermarkets and Gallo: the Retail Clerks, Meat Cutters, Distillery Workers, and Glass Bottle Blowers.

Meany and Kirkland are empowered to then decide whether the AFL-CIO will sanction the boycotts.

Thus the responsibility for stepping up the boycott—with educational ac-

tivities, mass picket lines, marches, rallies, and teach-ins—falls upon local UFW support committees and unions.

In New York City, the UFW boycott committee has called for a rally on Saturday, Nov. 3, at the Central Park Bandshell. After the rally, demonstrators will march to 68th Street and Broadway to picket A&P and other stores that carry scab grapes and lettuce.

Building for the demonstration received a boost when Mayor John Lindsay declared Nov. 3 official "Boycott Grapes and Non-UFW Lettuce Day." Developing mass support for the boycott in New York is particularly important, since the New York City-Newark, N.J., area is the largest single grape market in the country, consuming 12 percent of all table grapes.

Speakers at the Nov. 3 rally will include Dolores Huerta, UFW vice-president; Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District 37; Congressman Herman Badillo; and Mae Massie from the International Union of Electrical Workers.

There is still no progress in getting the Teamsters union to implement a "peace agreement" with the United Farm Workers that was announced in September.

It was reported then that the Teamsters would renounce sweetheart contracts signed with California growers to keep the UFW out of the fields. The Teamster officials have since balked at carrying out the agreement.

Boycott organizers emphasize that regardless of the outcome of negotiations with the Teamsters, the boycott must continue until the growers again recognize the UFW.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Cleveland pickets support United Farm Workers' boycott of scab lettuce and grapes

Steelworkers picket Chi. conference

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO—Shouting, "Hey, hey, I. W. Abel, No more deals under the table!" 50 steelworkers picketed here outside the recent conference of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America.

The protesters demanded the repudiation of the no-strike agreement negotiated last spring by the United Steelworkers president and the major steel producers.

The steelworkers had hoped to get the floor of the conference opened for discussion of this "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" and to submit to the district leadership petitions signed by

8,000 rank-and-file steelworkers demanding that the no-strike deal be thrown out. But the conference was tightly controlled from the podium; no open discussion of the deal by delegates was allowed.

The picketing steelworkers had been barred from distributing literature inside the Conrad Hilton Hotel, where the conference was held.

Outside, besides attacking loss of the right to strike, the steelworkers also complained that the 3 percent wage increase in the agreement was hardly sufficient to meet the rise in the cost of living.

The action was called by the Defend

the Right to Strike Committee, composed of representatives of various rank-and-file caucuses in several locals of the Steelworkers union.

The committee came under attack by Sam Evett, director of District 31. He termed it a group of "radicals, college professors, and a few steelworkers."

The committee may not be written off so easily. So far the group has organized two demonstrations here in addition to the petition campaign. Similar organizations are beginning to be formed in other parts of the country. A court suit to overturn the Abel agreement is under consideration.

Victims of Denver cop attack face frame-up trials

By RAY HAMILTON

DENVER—Three Chicano activists are still facing criminal charges resulting from a brutal police attack earlier this year on a dormitory of the Tlatelolco School here.

In the course of the attack, police killed Luis Martinez, a teacher at the school and a Crusade for Justice activist.

Mario Vásquez, 21, has been convicted of three charges of first-degree assault. He was charged with shooting three Denver cops when they broke into his apartment during the March 17 attack. Vásquez faces a sentence of five to 40 years. The sentence has been withheld pending appeal of the conviction. He is free on \$25,000 bond.

Crusade leader Ernesto Vigil, 25, has been charged with one count of first-degree assault and a second count

of illegal possession of a firearm. Vigil's case comes to trial Nov. 12. If convicted, Vigil also faces a sentence of five to 40 years.

Since Vigil is now on probation from a sentence resulting from a federal draft case, a conviction on these new charges could send him to prison on additional federal charges as well.

Dave Gonzales is facing misdemeanor charges stemming from the police attack. Gonzales, 24, who was brutally beaten by cops during the raid, was not charged until after he made clear his intentions of filing a police brutality suit.

Two other Crusade activists who were originally charged have been released. Luis Ramirez was acquitted after a one-week trial. Charles Garcia was released after a preliminary hearing.

Detroit teachers go back to work

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—Teachers went back to work here Oct. 18, ending a six-week strike, after the city board of education agreed to drop damage claims of more than \$2-million against the union.

The Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) had earlier voted narrowly to end the strike and go back to work on Oct. 16, but stayed on the picket lines after learning that the board intended to press damage claims.

None of the basic demands of the teachers were won. Nor were steps taken toward solving any of the problems facing Detroit students, more than 70 percent of whom are Black.

Forty percent of the DFT members, ignoring the recommendation of the union leadership voted against the agreement with the city because it includes binding arbitration for key issues.

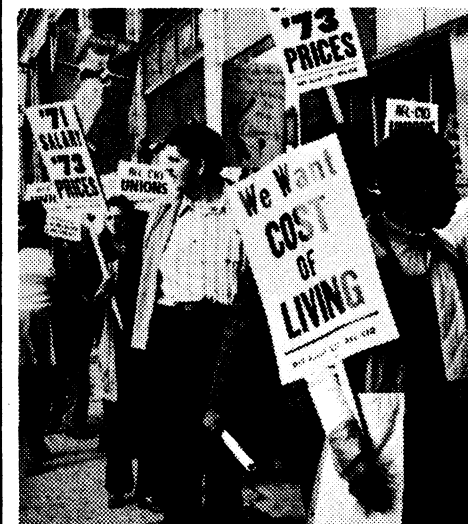
The union had been demanding a 9.7 percent pay increase (they went without an increase for two years), a maximum class size of 35, and a cost-of-living escalator clause. The last demand was dropped by the leadership without a vote by the ranks.

Among the reasons cited by the union leadership for calling off the strike was the demand of many parents that the schools be reopened.

Failure to win the all-out support of the Black community was a factor in the unfavorable outcome of this strike. The ranks of the DFT had voted several times to defy back-to-work court injunctions and had the schools shut down tight. But the DFT leadership ignored the growing sentiment in the Black community for control over their children's education.

The DFT failed to fight the racist discrimination in state aid to Detroit's system (white suburban districts receive a higher proportion), or to fight Nixon's cutbacks in educational spending, which exacerbate an already miserly school financing.

Detroit teachers have a one-year contract. If next fall is not to be a repeat of this year, and a hard, debilitating struggle for the union ranks with no real gains, the DFT will have to take up the demands of the Black community as its own.



Militant/Mike Kelly

Forty percent of striking teachers opposed return to work.

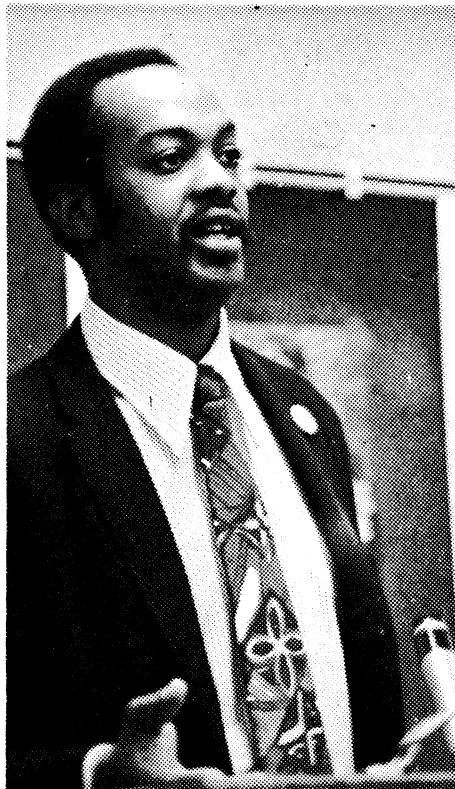
SWP blasts phony D.C. 'home rule' bill

By CHUCK PETRIN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—At a packed news conference here Oct. 17, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for school board opened fire on the home rule "compromise" recently passed by the House of Representatives.

While the bill provides for an elected mayor and city council for the District of Columbia, it leaves all real decision-making power in the hands of Congress and the White House.

"What is at stake," declared Omari Musa, SWP school board candidate, "is more than just a grab bag of elected officials or a reshuffling of government agencies. The real question is political power: Who will run this city and in whose interests?"



'The real question is political power,' said Omari Musa, SWP school board candidate.

Erich Martel, also running on the SWP ticket, described the "compromise" negotiated by Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) as "nothing more than cut-rate sops to the most racist and reactionary forces. Such deals are the stock-in-trade of capitalist politicians who masquerade as servants of the people while bargaining behind our backs."

The news conference was called by Charles Cassell, a member of the current D.C. school board. Cassell proposed "taking the case of Washington's colonial status to the United Nations, since it is clear that Congress has no intention of giving us self-determination."

Cassell had invited all eight at-large candidates for school board to attend, but only the SWP candidates chose to participate.

They were joined by Julius Hobson, prominent Black activist and former D.C. school board member, who denounced Congress's refusal to give the population of D.C. its basic political rights. Seventy-one percent of D.C. residents are Black.

The news conference was covered by the two major daily newspapers, three television stations, and several radio stations.

The House and Senate have now selected their conferees to iron out dif-

ferences between the two versions of the "home rule" bill. The racism underlying opposition to home rule was revealed by debate over whether Congress or the elected local government should have authority over D.C.'s criminal laws.

Congressman Delbert Latta (R-Ohio), speaking for the Houseversion, asserted, "Every citizen who fears for his life in the District sometimes ought to understand" that an elected city council would "let up on some of these acts as far as I'm concerned."

When Congressman Morgan Murphy (D-Ill.) suggested, "The [local] people in charge would make it more lenient," Latta responded, "No question about it."

Nan Bailey, SWP school board candidate in Ward 2, spoke on the home rule issue at a campaign banquet and rally held here Oct. 20. Seventy campaign supporters attended.

Bailey said, "The fight for home rule is the fight of Black people to control our lives and our communities. It's a fight that the Democrats, Dixiecrats, and Republicans alike are making it their business to oppose."

"Diggs and Fauntroy [nonvoting delegate from D.C.] and the other self-proclaimed Black saviors in Congress," she said, "have lied to us, betrayed us, and sold us down the river. The home-rule bill, and the back-alley deals surrounding it, are a case study of the criminal corruption of the system that socialists have been denouncing and fighting for years. It represents everything our campaign is battling against."

Guest speaker Gilbert Padilla, national secretary-treasurer of the United Farm Workers Union, compared the socialist campaign for D.C. school board to the struggle of La Raza Unida Party for Chicano control of schools in Crystal City, Texas, in 1970. He added, "We wish you the same success."

More than \$1,350 was contributed to finance the final weeks of the school board campaign and to help launch the 1974 SWP campaign for D.C. non-voting delegate to Congress.



Julius Hobson of D.C. Statehood Party denounced congressional 'compromise.'

Jenness backs Arab cause at Phila. rally

By JOE SANDERS

PHILADELPHIA—Seventy-five people attended a banquet here Oct. 19 in support of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for city office.

Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate, was the featured speaker. Jenness warned that the U.S. intervention in the Mideast carries the danger of nuclear war. "Just as in Vietnam," she said, "the U.S. government is willing to go to any lengths to maintain its grip on the Middle East."

Jenness derided the Zionist myth that Israel is an island of democracy: "The Zionists, in order to build an all-Jewish settler-state, expelled a whole people from their homes. The Palestinian liberation struggle is the fight to right this historic crime. . . ."

"Israel has deprived the majority of the people of Palestine—the Palestinian Arabs—of all national and political rights. That certainly has nothing to do with democracy," she said.

Jenness called for unconditional support to the Arabs in the current war, saying, "In this conflict, like in any other, we side with the oppressed against the oppressor."

Ann Beuf, member of the Indian Rights Association national board and a well-known feminist, was a guest speaker at the banquet. She said she was politically independent but wanted to explain the reasons that led her to support the SWP campaign.

Beuf said it was the example of the oppression of Indians and their struggle against it that gave her an understanding of the need to change society and led her to the conclusion that socialism offers a rational alternative.

Sally Simmons, representing the United Farm Workers Union, called for continued support to the UFW's struggle for union recognition against the Teamster-grower alliance.

Bruce Kaufman, SWP candidate for Philadelphia district attorney, spoke on his campaign against Republican incumbent Arlen Specter and Democratic candidate Emmett Fitzpatrick.



Militant/Howard Petrick

JENNESS: 'In this conflict, like in any other, we side with the oppressed against the oppressor.'

Both have declared they are willing to debate Kaufman but have yet to do so.

With a socialist district attorney, Kaufman said, the office would no longer be used to uphold inequality and racism, and to victimize those who dissent. He cited the illegal arrests of antiwar activists during a Nixon visit last year as an example of current practices.

A socialist, Kaufman said, would use the office to defend the people of Philadelphia against the real criminals—the banks and businesses that run the city in the interests of the rich.

Harvey McArthur, SWP candidate for city controller, outlined the financial requirements for a successful campaign. More than \$1,000 was contributed or pledged to continue the municipal campaign and launch the SWP gubernatorial campaign next year.

SWP candidates speak on Mideast in Pittsb'gh

By BRETT MERKEY

PITTSBURGH—The Socialist Workers Party candidates here have spoken before hundreds of people in street rallies and campus forums to condemn Israeli aggression in the Mideast.

The SWP is running Paul Le Blanc for mayor and Christina Adachi and Andrew Nakrin for city council.

An SWP campaign forum on the Mideast war at the University of Pittsburgh, featuring Andrew Nakrin, drew 50 people. This was one of the largest campus meetings any candidate has held this year.

The candidates were also invited to present the socialist viewpoint before the Duquesne University Veterans Association, Black Action Society of the University of Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Undergraduate Women's Union, Western Pennsylvania Women's Political Caucus, and Gay Alternatives of Pittsburgh.

Paul Le Blanc spoke to two classes at Canevin High School. His presentation was videotaped by students and will be shown in future classes. The SWP candidates have also been invited

to speak at Winchester-Thurston High School.

The SWP will wrap up its election campaign with a rally on Saturday, Nov. 3, at the campaign headquarters, 304 S. Bouquet St. The initial speakers list includes José Moreno, sociology professor and organizer of an ad hoc committee on Chile, and Ruth Quierio, a veteran of the Trotskyist movement in Pittsburgh.

The SWP has decided to call for a vote to Beth Edelman, Communist Party candidate for city council. The CP declined to challenge Pete Flaherty, incumbent mayor and nominee of both the Democratic and Republican parties. But it is contesting one of the five at-large council seats open in this election.

In a letter to Beth Edelman, the SWP candidates stated, "In spite of the deep political differences between our parties, we are urging Pittsburgh voters to vote for you in November as the candidate of a party in the socialist movement running against the capitalist parties and candidates."

SWP candidates call for 'No' vote

Behind Rocky's N.Y. transit bond blackmail

By DICK ROBERTS

NEW YORK—"Don't tell anyone I told you this and don't use the information without letting me check upstairs first." These were the parting remarks of a municipal bond expert for the Chase Manhattan Bank. He was interviewed recently at the bank's bond headquarters, 35 floors above Chase Manhattan Plaza in the heart of New York's downtown financial district.

The information the bond expert hesitated to disclose was that at an unspecified date the Chase Manhattan Bank held up to 10 percent of the long-term outstanding debt and up to 25 percent of the short-term debt of New York City.

This means that one bank, overwhelmingly owned by the Rockefeller family (David Rockefeller is chairman of the board), takes in tens of millions of dollars in interest on New York City debts every year.

The 1972 New York budget, for example, allocated more than \$1-billion to interest payments. If the Chase Manhattan Bank held about 10 per-

Dick Roberts is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City controller.

cent of these bonds, it would have collected more than \$100-million last year alone. This money comes out of the pockets of New York City taxpayers.

The information is highly pertinent because Governor Nelson Rockefeller is now attempting to blackmail New Yorkers into voting for a new \$3.5-billion transportation bond issue Nov. 6. Rockefeller asserts that if this bond issue isn't passed, New York subway fares will have to be increased from



If bond issue passes, banks will profit by millions of dollars—but subway conditions aren't likely to improve

35 cents to 60 cents immediately.

The money raised from the bonds is supposed to be spent partly on improving the New York subway system. Rockefeller doesn't explain that his own bank will purchase many of these bonds and that it will be the major recipient of the profits they return in interest payments.

Despite support for the bond issue from the New York City Central Labor Council and most politicians in both capitalist parties, most New Yorkers are not enthusiastic about it. They voted down a similar but smaller bond issue in 1971 and they may do the same this year.

One capitalist politician, Liberal Party mayoral candidate Albert Blumenthal, who hasn't a chance of being elected, has come out against the bond issue.

According to Blumenthal there is

already enough money in some "hidden surplus" New York State fund to prevent a subway fare increase. The sum, \$200-million, is being kept secret by Rockefeller who wants to use it as an "election year surprise" in next year's gubernatorial campaign, says Blumenthal.

Blumenthal's charges may or may not be accurate. But the problem of inadequate public transportation in New York City is not fundamentally a problem of lack of money.

New York State and its metropolitan megalopolis constitute one of the richest areas in the world. Forget about the rotten subways for a moment and look at the skyscrapers in Manhattan, which are the headquarters of the nation's most powerful corporations.

They are going up at the record rate of six a year. Each of these build-

ings costs in the hundreds of millions of dollars (and the luxurious executive offices at the top with gold faucets in the bathrooms and marble toilet bowls are only a small part of the outlay).

One doesn't have to be an economist to recognize there are billions of dollars around here.

The problem is that this money is owned by a tiny minority. The ruling class is not interested in spending money on subways. After all, it is not them but their maids, secretaries, and janitors who live in the wretched slums and come to work every day on the dangerous and deteriorating trains.

The transportation bond is a gimmick for making money. There have been many such bonds issued since the New York subways were constructed around the turn of the century—and the effect they have had on improving

Continued on page 26

New York socialists map pre-election blitz

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK—In the final days before the Nov. 6 municipal elections here, the Socialist Workers Party candidates and their supporters are conducting an all-out drive to take the socialist position against Israeli aggression in the Mideast and other crucial issues to thousands of New Yorkers.

The candidates are speaking at campus and community meetings, street rallies, and TV and radio appearances.

In addition, SWP campaign supporters are mobilizing to distribute more than 200,000 pieces of campaign literature, including two recently printed stickers.

Maxine Williams, SWP candidate for Brooklyn borough president, recently spoke at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. Nine of those who heard her decided to form a campus socialist study group.

Norman Oliver, SWP mayoral candidate, has been touring the city's campuses, and will speak on at least six more before election day.

Oliver and Williams addressed an outdoor rally at Brooklyn Tech High School Oct. 13. Oliver has also spoken at rallies at Music and Art High School in support of two Young Socialist Alliance members running for student government there.

On Oct. 13, Oliver addressed 150 people at a Gay Activists Alliance candidates' meeting.

SWP campaigners have found a good response among Communist Party supporters to the "Open Letter

to the Communist Party" from Norman Oliver.

The letter explains why the SWP calls for a vote for the three CP candidates running in districts where the SWP has not fielded candidates. Despite its disagreement with the program of the Communist Party candidates, the SWP considers that a vote for them would indicate rejection of the capitalist Democratic and Republican party candidates in favor of candidates of a working-class political party.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Norman Oliver, SWP mayoral candidate, will speak at street rallies throughout New York City.

The "Open Letter," which has been distributed at CP public meetings and to people staffing CP campaign tables, also urges the Communist Party to support the four SWP candidates where the CP is not running. The Communist Party has not officially responded to this letter.

However, several young CP supporters have expressed agreement with the request to support the four SWP candidates. One woman in the Young Workers Liberation League said she intended to read the "Open Letter" to the next YWLL meeting. Others have said they will seek a discussion of the letter with CP campaign coordinators.

Richard Ariza, SWP candidate for Manhattan council-at-large, spoke on Oct. 20 to a rally of 30 people sponsored by the Chelsea Coalition Against Budget Cuts. Also present were CP candidates Georgia Henning, running for city council District 2, and Roque Ristorucci, running for city council president. Henning is one of the CP candidates for whom the SWP urges a vote.

A longtime CP supporter, who said she voted SWP when the CP wasn't running, asked Ariza to explain the differences between his party and the CP. Ariza explained that one of the central differences was the SWP's uncompromising opposition to all capitalist party candidates, as against the CP's support to "lesser evil" Democrats.

Ariza cited the CP's support to Herman Badillo in the Democratic mayoral primary as an example of this misleading strategy. A lively debate followed between Ariza and Ris-

torucci about whether support to Badillo was an effective means of fighting racism.

After the meeting, the CP supporter who asked the question presented a copy of Oliver's "Open Letter" to Ristorucci and urged support to the SWP candidates. Several other CP supporters asked for copies of the letter.

Join in SWP campaign effort

Supporters of the New York SWP ticket are urged to join in the final campaign effort. Activities are being organized out of all three SWP campaign headquarters: In Manhattan at 706 Broadway (near W. 4th St.), and 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.); in Brooklyn at 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S).

Tuesday, Oct. 30, 5 p.m.—Rush-hour rallies and leaflet distribution at subway stops.

Wednesday, Oct. 31, all evening—Postering throughout the city.

Saturday, Nov. 3, 11 a.m.—ALL OUT for a full day of street rallies and literature tables.

Tuesday, Nov. 6, all day—Election day leaflet distribution at the polls.

Tuesday, Nov. 6, 8 p.m.—Election night celebration, Crystal Room, Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43 St.

For more information call 982-4966.

CoDEL announces support for Detroit ballot fight

DETROIT—Maceo Dixon appeared at a news conference Oct. 16 with two young candidates for Detroit common council to announce that they are taking their case against the age requirements of the city charter into U.S. district court. Dixon is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor.

Dixon's \$100 filing fee was accepted by the city clerk in May. But in July, as a result of a court of appeals decision, Dixon, who is 24, was ruled off the ballot because he does not meet the age requirement of 30.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

MACEO DIXON: Too young to be on ballot?

Nineteen-year-old Jamie Scott Fields, a candidate for common council (for which the required age is 25), joined with Dixon in suing the city. The suit was sponsored by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). Ron Reosti, a CoDEL attorney, and ACLU attorney Richard Soble began preparations for the case.

Soble and the ACLU had successfully represented Mark David Manson in a 1972 case against the age requirement for common council. But it was the Manson case, which the appeals court sent back to district court for another hearing, that led to the exclusion of Dixon and Fields from the ballot.

Tim Craine, Michigan coordinator for CoDEL, explained the case to *The Militant*. "In the lower court's Manson decision," Craine said, "the judge ruled that the city has 'no compelling reason' in setting age requirements. He ruled that the burden of proof lies with the city to show that it has good reason for keeping young candidates off the ballot, and the city was unable to demonstrate that."

"But then the court of appeals shifted the burden of proof to the plaintiffs. We must show that there is no 'rational basis' for age requirements."

At the news conference, Ernest Mazey, chairman of the Michigan Civil Liberties Union, outlined the ACLU's support to the age requirement challenge.

Mark Manson, who also spoke at the news conference, emphasized his belief that all "people legally recognized as adult citizens [should] be treated equally under the law. . . . and be entitled

to enjoy the same rights, responsibilities, and privileges."

Jamie Fields said the city clerk's ruling "was not merely depriving one or two individuals of the right to seek elective office, but creating a gross injustice by not allowing the young people of the city of Detroit the right to elect a candidate of their choice."

Dixon stressed that he is continuing to campaign for office and is raising the right of young people to seek office. He urged voters to write in his name for mayor on Nov. 6, since neither of the officially recognized candidates, former police commissioner John Nichols and Black Democratic State Senator Coleman Young, has a program that meets the needs of Detroiters.

Statements of support for the suit were read from Mel Ravitz, common council president, and Councilwoman Erma Henderson. Manson's case is scheduled to be heard Oct. 17. Dixon's and Fields's case is set for Oct. 19.

Cleveland Democrats upset with Scherr as write-in

CLEVELAND—When Democratic candidate James Carney withdrew from the Cleveland mayoral race Oct. 11, leaders of the Democratic Party felt betrayed. Because the primary on Oct. 2 was "nonpartisan" they could not replace Carney with another Democrat.

The Cuyahoga County board of elections ruled Oct. 15 that the election would be held with only Mayor Ralph Perk's name on the ballot. This new situation meant that the only alternative to Republican Perk was Roberta Scherr of the Socialist Workers Party, who was eliminated from the ballot in the October primary but who has continued as a write-in candidate.

Hugh Corrigan, Democratic county commissioner, told WJW-TV he was concerned that if something happened to Ralph Perk before the elections "we'd have to turn the city over to Roberta Scherr."

To ensure the capitalist monopoly in the 1973 election, Mercedes Cotner, clerk of the city council, filed as a Democratic write-in candidate. Cotner told the news media she would not actively campaign unless Perk died or was disabled. In that case, she



ROBERTA SCHERR: The only serious alternative.

said, she would campaign to keep the socialists out of city hall.

Not to be outdone, Perk's son also filed as a write-in candidate so that if something happened to his father there would be a Republican in the run-off.

In addition, seven other candidates, including Anton Krchmarek of the Communist Party, have filed as write-in candidates. But as far as many Clevelanders are concerned, Roberta Scherr is the only serious alternative to Perk.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* conducted a street interview to determine how voters viewed the change in the present electoral situation. One Black east side resident was quoted in the Oct. 22 issue as saying, "I might vote for that girl Roberta what's her name." Another said, "I'll vote for Roberta Scherr as a symbolic gesture. She'd have a chance to win if she had some money behind her. . . ."

Roberta Scherr has filed suit against the board of elections to demand that her name be placed on the Nov. 6 ballot in place of Carney's. The suit has already received front-page coverage in Cleveland newspapers and has been widely publicized on television and radio.

The SWP ballot fight has already received the endorsement of numerous groups and individuals in the Cleveland area. In addition, many new people have endorsed the SWP campaign. Among these is Brother Diablo, director of the Black Unity House, a community service center in the Black community.

Young Socialists for Scherr have set up meetings on every campus in the city between now and the elections. In addition, many community groups have invited Scherr to address their meetings.

Fein hits Hughes Tool Co. W'gating in Houston

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

HOUSTON—Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, has charged a Watergate-type attempt to circumvent the electoral process to the Hughes Tool Company.

In early October, the company distributed a statement to its 3,000 employees, "warning" them of the SWP and its campaign newspaper, *The Militant*. Fein's supporters are distributing a leaflet to Hughes workers answering these slanders.

In the message to Hughes workers Fein wrote: "In its statement Hughes Tool Company says the Socialist Workers Party is 'working to overthrow our freedom of action, which we enjoy as Americans.' This is a lie. It is the management at Hughes, not the SWP, that is trying to tell you what you can and cannot read."

"This is nothing more than Watergate tactics on the part of the Hughes management: an attempt by the wealthy corporations and their servants to interfere in the electoral process."

"The SWP is a legal party. We will be on the ballot in Houston on election day."

Fein is demanding that he be allowed to tour the plant to investigate reports of unsafe working conditions. He proposes that the company organize a meeting on company time at which all the mayoral candidates will be able to address Hughes workers.

All the SWP candidates have been busy with speaking engagements as election day approaches. The highlights include a 10-minute slot on Channel 39 recently for Fein, followed the next day by a half-hour appearance on the local NBC affiliate, where Fein was interviewed by a panel of three reporters. Fein put forward his views on U.S. aid to Israeli aggression in the Mideast, inflation, and other topics.

On Oct. 18, the Lynn Eusan Institute, a militant, largely Black organization headed by Gene Locke, chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee, held a forum for the mayoral candidates.

Fein's reception by the all-Black audience was indicated by the first



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

DAN FEIN: 'This is an attempt by the wealthy corporations and their servants to interfere in the electoral process.'

comment made after his presentation. "Everyone but the socialist candidate, Fein, has nothing to say about the real problems we face, like jobs."

City council candidates Brenda Brdar and Kathy Stallworth, along with school board candidate Kris Vásquez, spoke Oct. 20 at a YWCA-sponsored meeting for all women candidates.

On Oct. 18 Vásquez spoke at a rally at Texas Southern University, a predominantly Black school. Later that day she confronted Ku Klux Klan candidate for school board Scott Nelson at a meeting organized by the education department at the University of Houston. The exchange between the two was reported on the front page of the student newspaper the next morning.



Militant/Paul McKnight

KRIS VASQUEZ: SWP candidate for Houston school board.

An appeal for a real dialogue with the PSP

By DOUG JENNESS

In a resolution adopted at its first U.S. convention last April, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) encouraged the development of a dialogue with other radical organizations.

Entitled "Unity within the Left in the United States," the resolution stated that the PSP wanted "a genuine ideological debate that enriches the application of the science of Marxism-Leninism to the reality of the United States."

Ramón Arbona, the party's first secretary in the U.S., has now launched this discussion in the PSP's newspaper, *Claridad*. Unfortunately the tone of Arbona's articles is not that of a "dialogue" but of a harsh and sweeping attack on the entire American left.

He charges that U.S. radical organizations, without exception, are uninterested and ill-informed about Puerto Rico, arrogantly express "great nation chauvinism" toward revolutionaries in other countries, lack unity and efficiency, and orbit too much around the "polemics in the socialist world." He also charges they are responsible for "the absence of a class struggle in the United States," react in "tail-like" fashion to national and international events, and establish a "proliferation of 'fronts' to optimize 'issues.'"

This is only a partial list of the sins allegedly committed by all U.S. radicals. But it shows the scope and nature of his attack. To avoid any suggestion that he's showing favoritism, he specifically criticizes both the "countless groups with trotskyst tendencies" and the Communist Party.

A central weakness of Arbona's polemic is that he tries to make generalizations that encompass organizations and publications with such diverse and opposing views as the Stalinist Communist Party, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and the Maoist *Guardian* newspaper. Most of his generalizations are not broad enough to include all the groups. Those that are, are so sweeping as to be virtually useless politically.

More importantly, however, this approach avoids a discussion of the political positions of each of the various organizations in the radical movement. Arbona dismisses the disputes between radical organizations as sectarian and irrelevant, particularly those related to differences on international questions. He chides the North American left for its "disunity."

It has often been the dream of some utopians that if all those who consider themselves socialists or even Marxist-Leninists could get together in the same party, their strength would be much greater. If this were possible no revolutionary socialists would oppose it. But the reality is that the disagreements within the radical movement reflect genuine differences on how to make the American socialist revolution.



Claridad

PSP'S RAMON ARBONA: Fails to discuss political issues.

For example, the Socialist Workers Party opposes supporting capitalist candidates, while the Communist Party has consistently supported Democratic Party candidates for many years. These two opposing strategies lead to very different approaches to the struggles of the oppressed.

The CP's policy was to try to lead the movement against the Vietnam war into supporting the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class and electing Democratic "doves" to Congress. The SWP, on the other hand, helped lead the antiwar movement along a course of mobilizing hundreds of thousands in actions organized independent of the capitalist parties. This was the course that helped organize a genuinely effective mass movement that contributed to the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Opposing strategies

What would the logic of these two opposing strategies be during a pre-revolutionary or revolutionary situa-

tion, when the capitalist class might find it to its advantage to have socialists participate in the government. The logic of the SWP's line would be to oppose this and promote the establishment of a workers' government. The CP's line would lead it to participate in such a "popular front."

History has unfortunately confirmed on too many occasions, Chile being the most recent, that socialist participation or collaboration with capitalist governments is not a road to socialism. In fact it politically demobilizes and disarms the mass struggle for socialism. So what may appear to some to be minor tactical disputes today could well mean the difference between victory or defeat tomorrow.

Thus the disunity in the radical movement has a political origin and not an organizational one as Arbona suggests when he writes: "Disunity is a symptom; the product of an inability among left leaders to generate an organization capable of involving the working class and providing endemic organizational structures, channels for action, to unleash its political struggle."

The SWP recognizes political disunity as a fact. It is precisely this fact that underlines the need for revolutionary socialists to debate with other radicals in order to clarify and reclarify the different strategies put forward.

Recognizing this programmatic disunity, however, we continue to urge unity in action, around specific issues on which all radicals can or should be able to agree.

The closest Arbona gets to discussing a political issue is his reference to "trotskyist tendencies, who support socialism everywhere except where it is already in power." This is followed with a jab at radicals who criticized actions of the Popular Unity government in Chile.

Confusion

But this is all very confused. Which "trotskyists" is Arbona referring to? The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance? In which countries does he think socialism exists? The Soviet Union? China? Cuba? Sweden?

An editorial in the Sept. 16 *Claridad* declared, "The process that was taking place in Chile, where conditions for the complete taking of power by the

people and the construction of socialism were being created, was too menacing for the interests of imperialism in Latin America." Does this mean the PSP believes capitalism was going to be overturned by the Allende regime? The SWP does not think so.

A discussion on these questions helps to determine a political stand in respect to important international events. It also helps in hammering out the most effective program for making the socialist revolution in the U.S. Such a program would be enriched by the experiences, both negative and positive, of revolutionists in other countries.

While actively participating in the movement to defend political prisoners in Chile, the SWP and *The Militant* have been drawing the lessons of the recent tragic events in Chile. What lessons does Arbona draw from the defeat of the Chilean working class?

We would welcome a dialogue with



Does PSP think Allende government offered the way to socialism?

Arbona and other PSP members on such questions.

Such a discussion could prove fruitful. But all-encompassing charges of "chauvinism," "inefficiency," "mercantilism," "cannibalism," and "petty-bourgeois origins" do not serve to illuminate the differences between the PSP and other radical organizations. They cloud the issues and lead to the kind of factional atmosphere that Arbona himself says he dislikes.

Student strike closes University of Puerto Rico

By MIRTA VIDAL

A student strike has shut down the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR). Río Piedras, attended by 25,000 students, is the largest and most important of the UPR

campuses.

The strike was sparked by the unilateral decision of the board of higher education to fire the president and several deans. The students are demanding that the faculty, students, and

campus workers be consulted in the selection of a new president and deans.

They are also demanding adoption of a new university law, a new set of campus regulations, and student-faculty control of the campus guards.

The new university law the students want would replace the present outmoded and repressive one and would give students much greater say in running the university. In an earlier action, 3,000 UPR students took part in a march and rally to demand greater student participation and adoption of the new law. (See *Militant*, April 27.)

The decision to strike was unanimously reached at a meeting of 2,000 to 3,000 students on Oct. 15 called by the General Student Council.

Some campus buildings were taken over by students the first day of the strike but were later abandoned. Picket lines were then set up at each of the seven campus entrances.

The strike has been entirely effective. *El Mundo*, San Juan's major daily,

said the campus "gave the impression of being a desert."

On Oct. 16, nonteaching campus staff also went on strike, demanding an increase in salary. The strike was called by the Brotherhood of Exempt Non-Teaching Employees, representing 1,500 workers at the Río Piedras campus.

The interim dean responded to the strikes by announcing that classes were suspended. Entrances to the campus were sealed with chains.

In Ponce, the second largest city in Puerto Rico, some 200 students took over the Regional College Oct. 20. Several students have been suspended as a result of this action.

According to the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario*, the present strike at UPR is the first since 1969, when students succeeded in throwing the ROTC program off campus.

The former president of UPR, Amador Cobas, called this "the most serious crisis in the university's history."



Militant/Mirta Vidal

April action at Río Piedras campus. New strike demands greater say in running university.

USLA launches a national speaking tour in defense of political prisoners in Chile

NEW YORK—The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has announced a national speaking tour by Linda Wine, an eyewitness to the coup in Chile. Wine will tour major cities in the U.S. as part of USLA's campaign to mobilize support for the rights of the thousands of political prisoners still held by the junta.

Wine returned from Chile Oct. 10, 29 days after the coup. She was a student at the Catholic University in Santiago and was active in the Patriotic Women's Committee, a coalition of women from several political parties.

After the coup, Wine was harassed by the military because she was a foreigner. Although her apartment was raided six times, she was not arrested. Thus she was able to observe the military's attacks on democratic rights and U.S. complicity with this



Militant/Bob Wilkinson

USLA table at George Washington University in D.C.

repression.

USLA chapters have already begun to arrange campus meetings, forums, and interviews with the press for Wine, whose tour begins Nov. 1. For more information on her speaking engagements, contact the USLA national office at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

The importance of gaining a wide hearing for Wine was underscored by a report in the Oct. 22 *New York Times* on continued arrests and killings in Chile. The report said the UN-founded Latin-American School for Social Sciences in Santiago considers the threat to the lives of foreigners so great it has halted all classes. Two Bolivians attending the school were recently found dead after their arrest by the military.

USLA is also on a campaign to sell the emergency issue of *USLA Reporter*, with eyewitness coverage of the repression in Chile and proposals for action in defense of political prisoners. In the week-and-a-half since the issue came off the press, orders for 7,000 copies have been filled, according to *Reporter* editor Judy White. Many organizations are ordering large bundles, White said, taking advantage of the bulk rate offer of 100 copies for \$8.

At an Oct. 15 Chile memorial rally in New York, 200 *Reporters* were sold. Another 75 were sold outside the New York offices of the Chilean airlines during a performance by the Living Theater protesting repression in Chile.

USLA has received an excellent response to its telegram campaign demanding safety and democratic rights for prominent individuals whose lives are in danger in Chile. One example of the impact of this type of campaign is the case of Chilean Com-



Militant/Bob Wilkinson

U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) helped organize this Oct. 12 teach-in in D.C. as part of local week of protest activities around Chile.

munist Party leader Luis Corvalán. An Oct. 6 article in a northern Chile newspaper, *La Estrella del Norte*, quoted General Augusto Pinochet as saying: "With respect to the life of Corvalán, because approximately 5,000 telegrams were received by me from all over the world, it should be pointed out that Corvalán is going to be brought to the courts in a trial..."

In addition to the telegrams to the junta, other protests continue on an international scale. The Sept. 28 *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), reports that the Transport and General Workers Union has called for an international boycott of Chilean trade. Ivar Noren, general secretary of the International Metalworkers Federation, has issued a complaint to the United Nations, protesting the massacres of workers and closing down of trade unions in Chile.

At the National University of Mexico, the Trade Union Council of

Teachers and Researchers has published a statement demanding that the university repudiate the violation of university autonomy in Chile; open its doors to professors, students, and intellectuals forced to flee Chile; and ask the Mexican government to extend the right of asylum to all foreigners coming from Chile.

In Washington, D.C., USLA and the Common Front for Latin America (COFFLA) were among the groups sponsoring a week of activities focused on political prisoners in Chile. Three hundred people attended a teach-in Oct. 12, and a similar number came to a memorial meeting Oct. 14.

Trade-union statements denouncing the repression and the banning of unions in Chile have come from the officers of District 65, Distributive Workers of America; the state executive board of Social Services Union Local 535 in California; and Local 1746 of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in Cleveland.

Why Communist Party fears debate over Chile

By CINDY JAQUITH

Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party USA, is resorting to gutter-level slanders against revolutionary socialists in an attempt to stifle discussion of the lessons of the coup in Chile.

In a speech at an Oct. 15 Chile meeting in New York, Hall said:

"To all those who are celebrating the fascist military victory in Chile, we send the following messages:

"First to the Trotskyites, who... now celebrate the setback by mocking and exaggerating whatever shortcomings there may have been..."

"These petty-bourgeois Monday-morning ideological buzzards hover over the bodies of heroic, revolutionary fighters trying to find some political bone to pick on."

Hall's message is clear: if you criticize the policies of the Chilean CP or Allende's Popular Unity coalition, you are "celebrating" the tragic defeat of the Chilean people.

This crude attack is the latest attempt by the Stalinists to discredit opposition to their "popular front" strategy—a strategy that facilitated the right-wing coup in Chile.

The "popular front" line—which has paved the way for the crushing of revolutionary movements in Spain, France, Indonesia, and elsewhere in the past—is based on the false premise that the workers' movement can achieve socialism peacefully by grad-

ual stages through a bloc with "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie. For the last three years, the Communist Party in this country and in Chile argued that Allende's government was proof of the success of this class-collaborationist "peaceful road."

During the same period, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance explained that the Chilean masses could not rely on Allende and the Chilean army to defend the gains made by the working class. The fail-



Militant/Flax Hermes

HALL: Seeks to bury Communist Party's latest betrayal by reducing Chile defeat to 'momentary setback.'

ure of the popular front now stands as tragic proof that workers cannot establish socialism without replacing the apparatus of the capitalist state with their own apparatus, including their own defense organizations.

The Stalinists, however, have launched a frenzied effort to divert attention from these lessons of Chile. They have tried to paint the coup—widely recognized as a defeat of historic proportions—as merely a "setback." In his speech Hall explained that "setbacks are momentary... they are moments for the preparation of new advances, for new victories," as though the massacre of thousands of workers and students in Chile had never happened.

Some articles in the Stalinist press have gone so far as to portray the coup as a sign of "weakness" on the part of the junta. The Sept. 15 *People's World*, West coast newspaper of the CP, put forward the incredible analysis that "... the military has obviously acted from a position of weakness, not strength, attempting to strike while they still have the opportunity."!

This sorry effort to minimize the defeat in Chile has its parallel in the way the Stalinists sought to downplay Hitler's rise to power in Germany by taking the position, "After Hitler, us." After all, if there was no defeat, there can be no talk of mistaken policies—all's well.

But while Hall talks reassuringly

of "momentary setbacks," the workers in Chile continue to face the terror of mass arrests and executions—carried out by the army the CP told them to trust.

What answers does the Chilean CP offer these militants?

Eager to cover up his party's latest betrayal, imprisoned CP leader Luis Corvalán hastens to admit to unspecified "errors" (*Daily World*, Oct. 19). But, he says, "I have a tranquil conscience because, as the whole world knows, we organized a revolution without violent action, without having to use arms."

But this is precisely the point! The revolution in Chile was *never* organized, because of the CP's class-collaborationist strategy and the lack of a revolutionary party to provide genuine leadership.

These are the issues now before revolutionary socialists in Chile and the rest of the world, the issues that Stalinist hacks like Hall want to push into the background.

Rather than bury these questions, the most extensive debate possible is needed. That debate must start with an honest assessment of the situation today in Chile and the false strategy that paved the way for the coup. Far from "Monday-morning bone-picking," this discussion is crucial if the revolutionary movement is to draw the lessons that can prevent another betrayal like that in Chile.

St. Louis Blacks demand a voice in union

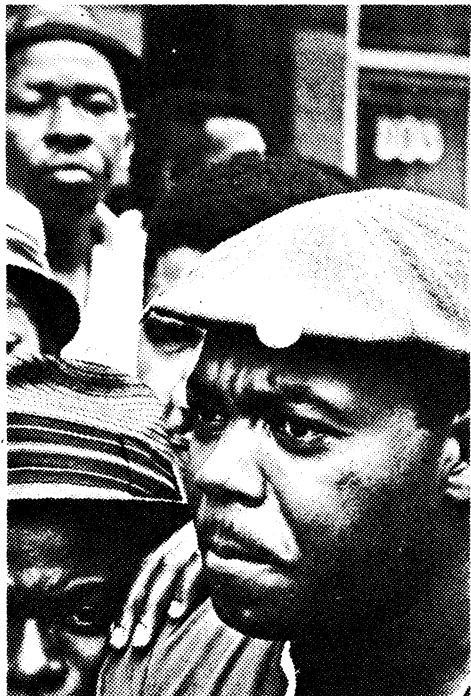
By PAT HAYES

ST. LOUIS—Carrying signs reading "Mercalo Keep Your Promise," and "We Don't Want Toms Representing Us," 20 Black members of Local 545 of the Butchers and Sausage Makers union picketed their own union headquarters here Oct. 15.

"We are here to get what we were promised by the International [the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen]—a Black representative in the union," said Gertrude Dickson, one of the pickets. Almost half the union's 6,000 members are Black, she told *The Militant*, yet there is only one Black union official. And Local 545 President Ed Mercalo seems bent on keeping things that way.

Racism and the lack of democracy in Local 545 have created tremendous resentment among the Black membership. This pressure recently led the International to authorize a Black business agent for Local 545, to be appointed "by the union." The International is to pay part of the cost for the new staff member.

The current struggle is over how the new Black representative will be chosen. Mercalo has picked Percy Francisco, the only Black on Local 545's board, over the protest of the Black rank and filers. The pickets said angrily that Mercalo's attitude was equivalent to saying, "You'll take what we give you."



Black trade unionists, who now number more than 9 percent of organized labor, are making it clear they want full representation in the unions.

Most Blacks in the union feel that Francisco will not be able to stand up for their rights against the white union trustees. They want Cliff Wilson, a Local 545 shop steward, for the job. They believe he will best represent them in battles with the union hierarchy.

The pickets were also angry over the high salaries of union officials. They pointed out that the money for those salaries comes out of their pockets, and that they wanted a say over how it is spent.

"All we want is a fair shake," one picket said. "We ought to be able to pick our representative."

'United Minority Workers' picket Ore. union

By JOHN STUDER

PORTLAND, Ore.—The United Minority Workers (UMW), a group of young Blacks, Chicanos, and Indians fighting to break into the construction trades, picketed the offices of Operating Engineers Local 701 here Oct. 15. They were protesting the most recent example of the union's discriminatory policies.

The incident that sparked the picket line was Local 701's refusal to accept a transfer for an operating engineer from Washington state. Mr. Call, the engineer, had been upgraded by his Washington local on the basis of his work experience. He was then scheduled to take a job his company had offered him in Coos Bay, Ore.

The transfer to the Oregon local would have been a mere formality—except that Call is an Indian.

The construction industry has a national reputation for its racist practices. Most construction union officials run their unions as white job trusts, keeping the industry closed to workers from oppressed nationalities.

Local 701 has a history of being one of the most openly racist unions in the state. Although it has almost 6,000 members, it lists only 200 minority members. Even this figure is a fiction, however, as counts taken at construction sites show that only 17 Blacks, Chicanos, and Indians are actually working.

The United Minority Workers was formed early this year in response to this racist discrimination. The group has grown to more than 300, and has carried out a number of actions to gain preferential hiring to make up for decades of exclusion.

While Local 701 has been a particular target, the group has also filed suit in federal court against the contractor's association and closed down with militant picket lines a number of construction sites. The closures have won jobs for a small number of minority workers.

Twenty-five United Minority Workers members and supporters took part in the Oct. 15 picket of Local 701. The action apparently had quite an effect on the union bureaucrats.

Russ Joy, president of Local 701, tried to cover over the undeniable discrimination in his union by telling reporters that the picketers were a bunch of hysterical people who had threatened his life.

What had actually happened was that Joy had referred to United Minority Workers members as "niggers," a good example of the racism that permeates the union. This led UMW Chairman Nathan Proby to say that "Joy would be sorry if he stepped outside and said that." Joy then attempted to turn this remark into a "death threat" to fuel further racist prejudice against the UMW's efforts.

UMW members and supporters vowed to continue their actions until they had forced the contractors and the unions to accept Black, Chicano, and Indian workers. At the end of the demonstration, the pickets gathered in front of Local 701's door and chanted, "We Shall Return!"

Oregon migrants, Indians hit cut in day-care funds

By KENNETH EARDLEY

PORTLAND, Ore.—Seventy-five Chicanos, Indians, and migrant workers picketed the state capitol in Salem Oct. 12 to protest the cutoff in funds to five child-care centers managed by the Valley Migrant League (VML).

State and federal funding to the VML is controlled by the Migrant-Indian Coalition (MIC). Despite its name, the MIC's 18-member governing board has only four members who are Chicanos or Indians. The board's white chairwoman, Rita Swyers, is the wife of an important apple grower who employs migrant labor.

Swyers, who organized a counter-demonstration at the state capitol, has tried to portray the fight as an organizational squabble between the MIC and the VML. But the real issue is better child care, controlled by the parents.

As Pat Melendy, a Hupa Indian, explained to the demonstrators, "The issue today is that the people who now control migrant and Indian funds are not migrants or Indians. We are saying that if they have money for migrants and Indians, we want migrants and Indians to control it."

Migrant parents are particularly angry over the fact that while the MIC staff is supposed to be unpaid volunteers who allocate available funds, its operating budget consumes 44 percent of the money allotted for migrant and Indian child care.

Frank Martinez, director of the VML, demanded an immediate investigation of the MIC, with public hearings. He also called on the state to recognize a new group, the Indian and Migrant Child-Care Coalition, and to grant it sufficient funds to set up child-care centers independent of the MIC.

State officials agreed to consider these requests, but the situation is complicated by the fact that a bill recently passed by the state senate set up a new council to handle the state's child-care funding.

Rita Swyers "represents" the Indian and migrant parents on this council, and several other MIC board members are also seated on it. The bill effectively denies any voice to groups like the Chicano-Indian Studies Center of Oregon (CISCO), the American Indian Movement, and the Urban Indian Program—all of which have been active in the struggle to gain better child-care facilities.



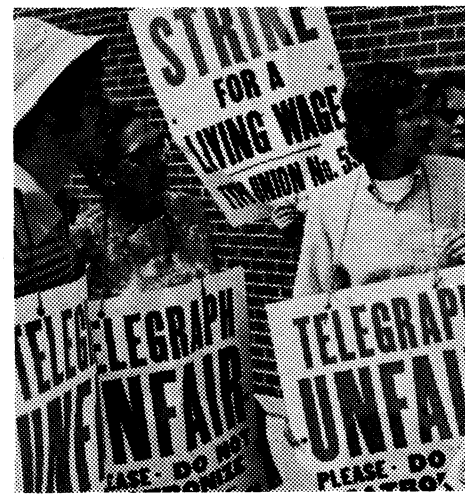
Washington, D.C., Working Mothers Day protest, 1973. Day-care cutbacks across the country have sparked protests.

Ohio strikers publish their own daily

By BRUCE KIMBALL

PAINESVILLE, Ohio—Striking employees of the *Painesville Telegraph* have taken a big step forward in their four-month old strike. They have begun to publish their own daily paper, *Lake County Today*, with an initial run of 4,000.

When the first issue rolled off the press Oct. 15, all the striking workers—circulation employees, printers, and reporters alike—celebrated the opening of a new stage in their struggle against the still-publishing *Telegraph*.



The 35 strikers, members of Cleveland Typographical Union Local 53, walked out July 6 to protest the extremely low wages paid by the *Telegraph*. Average pay at the time of the strike was \$95 a week, far below the usual wages in the industry.

The new paper has already won considerable support, especially from the labor movement. The Steelworkers union, for example, has pledged \$400 in ads to the paper, and another \$400 has been donated by the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

In addition, members of the United Auto Workers have invited the *Telegraph* strikers to take up a collection at the gates of Cleveland's huge White Motors plant. They have also offered to place *Lake County Today* stands in the plants.

One of the people involved in putting out the new paper is union activist Sally Dugan, who organized the massive subscription canceling drive the strikers have just completed. Dugan had drawn up the final statistics of that drive, and they were quite impressive.

Strikers visited well over 8,000 households, nearly a quarter of the county's residents. "Of the homes that had previously subscribed to the *Telegraph*," Dugan said, "we found that one-third had already canceled their subscriptions, primarily in support of the strike."

"Another third canceled right on the spot. We explained the issues to them and they filled out a card for us to send to the *Telegraph*."

At the beginning of the strike, she said, *Telegraph* circulation was a little over 20,000. Now it is estimated at only 8,000 to 9,000.

"These people aren't just canceling because they feel sorry for us," said Barb Schechter, who has also been active in the cancellation drive. "A lot of them have a high degree of labor consciousness. Many people in Lake County belong to unions, and they know the importance of sticking together."

Amnesty of John David Herndon

The Amnesty of John David Herndon by James Reston Jr. McGraw-Hill Book Co. New York, 1973. 146 pp. Cloth \$5.95.

From 1967 to 1971, about 350,000 U. S. soldiers deserted, the number increasing each year as the Vietnam war continued and antiwar sentiment intensified. Of these deserters, thousands remain abroad, as exiles, unable to return to this country for fear of imprisonment.

James Reston Jr., in this brief documentary account, places the issue of amnesty right side up and points the finger at the real criminals.

"Those who planned our involvement in Vietnam, who devised our inhuman concepts of devastation, and who executed the technological holo-

Books

caust are walking free among us and still hold positions of power," he says. "Few are asking if they deserve an amnesty."

John David Herndon was one of the hundreds of thousands of young men who either fled the draft or deserted the armed forces during the Vietnam war. Unlike most, he returned—to challenge the government's claim that he was a criminal.

Herndon joined the Army in 1966 and spent 14 months in Vietnam. He witnessed firsthand the daily atrocities, the routine killing of civilians, the torture of prisoners, and the corruption of officers.

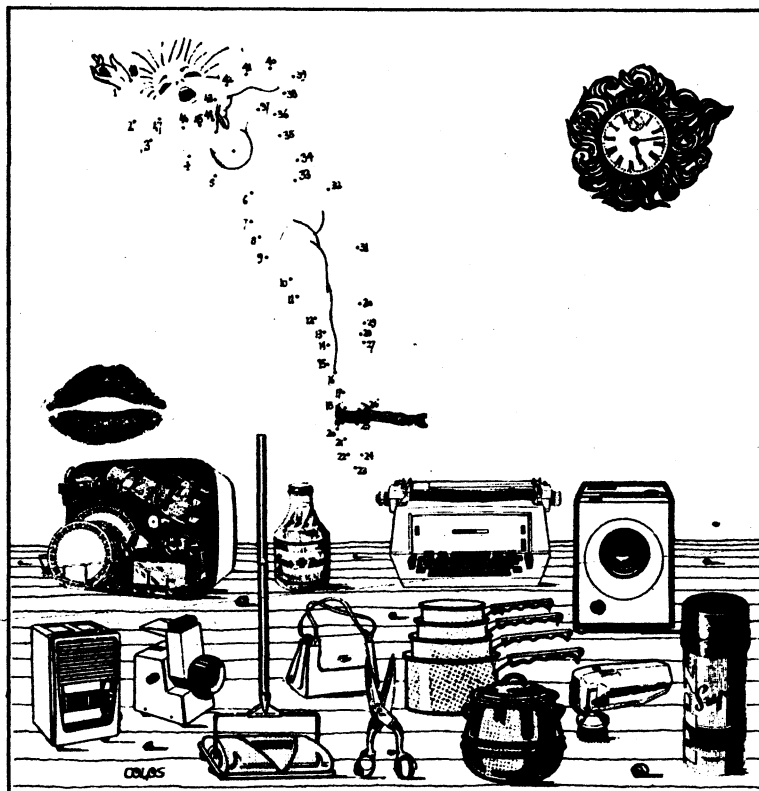
While stationed in Germany in 1969, he heard he was going to be sent back to Vietnam and promptly deserted. He went to France.

But Herndon was unable to integrate himself into French society and wanted to return to the U. S. In 1972, he was approached by Reston and two members of a New York-based group called Safe Return. They proposed that he return as a test case to gain publicity for the issue of amnesty. He agreed.

In a news conference in Paris, Herndon stated, "I am not going back asking the country for forgiveness. I have done what I think is right. That has been refusing to participate further in the war in Vietnam." The defense strategy was to take the charge of desertion to the courts, claiming that it was no crime to refuse to participate in war crimes. News conferences, demonstrations, and picket lines were planned to educate the public and win support for universal amnesty.

On reaching New York, John Herndon was immediately arrested. But a few weeks later he was simply given an administrative discharge; this was a partial victory. The military decided to back down rather than face a trial in which the government would be exposed for its war crimes.

— ERNEST HARSCH



Lessing: 'Summer Before the Dark'

The Summer Before the Dark by Doris Lessing. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, 1973. 273 pp. Cloth \$6.95.

Doris Lessing is one of the most significant established English authors. Her better-known works include *The Golden Notebook* and the multi-volumed *Children of Violence* series.

Lessing holds a special place in the recent history of literature by women, for her novels have been courageous efforts to record the female experience.

The Summer Before the Dark deals with anger and with the female quest for identity. Although less convincing than much of her earlier writing, *Summer* deals perceptively with female self-discovery.

The novel is about Kate Brown, a successful wife and reasonably successful mother of grown children—a "pretty, healthy, serviceable woman." Kate's family takes off for various parts of the world one summer, leaving her alone. She takes a translating job; travels

Books

to the Mideast; to Spain with a young man, where she catches a fever; returns ill to London; and ultimately, recovered, home.

The journey, however, is Kate's efforts to deal with aging; more, with herself. "The truth was, she was becoming more and more uncomfortably conscious not only that the things she said, and a good many of the things she thought, had been taken down off a rack and put on, but that what she really felt was something else again."

In the course of the summer Kate rejects, with effort, the woman who cares for others, and she begins to care for herself. She discards her beauty, discovering as she does so that she becomes invisible to the world; in particular, to men. "Men's attention is stimulated," she finds, "by signals no more complicated than what leads the gosling; and for all her adult life, her sexual life, let's say from twelve onwards, she had been conforming, twitching like a puppet to those strings."

Kate's transformation from object to person is symbolized by her hair. Through the novel it grows from a red "cut so that it felt like a weight of heavy silk swinging against her cheeks" to "a rough mat of brassy hair" with the "grey parting . . . three fingers wide."

When Kate, towards the end, thinks of returning home, she imagines "that she would walk into her home with her hair undressed, with her hair tied straight back for utility; rough and streaky, and the widening grey band showing like a statement of intent."

Since *The Golden Notebook* Lessing has changed, not, it seems to me, for the better. In *The Golden Notebook* she was more capable of dealing with the ambiguity and frustrations of the female experience. She tends now to impose a sense of finality I find hard to accept as real. Just as the ending of *The Four-Gated City* (last of the *Children of Violence* novels) was stuck on and artificial, so it strikes me that the conclusion of Kate's journey (" . . . to the bus stop and so home") is not true, too neat, too wrapped up.

The discovery that one has been twitching like a puppet on a string since the age of 12 is not resolved in a summer. Lessing captures much of the process of female self-discovery but stops too abruptly, concluding just where the fight begins.

— STACEY JOSLIN

Young Socialist series launched

What Socialists Stand For by Stephanie Coontz (50 cents). The U. S. Role in Southern Africa by Malik Miah (35 cents). Young Socialist Pamphlet Series. Published by Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973.

The Young Socialist Alliance, in cooperation with Pathfinder Press, has recently begun a Young Socialist pamphlet series.

The first Young Socialist pamphlet, *What Socialists Stand For* by Stephanie Coontz, has sold more than 1,300 copies since its publication two months ago.

Coontz provides a concise and popular explanation of the inability of capitalism to solve social problems. "Every time the needs of private property and the needs of the majority

Pamphlets

of people clash in this system," she states, "the issue is settled in favor of private profit. That is the essence of capitalism."

Coontz proceeds from this basic premise to answer many of the questions raised by young people about socialism: What will prevent power in a socialist system from falling into the hands of a dictatorial bureaucracy? How can you guarantee socialism will be democratic? What will human beings be like under socialism? How do we get from where we are to a socialist society?



The second pamphlet in the series is *The U. S. Role in Southern Africa* by Malik Miah, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance national executive committee. Miah documents U. S. aid to the Portuguese military in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, and explains how U. S. support to the racist regime in South Africa is based on preserving the superprofits of American corporations.

Miah also stresses the role that Blacks in the U. S. can play in exposing U. S. imperialism in Africa. The pamphlet includes an interview with three leading activists in the African Liberation Support Committee.

Copies of these Young Socialist pamphlets are available by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014. — SANDRA MAXFIELD

Help keep our sales teams on the road

By ANDREA MORELL

Getting out the truth about the war in the Mideast has intensified the activity of our two *Militant* and 12 *Young Socialist* teams. These teams are touring the country selling revolutionary literature and talking to people about socialism as part of *The Militant's* Forty-fifth Anniversary campaign.

The teams have found an exceptional response to *The Militant's* coverage of the war and support for our stand against Israeli aggression.

Andrea Morell is the chairwoman of the *Militant* Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund.

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, 150 students turned out to hear Dennis Brasky from the Chicago YS team and a representative from the Arab Student Organization speak on the Mideast. During their stop, the team sold 181 single copies of *The Militant* and 53 subscriptions.

All the teams have been on the road an average of four weeks.

At the University of New Hampshire in Durham, two members of the Boston YS team were interviewed by the editor of the campus newspaper. When the team was prohibited from selling on campus, the paper also ran an editorial in defense of their right to sell. It said political organizations should be welcomed as "important contributors to the educational experience."

After meeting the Pittsburgh *Militant* team in Erie, Pa., one student arranged for a team member to appear on an hour-long call-in show. The team last week went on to sell 60 *Militant* subscriptions in one evening and 70 the next day.

On many campuses the teams approach student organizations for sponsorship of literature tables. At Washburn University in Topeka, Kans., the Black Student Union sponsored a table for the St. Louis *Mili-*

tant team and volunteered to help staff it. At other campuses, women's groups and student governments have offered their aid.

Val Moller from the Pittsburgh *Militant* team was arrested for "soliciting" in Morgantown, W. Va. Not wanting to waste those few hours spent in jail, he sold two *Militant* subscriptions to fellow prisoners and passed his copy of *The Militant* around.

So far, the 14 teams have sold a total of 6,810 *Militants*, 6,095 *Young Socialists*, 129 copies of *International Socialist Review*, and 73 copies of *Intercontinental Press*.

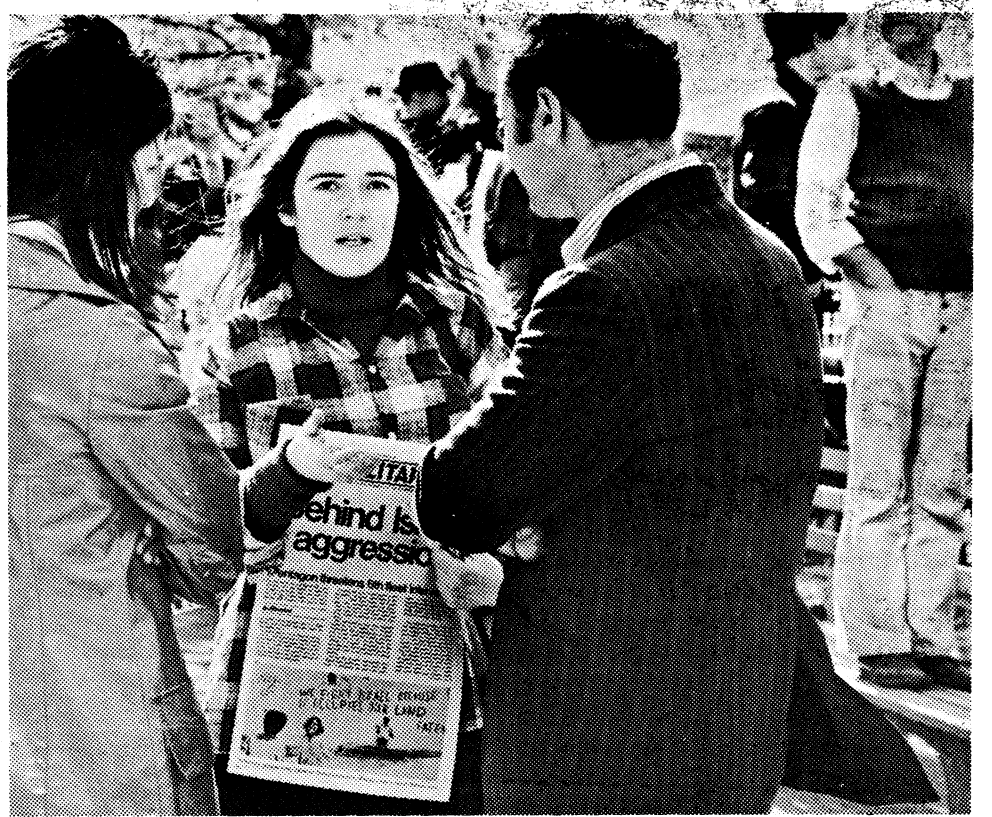
Subscription sales total 3,827 for *The Militant*, 241 for the *ISR*, 35 for the *YS*, and nine for the *IP*. Pathfinder literature sales have surpassed \$4,200. And through talking to the teams, 64 people have joined the Young Socialist Alliance, and eight new locals of the YSA have been formed.

The two *Militant* teams, which are concentrating most of their efforts on *Militant* subscriptions, aim to sell 1,300 subscriptions each for the eight weeks they will be on the road. The Pittsburgh team has now sold 799 subscriptions, and the St. Louis team, after selling 903 subscriptions, just raised its quota to 1,400.

The top *Young Socialist* team in single copy sales of *The Militant* (553) and *Young Socialist* (653) is the Twin Cities team. The most subscriptions have been sold by the Philadelphia-D. C. team—305 *Militant* subs and 31 *ISR* subs.

The Detroit-Cleveland team has sold the most Pathfinder literature—\$826 worth. And the New York team's activities have resulted in the most people joining the YSA—22 new members and three new locals.

With the help of our readers, the teams will spend another four weeks on the road. Their expenses—gas, food, literature—are being paid for by contributions to the *Militant's* Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund. Send us your donation today.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Militant is welcomed by Arab & Black readers

By NANCY COLE

Interest in *The Militant's* coverage of the Mideast war helped street sales of our Oct. 19 issue hit the 10,000 mark for the second time in this fall's sales campaign.

Two cities—Denver and Pittsburgh—made their goals for the first time.

The best sales across the country, in addition to those at Arab support activities, were in Black communities and on campuses.

The solidarity felt by America's oppressed nationalities with the Arab people was illustrated most graphically in the Black community. Chicago Socialist Workers Party sales director Lenore Sheridan reports people were lining up to buy *The Militant*, and sales in the Black community there totaled 167. Atlanta found a similar response, selling 200 in the Black community; Berkeley sold 175.

Pittsburgh supporters sold 207 on local campuses last week. A table set up at Boston's MIT campus resulted in 91 *Militants* sold in one day. Other campus sales included 238 in Chicago, 180 in Philadelphia, and 127 in Seattle.

Recognizing *The Militant* as the only paper that tells the truth about the war, a number of new readers volunteered their help in circulating it. In Portland, Ore., Arabs invited the SWP to sell at a rally in the Arab community and also suggested a number of other places to sell.

At the Association of Arab-American University Graduates conference in Washington, D. C., last weekend (where 255 *Militants* and 33 subscriptions were sold), one woman took a bundle of 30 *Militants* to sell on her campus. And the owner of a store in Detroit's Arab community requested a bundle of 50 to distribute.

The Militant's front-page defense of the Arab people and warning against U. S. intervention have been put to good use, according to New York's Upper West Side supporters. They report that demonstrators have used front pages of *The Militant* as placards. At a rally during the Washington conference, an Arab speaker held up *The Militant* with the front-page headline on Nixon's war drive, declaring that spelled out the real situation in the Mideast.

There are three weeks left in our

campaign to maintain our goal of selling 9,500 copies weekly. (This is in addition to sales on newsstands and by the special *Militant* and *Young Socialist* sales teams.)

The war in the Mideast and the latest Watergate developments make these final weeks crucial. Members of the Seattle SWP and YSA have set an example by temporarily raising their weekly goal from 400 to 500. The scoreboard is growing each week with new, higher quotas. If you can help, fill out the coupon on page 27.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	% SOLD
Brooklyn	450	696	155
Portland	300	369	123
Houston	450	500	111
Atlanta	400	438	110
Detroit	400	437	109
Philadelphia	375	403	107
Seattle	500	530	106
St. Louis	225	233	104
Chicago	700	719	103
Denver	375	385	103
Upper West Side	475	488	103
Pittsburgh	300	304	101
San Diego	350	355	101
Bellingham	30	30	100
Bowling Green	15	15	100
Columbus	40	40	100
E. Lansing	40	40	100
Madison	50	50	100
San Jose	25	25	100
St. Cloud	20	20	100
Boston	700	693	99
Los Angeles	500	480	96
Nashville	40	38	95
Bloomington	75	67	89
Oakland/Berkeley	900	800	89
Logan	25	22	88
Cleveland	350	305	87
San Francisco	500	430	86
Twin Cities	425	366	86
Washington, D. C.	350	300	86
Sacramento	20	16	80
Austin	140	106	76
Indianapolis	40	30	75
Louisville	25	18	72
Lower Manhattan	450	324	72
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK		10,072	
GOAL		9,500	

Militant 45th Anniversary Fund

Help keep *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* teams on the road by sending in your contribution to the *Militant* Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund. Last week only \$110 came in toward our goal of \$20,000. That leaves us with \$3,317.60 to raise by Dec. 15.

Next week the teams and other supporters will make a special effort to sell thousands of copies of this expanded, 32-page *Militant*. The events in the Mideast and the latest Watergate developments required a larger paper. We are relying on contributions to the Anniversary Fund to defray this extra cost.

Every donor of \$45 or more will receive a complimentary copy of the special volume *The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism*.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

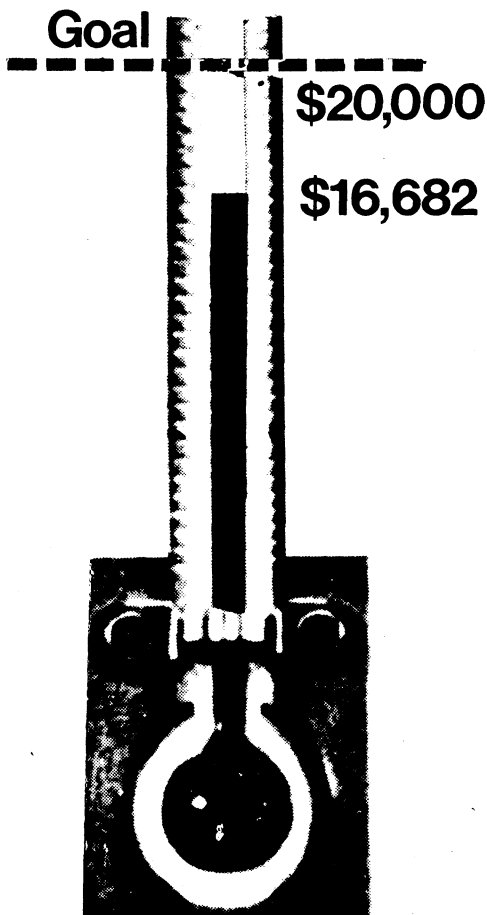
I would like to pledge \$_____ weekly until Dec. 15.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to The *Militant* 45th Anniversary Fund Campaign. Send to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Calendar

CHICAGO

45TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE MILITANT. Featured speakers: Andrew Pulley, 1972 Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate; Marcos Munoz, Illinois Farm Workers boycott director. Sat., Nov. 3. Dinner, 7 p.m.; rally, 8:30 p.m. 428 S. Wabash (across from Roosevelt University.) Official opening—new location. Donation: banquet and rally, \$5; rally only, \$1.50. For information call (312) 939-0737.

DENVER

BEHIND THE NEW WATERGATE CRISIS. Speaker: Fred Halstead, member of national committee of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

TEACH-IN ON MILITARY COUP IN CHILE. Sun., Nov. 4. Metro State College. 1 p.m.: U.S. involvement in the coup. Panel—Jose Calderon, cochairman, Colorado Raza Unida Party; Ricardo Romero, Crusade for Justice; Salvatore Bizarro, professor, Colorado College. 2:30 p.m.: Pat Bell, reporter, Daily World; 3:30 p.m.: Fred Halstead, member of national committee of Socialist Workers Party. 5 p.m.: Rally in defense of Chilean political prisoners. Ausp: USLA, Crusade for Justice, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Raza Unida Party, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Communist Party. For more information call (303) 333-7325, 934-5923, 222-0825.

DETROIT

POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET UNION. Panel: Bohdan Klid, past president, Ukrainian Student Organization of Mykola Michnovsky; Marilyn Vogt, contributor to The Militant and Intercontinental Press; others. Fri., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) TE 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES

DEBATE ON THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT. Speakers: Peter Buch, author of Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis; spokesperson for Zionist viewpoint to be announced. Fri., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

GALA BANQUET TO CELEBRATE THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT. Sat., Dec. 1. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Gourmet meal, entertainment. Admission: \$6, students \$4. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

ROCKEFELLER'S DRUG LAW: NEW WEAPON OF POLICE TERROR IN BLACK COMMUNITY. Speakers: Conrad Lynn, noted civil liberties attorney; Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York; Fri., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 706 B'way (near Fourth St.) Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Lower Manhattan Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PITTSBURGH

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY AND PARTY. Speakers: Paul Le Blanc, SWP candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh; Jose Moreno, author of Barrios in Arms; Ruth Querio, longtime socialist activist. Sat., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SEATTLE

"REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY": FILM ON THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE. Fri., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Mirta Vidal, Militant staff writer recently returned from Latin America; Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle. Sat., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. University Tower Hotel, 4507 Brooklyn N.E. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN: Hear Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, debate four other mayoral candidates. Mon., Oct. 29, 7 p.m. Mpls. Public Library; Thurs., Nov. 1, 8-8:30 a.m. Van Deusen interviewed on "News and Views," KMSP-TV, Channel 9.

THE CRISIS IN WASHINGTON: NIXON VS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS. Speakers: Michael Arnall, nat'l field sec'y, Political Rights Defense Fund; Jane Van Deusen. Fri., Nov. 2 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

...rally

Continued from page 8
worth of Israel bonds.

Supporters of the proposal called Israel "a bastion of democracy in the Middle East."

In his statement, McArthur pointed out that Israel was the aggressor in the Mideast and called the Arab struggle to regain all Arab lands "a just struggle and one that we must support totally."

George X. Schwartz, president of the city council, called McArthur's statement, "the kind of junk we've been hearing about Israel for a long time from some groups." He did not dispute any of the facts of Israeli aggression that McArthur had cited, however.

...transit

Continued from page 19
the conditions of the trains does not need comment.

A statement issued by the Socialist Workers Party candidates for city office calling for a "no" vote on the transportation bond is being distributed by the thousands, and it is receiving much interest. After explaining the

fraudulent use of the bonds to make profits for the banks, the leaflet raises five demands:

"Public transportation should be free! Instead of us paying fares to get to work, the employers should pay these fares.

"Increase corporate taxes! The city should be financed by the profits of banks and industry, not taxes on workers.

"Cancel all payments on the debt services! Use the \$1-billion now paid, tax-free, to the banks to rebuild the subway system.

"A public review of the mass transportation problem is urgently needed! The books of the Metropolitan Transit Authority and Port Authority should be opened in order to determine who actually profits from tolls and fees for highways, bridges, tunnels, subways, and airports.

"The present MTA and PA should be replaced by a publicly owned transportation authority controlled by the workers who run it and the riders who use it."

Matthew Guinan, president of the 150,000-member Transport Workers Union, is drumming up labor support for Rockefeller's bond. James Mendieta, SWP candidate for Brooklyn district attorney and a member of the TWU, explained in a recent interview that Guinan's position is not in the interests of transit workers.

Mendieta said it is important to get the truth about the transportation bond out to transit workers because they are told that their wages will not be raised unless they support the bond. And if the bond fails, this will be used as an argument against wage increases.

Mendieta fully supports the TWU's announced demands for substantial wage increases and a cost-of-living clause in the union's upcoming wage negotiations.

He said, "An escalator clause in the contracts of bus and subway workers would be real protection against inflation. The argument that New York 'can't afford' to pay such increases unless we vote for the bond issue is a fraud perpetrated by the bankers who rule this city."

...Dist. 1

Continued from page 28
lingual educator Luis Fuentes as its superintendent. It instituted bilingual-bicultural Spanish and Chinese pro-

grams and Black studies programs. It hired 200 bilingual paraprofessionals.

The board also moved the district office to the heart of the Puerto Rican community and opened its doors to the parents, making it an organizing center for the fight to better our children's education.

Since it took office in July, a racist, illegally elected, UFT-backed school board has attempted to reverse this. One week ago it voted to suspend Mr. Fuentes. It voted to move the district office to a section of the district inaccessible to the majority of Puerto Rican and Black parents.

That was a slap in the face of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities. And we are not taking it sitting down. We began organizing a boycott in District 1 to show that oppressed minorities are the majority in the Lower East Side. The boycott is to show the white masters of District 1 that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese, and no one else, must and will determine our fate.

Two days after the illegal board met, a much more authoritative body met at JHS 71. I attended that meeting and it convinced me of something I'd like to relate to you.

The auditorium was filled with parents, students, and teacher supporters from the district. On the stage sat 20 mostly Black and Puerto Rican women, presidents of the parent's associations. This body is the Presidents' Council. They gave reports on the progress of the boycott to this mass meeting for its approval. And the Presidents' Council began organizing alternative schools for their children. For the last week the schools in District 1 have been run by the Presidents' Council with the approval of such mass meetings.

I think this is the way schools in District 1, in Harlem, in Bedford-Stuyvesant, and other Black and Puerto Rican communities should be run.

Bodies like the Presidents' Council, which really represent the parents and students, should be given the full power to hire and fire personnel; the decision-making power over curriculum; and they should receive the money they need (like the \$42-million that Fuentes requested for the last school year to provide a decent education for Lower East Side youth).

In the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities we are the majority, and we should run our schools. Until that is accomplished the educational crisis in this city will remain unsolved.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, c/o Tim Clennon, 1837 13th St., Tucson, Ariz. 85719. Tel: (602) 623-1079.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 'E' St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-5242.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Krista Zane, 514 1/2 San Benito Ave., Los Gatos, Calif. 95030. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 712 Bolton Walk #204, Goleta, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401. Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Jerry Crist, 3843 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, Christopher Starr, c/o Dept. of Entomology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996. College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP and YSA, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

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

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Phil-yaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8476 University Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 522-3216.

Memphis: YSA, c/o Maryrose Eannace, 3681 Winchester Pk. Cr. #7, Memphis, Tenn. 38118. Tel: (901) 365-2528.

Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 37203. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

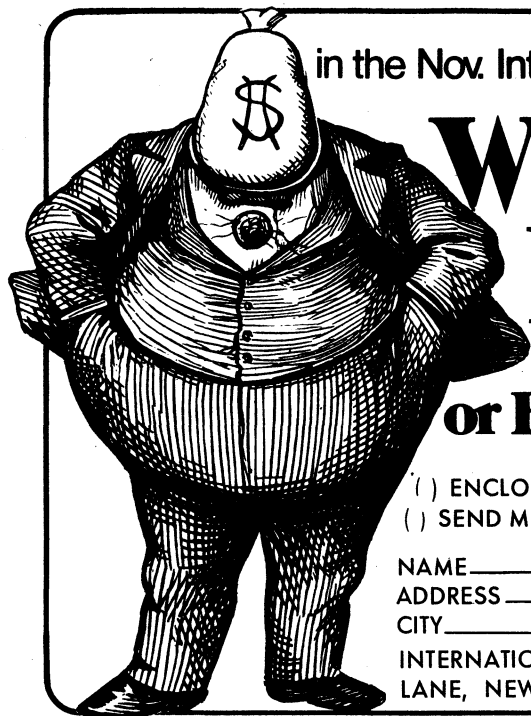
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E. St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

Bellingham: YSA, Viking Union Bldg., Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-1893.

WEST VIRGINIA: Huntington: YSA, c/o Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va. 25701. Tel: (301) 525-6323.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 145 N. Butler, Madison, Wis. 53703. (608) 251-5716.



in the Nov. International Socialist Review

Who Rules Nixon?

Western tycoons
or Eastern bankers?

By Dick Roberts

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Socialist Workers Campaign Rally

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 8 p.m. University Tower Hotel, 4507 Brooklyn N.E.
Admission: \$1.50, h.s. students 75c. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

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by Hugo
Blanco

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Their Morals and Ours

MARXIST VS. LIBERAL
VIEWS ON MORALITY

LEON TROTSKY/JOHN DEWEY
GEORGE NOVACK

Despite their own involvement in the Vietnam war, the coup in Chile, the Mideast war, Watergate corruption, and a wide variety of "dirty tricks," U.S. politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties never tire of denouncing Marxist "immorality" or "amorality." Is Marxism really antithetical to human values, as such politicians and their apologists claim? What is revolutionary morality? What is the real significance of, and answer to, the question—does the end justify the means?

Directed against the liberal and anarchist critics of Marxism in the late 1930s, Leon Trotsky's classic essay *Their Morals and Ours* answers these questions. Also included in this collection is a response by John Dewey, American liberal philosopher and pragmatist, and an essay by George Novack answering Dewey's criticisms.

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Parents hit racist school board in NY's District 1



Militant/Michael Baumann

Recent boycott organized by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents showed determination to win control of their schools.

By KATHERINE SJOJOURNER

NEW YORK — Parent leaders in Manhattan's District 1 announced Oct. 23 the lifting of the successful three-day school boycott by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese students.

The boycott had been called to protest the Oct. 16 suspension of Superintendent Luis Fuentes by the racist District 1 school board. Fuentes was reinstated by a federal court order on Oct. 19.

At a news conference on the steps of the Federal Court Building, Miriam Gonzalez, president of the district's parent associations, warned:

"Parents are taking this time to prepare, including setting up alternative schools, should this racist school board attempt any further outrageous acts against this community. If necessary, we will act again."

Following the news conference, more than 200 community residents demonstrated at the federal courthouse demanding a new school board election

in District 1.

Inside the courthouse, hearings were in session on a suit to invalidate the May 1 elections in District 1 because of violations of the rights of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese voters. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund have filed the suit on behalf of the Coalition for Education in District 1.

Prior to the May 1 elections, the school board supported control of education by the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents whose children make up 93 percent of the district's student body. This board had hired Fuentes and instituted many measures to make the schools meet the needs of the pupils.

In the May 1 elections, however, a slate opposed to community control, backed by United Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker, won the majority on the new board. This racist majority has tried to wrest all deci-

sion-making power from the parents in District 1.

The school board majority's latest move was the suspension of Fuentes and the abolition of parent screening of the district's personnel procedures.

In response, the Presidents' Council, made up of the presidents of the parent associations in all twenty District 1 schools, called for a boycott and mass meetings of parents. Community activists immediately began organizing leafletting teams and sound trucks to inform the community of the suspension of Fuentes and the boycott call.

More than 11,500 of the district's 17,000 pupils stayed home Oct. 18, the first day of the boycott. That afternoon 800 parents came to a meeting called by the Presidents' Council. As the figures on school attendance were reported, the audience broke into prolonged and excited applause with cheers of "Fuentes Si, Shanker No—

the racist board must go!"

Speaker after speaker at the meeting emphasized that the community had to rely on unified action by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents and their supporters.

Carmen Dean, president of the Parent Association at JHS 71, said, "We are fighting for our children's education, for our basic legal right to control the schools. We will not be defeated. The racists say that Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese can't do anything, but we will show them."

As the meeting ended, the response of the participants was unanimous: "Boycott!"

Five hundred people attended another boycott meeting that evening.

The next day Federal Judge Charles Stewart issued a temporary restraining order against the suspension of Fuentes. Judge Stewart's ruling also restored the hiring and dismissal procedures in District 1 and prevented the moving of the district office out of the Puerto Rican community until a decision is reached on the legality of last May's school board elections.

Another mass meeting took place Oct. 21 at which hundreds of parents and community activists discussed what strategy to follow in light of this court victory. They adopted the Presidents' Council proposal for another boycott on Oct. 23, followed by a peaceful, legal march to the courthouse.

The Oct. 23 boycott and march were successful. Picket signs carried by demonstrators demanded an end to the reign of the illegal, racist board and supported Luis Fuentes and community control. Picketers, almost all of whom were Black and Puerto Rican, chanted: "What do we want—community control! What do we have—a racist board!"

Socialist backs District 1 parents

The following statement was submitted by Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, to the New York State Education Department hearings on the school decentralization law now in effect in New York.

Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese children receive a racist and irrelevant education in New York public schools. These students and their parents have been fighting for years for a decent education. This is the critical problem of education in the city which I wish to address myself to.

The 1969 decentralization law, which you are discussing today, was born out of this struggle for Black and Puerto Rican control of Black and Puerto Rican education. That struggle continues today.

The decentralization law did grant community boards a few powers, but real control over the education of oppressed minorities remains in the hands of racist whites. Whites who are not concerned and do not even know about the educational needs of our children.

Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese have no say over the hiring and firing

of most personnel, including teachers. We have no control over the curricula. We can make no decisions of importance on budgeting. In short the most important decisions affecting the education of our youth are not made by us.

Despite the inadequacies of the decentralization law, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese in school District 1 made a number of gains during the '72-'73 school year. The District 1 community won a majority Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese school board. It selected experienced bi-

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