

# THE MILITANT

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

## What alternative to Nixon gang?

What is the alternative to the pack of thieves, swindlers, and liars who today occupy the positions of power and influence in the Nixon administration? This is the question that confronts American working people whose eyes have been opened by the recent Watergate disclosures to the total corruption of the existing government.

The hypocritical rhetoric about a government "by the people" stands in stark contrast to the reality illuminated by Watergate: this country is ruled by a tiny elite, an aristocracy of bankers, industrialists, and corporation

### An Editorial

executives, who profit from the existing system of wars, racial oppression, and class exploitation.

It is this elite, the capitalist class, that buys and sells the politicians—from the local ward-healers all the way up to the president himself. The powerful rulers of ITT, the food and oil monopolies, the biggest banks, and the rest of their class are the ones who put Richard Nixon in office.

In response to the widespread mood of

revulsion at the corruption that has been exposed, the ruling class is now debating whether it is in their interests to let Tricky Dick stay in the White House. A growing number of the real power brokers want to contain the spreading disillusionment with capitalist politics by replacing Nixon. They want a president with a less tarnished image to accomplish their key goal of restoring the confidence of the mass of American people in the "institutions of the Republic," that is, in their class rule through the two capitalist parties.

But the problems facing working people can't be solved by putting another capitalist politician in to replace Nixon, be it through a new election, or the impeachment or resignation of Nixon.

It is the capitalist system that is responsible for Watergate in the first place.

And it is the capitalist system that is responsible for bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war, as occurred last week.

It is this system that is responsible for the secret wars waged by the imperialists in Vietnam and Cambodia, and for the worldwide secret counterrevolutionary apparatus, like

that which aided the military coup in Chile.

It is the capitalist system that perpetuates and breeds racism, because racism is profitable to the exploiters of labor.

And it is the capitalist system that allows prices to skyrocket, while holding real wages down, causing hardship to workers, while profits soar.

Capitalism in its period of decline concentrates more and more power in the hands of men like Nixon, as the rulers constantly chip away at democratic rights—like the right to strike and the right to dissent without being bugged or otherwise spied on.

An effective fight against this system of wars, repression, and corruption must be based on the working class, not on the capitalists who profit from this system.

To meet the problems facing working people today, the union movement should use its immense power to mobilize massive opposition to the policies of both the Democratic and Republican parties, whose joint policies have led not only to Watergate, but to Vietnam, soaring prices, and nuclear confrontations.

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## How the Arabs were driven out of Palestine/15

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## THE MILITANT

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**PUERTO RICAN MARCH ON WASHINGTON:** On Tuesday, Oct. 30, demonstrators marched from the Justice Department to the White House chanting, "U. S. Out of Puerto Rico," and "Free Our Political Prisoners." Organizers of the march estimated that some 3,000 people participated. Most of the marchers were young Puerto Ricans who had traveled to Washington, D. C., from New York.

The United Front for the Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners called the demonstration to demand the release of Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero, and Irving Flores. The five are Puerto Rican prisoners held in this country since the 1950s.

After two hours of picketing, a rally was addressed by Carlos Feliciano and Jose Sotomayor of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party and the Reverend Ben Chavis, representing the National Committee Against Racism and Repression.

## New paper more costly, we need readers' help

Readers will notice that this issue of The Militant is printed on heavier paper than the newsprint we customarily use. We have been forced to use this more expensive paper by the continued shortage of newsprint, which is affecting newspapers all over the country.

The paper for this issue will cost us more than twice as much as newsprint—up some \$800.

Our paper problems come at a time when The Militant is getting out the truth about developments in the Middle East. The Militant's exposure of Israeli aggression and our support for the Arab peoples has been an important means of combating the lies of the capitalist media.

We are determined to continue this coverage, even if we have to use more expensive paper for several more issues.

Many readers have already contributed to The Militant this fall through the Forty-fifth Anniversary fund drive to raise \$20,000 by Dec. 15. Now with the increased cost of our paper, it is important for us to not only meet, but to surpass this goal.

We have now received \$18,178 in contributions to the fund, thanks in part to the generous donations of supporters at recent Militant anniversary banquets in Houston and Boston. Supporters in other cities plan such banquets in coming weeks. They will be a key source of financial support for The Militant, and we urge all our readers to attend.

Help us go over our \$20,000 goal by sending in your contribution today.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Make checks payable to The Militant 45th Anniversary Fund Campaign, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

**NEW EVIDENCE IN CARLOS FELICIANO CASE:** New York Judge Oliver Sutton has ruled that reasonable doubt existed in the recent trial of Carlos Feliciano, who was found guilty and sentenced to four years in jail for possession of a bomb and related charges. The certificate of reasonable doubt will be a strong point in the appeal William Kunstler, Feliciano's lawyer, has filed.

Judge Sutton also ruled that Feliciano's \$30,000 bail would be continued during the appeal process. Sutton's rulings were handed down Oct. 26, the same day Feliciano was supposed to surrender himself to Judge Arnold Fraiman—the trial judge—to begin serving time.

Kunstler had presented evidence before Sutton that district attorney John Patton was aware that the fingerprint expert in the trial had admitted his findings were in error, but that Patton never presented this new evidence to the defense or the court.

The testimony of the fingerprint expert was the only direct evidence linking Feliciano to bombings. Judge Fraiman said at the time sentence was pronounced that if he had been aware of the new evidence during the trial, the case would have never gone to the jury—Feliciano would have been found not guilty.

**'SABOTAGE' OR SPEEDUP?:** Workers at the General Motors Assembly Plant in St. Louis are outraged at GM's claims of "sabotage." It has been reported that criminal indictments will be handed down as a result of fires and damage to cars at the 9,000-worker plant.

Members of United Auto Workers Local 25 have stated in interviews that damage occurs because production lines are operated without enough workers and at speeds im-

possible to maintain. "The big wheels come down from the office and try to get one guy to do three guys' work," one worker said. "When he can't keep up, they yell 'Sabotage.'"

Other workers are convinced GM claims "sabotage" when it shuts down lines for such reasons as lack of parts, which require the company to pay workers for a full day. A maintenance worker who repairs lines supposedly "sabotaged" insisted the company also uses such charges as retribution against workers who complain about plant conditions.

In Lordstown, Ohio, where speedup provoked a bitter strike last year, four masked pickets were arrested Oct. 18 at 5 a.m. outside the GM complex. Such pickets, masked because they could be fired for provoking a "wild-cat" strike, have shut down Lordstown GM production over local grievances before. After the recent arrests, so many workers walked off the job in protest the Vega plant had to be closed.

**COMMITTEE TO DEFEND SALM KOLIS FORMED:** The Committee to Defend Salm Kolis has been organized to oppose the San Diego city administration's attempts to prosecute Kolis for her political beliefs.

Kolis was the Socialist Workers Party-endorsed candidate for city council from District 7 in municipal elections this fall. During the race she was charged by the city attorney with falsifying her address on election filing papers, an offense carrying a sentence of one to 14 years in prison.

The charge against Kolis has nothing to do with her residency, but is an attempt by city officials to prevent

*This issue is four pages shorter than our usual 28 pages, requiring us to suspend publication of our World Outlook supplement. The reason for this cut-back is the more expensive paper we have been forced to use (see other box on this page.)*

*But we knew our readers would appreciate the special four-page feature starting on page 15 on 'How the Arabs were driven out of Palestine.' To make room for it we have dropped the following regular features: In Review, The Great Society, National Picket Line, and La Raza en Accion.*

her socialist views from getting a hearing in the city. This is the first case the city government has ever investigated, let alone prosecuted, concerning a candidate's address.

The defense committee is composed of individuals and groups that support Kolis's democratic right to hold her beliefs, although endorsers do not necessarily agree with them. Among the most recent endorsers are Mike Pancer, chairman of the San Diego American Civil Liberties Union, and Florynce Kennedy of the Feminist Party. Kolis's defense counsel, David Abernethy, has moved for dismissal of the case.

To endorse the committee or contribute to its work, write: Committee to Defend Salm Kolis, P. O. Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105.

—DERRICK MORRISON

## YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



**COMMUNITY CONTROL:** The Militant stands with the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents of New York's District 1. We support their struggle to control their children's education. For answers to the racist opposition to this struggle, subscribe to The Militant.

## Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- ( ) \$1 for three months of The Militant.
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- ( ) \$5 for one year of The Militant
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# W'gate: U.S. rulers scramble to restore confidence in gov't

By CINDY JAQUITH

Denying that he was "shell-shocked" or had "lost his senses," President Nixon declared to unbelieving reporters and millions watching his Oct. 26 news conference, "I have what it takes."

As proof of his ability to keep a grip on things, he cited the terror bombing of North Vietnam he ordered last Christmas. This chilling example was all the more ominous in view of his worldwide military alert the day before.

But people weren't buying Nixon's line. Last week polls showed that less than 30 percent of the population approves of Nixon's performance in office. An Oliver Quayle poll puts his approval rate at 22 percent.

## 'Fire storm'

The number of telegrams flooding the capital since Nixon fired Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox has reached 350,000. The overwhelming support they give to Nixon's ouster led General Alexander Haig, one of the president's few remaining advisers, to bluntly term the reaction a "fire storm."

AFL-CIO head George Meany, who only a year ago was "neutral for Nixon," now charged him with "dangerous emotional instability." The White House snapped back that Nixon's health is "excellent."

But outside the White House, the cars keep going by "honking for impeachment." The noise has gotten so loud that the police have begun giving out tickets for "unlawful use of the horn."

The decision to turn his tapes over to Judge John Sirica offered no relief to Nixon. "It was a measure of the collapse of confidence in his Administration that his surrender only set off speculation that the recordings had been doctored to clear him," commented *Newsweek*.

Even though the court order demanding the tapes gives Nixon the right to withhold matters concerning "national security" or "foreign relations," anything he holds back will be suspect. Sirica could be forced to challenge Nixon's selection.

A striking example of Nixon's lack of credibility was the widespread skepticism that greeted his troop alert. Mil-

lions dismissed what was actually a grave nuclear threat as just another ploy to divert attention from Watergate. This shook up the capitalist class quite a bit.

## 'Price too great'

"... even at a moment of potential nuclear crisis, questions have to be put about the motives of the man or men making those decisions, the crisis of authority in this country is exacting too great a price to be paid," concluded the editors of the *New York Times*.



**'NOW WE'LL PUT IN A NEW LAWMAN THAT WE CAN COOPERATE WITH'**

The *Times* speaks for only one section of the ruling class. But the same question is on the minds of all those who own the wealth in this country: Has the situation reached the point where the president is seriously limited in his ability to carry out their war policies and protect their profits? If so, what is the best way to get rid of Nixon, and how can it be done so that faith is restored in capitalist politics?

No doubt secret meetings on these issues are taking place right now, just as they were in 1968, when the Tet

offensive and U.S. antiwar sentiment reached crisis proportions for the Johnson administration.

At that time, Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, lawyer for the powerful DuPont family, met with a small group of other representatives of ruling-class interests to resolve the problem. None of the participants in this meeting were elected to any office; both Democrats and Republicans were present. Afterwards, these rulers apparently made LBJ an offer he couldn't refuse.

Johnson soon announced he would not run for reelection.

What decision will come out of the current discussions among the capitalists is not yet clear. One alternative, which is now getting serious attention in Congress, is impeachment.

While the Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee have begun to go through the motions on impeachment, they are proceeding very cautiously. Representative Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), head of the committee, had gone out of his way to assure Nixon of a "fair" investigation. "If [!] we find there are impeachable offenses, then we've got to move ahead," he said. "If not, fine."

## Clifford Plan

Others have not found it necessary to be so solicitous. Clark Clifford was arguing back in June for both Nixon and Agnew to resign so a "clean slate" could be appointed to fill their places. Renewed interest in the "Clifford Plan" on the part of the *New York Times* editors was indicated by their decision to reprint the proposal along with an editorial on the "crisis of authority."

Another alternative—new elections—is also being discussed. Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) has introduced a bill providing for presidential elections in 1974. Rumors are being reported by the media that Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) is quietly backing the plan.

In an article in the Oct. 30 *New York Times*, Boston's mayor Kevin White explained why he thinks new elections are the best way to rebuild confidence in capitalist politics. "Rather than increasing alienation and cynicism about the workings of a closed political system," he wrote, "the spe-

*Continued on page 22*

## Nixon's cup keeps running over

The drive for the ouster of Nixon gains fresh impetus each day as new scandals are uncovered. In its Nov. 5 issue, *Time* magazine reported on investigations of presidential crimes previously unknown to the public. According to *Time*, Archibald Cox was fired as special Watergate prosecutor in part because of his insistence on pursuing the following scandals:

- Secret activities of the White House "plumbers" that have never been revealed. Nixon says the activities must be kept confidential for reasons of "national security."
- The role of Secret Service and White House aides in violating the civil rights of anti-Nixon demonstrators at 1972 rallies for the president in Illinois and Tennessee.
- As yet undisclosed information on the tapping of phones of reporters and government officials.
- The "Town House Project," an operation that raised some \$4-million in 1970 for candidates supported by Nixon. The project got its name be-

cause it was clandestinely organized in the basement of a Washington, D. C., town house.

But these are only a fraction of the crimes now coming to the surface. Nixon is also being charged with the following:

- Personally intervening to halt a 1971 Justice Department antitrust case against ITT. Former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst has told Watergate prosecutors that Nixon ordered him to stop the case, which later ended in a favorable out-of-court settlement for ITT. Nixon's move came after ITT offered several hundred thousand dollars to finance the Republican 1972 convention.
- Dodging taxes on \$112,400 in profits that he and daughter Tricia jointly made in a 1972 Florida land deal. In addition, Nixon has yet to deny last month's report that he paid only \$792 in federal taxes in 1971, and \$873 in 1972.
- Raising import quotas and price supports on milk products in return

for campaign contributions from big dairymen. The milk dealers got the better end of the deal, reaping an estimated \$500- to \$700-million in profits from Nixon's actions. They promised to donate \$2-million to his campaign.

- Concluding numerous financial deals with chum Bebe Rebozo, who now faces charges that his Key Biscayne, Fla., bank knowingly sold \$91,500 in stolen stocks. Rebozo was also the caretaker of a \$100,000 gift to the president from billionaire Howard Hughes, made just as Hughes was in a sticky situation with an antitrust suit.

- Manipulating federal agencies such as the Treasury Department and Internal Revenue Service, in order to cover up phony income tax deductions.

- Doling out "Christmas package" pardons to figures such as gangster Angelo DeCarlo and former Teamster head James Hoffa in return for campaign contributions and personal gifts.



REBOZO & NIXON: How many financial deals yet to be uncovered?



# Watergate and the radicalization

By CAROLINE LUND

In the midst of President Nixon's troop alert, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was asked by reporters whether the alert might have been called for "American domestic requirements" rather than for diplomatic purposes.

Kissinger responded by saying that it is "a symptom of what is happening to our country that it could even be suggested that the United States would alert its forces for domestic reasons."

Reporters weren't the only ones who didn't believe the government about the troop alert. Columnist Pete Hamill reported that at a New York newsstand the day of the alert, people would look at the banner headline and laugh. One man said about Nixon, "This guy is really unbelievable. I mean he'd do *anything* to make us forget them tapes."

"Nobody believes Richard Nixon, even when he's waving the atom bomb around," Hamill concluded.

What is "happening to our country," as Kissinger puts it? Watergate has led to a deeper distrust of the government by masses of people than ever before. This distrust is one element of the general radicalization that has occurred in the U.S.



LNS

Black youths protest frame-up of Bobby Seale in 1970. Through police raids and frame-up trials, Nixon tried to destroy Black liberation struggle.

This radicalization includes widespread discontent with the way things are, disrespect for the government and other institutions of authority, and the challenging of a myriad of traditional values.

There has been a qualitative decline in the number of people who tend to think that things are going all right, progress is being made, and the government knows best about what it is doing. People find it more difficult to concentrate just on their own personal lives, ignoring bigger social and political questions.

The radicalization, which is now being further stimulated by Watergate, began in the 1960s, largely under the impact of the Vietnam war and the rise of the Black liberation struggle. Mass demonstrations and other forms of direct action became an accepted way to achieve changes.

The mood of revolt spread to other sectors of society, giving rise to the women's liberation movement, the Chicano movement, the prison rebellions, and gay liberation. Virtually every institution was touched by protests—the churches, the armed forces, the welfare system, the schools.

Young workers were also affected by the spirit of rebellion, although the trade unions themselves have yet to throw their powerful forces into struggle.

The radicalization reached a high point in the May 1970 upsurge provoked by Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the killing of the Kent and Jackson students. Millions of Americans protested the government's warmaking.

## Rulers frightened

This radicalization frightened the capitalist rulers of this country. While most liberals and even many radicals tended to belittle the importance of the antiwar movement and the radicalization as a whole, Nixon did not underestimate its potential power. Watergate measures like the 1970 "domestic security" plan were part of his attempt to crush it.

Nixon's attempt to counteract the radicalization included the stepped-up use of the police apparatus, agents provocateurs, buggings, and burglaries directed against the antiwar movement, Black and Chicano movements, and radical groups.

Although secret police measures and frame-up trials have long been used by the capitalist state against workers and radicals, Nixon escalated these tactics to a new level.

But despite all its dirty tricks, the government has been unable to crush the radicalization because the contradictions producing it are too deep. Although protest actions have decreased for various reasons, the distrust of the government, antiwar and antiracist sentiments, and general discontent have continued. The impact of the radicalization has even penetrated the government apparatus itself, including the armed forces and the government bureaucracy.

None of Nixon's attempts to stem the radicalization were successful.

● The Pentagon tried to keep U.S. war crimes secret. But leaks to reporters about the secret Cambodia bombings forced Nixon to use bugs even on members of his National Security Council. Daniel Ellsberg—who had been part of the high-level apparatus responsible for implementing U.S. war plans—decided to let the American people know about Washington's lies on the Vietnam war and released the secret Pentagon papers. Later, air force officers came forward to testify about secret bombing missions over Cambodia and Laos.

Young reporters sent to Vietnam were so affected by the nature of the war that they fought to tell the truth about it—resulting in exposures like the revelation of the My Lai massacre.

● Nixon hoped to cut off the radicalization by stepping up trials against leading antiwar and radical figures—a campaign begun by the Johnson administration with the conspiracy trial of Dr. Benjamin Spock. But the frame-ups were exposed, and in trial after trial, juries frustrated this attempt to intimidate the radicalizing sectors through repression.

The "revolt of the juries" in the long string of frame-up trials has been not only in support of the civil liberties of the defendants, but also is an expression of sympathy with their aims, and opposition to the government's aims in framing them up.

● Another Nixon ploy has been to cite "national security" as a justification for government secrecy and deception. But more and more people are rejecting this as a fraud, after seeing that what it means is the right of the government to bomb other countries in secret and burglarize innocent citizens.

Even Nixon's appeals for "national unity" in the face of the alleged "threat" to the "national interests" in the Mideast failed to galvanize popular support for the government.

## Business secrets

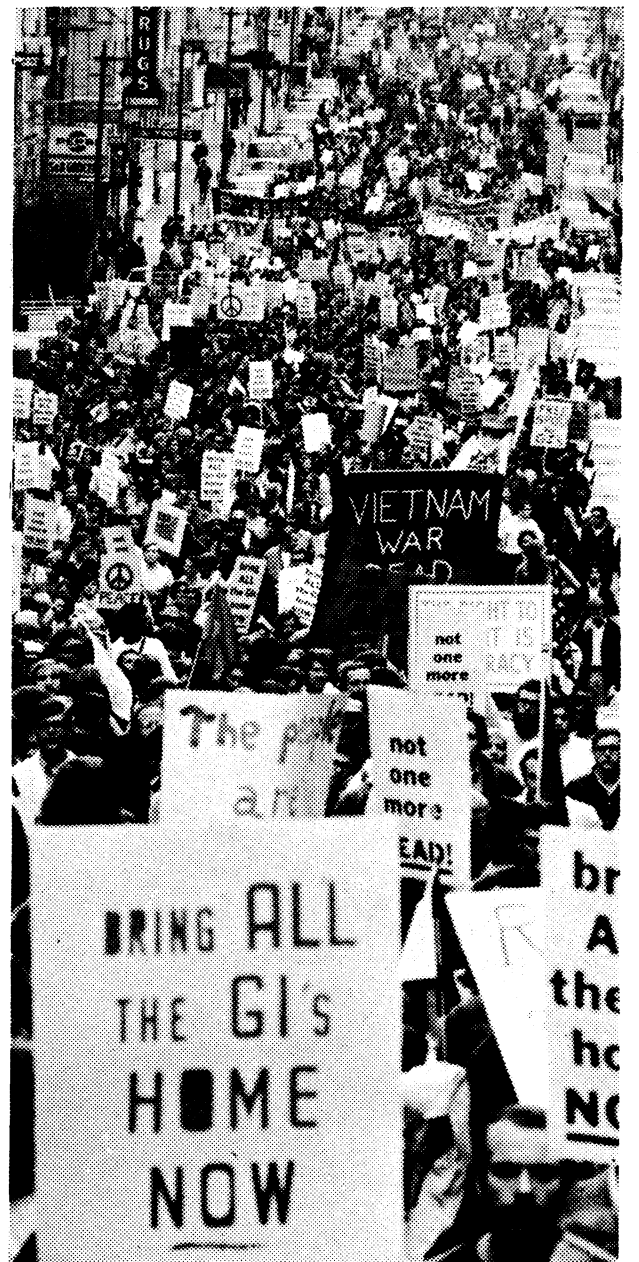
Business secrets and the ties of the government to big business are also being forced out in the open to an unprecedented extent. Businessmen and the capitalist politicians have to fear the anonymous employees like those who sent Jack Anderson the Dita Beard memo and other evidence of illegal corporate operations.

The booming market for paper shredders reflects this fear the bosses have of their employees.

Young reporters, also affected by the radicaliza-



Pentagon paper shredder. War secrets got out anyway.



Militant/Ron Payne

San Francisco, Nov. 15, 1969. Although demonstrations have decreased, discontent and distrust of government remain.

tion, are less willing to accept official cover-ups and take pride in ferreting out the truth.

## 'Post-Watergate morality'

What Agnew complained about as the "new post-Watergate morality" (which he blamed for his downfall) is simply the greater demands for truth placed on the government by the American people as a result of the radicalization.

During the 1970s the radicalization process has been fueled by new issues. The heralded "peace" settlement in Southeast Asia has brought neither peace nor a solution to the problems facing the Indochinese peoples.

The wage controls and spiraling inflation are breeding greater discontent among working people. U.S. complicity with the military coup in Chile, and the U.S. role in the Mideast conflict, have demonstrated that there is no peace in the world, despite the Washington-Moscow détente.

The recent convocation at the University of California in Berkeley (see story on next page) was indicative of the depth of the questioning of capitalist society that is germinating among layers of the American people. These students were concerned not only about Watergate but also about the U.S. role in Chile and the Mideast, corporate control over the government, and other questions. They were open to such radical proposals as nationalization of the major monopolies.

Another measure of the continuing development of the radicalization is the polls and newspaper interviews indicating significant shifts in attitudes of the American people. Such opinion samples show a deterioration of support for both the Democratic and Republican parties, and a growing rejection of the whole two-party system. Other polls indicate a greater condemnation of government surveillance and repressive police practices.

Whatever temporary "solution" the ruling class devises for its current crisis, the Watergate revelations will leave their imprint on the consciousness of the American people and will fuel the process of radicalization. More and more people are beginning to understand that the Watergate method of rule will continue until the working people settle accounts with the ruling class and put an end to rule by the tiny minority of superrich who profit from the exploitation of class by class.



## First convocation since May '70

# 13,000 at Berkeley impeachment rally

By FRANK BOEHM

BERKELEY — An estimated 13,000 University of California students repeatedly interrupted speakers with chants of "Impeach Nixon!" "Nixon's the one!" at a convocation here Oct. 25.

It was the first convocation of the campus community since May 1970, when hundreds of campuses closed down across the country in response to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the subsequent Kent and Jackson State killings. A convocation is viewed as an extraordinary event on the campus, and must be authorized by the chancellor of the university.

As the *Daily Californian* noted, this convocation was called "in response to intense pressure."

The militancy of the crowd was reflected in the favorable response received by former *Ramparts* editor Bob Scheer when he denounced the Democratic and Republican parties and the entire capitalist system.

He stressed that the Watergate affair "is not just Nixon's crisis, but a crisis of the whole empire." His call for the nationalization of ITT and the other major monopolies was greeted with cheers and applause.

Unfortunately the student government organizers of the convocation and UC Chancellor Albert Bowker sought to limit the speakers' program to be a "detailed discussion of the constitutional basis for impeachment."

The convocation, however, was already overwhelmingly in favor of impeachment. The response to Scheer demonstrated the willingness of large numbers of students to draw broader, more radical conclusions about the



University of California students cheered speakers who linked Watergate crisis to capitalist system

nature of the capitalist government.

Former Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus was the featured speaker. He received an ovation upon his introduction but was repeatedly booed as his speech proceeded. He declared his neutrality on Nixon's impeachment, being only so bold as to call for a new special prosecutor.

Jerome Waldie, Democratic congressman from California and sponsor of an impeachment bill in the House of

Representatives, pointed to Nixon's secret bombing of Cambodia, administration assaults on freedom of the press, extensive domestic surveillance, and the whole Watergate affair as ample grounds for impeachment.

While calls for Nixon's resignation or impeachment received a thunderous response from the students, a broad range of issues were linked to the Nixon administration's policies around the world. Repeated mention

was made of the history of administration lies in regard to U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the secret bombing of Cambodia.

The role of U.S. imperialism in the overturn of the Allende regime in Chile was denounced several times during the two and one-half hour meeting, each time evoking a strong response from the students. And the convocation was warned of impending U.S. military intervention in the Mideast.

## Tours find enthusiasm for SWP suit

By LINDA JENNESS

The nationwide response to the deepening political crisis faced by Nixon as a result of Watergate presents important new openings for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

The PRDF is building support and raising money for a lawsuit aimed at bringing a halt to government spying and harassment of dissenters. Plaintiffs in the suit are the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

"Now is the time to move on the Political Rights Defense Fund effort," Mike Arnall told *The Militant*. Arnall is a national field secretary for the PRDF, and one of four representatives now on a national speaking and organizing tour.

He has just completed a tour through the St. Louis and Chicago

areas, where he has been speaking on campuses and appearing on radio and television shows.

"The firing of Cox and the subsequent developments have prompted all kinds of activities aimed at putting a halt to Watergating. Teach-ins, 'impeach-ins,' and protests have been held or are being planned, on many campuses. The response to this lawsuit at these activities is enthusiastic," Arnall reports.

"The suit brought by the PRDF is the most comprehensive and far-reaching of any of this kind of legal action resulting from Watergate," Arnall emphasized. "Everybody wants Nixon out of the White House, but they also are interested in making sure that whoever replaces him—if Nixon is dumped—will be prevented from carrying out the same kinds of attacks on political opponents."

The PRDF suit seeks a court injunction against government wiretapping, bugging, burglary, and infiltration of political groups. It also seeks to have the attorney general's "subversive" list abolished, and is demanding \$27-million in damages. The suit names Nixon and a number of other present and former government officials as defendants.

"People want to know about this case," Arnall said, "and they want to know what they can do to help out. At the meetings I spoke to on Chicago campuses, between one-fourth and one-half of the audience would sign up to work with the PRDF—getting prominent people to endorse the suit, selling buttons and collecting money, planning meetings, and getting media coverage.

"Everybody wants one of the buttons Jules Feiffer designed for the PRDF," continued Arnall. "I sold two in an elevator and one to a postal worker right off my lapel!"

Cathy Perkus, who has also been touring for the PRDF, says more than 300 buttons were sold at the University of Pennsylvania in only three days. Many of them were sold at an "Impeach Nixon" rally on campus.

"The events of the last week make the issues in our suit even clearer than before. The widespread conviction that Nixon has committed crimes for which he should be impeached makes it easier to convince people that we have a legitimate case against him, and that we have a good chance

of being successful with this case."

Perkus says Leonard Boudin, the attorney for the suit, feels the recent Watergate developments, including the court decision forcing Nixon to turn over the tapes, will help the PRDF suit.

Joining Perkus at a meeting to discuss the lawsuit at the U. of Pennsylvania were the presidents of the campus Young Democrats and Young Republicans. Both endorsed the suit and appeared with Perkus at a news conference calling for support of the suit.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF, is on tour on the West Coast. He told *The Militant* that the news media is extremely interested in the case. "All the news coverage is good," he says. "People realize that we're talking about the basic civil liberties of the American people. With a little effort we can get on every radio and TV station in a city we visit."

Janice Lynn, a national field secretary of the PRDF touring last week in New England, participated in a successful meeting at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. Lynn was joined by John Powers, SWP candidate for city council; John Craig of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's union; and Craig Gallagher, former executive director of the Nixon reelection campaign in Massachusetts, in a discussion of the Watergate crisis. Gallagher now regrets his support to Nixon in 1972. Sixty people attended the meeting and 20 signed up to work on the lawsuit.

One of the main activities of the PRDF is soliciting sponsorship from prominent individuals and groups for

Continued on page 22



Syd Stapleton, PRDF nat'l sec'y, says latest Watergate crisis has increased interest in suit against Nixon.

### Help fight W'gate gang

Clip and send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

( ) Please send me more information on this suit.

( ) Enclosed is 50 cents for one Feiffer button. (25 cents each on orders of 10 or more.)

( ) I would like to arrange a meeting for a PRDF speaker to explain the case to my school or organization.

( ) Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help cover expenses.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## 31 percent back proindependence party

# Quebec vote reflects nationalist sentiment

By TONY THOMAS

MONTREAL, Oct. 30—In yesterday's Québec national elections, the ruling Liberal Party won a big majority against the Parti Québécois (PQ—Québec Party) and its other opponents.

The Liberals won 54 percent of the vote, as opposed to 31 percent by the PQ. However, due to the gerrymandered election districts here, the Liberals won 102 of the 110 seats in the National Assembly, while the PQ took six.

Two seats were taken by the Creditist Party, and one remains contested

In a postcampaign statement, Bourassa announced that his party had "appropriated the entire right wing."

The PQ has been the political vehicle through which the massive nationalist sentiment of the Québécois people has been expressed. Throughout the campaign, the liberal-capitalist PQ backed off in its stand on independence. It claimed it would govern Québec for two years before a referendum on national independence would be taken.

A proindependence outcome in this referendum would signal only the beginning of "negotiations" with the Canadian federation over independence.

### Gain for PQ

While supporters of the Liberal Party read their victory as a sign of a repudiation of independence, the facts show just the opposite. The PQ's percentage of the vote rose from 24 percent in the 1970 elections to 31 percent in the current race.

A large part of the Liberal margin came from the English minority here, some 13 percent of the population. René Lévesque, leader of the PQ, claimed his party had won a plurality of the French-speaking vote in Québec. A PQ majority in Montréal's heavily working-class and French-speaking East End seemed to confirm Lévesque's contention.

Rather than accentuating the nationalist sentiment, the PQ's campaign attempted to tone it down and to draw in more conservative figures, including former leaders of the Union Nationale, the Liberals, and the Creditists, who were PQ candidates.

The trade-union bureaucracy and others attempted to moderate social struggles here during the elections to help the procapitalist PQ.

This morning's issue of *La Presse*, a Montréal daily, pointed out, "Despite the bigness of this victory—or perhaps because of it—no one, including the Liberal leader, showed any exuberance last night."

"That's because politicians and political commentators have a question, an uncertainty in their minds: Will the opposition take the risk of going into the streets?"

The fact that the PQ was not able

to realize any appreciable gains through the electoral process has brought the fear to many, including PQ leaders, that nationalists here will chart a more independent course in the coming period.

Still another cause of potential crisis, expressed in TV interviews with Liberal and PQ leaders last night, was that the high disproportion between the PQ vote and the number of seats the party won will cause disillusionment with electoral politics.

Despite Liberal claims that the elec-

tional oppression of the Québécois and the procapitalist schemes of the PQ and its backers in the union bureaucracy.

Léger's platform calls for immediate independence for Québec and the use of French as the language of work, education, and official business.

She pointed out that national oppression of Québec could only be solved through a socialist revolution that would put power into the hands of the Québec working class.

She also called on the working class to break from its support to bourgeois parties, including the PQ, and to form a mass party based on the trade unions.

She used her campaign to build and publicize workers' struggles across Québec. Léger and her supporters walked the picket lines and built support actions for strikes by rubber workers, hospital workers, and university employees, among others.

Another aspect of her campaign was the call for international working-class solidarity. Several campaign meetings concentrated on drawing the lessons of the coup in Chile and building defense for victims of repression in that country.

The last public meeting of her campaign was in support of the Arab revolution against Israeli and imperialist aggression in the Mideast.

Léger was forced to withdraw from the ballot in the last week before the election, after election officials claimed she had not turned in her financial statement following the campaign the LSO ran in 1970.

The LSO blasted this as a frame-up—the receipt for this statement had been seized during the 1970 military occupation of Québec under the War Measures Act. The LSO's 1970 campaign manager was arrested during the occupation and all of his campaign files were seized. The files have not been returned to this day.

Despite the denial of ballot status, the LSO feels its campaign was a success. The socialist campaigners were able to speak to modest-size audiences of student, nationalist, and working-class militants, and saw new interest in a socialist alternative to the PQ.



Parti Quebecois's Rene Levesque toned down stand on independence.

tions showed an easing of the national and class struggle here, the probability is that the opposite is true. In fact, the results of the election, including the rise of the PQ vote and the relative decline of support for the right-wing Creditists, showed that the radicalization here is continuing.

### Socialist alternative

Manon Léger, the candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Socialist Workers League—LSO), the Québec wing of the pan-Canadian section of the Fourth International, opposed Bourassa in Montréal's Mercier County. The Trotskyist candidate was the only candidate to oppose both the na-



Socialist candidate Manon Léger opposed both national oppression and capitalism.

at this point.

The central issue in the election was the question of national independence for Québec. The Liberal Party, led by Prime Minister Robert Bourassa, campaigned as the main opponent of independence. In this, Bourassa was supported by the English-Canadian and U.S. businessmen who control the Québec economy and by the privileged English minority here.

Faced with the threat of the nationalist PQ, sections of the ruling class here that had formerly supported the more right-wing Union Nationale and Creditist parties deserted to support the Liberal government.

## Civil rights backers upset Moscow conference

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Kremlin and its followers in the Communist Party USA have received another embarrassing blow to the Moscow bureaucrats' campaign against dissenters in the Soviet Union.

A strong statement condemning the Soviet government for a "campaign to silence not only your intellectuals, but any Soviet citizens who seek to express their rights," was read Oct. 29 to the commission on social progress and human rights at the World Peace Conference in Moscow.

The statement, presented by the Reverend Paul Mayer of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, was signed by the Reverend Daniel Berrigan, Dave Dellinger, Noam Chomsky, Sidney Peck, Dave McReynolds, and Grace Paley. All the signers had been leading participants in the movement against the Vietnam war.

Although an attempt was made to interrupt Mayer, according to *New York Times* reporter Christopher

Wren, he was able to finish the statement, which said in part, "We support the Soviet dissidents in their demands for free speech and assembly."

The day after Mayer read his statement, a meeting of some of the U.S. delegates voted 67 to 31 to accept his resignation as cochairman of the delegation, to censure him, and to dissociate themselves from the statement. One delegate quoted by Wren explained, "There's been an implicit understanding not to offend the hosts by bringing up awkward subjects."

If the subject of freedom of speech and assembly was awkward for the bureaucrats in Moscow, it was doubly so for their toadies here in the U.S. Joseph North, trying to square the treatment of Mayer with his accounts of an open conference with "free give-and-take in which proponents of many parties get up and defend their views," complained in the Oct. 31 *Daily World* that Mayer had not abided by a technicality in submitting

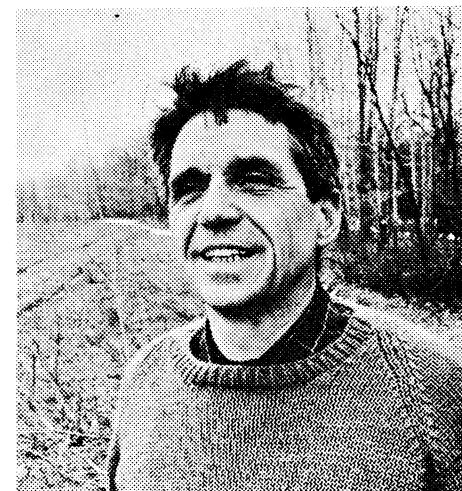
his document.

He quoted Pauline Rosen, another delegate, who assured him that "the document as a whole was divisive." He suggested that the signers of the document were taking a position "that has long been promoted by anti-Soviet forces desperately seeking to block detente. . . ."

North doesn't take up the charges themselves. His final argument is that many delegates asked "where would detente go if the Soviet Union and its allies would similarly demand changes in the internal affairs of those nations with whom they are seeking peaceful coexistence."

This argument, which makes no distinction between demands raised by an imperialist government and those raised by individuals, is false to the core. The South African government responds to the exposure of its apartheid system by saying it is "an internal affair." The Greek colonels and the Chilean junta use the same

argument to justify their repression. The fact that the Soviet bureaucrats have had to resort to it is an indication that they are trying to evade a public accounting on these charges.



Among those who signed statement backing rights of Soviet dissidents was Daniel Berrigan.



# 500 women office workers meet in NY

By DIANNE FEELEY

NEW YORK CITY—Five hundred women attended a conference here Oct. 27 to protest the conditions faced by women office workers.

The leaflet that brought the women together stated: "We type and we file. We run keypunch and switchboard, dictaphone and copier. . . . We are the women who keep New York City offices running. . . . We're indispensable — yet we are still taken for granted."

Many of the office workers present had received the leaflet, made copies of it, and circulated the copies throughout their offices.

Workshop discussions included such topics as how to earn more money, and gain better benefits and chances to advance; women's committee or union — how can we form one? What is the relation between the oppression of women and the oppression of Blacks and Puerto Ricans?

A common sentiment was that being an office worker was an important

job and should be respected. The women wanted to change the image of being "just a secretary."

There was much discussion about competition among women office workers and how to overcome it. As one woman put it, "I want to learn how to work with other women and not against them."

Among those sponsoring the conference were the National Organization for Women; Barnard and Columbia Organizing Committees; District 65, Distributive Workers of America; the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus; and Lesbian Feminist Liberation.

Two of the most popular speakers at the general session were Margie Albert—a legal secretary and a shop steward for District 65; and Darlene Stille of Women Employed. Albert spoke of the need to organize unions for office workers.

Stille told how Women Employed, an organization of women who work in Chicago's Loop, had confronted Kraft Corporation and forced it to rewrite its affirmative action plan.

This conference of working women was one of several that have been held in the past few months or that are planned in the months ahead.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women, which grew out of a Midwest conference of union women last June, is planning a national conference to be held in Chicago March 23-24. In preparation for the national conference, an East Coast planning conference is scheduled for Dec. 8 in Philadelphia. Union women interested in participating may contact Shelli Sonstein, 210 S. 13 St., Suite 301, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Telephone: (215) 545-4470.

A Women's Labor Conference is set for St. Louis on Nov. 17. The *Missouri Teamster* says, "All working women, both union members and unorganized, are invited to the conference." For more information contact Donna Steininger, Teamster Local 608, 300 S. Grand, St. Louis, Mo. 63103. Telephone: (314) 289-2546.



'Buried alive in the office. . . ,' said conference leaflet.

## UFW boycotters jailed for picketing Safeway

Twenty-nine striking members of the United Farm Workers Union were arrested in Delano, Calif., Oct. 20 while picketing on a public sidewalk outside the local Safeway store.

They were held on a trumped-up charge of violating an injunction limiting pickets on Safeway property to seven people. Bail was set at \$500 each, and the strikers spent three days in jail over the Veterans Day weekend.

On Tuesday morning, Oct. 23, there was stepped-up picketing of Safeway stores throughout California. Three hundred UFW supporters gathered at the Safeway office in Oakland.

Several hours later, Delano authorities released the 29 for arraignment without requiring bail. A trial date has been set for Nov. 30.

Safeway is being boycotted by the UFW because it is one of the country's biggest buyers of scab iceberg lettuce and grapes. Its store in Delano is virtually the only supermarket in the area still selling scab produce. Picketing persuaded the other stores to respect the union label.

The arrests were made by Delano police in response to a call by the Safeway manager, whose store had been almost totally emptied by the

picketing.

UFW attorneys are demanding that the criminal charges be dropped, since even if there were a violation of the injunction, that would be a civil, not a criminal, offense. In addition, the union says it has abided by the limitation on pickets on Safeway property, but that strikers and supporters are free to march on the public sidewalk and inform the public of the boycott.

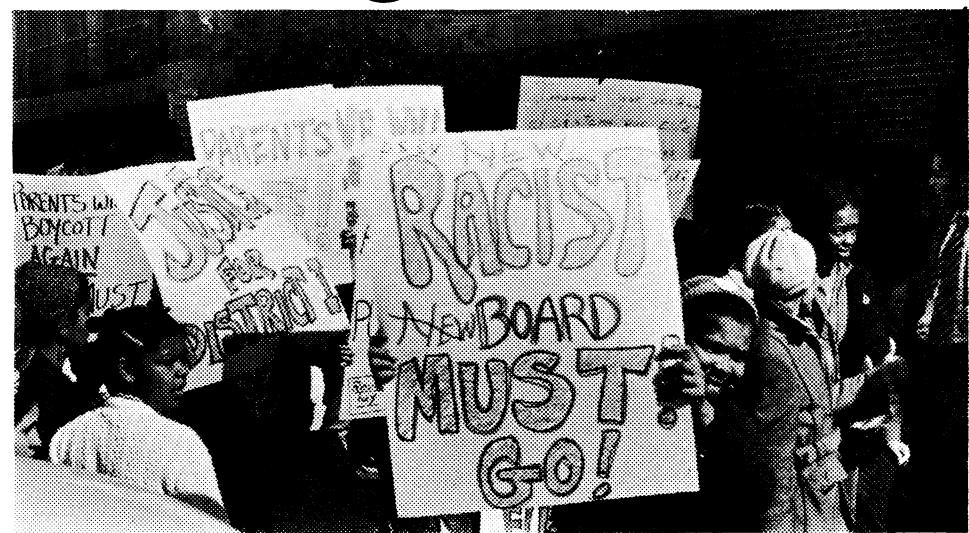
In Montréal, Québec, the Catholic school commission has voted to stop buying California grapes and iceberg lettuce for school cafeterias. The school commission, Montréal's largest school board, buys about \$25,000 worth of grapes and lettuce each year.

The chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh has agreed that the university will respect the boycott of non-UFW lettuce. The action came after 50 students and faculty from the Pitt Farmworker Support Committee presented a petition with 2,100 signatures demanding observance of the boycott.

In New York City, a UFW support rally scheduled for Nov. 3 has been postponed to Nov. 29. UFW President César Chávez will speak at the meeting.

## Parents answer smears

# Shanker prints racist tirade against Dist. 1



Militant/Ken Shilman

Shanker calls these parents and students 'extremists' for trying to control their own schools.

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—The reactionary head of New York's United Federation of Teachers (UFT), Albert Shanker, has lashed out once again at the fight of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to control the schools in their communities.

On Oct. 21, Shanker devoted all of his costly weekly advertisement in the *New York Times* to an attack on the recent highly successful parent-organized school boycott. The boycott, which lasted three days, was called to protest the suspension of the district's school superintendent, Luis Fuentes, by the new school board.

In his purchased column space Shanker denounced the *Times*, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and the federal courts. He flailed the *Times* for not giving just his version of the boycott, the NAACP for challenging in court the validity of the fraudulent May 1 school board election, and the federal judge for having the temerity to temporarily reinstate Fuentes pending the outcome of the challenge to the results of the election. He also repeated his scurrilous charges against Fuentes and "gangs of extremists" in the community.

In a response to Shanker, Miriam Gonzales, president of the district's leading parent organization, asked, "Who is Mr. Shanker to define who is a 'moderate' and who is an 'extremist' for the people of the Lower East Side? What Mr. Shanker means by 'moderates' are those who acquiesce to his domination of the school system."

"What he means by 'extremists,'" Gonzalez continued, "are those who resist a one-man school system and believe that a failing system can only be made to work by those whose children depend upon it."

"We who live in the Lower East Side," Gonzalez said, "recognize this dismissal [of Fuentes] as a vindictive power play, carried out in secrecy, at the dictate of forces external to our neighborhood, and we have chosen to resist it with whatever collective influence we can muster. . . . We have been forced to defend the changes we've begun, and we will do so."

Shanker's rampage also brought a response from James Wechsler, columnist for the *New York Post*, who wrote on Oct. 25: "These are heady days for UFT president Albert Shanker. He has just been elevated to a vice presi-

dency of the AFL-CIO, a rare mark of George Meany's recognition of his devotion, since such eminence is usually reserved for the leaders of national unions. . . .

"Shanker," Wechsler continued, "has much of the appearance of a man who is riding high. . . . Shanker's role in the affairs of Community School District 1 . . . bears sad resemblance to the arrogant, vindictive posture Mr. Nixon assumed in hours of triumph. . . ."

Luis Fuentes has been number one on the UFT leadership's "enemy list" since 1968 when, as New York's first Puerto Rican principal, he emerged as a defender of community control in the predominantly Black Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district in Brooklyn.

Since his selection as District 1 superintendent, Fuentes has encouraged the full participation of parents and community in all major decisions concerning the education of the district's children. In District 1, where 93 percent of the pupils are Puerto Rican, Black or Chinese, this has resulted in more bilingual education, Puerto Rican and Black studies programs, and the hiring of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese personnel.

Shanker, and the forces he represents, have made it a priority to try to oust the superintendent. First the Shanker forces attempted to discredit Fuentes with charges of "racism." This failing, they won the election on May 1 of a pro-Shanker majority on the school board by preventing large numbers of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese from voting.

The board majority then tried to eliminate Fuentes's staff, largely chosen by parent screening panels, and attempted to suspend Fuentes outright. This attack was met by the massive boycott.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, acting on behalf of the Coalition for Education in District One, have filed a federal court suit challenging the May 1 election. The decision in the case is expected soon.

At an Oct. 28 coalition meeting, parents and community activists discussed plans for a possible resumption of the boycott if the court rules unjustly. The community sentiment was unanimous. In the words of the district's parent associations: "If necessary, we will act again."



# Oliver blasts neighborhood planning bd. setup

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK—One of the reforms instituted under the administration of John Lindsay was the "decentralization" of this city's superagencies. This entailed the creation of appointed neighborhood planning boards to provide community consultation to city agencies providing social services.

Since their establishment, the community planning boards have often been described as powerless "window dressing" bodies. This charge has been most acute in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Recently, Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, spoke to a predominantly Black audience of 125 people at a meeting sponsored by the Crown Heights planning board in Brooklyn. All mayoral candidates were invited to discuss the question of decentralization. Representatives of the mayoral campaigns of Albert Blumenthal and Abe Beame were also present.

The people at the meeting had gone through hours of reports from the board on the vast problems in the Crown Heights district. Every report ended by stressing that the board wouldn't be able to solve any of these problems because of lack of funds.

The residents of Crown Heights wanted to know where the mayoral hopefuls stood on the community

board's ability to provide city services as the decentralization plan outlined it should. Shouldn't the boards receive more funds? Where would this money come from? How could the candidates help get that money?

Because neither the Beame nor the Blumenthal representatives addressed themselves to these questions, they were angrily received. People also de-

**Everyone is invited to spend election night, Tuesday, Nov. 6, with the SWP campaign in New York. An "Election Eve Extravaganza" is scheduled to begin at 8 p.m. at the Crystal Room of the Hotel Diplomat on W. 43rd Street. The evening will feature the SWP candidates as well as live musical entertainment.**

manded to know why the mayoral candidates themselves did not appear.

Norman Oliver, who is a resident of Crown Heights, was the only candidate to be applauded. He said that decentralization should be "total and complete in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Our community boards and councils should be adequately financed, and as mayor I would use the powers of my office to

help organize working people, Blacks and Puerto Ricans into an effective fighting force to win these badly needed funds."

Oliver explained that the source of the problems in housing, education, health care, and all social services was the profiteering capitalist system and the Democrats and Republicans who ran the government in the interests of the rich.

In answering questions about what he would do as mayor, Oliver stressed



Militant/Bruce Bloy

**NORMAN OLIVER:** "We have to act independent of the government and the parties that run it."

that he wasn't running on the basis of "vote for me and I'll set you free. We will have to act in our own interests, independent of the government and the parties that run it in order to solve the problems we have." Oliver was warmly received.

After the initial presentations by candidates, a man in the audience rose and said, "Mr. Oliver, since you speak so eloquently, read this for us." He then handed Oliver a copy of a letter sent to the capitalist candidates demanding that they call on Eugene Gold, Brooklyn district attorney, to prosecute those responsible for fraud in the school board elections in Crown Heights.

In mid-September, the courts had ruled the elections in school District 17 were fraudulent, and new elections have been scheduled for Nov. 27. Community activist Myrtle Thompson, who was a runner-up in May, is once again a candidate on a community-control slate.

Myrtle Thompson endorsed Oliver's campaign at this meeting, as did a member of the Crown Heights planning board and an activist on one of the board's committees.

This last endorser, a Mr. Hall, stopped Oliver as he was leaving PS 167 and said, "I'm voting for you. You're going to lose, but if I vote for them I'll lose anyway."

# Cleveland court rules out ballot spot for Scherr

By DAVE PAPARELLO

CLEVELAND—In a decision here Oct. 23, a local court has denied Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, the right to be on the ballot. In doing so, the court has exposed the fraud of the so-called nonpartisan elections for city office.

The issue came to court when James Carney, one of the two capitalist candidates who survived the first-round election Oct. 2, dropped out of the race for "personal" reasons. Scherr, who finished third in the primary, insisted that her name replace Carney's on the ballot. The board of elections refused and decided to go ahead with just one name, that of incumbent Ralph Perk, on the ballot. But the outcry at this "democratic" choice was too strong, and Cleveland's rulers decided they needed some other way to perpetuate the myth of free elections.

So the court ruled that Carney's campaign committee (i.e. the Democratic Party) could select another can-

didate for him. The candidate will be city council clerk Mercedes Cotner.

The court had difficulty reconciling this admission that candidates are actually the nominee of a party with the statutes requiring the elections to



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

**ROBERTA SCHERR:** Judges don't want her on ballot.

be "nonpartisan." The learned judges justified their decision by referring to an 1897 provision in the state law that had not been included when the law was revised in 1957.

The court ruling was in response to a suit filed by radio announcer Gary Dee demanding that a name replace Carney's on the ballot, or the election be postponed. The ruling came before a suit filed by Scherr could be heard.

Scherr immediately appealed the ruling, pointing out that the decision ran totally counter to the city charter's provision for a "nonpartisan" primary.

She said, "The so-called nonpartisan primary was set up to maintain the ballot for the nominees of the Democratic and Republican parties and to keep socialists and other independent candidates out of the general election. Now that Carney's withdrawal has raised the possibility of putting a socialist on the ballot, the courts are totally willing to ignore the city char-

ter and invent any excuse to allow the Democrats to put up a candidate. I intend to challenge this undemocratic ruling."

On Oct. 26 the court of appeals decided to uphold the lower court's decision. At a news conference following the announcement of the decision, Scherr stated, "This ruling makes a total farce of a nonpartisan election. The supposed purpose of the primary was to allow Cleveland voters to determine the candidates without the interference of political parties. This decision simply allows the Democratic and Republican parties to choose the candidates. I am urging everyone who is fed up with the Democratic and Republican parties to write in my name on Nov. 6."

Scherr's appeal of the court's decision was front-page news in both major newspapers in Cleveland for a week before the decision and was reported daily on all three television networks.

# Van Deusen campaign makes impact in Mpls.

By GREG GUCKENBURG

MINNEAPOLIS—Her campaign budget is small. She can't afford to advertise. But in the last few weeks, Jane Van Deusen has made an impact with her campaign for mayor.

Van Deusen, 23, is gaining new respect for the Socialist Workers Party, which she represents.

For the first time in memory, opinion surveys have found it necessary to include the socialist candidate in the polls. One poll last week predicted she would get 2 percent of the vote.

"That's pretty good," said Van Deusen, "considering the fact that the cards are stacked against me. The local press has predictably not given me equal coverage, and the city's fat cats are backing the capitalist candidates to the hilt, while our campaign runs on a shoestring."

Arrayed against Van Deusen in the

Nov. 6 election is Mayor Charles Stenvig, who calls himself an independent but is a right-wing conservative; Al Hofstede, a Democrat; Gladys Brooks, a Republican; and Tom McDonald, another "independent."

Last week Van Deusen debated them on an evening radio program and offered Minneapolis listeners the only concrete platform proposals that were aired that night.

While her four opponents scrambled to prove they could best wipe out crime in Minneapolis, Van Deusen contended that the real criminals like Richard Nixon are going free and that the root cause of the nation's ills is capitalism.

Her radio performance evidently impressed the city's preeminent local columnist, Jim Klobuchar, who mixed cynicism with admiration in a column in the *Minneapolis Star* in which he

assessed the debate.

"Ms. Van Deusen characterizes Hofstede as a man bankrolled by the town's fat cats who will demand a payoff if he is elected," wrote Klobuchar. "She described Mrs. Brooks as a woman who had led an undistinguished political career of subservience to local capitalists. She accuses both of them of empty phrasemongering. This Ms. Van Deusen presumably contrasts with her own phrasemongering, which is full of color, passion and appeals for various rebellions. She characterizes Charley (Stenvig) as a 'racist ex-cop with a sordid four-year record.'"

But Van Deusen's socialist program is not looked upon by everyone as "phrasemongering."

The Minnesota Women's Political Caucus issued a report on its selection preferences and said, "We share her

humanistic goals, but unfortunately we feel that Minneapolis is not ready for Jane Van Deusen."

And at a mid-October campaign rally for Van Deusen, Tomas Padilla, a field organizer for the United Farm Workers, publicly thanked the SWP for its active support of the grape and lettuce boycott.

One reason Van Deusen's campaign has gained considerable attention is that Mayor Stenvig, who is seeking a third term, is an "independent," which has led the media to make an effort, however small, to at least mention all other independents in the race.

That has given an opening to Van Deusen, who has used it to full advantage. A chief target in her campaign talks is Stenvig himself, who Van Deusen charges is really not independent at all but a down-the-line supporter of capitalism.

# Socialists wind up campaign in S.F.

By ROGER RUDENSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—A high point of the Socialist Workers Party campaign for board of supervisors occurred Oct. 27 when 100 people attended a spirited rally at campaign headquarters.

The SWP candidates are: Carole Seligman, Steven Wattenmaker, Hanna Takashige, Elizabeth Cox, and Howard Wallace.

Wallace, who is a member of Teamster Local 860, told the rally that although the elections are dubbed "nonpartisan," in reality all the major candidates and most minor candidates run as Democrats and Republicans. He stated, "The difference between a 'major' candidate and a 'minor' one is determined by the amount of money given a candidate by the wealthy interests."

Carole Seligman contrasted the campaigns of the SWP with those of the Democratic Party candidates. She said, "While Jack Morrison, the liberal favorite, stood at the bus stops taking polls on the Muni [mass transit], our candidates were picketing with the Sears strikers, marching in Arab solidarity demonstrations, organizing support for the United Farm Workers, and protesting the military coup in Chile."

"We were the only candidates to consistently speak out in favor of Proposition L—the 30-for-40 shorter work-week initiative—as a solution to rising unemployment, especially of Blacks, Latinos, and Asians."

Seligman pointed out that the members of the board of supervisors have failed in a "very basic way to respond to the needs of the people who voted them into office." One example of their failure is that two new city-run child-care centers in the predominantly Black Hunters Point area have been allowed to go unused since their completion.

A vote for Seligman was recommended by the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women as a result of her work in helping to put Proposition M on the ballot. The SWP candidates are active supporters of this initiative, which calls for free, quality child care.

Wallace has been endorsed by the Gay Voters League of San Francisco.

One of the SWP's opponents in the elections is a new group calling itself the "Socialist Coalition." Composed of the Peace and Freedom Party, the Socialist Party of San Francisco, and the New American Movement, it is fielding three candidates for board of supervisors.

Although the "Socialist Coalition" claims to be "building a permanent, nonsectarian socialist movement in San Francisco," it is ambiguous on the nature of the Democratic Party. One of its candidates has stated he will vote Democratic. The "Socialist Coalition" has refused to urge a vote for the SWP candidates who are running for the two seats not contested by the coalition.

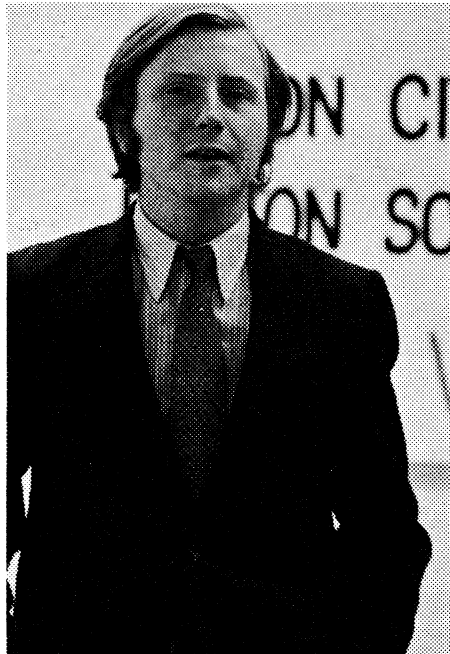
A number of activities are planned for the final days before the Nov. 6 election, including a car caravan Nov. 3 that will wind through several sections of the city. For further information on the campaign, stop by the campaign headquarters at 1519 Mission St. or phone (415) 864-9174.

# Vote Socialist Workers!

The Socialist Workers Party is fielding candidates in municipal elections across the country. These candidates are fighting against the system of wars, racism, and exploitation that the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties are defending. We urge our readers to cast a vote on Nov. 6 for the following SWP candidates. (An asterisk indicates that the candidate is running as a write-in.)

## BOSTON

John Powers — city council



John Powers

## CAMBRIDGE

Ruth Getts — school committee  
Diana Travis — school committee  
Jane Roland — city council  
Jane Strader — city council  
Carol Henderson Evans — city council  
Nancy Charpentier — city council

## CLEVELAND

\*Roberta Scherr — mayor



Maceo Dixon

## DETROIT

\*Maceo Dixon — mayor  
Rachele Fruit — common council  
Lee Artz — school bd.  
Trudy Hawkins — school bd., Region 5

## HOUSTON

Dan Fein — mayor  
Brenda Brdar — city council, Dist. C  
Kathy Stallworth — city council, at-large position 1  
Kris Vásquez — school bd.



Kris Vasquez

## MINNEAPOLIS

Jane Van Deusen — mayor  
Martin Anderson — city council, Ward 2  
\*Betsy Farley — city council, Ward 6  
\*Henry Scheer — city council, Ward 8

## NEW YORK CITY

Norman Oliver — mayor  
Dick Roberts — controller  
Joanna Misnik — city council president  
B. R. Washington — Manhattan borough president  
Richard Ariza — Manhattan council-at-large  
Eva Chertov — city council, Dist. 3  
Maxine Williams — B'klyn. borough president  
Mark Friedman — B'klyn. council-at-large  
James Mendieta — B'klyn. dist. atty.

(The Socialist Workers Party will be listed under Letter K, sixth row, on the New York City voting machines.)

## PHILADELPHIA

Bruce Kaufman — dist. atty.  
Harvey McArthur — controller

## PITTSBURGH

\*Paul Le Blanc — mayor  
\*Christina Adachi — city council  
\*Andrew Nakrin — city council



Paul Le Blanc

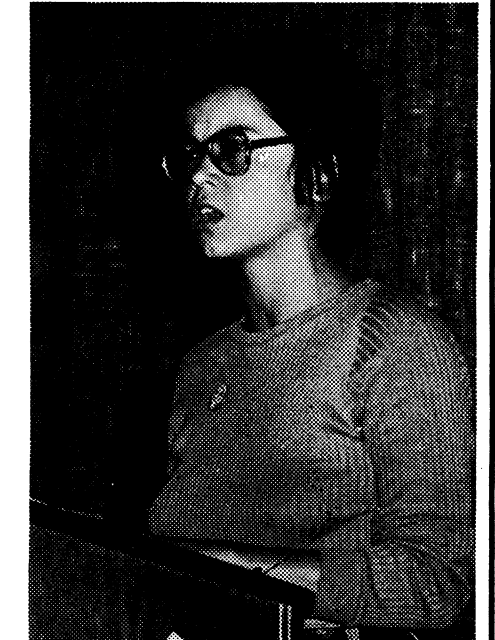
## SAN FRANCISCO

Carole Seligman — bd. of supervisors  
Howard Wallace — bd. of supervisors

Hanna Takashige — bd. of supervisors  
Elizabeth Cox — bd. of supervisors  
Steven Wattenmaker — bd. of supervisors

## SEATTLE

\*Craig Honts — mayor  
\*Gary Johnson — city council, position 1  
\*Eric Huffman — city council, position 3  
\*Louise Pitell — city council, position 4  
\*Clare Fraenzl — school bd.



Hanna Takashige

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

Omari Musa — school bd., at-large  
Erich Martel — school bd., at-large  
Nan Bailey — school bd., Ward 2  
James Harris — school bd., Ward 3



Nan Bailey

In addition to running their own candidates, the Socialist Workers Party branches in Boston, Pittsburgh, and New York City are urging that votes be cast for candidates of the Communist Party in those cities who are running for offices not being contested by the SWP.

Despite fundamental disagreement with the program on which these CP candidates are running, the SWP feels that a vote for them will be a vote against the Democrats and Republicans, and is therefore a step toward political action independent of these capitalist parties.

We urge *Militant* readers to vote for the following CP candidates:

Patricia Bonner-Lyons for Boston school committee; Beth Edelman for Pittsburgh city council; Jeanette Gomez for Bronx, N. Y., councilwoman-at-large; Georgia Henning for city council from New York's District 2; and José Stevens for city council, New York's District 5.

## ...alternative

Continued from page 1

To mobilize such opposition, the unions should convene a national congress of labor. Such a congress should be totally different from the AFL-CIO convention that met recently in Bal Harbour, Fla. That convention was totally dominated by the labor fakers like Meany who run the AFL-CIO the way Nixon runs the country.

Meany's answer to Watergate is to impeach Nixon, and then replace him with a Democratic Nixon—like Senator Jackson, or Kennedy!

The present misleaders of the unions—the narrow-minded, conservative and self-serving bureaucrats—try to prevent the labor movement from bringing its strength to bear against the Watergaters. They are frightened at the thought of working people mobilizing in independent action to rid the country of the rulers in Washington.

These hidebound bureaucrats know that a rank and file determined to fight for labor's interests would boot them off the gravy train and replace them with a leadership that can and will fight.

Instead of mobilizing labor's power, the bureaucrats who ran the AFL-CIO convention guaranteed that this force would remain neutralized. They did not even consider breaking from the twin parties that rule in the interests of the capitalists.

The unions need a gathering, not of hand-picked toadies to Meany, but of democratically-elected delegates who put the needs of the ranks first.

Rather than a closed club of well-fed and smug Meany hand-raisers, workers need a national congress that would mobilize support and participation from labor's allies—the youth, the Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, the women, and others who have a common interest in putting an end to capitalist exploitation.

Such a congress of labor would break from the straitjacket the labor fakers have forced on the unions, and would mobilize the masses of working people against both the capitalist parties.

Such a congress of labor could take the question of whether Nixon should be removed out of the hands of the capitalist politicians. And it could also settle the even bigger question: How to prevent another Nixon, another servant of the war-makers and exploiters, from being installed.

A congress of labor would organize a labor party, based on the unions, to fight for the interests of the working class in the political field, and campaign for a workers government.

## Socialist tasks

The crisis for the capitalist rulers stemming from Watergate has opened up significant opportunities for the revolutionary socialist movement. Millions of working people are beginning to question the myths about "democracy" that the rulers propagate to mask the divisions of class society.

The campaign to spread socialist ideas and Marxist literature that members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have been carrying out this fall should be stepped up in response to these new opportunities.

The most important single component of this socialist educational campaign is the drive to expand the sales of *The Militant*. *The Militant* is the weekly answer to the Watergate liars. It provides an explanation of what Watergate is all about—and a program to bring an end to the system that breeds Watergates.

In addition to *Militant* sales, revolutionary socialists should participate in and organize meetings, forums, and debates on the meaning of Watergate. Wherever rallies or other protests against Nixon are held, socialists should be there, with speakers and with literature, explaining that Watergate is a product of the capitalist system.

Another invaluable tool in the fight against Watergate is the municipal election campaigns being conducted by the SWP in cities throughout the country. These campaigns wind up on election day, Nov. 6. Already, plans are being made for full participation in the state and congressional elections to be held next year.

These campaigns provide those whose eyes have been opened by Watergate with a way to register their support of the perspective for a fundamental change in this society, and for a break from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Finally, activities in support of the Political Rights Defense Fund should be expanded. The PRDF is financing and publicizing the suit filed by the SWP and the YSA against the Watergate secret police measures used by the government.

### Zionist hooligan

I was selling *The Militant* at Sheridan Square in New York when a man began yelling at me, pointing to *The Militant's* headline condemning Israeli aggression in the Mideast. He made it clear he was a Zionist and said he could hardly restrain himself from beating me up for openly selling a newspaper that takes the side of the Arabs in the war.

Immediately, however, about 25 passers-by drew around us and defended my right to sell. One young Black man demonstratively bought a copy of the paper to show his solidarity. Two other young people told the Zionist he wasn't acting like a human being. After a few minutes of debate, the crowd drove the Zionist away—a reflection of the changing mood in this country away from all-out support to Israel.

C. L.  
New York

### Spreading the truth

To get the widest possible distribution of *The Militant's* stand on the Mideast, we have reprinted the article "Roots of the Middle East Conflict," by Tony Thomas, which appeared in the Oct. 19 issue. Three hundred copies of the article have been produced by members of the Bellingham Young Socialist Alliance with the help of Arab students here.

K. B.  
Bellingham, Wash.

### Defeat Israel

There would be several advantages in a complete Israeli defeat. It would put an end to a system in occupied Palestine which is based on racial and religious exclusion and which thrives only on colonialism and expansion. It would restore to the Palestinian people, uprooted by the Zionist system, their usurped country and the right to lead a free and constructive life.

It would then turn Palestine into an exemplary country in which Jew and Arab alike would enjoy the benefits of positive unity, democracy, and social justice. It would certainly constitute a major setback to the forces of colonialism and reaction all over the world and in the region from Persia to Morocco in particular.

Support to the Zionist regime is thus support to a deadly enemy of Palestinian and Jew alike, and of all the principles of human progress.

H. S.  
Kokomo, Ind.

### Pro-Israel

Every other ethnic group has a state of their own, so why shouldn't the Jews have a state of their own? Let's keep the record straight. The Jews occupied Palestine long before the Arabs did, namely, before 2,000 years ago. When Israel first became a nation, Palestine was a wasteland. Look how productive it is today.

Let's also keep the record straight on the wars. In 1948, the Jews accepted the Partition Plan, but the Arabs attacked. In 1956 and 1967, Egypt mobilized against Israel's border. Now this year Syria and Egypt attacked on Yom Kippur, yet Israel is the "aggressor." I

can't see how that's arrived at.

I'm not saying that Israel is perfect, but weigh both sides by the same standard, not a double standard.

D. G.  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

*In reply*—Many of the questions you raise are answered in Jon Rothschild's article "How the Arabs were driven out of Palestine," on page 15.

### Tragic war

I am rather concerned about the tone of your articles covering the tragic new Mideast war. I find it hard to accept your glorification of one side over the other, especially since the Arab nations are not fighting for anything remotely resembling Socialist principles. Neither, of course, are the Israelis.

I also object to your equating this war with the Palestinian struggle to regain their homeland. The Palestinians certainly merit their own state. Much of their land was taken from them by questionable methods.

However, this new war will not help the Palestinians any more than their terrorist tactics. The Yom Kippur attack on Israel will only intensify its distrust of the Arab nations. Such distrust only postpones the day when Israelis and Arabs can live as brothers and sisters.

J. H.  
Chicago, Ill.

### Unfair to Jews

I have just read an issue of your paper. I found your articles on the Israeli war to be quite biased and unfair to the Israeli Jews. As a Jew, I do not wish to be subjected to such bias and would greatly appreciate it if my subscription could be cancelled.

S. M.  
Medford, Mass.

### Exposing Zionism

I believe that in dealing with the Israeli-Arab war, *The Militant* should not neglect to have some articles that address themselves directly to Jews. Otherwise, supporters of Israel who may be won over to socialism from Zionism will regard the anti-Semitic smear against the revolutionary left as confirmed.

No doubt very few supporters of Israel can at present be swayed. But some, especially young people, may take sufficient notice of what is said so that, as events unfold, they will rethink their position.

Such articles should show sympathetic understanding of how, in view of the holocaust and the manifestations of Soviet anti-Semitism, Zionism came to seem the last resort of the Jews. They should point out how the warnings of Marxists that Zionists can only lead the Jews into a trap have been confirmed: whatever the outcome of the present war, it is now clear that Israel cannot survive indefinitely as a Zionist state that is an island in an Arab sea.

These articles should concern themselves with the fear that the very physical existence of three million Israelis is dependent on an Israeli victory, pointing out that the Palestinian resistance has proposed a democratic secular Palestine for the



# By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Hebrew-speaking and Arabic-speaking peoples in the region. They should denounce Soviet anti-Semitism and explain its rise. And, finally, they should comment on what dubious friends of the Jews the likes of Nixon and Jackson are.

P. S.

New York, N. Y.

## Cancel my sub

Be good enough at once to discontinue sending *The Militant* to me. I wish I had known beforehand the political coloration that prompted a front-page banner, "Behind Israeli aggression."

M. W.

New Haven, Conn.

## Disturbed

I find it very disturbing that a publication that is Trotskyist should give unequivocal support to the bourgeois Arab states of Egypt and Syria.

A proper Trotskyist position would be "to turn the national war into a class war." You are merely siding with reactionary Arab states.

If your movement is truly anti-Zionist, and not anti-Semitic, you'll have to explain just what the Arab states intend to do with the Jewish workers once they "dismantle" the Israeli state. The Arab states plan to wipe out the Jewish population. That is not class war, that's genocide.

H. R. B.

Portland, Maine

## Best wishes

I read with great interest the Oct. 19 *Militant*. I thank you very much for supporting the just cause of the Arab peoples in their struggle for dignity and justice, as well as your support for peoples in other places fighting for similar causes.

Convey my best wishes to Mr. Norman Oliver [Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City], who has chosen to take a correct objective position vis-a-vis the Middle Eastern question rather than indulge in political demagoguery.

S. A. I.

New York, N. Y.

## Eating dust?

Unconditional support of the Arabs in their war with Israel is tantamount to calling for the total destruction of Israel and the liquidation of the Jews therein. To argue otherwise is dishonest and to sincerely believe otherwise is naive.

And if there is anything of value left in Israel after the holocaust, it will most surely be appropriated by the Arab leaders and feudal lords. As for the Palestinian Arabs, they will still end up eating dust as they had long before there was an Israel.

Henry Rutzick  
San Francisco, Calif.

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

# Blacks speak out on Mideast

Last week we reported on various Black misleaders' attempts to whip up Black support for Israeli aggression in the Mideast. The axis of their argument is the claim that Israel is the victim of Arab aggression. Some falsely contend that Israeli Jews are an oppressed minority in the Mideast, as are Blacks in white America.

A number have been so loudmouthed they could trick you into believing they speak for the broader Black community.

So I did some street interviews with Black New Yorkers to obtain their feelings on the subject. The results contrast sharply with the bogus claims of these Black tricksters.

Of some 35 Blacks interviewed, only two stated they were backing Israel. About a dozen stated they had no opinion, with the rest supporting the Arab side.

A surprising number linked the Arab struggle against Zionist colonialism to the struggle of Blacks in southern Africa against white settler rule there. Israel and South Africa, for example, have close economic and political ties, and when the fighting broke out three weeks ago, South African Zionists wasted no time in sending volunteers and money to Israel.

One of two brothers from Hunter College began by saying "The Israelis came and grabbed the Arabs' land in 1948. And they still hold it today—illegally. It's the same thing that went down in southern Africa. Portugal, the British, and some other Europeans took over African land in South Africa, Mozambique, and the rest of that area. It's the same kind of thing, so I've got to be opposed to it."

The other Hunter student added, "I agree. The Is-

raelis don't have the right to take the Arabs' land like that. That's what it's all about. They're just fighting to get their land back. And I'm totally against the Americans for supporting Israel militarily, with manpower. I think the government should stay out of the whole issue and let them settle it by themselves."

One sister stated, "The Arabs!" when asked who she backed. "'Cause they're from Africa—just like us—or northern Africa, at least."

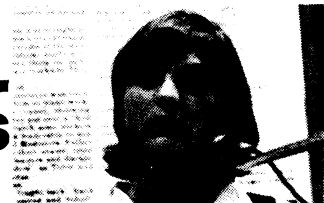
Cyril Boynes, cultural affairs director of the Congress of Racial Equality, stated he thinks Israel's crossing of the Suez canal is "a horrible thing, historically and morally for Africa and African unity—to have Israel invading the continent and occupying it with 10,000 troops."

Quite a number of the younger brothers interviewed objected to any U. S. involvement, citing the high casualties among Black GIs in the Vietnam war. One said, "I don't think the U. S. should be involved in helping Israel at all. You see, I spent a year in the 'Nam and I'd hate to see any bloods gettin' sent to fight in Israel of all places." Another brother was right to the point when he said, "I just don't think we should be the world's policeman."

After hearing the words of these Blacks and comparing them to those of the Black misleaders, I couldn't help but recall the words of Brother Malcolm, who was himself an opponent of Zionist Israel. He once told a New York audience, "Uncle Tom leaders do not speak for the Negro majority; they do not speak for the Black masses. They speak for the 'Black bourgeoisie,' the brainwashed, white-minded, middle-class minority, who are ashamed of Black, and don't want to be identified with the Black masses."

# Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## Young women's liberation

Seventh-grader Theresa Hickey wanted to learn something new. So when school started this fall she signed up for an industrial arts class at her junior high school. The school officials told her that "because she was a girl" she could not enroll in the course. They also told her that "because she was a girl" she was *required* to study home economics.

"That just made me sick," said Theresa, who lives on a farm near Cleveland, Ohio. "What I really wanted to learn about was how to use tools, a hammer and saw, things like that. After all, I've been learning how to cook and keep house since I was in a high chair."

It was easy to sympathize with Theresa. I can remember too well the boring "home ec" courses I was forced to sit through. In the first half of the eighth grade we studied cooking, which consisted of learning how to make cinnamon toast and hot chocolate. The second half we took sewing. I made an apron. Neither skill has been particularly useful.

Theresa, however, decided to fight and sought help from the Women's Law Fund Inc., a feminist group in Cleveland. They sued in federal district court, and the school board quickly reversed its policy.

Sex discrimination in public education is coming under attack in schools across the country. The issues range from classes that exclude women to textbooks that are derogatory toward women. They include casual remarks made by teachers, athletic program funding, and job discrimination against female teachers.

The superintendent of the school district where Theresa goes to school, who was a defendant in the federal suit, put it this way: "The sex equality thing is having a big impact in the schools, particularly as far as staffing and physical facilities are concerned. We're having to rethink just about everything

we've traditionally done. The problem is gigantic."

The problem is even bigger than he thinks. In elementary schools, where 85 percent of teachers are women, only 20 percent of the principals are women. This is a 36 percent *decrease* in the number of women principals since 1950.

Of the nearly 16,000 senior high school principals, only 222 are women.

The Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo (Mich.) Public Schools made a study of texts used in the system's schools. The books showed only 40 occupations for women, compared with 215 for men. "Throughout the books the major female character is mother," says Jo Jacobs, head of the committee. "She's always available, always at home, always cooking or mending, always ready to kiss and make things better. They totally ignored the fact that half of the mothers with children aged 6 to 17 work."

Other reports show that more than two-thirds of all stories for children are about boys or men or male animals. Boys are shown as active and creative, using their wits, solving problems for girls and even mothers. Girls, on the other hand, walk, read or dream, and universally admire the prowess of boys. Seldom are girls seen doing anything athletic, even riding a bicycle.

It's no wonder young women are objecting. One 14-year-old became incensed at the sexist remarks her teachers made. When one teacher, a man, asked for "two strong-armed boys" to volunteer to carry books, Nancy protested. She told the teacher it was a sexist remark that insinuated that girls were too weak to carry books. She was quickly joined by other female classmates in carrying the books. The next few classes were devoted to a discussion of women's liberation.

# Behind Nixon's threat of

By DAVE FRANKEL

Richard Nixon brought the world to the brink of nuclear war on Oct. 25.

Missiles were raised to firing positions, special battle staffs went on duty, bomber crews slept in their planes, leaves were canceled, and the entire U.S. military machine of 2.2 million men was placed on combat alert.

In describing the situation at a televised news conference the next day, Nixon spoke of a conflict that could have led to "a nuclear confrontation." He said this was "the most difficult crisis we've had since the Cuban confrontation of 1962." That crisis saw an "eyeball to eyeball" nuclear confrontation between President John Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev over Cuba's right to defend itself with Soviet missiles. Robert Kennedy later admitted in his book about the crisis that his brother had been fully prepared to launch an all-out nuclear war if Khrushchev refused to remove Soviet missiles from Cuba.

In case there were any who thought that he would balk at incinerating the human race, Nixon assured his audience that his response to alleged moves by the Kremlin was "very firm and left little to the imagination of how we would react." He added that "the tougher it gets, the cooler I get."

He boasted that because "the president . . . went ahead and did what he thought was right" by ordering the bombing and mining of North Vietnam in December 1972, "that Mr. Brezhnev knew that regardless of the pressures at home, regardless of what people see and hear on television night after night, he [the president] would do what was right."

At an earlier news conference, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger set a different tone. He took pains to assure

senals capable of annihilating humanity," and "have a special duty to see that confrontations are kept within bounds that do not threaten civilized life."

## The credibility gap

The first reaction of many people to the military alert was to assume that Nixon had engineered another foreign policy spectacular to divert attention from the latest Watergate scandal and the massive pressure for his impeachment.

CBS reporter Marvin Kalb asked Kissinger to comment on the possibility that the alert "might have been prompted as much perhaps by American domestic requirements as by the real requirements of diplomacy in the Middle East."

Despite Kissinger's pained reply that "it is a symptom of what is happening to our country that it could even be suggested that the United States would alert its forces for domestic reasons," the questions persisted. Kissinger felt constrained to plead with another reporter that "there has to be a minimum of confidence that the senior officials of the American government are not playing with the lives of the American people."

Another factor contributing to the disbelief was the illusion that the Washington-Moscow détente ruled out the possibility of a real confrontation. Nobody can deny that the widespread distrust of Nixon and cynicism about government pronouncements are well founded, and Nixon certainly tried to get all the mileage he could out of the Mideast crisis. However, nothing could be more dangerous than to discount Nixon's nuclear saber-rattling as empty rhetoric, or to mistake the détente as a defense against nuclear war.

acted decisively, and I support his action."

The *New York Times* said Oct. 26 that "it was evident that both [the U.S. and the Soviet Union] were approaching a point of possible no return." And on Oct. 28 it held that Nixon's statement that the crisis was "the most difficult . . . since the Cuban confrontation of 1962" was not "an unjust appraisal."



NIXON: 'Cool' while he threatened world with nuclear destruction.

Finally, on Oct. 29, the *Times* gave its seal of approval to Nixon's threat to use the H-bomb. "The worldwide military alert ordered early Thursday morning by President Nixon," it said, "may indeed have been the correct and prudent response to an external threat to vital American interests."

## Behind the confrontation

The Oct. 25 confrontation was precipitated by the encirclement of the Egyptian III Corps—estimated to number about 20,000 troops and 200 tanks—by Israeli troops following a cease-fire agreement. The Israeli government had declared its intention of inflicting the heaviest possible casualties on the Arab armies at the beginning of the latest war. It made no secret of its distaste for the cease-fire agreement concluded by Washington and Moscow and passed by the UN Security Council Oct. 22.

"We had no real choice," said one Israeli official. "Here was a personal appeal from the president of the United States at a time when Israel was more dependent than ever on the United States. We were hardly in a position to say no."

Although the Israelis accepted the cease-fire verbally, they continued to pump troops and supplies into their bridgehead on the west bank of the Suez Canal. *Newsweek* reported, "In the day following the scheduled start of the cease-fire, it became apparent that 'very major' Israeli violations were taking place as Israeli troops proceeded to cut off the Egyptian Third Army."

Kissinger explained more delicately that "there was a breakdown of the cease-fire which led to certain Israeli territorial gains."

Whether the Israeli offensive was planned with Nixon's and Kissinger's agreement, or was carried out and later won their acceptance, may never be known. But when the Security Council reaffirmed the original cease-fire resolution on Oct. 23, the Egyptian III Corps was in an untenable position.

With the Israeli army intent on destroying the Egyptian force, President

Sadat of Egypt called for an emergency meeting of the Security Council, demanded that the original cease-fire lines be restored, and asked Moscow and Washington to send troops to police the agreement.

In the meantime, according to Nixon, the Kremlin began preparing to send troops into Egypt. The shroud of secrecy that veils U.S.-Soviet diplomacy keeps us from knowing exactly what Brezhnev intended to do. But there can be no doubt that he said enough to convince Nixon that he wasn't about to tolerate the destruction of III Corps.

Bernard Nossiter wrote in the Oct. 28 *Washington Post* that "it is reasonable to think that Moscow . . . was furious over what it regarded as Israeli cheating on the deal with Washington." Nixon, however, chose to jump in behind Israel with the threat of the H-bomb. Apparently the Kremlin backed down, and another agreement was reached before the confrontation went any further.

"In the Israeli view," Nossiter wrote, "the U.S. alert of Thursday was a notable piece of crisis management and did not reflect either irrational behavior by President Nixon or a political device to escape his domestic difficulties."

The Security Council passed a new cease-fire resolution Oct. 25, this one with provisions for a UN force to oversee the cease-fire. The Egyptian III Corps remained surrounded, but in no immediate danger of being forced to surrender, since the Israelis were permitting food and water to be supplied to it.

Israeli Chief of Staff David Elazar explained the decision to allow provisions to reach the III Corps: "We were compelled to agree. It was imposed on us to arrange a convoy." The Israeli government stated that it had approved the resupply "in response to the urgent and special appeal of the United States Government."

## Role of the détente

When Soviet Communist Party boss Leonid Brezhnev visited the U.S. last June, he characterized the Middle East as one of the "hotbeds of dangerous tension in the world." He called Nixon a man of peace, and held out the hope that the détente could secure "a truly lasting peace on earth for many generations."

At that time *The Militant* warned that "Brezhnev's summit policies of capitulating to Nixon and prettifying the imperialist warmakers will not lessen the danger of nuclear war; rather these



U.S. military alert included nuclear bombers and missiles, as well as conventional forces. Above, fighter pilot heads for his plane.

the press that the worldwide alert of U.S. military forces was only a "precautionary" measure, and that "we do not consider ourselves in a confrontation with the Soviet Union."

In contrast to Nixon, Kissinger insisted that "we are not talking of a missile-crisis type of situation." However, since Nixon was the man with his finger on the nuclear button, his assessment carries some extra weight.

Moreover, Kissinger himself, while trying to downplay the imminence of a nuclear confrontation, felt it necessary to remind his audience that both the U.S. and USSR have "nuclear ar-

As *The Militant* warned in our Oct. 26 issue, "The imperialist rulers of the U.S. have proved time and time again that the maintenance of their power and privileges is more important to them than the survival of humanity." We warned, "Nixon's ominous decision to intervene with U.S. military might heightens the ever-present danger of a nuclear holocaust that could engulf the entire world."

Ample evidence that the Middle East showdown was real is provided by the reactions of sections of the capitalist class unfriendly to Nixon. Senator Kennedy declared, "President Nixon



KISSINGER: Downplayed the confrontation.

# nuclear war

policies will embolden Nixon and strengthen his hand.

"The only answer to the danger of nuclear conflagration and to the other problems of humanity is resolute struggle to resist the injustices of the capitalist rulers and ultimately to take the power out of their hands through a socialist revolution."

The truth of this analysis has been proved once again by the events of the past week. Brezhnev has been pleading all along for a deal that would protect the status quo in the Middle East in return for Israel's giving up some of the territories occupied during the 1967 war. He has been



'Precautionary alert' had U.S. military machine, with 2.2 million men, preparing for war.

more than willing to help suppress the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs to reclaim their homeland in order to make such a deal.

In his speech to the World Peace Congress in Moscow on Oct. 26 Brezhnev again stressed his commitment to "normalization" of the imperialist status quo, with "secure borders" for the colonial settler-state of Israel.

But the imperialists, while willing to make deals with Moscow to help suppress revolutionary movements, are not willing to limit their sphere of influence. They represent a capitalist system, a system that must expand to survive. The result is constant attempts to enlarge their field of activity and to push back the struggles of the colonial masses for political and economic independence.

This dynamic was shown five days after the outbreak of the Middle East war, when House-Senate conferees restored most of the money that had been cut from the Pentagon budget in previous congressional action. Similarly, whether or not Nixon knew of Israel's planned Suez offensive in advance, once it materialized he had no compunctions about trying to improve the position of the U.S. client state, even at the risk of nuclear war.

As for the Soviet bureaucrats, although they were willing to stand by and watch Nixon terror bomb the Vietnamese, and even talk about generations of peace while he was doing it, they took a different view when the capitalist regime in Egypt was threatened with a decisive defeat.

The Middle East lies just south of the Soviet Union, and the Kremlin

has no desire to see its southern flank under exclusive U.S. domination. The bureaucratic caste in Moscow is motivated by the most narrow and immediate considerations of national interest. It saw those interests threatened in the Middle East, but not in Vietnam.

The Kremlin policy of seeking an accommodation with the U.S. by making concessions to it is doomed to failure because of the predatory nature of imperialism. In addition, this policy increases the possibility of nuclear confrontation, because the bureaucrats refuse to take a firm stand except when they see their vital interests threatened. The result is that when they finally act, they often find themselves in a corner from which they cannot retreat.

## Nixon a madman?

Nixon's readiness to wipe out human civilization is such a palpable sign of insanity that some are tempted to blame the nuclear threat on his particular mental condition. Unfortunately, Nixon's madness is wholly in keeping with the system he represents. He had the support of the entire ruling class in his action.

On Oct. 27 the *New York Times* editors said, "The confrontation through which the two superpowers have just moved still has its hazy aspects; but whatever the element of danger that existed these past two days, an outcome of genuine peace talks in the Middle East could go far toward justifying the risks that were taken."

Thus, the *Times* supports the threat of blowing up the world as a tool of U.S. foreign policy—a position it also took when Kennedy used the same threat during the Cuban missile crisis.

Another aspect of imperialism revealed by the latest Middle East crisis was the sharpening competition between the major capitalist powers. White House spokesman Robert McCloskey, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, Kissinger, and Nixon all berated their European allies for their attitude during the crisis. Kissinger complained that he was "disgusted" with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Nixon agreed that "our European friends haven't been as cooperative as they might've been in attempting to help us work out the Middle East settlement. . . ."

They were complaining about the fact that all the NATO countries, with the exception of Portugal, refused permission to the U.S. to use bases on their territories for resupply of Israel. West Germany publicly demanded that the U.S. stop loading tanks onto Israeli ships in its ports.

The European countries, which depend on the Middle East for about 75 percent of their oil, had no desire to provoke the Arab governments. Europe's interests are "rather different from the interests of the United States," said Lord Carrington, the British minister of defense.

Nixon disagreed, in his usual arrogant way. He said that "Europe, which gets 80 percent of its oil from the Mideast, would have frozen to death this winter unless there'd been a settlement."

The public rift in the NATO alliance was unprecedented, reflecting the growing power and independence of the European capitalists vis-a-vis Wall Street.

Continued on page 22

# 300 hear anti-Zionists in N.Y. despite threats

By DENNIS RICHTER

NEW YORK—An anti-Zionist meeting was successfully completed Oct. 25 at Queens College despite disruption by Zionists chanting, "We want Arab blood!"

A capacity crowd of 300 heard Dr. M. T. Medhi of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations and Dave Frankel, a staff writer for *The Militant*.

The Zionist disrupters were led by the Jewish Defense League. The JDL originated as an anti-Black vigilante group and supported the war in Vietnam. It has launched physical attacks on advocates of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools in New York's District 1. Currently, it is carrying out a campaign of intimidation and gangster attacks in an attempt to silence anti-Zionist voices in the U.S.

Organized heckling broke out several times during Frankel's speech. Each time this happened the majority of the students attending, including many Blacks and Puerto Ricans, urged the disrupters to be quiet.

Frankel was interrupted by applause several times, as when he pointed out, "The Palestinians are not fighting to oppress or exterminate the Jewish people, any more than the aim of Blacks in South Africa is to kill all the whites there."

When Dr. Medhi rose to speak he was met with thunderous applause from supporters of the Arab cause and boos from JDLers. Medhi's initial ef-



Militant/Arthur Hughes

M.T. MEDHI: Thunderous applause and boos.

speakers and those wishing to hear their views. The day before the Queens College meeting a statement supporting the right of freedom of speech on the Queens campus was signed by the president of the student government, the editors of two campus newspapers, and others. Another statement condemning the provocative role of the JDL at the meeting is being widely circulated on the campus.

As part of this civil liberties campaign, another meeting to hear Dr. Medhi has been set for Nov. 12 at Brooklyn College. Other speakers will include Mark Friedman from the Brooklyn YSA and a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A statement supporting the rescheduled forum on the basis of the



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Jewish Defense League tried to break up anti-Zionist meeting at Queens College.

forts to speak were drowned out when the JDLers rose to chant and sing the Israeli anthem.

Students who wanted to hear Medhi speak demanded that the disrupters take their seats and allow the meeting to continue. The pressure was so intense that many pro-Zionist students joined in urging the JDL to be quiet. Medhi was able to finish his speech and answer questions. This was a victory for democratic rights.

The meeting, which was sponsored by the Black Student Union, Haitian Students, La Unión Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos, United Third World Front, the *Last Word* newspaper, and the Young Socialist Alliance, had been threatened with disruption following the breaking up of a similar meeting at Brooklyn College Oct. 23.

The only violence at the Queens meeting occurred as Dr. Medhi was being escorted to his car and was met by chanting Zionists. Medhi left the campus safely, but scuffles between the JDLers—some of whom were armed with clubs—and other students resulted in two JDLers being arrested.

The YSA has launched a campaign to defend the rights of anti-Zionist

right of free speech has been signed by the editor of the Brooklyn College newspaper, the *Kingsman*, and a number of prominent professors. Initial sponsors are the YSA, UMOJA Society, and Dar-ul Islam Muslim Students.

At a news conference held Oct. 25 to protest the disruption of the Brooklyn meeting two days earlier, Dr. Medhi commended Norman Oliver of the Socialist Workers Party as the only mayoral candidate in New York to condemn the attack on the Brooklyn meeting.

Another SWP candidate, James Mendieta, who is running for Brooklyn district attorney, was brutally beaten by a half dozen JDLers following that meeting. Mendieta, a Cuban-American, was mistaken for an Arab student.

The JDL thugs, at least one of whom was armed, screamed, "We're going to kill you—you Arab bastard," as they attacked. Mendieta suffered bruises over much of his body and a scalp wound that required seven stitches. He is filing criminal charges against the attackers.



# Puerto Ricans & the Arab-Israeli war

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK — Herman Badillo, the country's only Puerto Rican congressman, has been stumping New York City the past few weeks soliciting support for the Israeli war drive.

At a recent "Solidarity with Israel" rally in the South Bronx, he told a predominantly Puerto Rican audience that "a little less than a year ago 14 Puerto Rican pilgrims were murdered by Arab terrorists in a Tel Aviv airport. In a sense, Israel belongs to the Puerto Rican people as well."

At the same rally, Ramón Velez, Democratic candidate for city council, urged the crowd to "support a people that is struggling for survival. Don't forget that every day we ourselves struggle for the survival of our families and our Puerto Rican flag."

This equation of imperialist-backed Zionist aggression with the struggle of Puerto Ricans against colonial oppression is incredible. In fact it's staggering. It's like telling Black Americans their struggle against racist oppression has more in common with the white settler regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) than with the fight of the

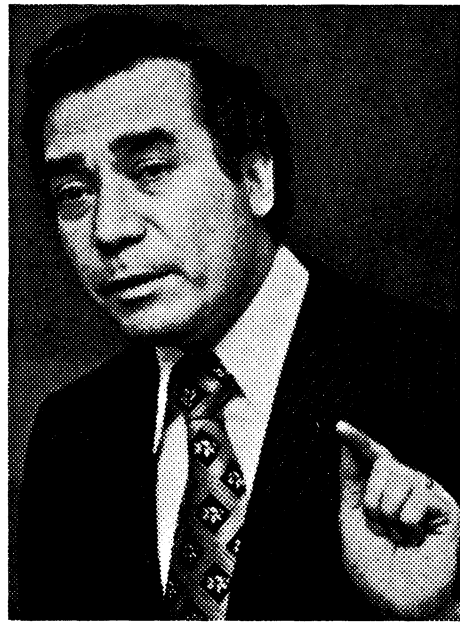
oppressed African Black population.

Israel is a colonial settler-state. Backed by imperialist financial and military aid, the Zionists drove the native Palestinian farmers, shopkeepers, and workers from their homes. Israel is a beachhead for imperialism against the revolutionary struggles of the Arab masses who are fighting for full national and social liberation.

"The Arabs are the Blacks and Puerto Ricans of the Mideast," Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate in New York City, told a recent rally. "They are the victims of aggression, not the aggressors. They are the oppressed, not the oppressors." That is the correct comparison, not Badillo's.

Puerto Ricans who are fighting for better schools, more jobs, decent housing, and bilingual elections know that Zionist organizations have not been among their supporters. On the contrary, Zionist groups have been the most stubborn opponents of Puerto Ricans fighting racial discrimination.

For example, in school District 1 on the city's Lower East Side, Puerto Rican parents, allied with Black and



HERMAN BADILLO: First loyalty to Democrats.

Chinese parents, are struggling for more say over the schools in the district. Their goal is to improve the education of their children.

Virtually every Zionist and pro-

Zionist organization in the city vigorously opposes this effort.

Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers and a zealous supporter of the Israeli regime and its policies, is the most prominent adversary of the Puerto Rican parents. His supporters now control the predominantly white and illegally elected school board in District 1, where more than 90 percent of the students are Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese.

Puerto Ricans, fighting "Shankerism" — as that pernicious brand of racism has come to be known — have a pretty good idea what Arabs struggling against Zionism are up against. And they're not going to be fooled by the likes of a Herman Badillo or a Ramón Velez urging them to rally behind "Shankerism" in the Arab East, any more than they would in New York's barrios.

These politicians present themselves as champions of the oppressed, particularly of Puerto Ricans in the United States. But their first loyalty isn't to their own people. It's to the Democratic Party and the racist capitalist class that party serves.

## For the defeat of Zionism & imperialism!

The following statement was issued October 23 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

For the twenty-five years that the Zionist state has existed in Palestine, the Arab East has been thrown into a permanent state of intermittent war. The whole responsibility for that situa-

tion rests on the role Israel plays as policeman for imperialism, combined with the particular aims of the Zionist enterprise in Palestine.



Israeli tanks invading Egypt

tion rests on the role Israel plays as policeman for imperialism, combined with the particular aims of the Zionist enterprise in Palestine.

The fourth Arab-Israeli war of autumn 1973 is a new phase in the armed resistance of the Arab peoples to the counterrevolutionary policy of aggression systematically practiced by the Zionist state. Even though this war pits the armies of bourgeois Arab regimes against the Zionist armies, its character is that of a struggle against Israeli colonialism and expansionism. It follows that revolutionary Marxists affirm the legitimate character of the struggle of the Arab states against Zionism and call for their victory.

But any illusion about the ability of the Arab regimes to consistently confront Zionism and imperialism would be out of order. As far as Egypt, Syria, and the Arab states that are supporting them are concerned, the aim of the war is a compromise be-

tween Israel and the Arab regimes that would be less unfavorable to the Arab bourgeoisies and military bureaucracies; a compromise that would allow them to contain the mobilization of the Arab masses against Zionism and imperialism within limits acceptable from the standpoint of their own economic and political interests.

Then recognition of the state of Israel, the Zionist colonial presence in Palestine, would become possible for the exploitative Arab owning classes, while at the same time the oppression and expulsion of the Arab people of Palestine would be maintained.

No peaceful solution and no measure appearing as such can ever be found to the Arab-Israeli conflict unless it recognizes the right of the Arabs of Palestine to take back their lands. The origin of the conflict lies in the denial of that right, and so does the root of future conflicts. Because the struggle of the Arabs of Palestine is a basically radical anti-imperialist and proletarian one, it is a permanent threat to the Arab bourgeoisies just as it is to the Zionist state. It requires the destruction of the Zionist socioeconomic structure and state and can be achieved only through the socialist revolution in the region, based on a common fight of the Jewish and Arab

working masses.

All the Arab regimes and Israel, along with their respective military and financial supporters, oppose this solution, the only one that can possibly establish real and durable peace in the Arab East.

A so-called peaceful solution imposed by Washington and Moscow would mean acceptance of the Zionist state. Revolutionary Marxists oppose this mystification and denounce the intervention of the great powers in the Arab-Israeli conflict. No accord arrived at by Washington and Moscow can bring peace to the Arab East or to the world. The policy of so-called peaceful coexistence can lead only to partial compromises between the interests of American imperialism and the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, compromises attained at the expense of the revolutionary struggle of the masses for socialism.

While revolutionary Marxists are obviously in favor of the unconditional and complete withdrawal of the Zionist armies from the territories occupied after the Israeli aggression of June 1967, they never separate that demand from the right of the Palestinians to regain their country. They denounce the attitude of the Arab regimes and of Arab reaction, which are prepared to compromise behind the backs of the Arab masses in general and the Palestinians in particular.

They call for the arming and organization of the Arab masses to transform the present war into a revolutionary offensive against Zionism and imperialism, for total freedom of action for the Palestinian resistance to operate from and within all Arab countries. They call for support to the struggle of anti-Zionist Jews within Israel, that struggle being an essential component of the struggle against Zionism. The Arab bourgeoisies have neither the right nor the ability to substitute themselves for that struggle, which must be waged jointly by the workers and peasants of the whole Arab East.

For the defeat of Zionism and im-

perialism!

Long live the struggles of the toiling masses of the Arab East!

Long live the socialist revolution in the Arab East!

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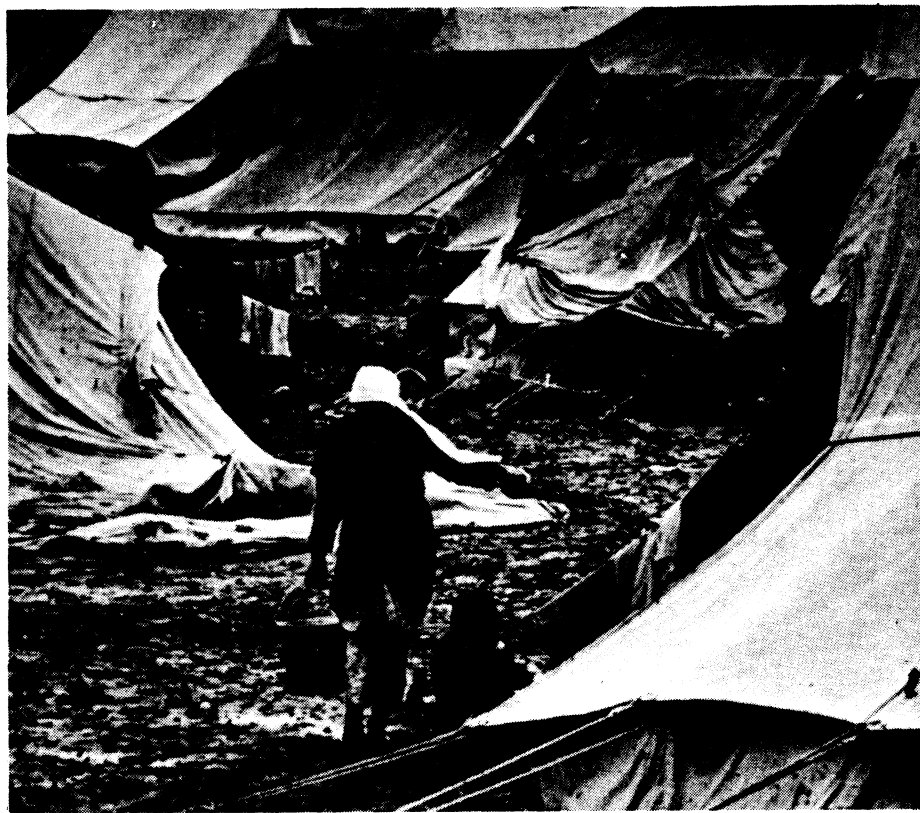
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# How the Arabs were driven out of Palestine



From Intercontinental Press  
By JON ROTHCHILD

*Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country. . . . We shall not achieve our goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is a Palestine, at least Western Palestine (west of the Jordan River) without Arabs. . . . And there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, to transfer all of them: Not one village, not one tribe, should be left.*

— R. Weitz, Zionist leader, for many years head of the Jewish Agency's colonization department. Notation in his diary, 1940.

*Abdel Hakim left with his battalion, which had a duty to perform in the battle of Deir Suneid. Before leaving, he gave me the sum of £1000, which had been entrusted to him. With this money I was to buy as much cheese and olives as I could. Our forward troops had no emergency rations to rely on in the front-lines, where they could not be served with hot meals. No one had taken the trouble to think about providing the front-line troops with emergency rations. All that they had done was to send us £1000 and say: "Buy cheese and olives."*

*I bought all the cheese and olives I could lay hands on in Gaza. My heart ached at the thought of the soldier who was to attack fortified positions with his bare body and then sit in a hole like a mouse nibbling away at a piece of cheese. We bought all the cheese we could find with the £1000 they had thrown to us saying: "Do as you see fit." But my heart cried out with every beat: "This is no war."*

— Gamal Abdel Nasser, memoirs of the first Palestine war.

*. . . when the UN passed the resolution to partition Palestine into two states, the War of Independence broke out, to our great fortune. In this war, a twofold miracle occurred: territorial victory and the flight of the Arabs.*

— R. Weitz, September 1967.

Zionist ideology is a multilayered structure, with mystification enveloping mystification. At its core is the central delusion: that world Jewry constitutes a single nation and that this dispersed nation has suffered systematic oppression because of the dispersion.

Once that basic premise is accepted, some conclusions flow quite logically:

The problem of anti-Semitism can be solved only by "ingathering the exiles" of the dispersed nation, thus removing the source of the oppression, and by establishing a Jewish nation-state, "as Jewish as England is English." Any form of struggle against anti-Semitism that does not have as its goal establishing the Jewish nation-state is a utopian endeavor, misguided at best, disastrous at worst. The interests of all Jews as Jews unites them, transcending class divisions. Conflicts among Jews must be subordinated to the struggle against the universal Gentile oppressor.

Even before the beginning of large-scale Jewish colonization of Palestine, the Zionist movement's influence on the working-class movement in Eastern Europe, primarily in the Russian empire, was thoroughly reactionary. It urged Jewish workers to withdraw from the class struggle and to unite with Jewish capitalists and the Jewish petty bourgeoisie against the *goyim*. And by abandoning the struggle against anti-Semitism as hopeless, it not only worked against the interest of Jews as Jews, but also indirectly strengthened the hold of reactionary ideology on the non-Jewish workers, anti-Semitism being one of the most important elements in the attempts of the Eastern European ruling classes to divide the working class and to direct the non-Jewish workers and peasants against the Jews as scapegoats.

The Zionist movement continues to this day to play its reactionary role in those senses. And this would be the case even if there had never been Arabs living in Palestine.

But the core of Zionist mystifica-



Expulsion of Palestinians in 1948 is basis for continuing warfare.

tion dictates another set of conclusions as well: that the non-Jewish inhabitants of the land on which the Jewish nation-state is to be built must be dispensed with one way or another; that any means necessary to effect that task are justified, since the native inhabitants of that land are, by definition, part of the universal oppressor of the Jews.

As Weitz—and many other Zionist leaders too—so clearly insisted, the state of Israel could be constructed only if the Palestinian Arabs were displaced. Such displacement is integral to applying the Zionist program, and every sector of the Zionist movement, even the "extreme left" of it, has recognized the exigencies of carrying out the program and has acted accordingly.

Displacement of the Palestinian Arabs was a gradual process at first. But in 1948 it became a sudden one. How sudden is best indicated by one statistic: In early 1949, within the borders of the newly founded state of Israel, there lived about 133,000 Arabs. In November 1947, in the same stretch of land, there had lived more than 800,000 Arabs. That little alteration in population is the "miracle" of which Weitz spoke in 1967. How the miracle occurred bears examination, because contained in the how is not only the root of the October War, but also a series of political lessons about the nature of Zionism, the nature of the Arab states, and the role of the "great powers" that retain full validity today.

## The Zionist colonization

The Zionist colonization of Palestine was an unusual form of colonization, and it yielded unusual results. The Zionist leaders were not primarily interested in exploiting the labor power of the native population, in transforming the "natives" into a proletariat to be exploited by Jewish capital. The Zionist program called for "normalizing" the Jewish "nation." That meant creating a Jewish proletariat, as well as a Jewish bourgeoisie and a Jewish petty bourgeoisie in Palestine.

In more usual settler states, the *colons* displaced the indigenous inhabitants, destroyed the indigenous culture and society, and then transformed the indigenous population into a proletariat employed in an economic system owned and controlled by the settlers. In such situations, class domination and national domination are parallel, the owning class being almost entirely settler and the working class almost entirely "native."

But when the Palestinian Arabs were displaced by Jewish settlers, they were

not reintegrated as workers in Jewish-owned economic establishments; they were simply driven away, excluded entirely from economic life (and of course from political life) in the Jewish sector. Their places were taken by Jews.

The gradual strengthening of this displacing colonialism went on under three slogans, which were the pillars of the Zionist movement in Palestine from the beginning of the colonization through the establishment of the Israeli state and beyond.

The slogans were: *kibush hakarka* (conquest of the land), *kibush haavoda* (conquest of labor), and *t'ozteret haaretz* (produce of the land).

Behind the fine-sounding words lay a rather more grim reality. Conquest of the land meant that as much land as possible had to be acquired (legally or otherwise) from its Arab owners and that no land owned by Jews could be sold or leased or otherwise returned to Arabs. Conquest of labor meant that Jewish-owned factories and farms should exclusively employ Jewish labor insofar as possible. Arab labor was boycotted. In fact, the Histadrut, which today masquerades as a "trade union" in Israel, was formed for the purpose of creating a Jewish working class by imposing a boycott of Arab labor. In some cases, if Jewish capitalists balked at paying the generally higher wages demanded by Jewish workers (as opposed to Arabs), the Jewish National Fund would pay a stipend to the capitalists to make up the difference.

Produce of the land meant in practice the boycott of Arab production by Jewish settlers, who were supposed to buy produce only from Jewish-run farms and stores wherever possible.

To indicate that these three slogans were in fact the day-to-day practice of the Zionist movement in Palestine, it is enough to call on David Hacohen, a leader of Golda Meir's party who was an Israeli parliament member for many years and was the chairman of its Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee. In November 1969 Hacohen addressed the secretariat of the Mapai party, saying:

"I remember being one of the first of our comrades to go to London after the first world war. . . . There I became a socialist. . . . When I joined the socialist students—English, Irish, Jewish, Chinese, Indian, African—we found that we were all under English domination or rule. And even here, in these intimate surroundings, I had to fight my friends on the issue of Jewish socialism, to defend the fact that I would not accept Arabs in my trade union, the Histadrut; to defend

*Continued on following page*



# Zionist aims were expulsion

*Continued from preceding page*  
preaching to housewives that they not buy at Arab stores; to defend the fact that we stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there. . . . To pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes; to attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash the Arab eggs they had bought; to praise to the skies the Kerlin Kayemet [Jewish Fund] that sent Hankin to Beirut to buy land from absentee effendi [landlords] and to throw the fellahin [peasants] off the land—to buy dozens of dunams [a land measurement] from an Arab is permitted, but to sell, God forbid, one Jewish dunam to an Arab is prohibited; to take Rothschild, the incarnation of capitalism, as a social-jet and to name him the 'benefactor'—to do all that was not easy. And despite the fact that we did it—maybe we had no choice—I wasn't happy about it." (Reported in the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, November 15, 1969, and quoted in *The Other Israel—The Radical Case Against Zionism*, Arie Bober, ed., Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972; paperback, \$2.50.)

the "first round" of the Arab-Israeli conflict began on May 15, 1948, the day after the proclamation of the founding of the state of Israel, when Arab armies from Egypt, Transjordan, and Syria invaded the new state with the objective of obliterating the Jewish population.

## Palestine is divided

Apart from the facts that the 1948 war was hardly the "first round" and that the aggressive statements of the Arab leaders had exactly nothing to do with their real intentions or abilities, it is simply not true that the war started in May 1948. By the time the Arab armies entered Palestine on May 15, full-scale war had already been raging for at least one month; intensive civil war between the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs had been going on since November 1947.

A second misconception, which usually parades along with the first, is that the Zionist army was heavily outnumbered by Arab hordes and that the extinction of the Zionist state hung in the balance during the battles that

to this day.

The Yishuv emerged from the second world war considerably stronger, although numerically smaller, than the Palestinian Arabs. The rapid development of the Jewish economic sector in Palestine, the large number of Jewish immigrants that poured into Palestine during the 1930s and during the aftermath of the second world war, the training that Jewish youth in Palestine had received fighting with the Allies, and the intensive development of the Yishuv's administrative structures (the precursors of the Zionist state apparatus) combined to place the Jews in a position not only to expand the area of Jewish control, but to challenge the British regime for control of a large portion of Palestine.

The Palestinian Arabs were in a completely different situation. From 1936 to 1939 they had participated in a revolt against foreign domination that had swept both Palestine and Syria and had tied up between one-third and one-half of the British army during those years. The defeat of the

nists against the metropolis. The post-war Jewish-English conflict thus presents certain affinities with the Boer War."

In late 1947, the British government took the Palestine question to the United Nations, hoping to find some way of internationalizing but preserving its mandate. But the British, weakened by the war and facing a rising independence movement in other colonies, were unable to prevent the UN from divesting them of Palestine. On November 29, 1947, the United Nations passed a resolution by a vote of 33 to 13 (with the support of the Soviet and American delegations) calling for the partition of Palestine into two states, one Arab and one Jewish, that would maintain some sort of loose ties of an unspecified nature.

The partition resolution was a victory for the Zionist movement, as it allowed for the creation of the Jewish state. About 54 percent of the area of Palestine was allotted to the Jewish state. Inside that area there were some 498,000 Jews and about 407,000 Arabs. The Arab state was to be composed of about 45 percent of Palestine, with a population of about 725,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. The city of Jerusalem (105,000 Jews, 100,000 Arabs) was to be a separate international zone. The resolution called for British troops to be withdrawn from Palestine not later than August 1, 1948, and the two states were to come into existence not later than October 1, 1948. Each of the states was to be composed of three disjointed but contiguous pieces "intertwined in a hostile embrace like two struggling serpents," as the British writer George Kirk put it.

The Zionist leaders realized that the partition, while a partial satisfaction of their demands, was inadequate. The Jews were only slightly more than 50 percent of the population of the Jewish state. Given the higher birthrate among the Arabs, the Jews would eventually be a minority in the Jewish state, even allowing for increased Jewish immigration. And that, naturally, was incompatible with maintenance of a state that was to be "as Jewish as England is English."

The partition, to a large extent, merely formally recognized an already accomplished fact in the sense that a separate Jewish community with a developing national consciousness and a well-structured state apparatus already existed in Palestine. But the fact was not yet accomplished enough, for the 400,000 Arabs obstinately remained in the Jews' allotted territory.

## 1948 war begins . . . in 1947

The immediate problem before the Zionist leaders was therefore twofold: to eliminate the bulk of the 400,000 Arabs in the area reserved for the Jewish state and to expand the borders of that state as far as possible, the partition being seen merely as a step along the road to Jewish conquest of all Palestine. They set out to achieve these goals in late 1947. They were aided in their quest by U.S. imperialism, the Soviet bureaucracy, the British-controlled League of Arab States, and the reactionary leadership of the Palestinian Arabs, who in any case were not even consulted about any decisions, partition or anything else. It is therefore not very surprising that the Zionists succeeded, talk of "miracles" notwithstanding.



Israeli soldier searches Arab workers. Relation between Israeli Jews and Palestinians is similar to that of whites and Blacks in South Africa.

One must assume that the Palestinian Arabs who were victims of that policy are supposed to be conciliated by Hachohen's heart-wrenching unhappiness, revealed forty or fifty years after the fact.

Taken together, the three planks of the program amount to the construction of a Jewish society implanted in Arab Palestine, a society that concurrently developed its own administration, press, and armed forces. It was supported initially by British imperialism, which saw it as a weapon against the Arab independence movement; and it in turn supported British colonial rule in Palestine until the Jewish enclave was large and powerful enough to demand independence for itself.

That point came in the aftermath of the second world war, specifically in 1947-48, when the Yishuv—the Jewish community in Palestine—became the Zionist state of Israel.

A common misconception fostered both by Zionist propagandists and by the Western capitalist press is that

raged from the middle of May until the end of 1948. In fact, at the height of the fighting, Jewish combat troops numbered at least 70,000 (some estimates run as high as 100,000), while the total forces committed to battle by the Arab states stood at not more than 40,000, and probably closer to 30,000.

Furthermore, the security of the Jewish state was firmly established by early June at the latest. The remainder of the fighting was over exactly how far the borders of the new state would extend and over the related question of how many Arabs would be left within those borders. In fact, the inability of the Arab leaders to match the Zionist state in the number of troops mobilized in any confrontation persists today, despite the population disparity. As for the Palestinian Arabs themselves, they played almost no role in the 1948 war, but were mostly passive bystanders whose fate was determined by forces not under their control, another condition that persists

1936 revolt—in large part a result of its semifeudal Islamic theocratic leadership—had left the Palestinians atomized, demoralized, exhausted, and unarmed.

With the end of World War II the Zionist movement began an extensive military campaign consisting largely of terrorist attacks against British occupying troops. The interests of British imperialism and the Zionist movement, so long in tandem, had diverged as the Zionist leaders began pressing for the overturning of the British mandate over Palestine and the establishment of an independent Jewish state.

"Inasmuch as the Arab masses remained virtual strangers at the periphery of the struggle," wrote Nathan Weinstock, a leader of the Belgian Trotskyist movement, in his *Le Sionisme contre Israël* (Paris: François Maspero, 1969), the best single book on the Arab-Israeli conflict, "the clashes that pitted the Yishuv against the British presence took on in certain respects the look of a revolt of colo-



# of Arabs and expansion

In November 1947, the Irgun Zvei Leumi, a Zionist military organization with several thousand members, abandoned its terrorist attacks on the British occupation authority and turned to meting out "reprisals" for anti-Zionist acts on the part of the Palestinian Arabs. The latter, lacking organized leadership and increasingly alarmed by growing Zionist strength in Palestine and by the impending UN partition resolution, were frequently moved to express their opposition to the Zionist colonization in undifferentiated assaults on Jews. In this they were encouraged by the Palestinian theocratic leadership, the "old notables" centered around the former mufti of Jerusalem and his cousin Abdel Kader el-Husseini.

The Irgun took advantage of these incidents to launch a widespread "retaliatory" campaign, which consisted mainly of attacks on villages suspected of harboring those responsible for the anti-Zionist actions, and attacks on villages that were not suspected of being involved, just for purposes of "setting examples." The Irgun campaign had a double effect. On the one hand, it began the process—later intensified significantly—of terrorizing the Palestinian Arabs into what was to become wholesale flight. On the other hand, it incited Arab counterattacks against Jewish settlers, thus ensuring that the gulf dividing the Jews from the Arabs would widen and deepen.

An example was the Irgun bombing attack against Arab workers at the Haifa oil refinery on December 31, 1947. Six were killed and dozens wounded in the attack. Nineteen Jewish workers were killed and many were wounded when the Arab workers were incited by their own reactionary leaders to strike back.

The example of the Haifa refinery is an important one. The installation was one of the few in Palestine that employed both Jewish and Arab workers. It had been the scene of some collaboration between them, a development that was not to the liking of the Zionists, the Arab reactionaries, or the British government. The Irgun's terror raid and the Husseini response ended the example once and for all.

By January 1948, the Irgun terror campaign—winked at by the Haganah, the "official" armed forces of the Zionist movement—had done its work. The lines of the conflict were set; the possibility of Jewish-Arab cooperation was squashed; the Palestinian Arabs were on the way to learning what Zionist terror was to be like.

The events of the past twenty-five years make it hard for many people today to imagine that Jewish-Arab cooperation was even a possibility in 1947. But the truth is otherwise. The vast bulk of Jewish immigration to Palestine in the aftermath of the second world war was not an "ideological" immigration of committed Zionists arriving to expel the Arabs. It was instead composed of thousands of displaced persons who had barely survived the Nazi holocaust and had set out for Palestine because they had no alternative. In fact, the Zionist movement itself made no effort to force the U.S. government to open its doors to the refugees and even opposed the open door policy.

Here is an example of the Zionist attitude, from a letter from David Ben-Gurion to the Zionist executive dated



Expulsion of Palestinians continues to this day. Above, refugees crossing the Jordan River following 1967 war.

December 17, 1938:

"Britain is trying to separate the issue of the refugees from that of Palestine. It is assisted by anti-Zionist Jews. The dimensions of the refugee problem demand an immediate, territorial solution; if Palestine will not absorb them another territory will. Zionism is endangered. All other territorial solutions, certain to fail, will demand enormous sums of money. If Jews will have to choose between the refugees, saving Jews from concentration camps, and assisting a national museum in Palestine, mercy will have the upper hand and the whole energy of the people will be channeled into saving Jews from various countries. Zionism will be struck off the agenda not only in world public opinion, in Britain and the United States, but elsewhere in Jewish public opinion. If we allow a separation between the refugee problem and the Palestine problem, we are risking the existence of Zionism." (Quoted in *The Other Israel*, p. 171.)

No separation was made. The refugees were not offered asylum in the United States or Britain. The anti-Semitic alliance between imperialism and Zionism ensured that the refugees would be barred from the West and thus provided the Zionists with a not inconsiderable portion of the human material for their new state.

But there was another side to the problem of the refugees. If they had seen a possibility of cooperation with the Arabs in a fight for an independent Palestine, Zionism would have been almost as much in danger of extinction as if the refugees had been admitted to the United States. Ensuring hostility between Jew and Arab, crushing any sign of cooperation (as in Haifa), thus became a goal of the

Zionist leaders. That objective was shared by British imperialism, whose aim was to maintain its rule in Palestine on the pretext that its enlightened soldiers were necessary to keep the Arab and Jewish savages from slaughtering each other, a time-honored technique that has been used by London in areas closer to its own shores. The theocratic Palestinian Arab leaders of course saw nothing good in Arab-Jewish cooperation, and neither did the regimes in Egypt, Transjordan, or Iraq, each of which had been installed virtually on the points of British bayonets.

The result was a never ending series of racist murders, provoked in the first place by Zionist terror squads and answered in kind by Arabs incited by reactionary theocratic misleaders, with the British imperialists assisting now one side, now the other, maintaining a constant bloodletting.

The only local winners in this multi-sided game were the Zionist leaders, who held superiority in weapons and organization and used their superiority to transform the Jewish-Arab clashes of late 1947 into a full-scale terror assault on the Palestinian Arabs. By the end of 1947, Irgun and Haganah attacks on Arab villages had reached epidemic proportions, and the 1948 war was on.

## Stage two: Qawuqji's entry

In January 1948 the Jaysh el-Inqadh (army of salvation, usually translated as Liberation Army) led by Fawzi el-Qawuqji entered Palestine across the Jordan River. Qawuqji's force numbered some 5,000 men, about 1,500 of them Palestinian. The force was under the direction of the Arab League offices in Damascus through which Qawuqji had to clear any action.

The entry of the Jaysh el-Inqadh was unable to turn the military situation around. Qawuqji, an archreactionary, was unwilling to mobilize the masses of Palestinian Arabs in the struggle against Zionism. The force was in any case ill equipped by the Arab League leaders, who viewed it solely as an adjunct to their diplomatic efforts to overturn the partition resolution. It was suited basically to static defensive action and confined itself to blockading the Tel Aviv-Jersalem road, thus isolating the Jewish enclave in Jerusalem, and conducting terror attacks against Jewish settlements.

The Haganah concentrated during the December 1947-March 1948 period on consolidating positions in the Jewish areas, solidifying lines of communication, and occupying the majority of the cities. In February and March the fighting intensified, as can be seen from the casualty statistics:

Between November 30, 1947, and February 1, 1948, a total of 864 persons were killed (427 Arabs, 381 Jews, and 56 Britons) and 1,941 were wounded (1,035 Arabs, 725 Jews, 181 Britons). During the month of February 1,378 persons were killed and more than 6,000 were wounded.

At the beginning of April 1948 the Haganah went over to the offensive. The offensive was known by the code name Plan D. Its stated objective was "to gain control of the area allotted to the Jewish state and defend its borders, and those blocs of Jewish settlements and such Jewish population as were outside those borders, against a regular or para-regular enemy operating from bases outside or inside the area of the Jewish State."

Thirteen military campaigns were waged under Plan D, eight of them outside the area assigned to the Jewish state. On April 1 Haganah forces started down the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road. Along the way they attacked Arab villages, driving the population out and dynamiting their houses to ensure that they would not return. Within one week, between 10,000 and 15,000 Arabs had become refugees.

Concurrently with the Haganah's campaign, the Irgun and the Stern Gang, another Zionist paramilitary outfit, stepped up their terrorism against Arab villages. On April 12 they hit the village of Deir Yassin, which had remained aloof from the war and had denied refuge to Palestinian Arab forces in an effort to avoid Zionist reprisals. But to no avail. The Irgun and the Stern Gang executed 254 of the village's unarmed inhabitants—men, women, and children—and threw the bodies down a well. Even the commander of the Irgun, Menachim Beigin, an off-and-on cabinet minister in the Israeli government, later admitted that the village of Deir Yassin was not a military target and that the massacre his gangsters committed there was designed to provoke panic among the Palestinian villagers, who had no means of defending themselves.

A similar massacre was committed on April 29 in Katamon, a section of Jerusalem. While the Haganah was waging its Plan D and the Irgun and Stern Gang were escalating their terrorism, the Haganah command was using all possible propaganda means of terrorizing the Arabs into flight. In Galilee, a heavily Arab area, the Haganah dropped leaflets signed by

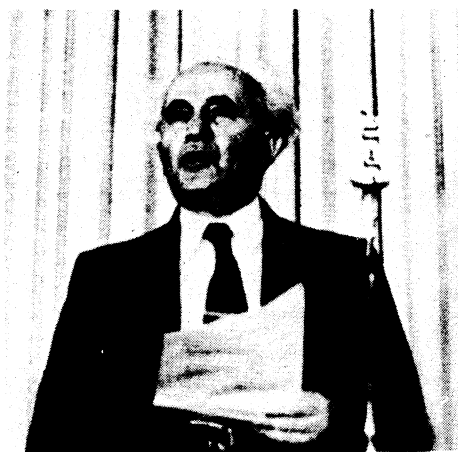
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# 'The peasants who fled their villages... found that they could never go home'

Continued from preceding page

the district commander warning that "all people who do not want this war must leave together with their women and children in order to be safe. This is going to be a cruel war with no mercy or compassion."

During the first two weeks of May, attacks were launched on northern Galilee. Throughout April and early May, major cities were attacked and captured by the Haganah. On April 18 the town of Tiberias was taken; 5,000 Arabs were put to flight. Haifa was taken on April 22; more than 50,000 Arabs were forced to flee. One week later Jaffa was taken; Acre fell early in May. When Abdel Kader el-Husseini's forces were liquidated in the town of Qastel, Palestinian forces ceased playing any role whatsoever in the fighting. El-Qawuqji concluded a "gentlemen's agreement" with the Haganah not to come to the assistance of his rival el-Husseini. In any case, by the middle of May, the Jaysh el-Inqadh was no longer an effective force, having run out of money and ammunition.



David Ben-Gurion, first Israeli prime minister, announcing establishment of Zionist state.

On May 14, 1948, the independence of the state of Israel was proclaimed. By that time, more than 250,000 Palestinian Arabs had become refugees; the Haganah was in possession of all the areas allotted to the Jewish state except Jerusalem and some sections of the Negev desert; and the weak, disorganized, and misled Palestinian forces had been eliminated completely from the fighting. And all this took place *before* the entry of the "outside" Arab armies.

## Entry of the Arab Legion

Militarily, the last opportunity the Arabs had to reverse the developing disaster in Palestine came when the Arab Legion, the British-armed and -trained force under the command of King Abdullah of Jordan (grandfather of King Hussein), entered the fighting on May 15. Simultaneously with Abdullah's entry, an Egyptian force moved in from the south and some Syrian forces attacked on the northern front. The numbers of opposing troops in the field were approximately equal. In general, the Arab armies held superiority in armor and heavy equipment.

The problem was political. The most effective Arab force was Abdullah's Arab Legion. It was able to drive the Haganah out of Jerusalem and inflict many casualties. But its aim was not to crush the state of Israel, and it never made any attempt to pierce the areas allotted to Israel. As was later discovered, Abdullah had been

in secret negotiations with a member of the top leadership of the Zionist command, Golda Meyerson, who was later to change her name to Meir.

The essence of the Meyerson-Abdullah deal was that the Arab Legion would occupy and later incorporate into Transjordan the West Bank of the Jordan River, which was supposed to become part of the Palestinian Arab state.

The substance of the agreement earned Meyerson and Abdullah the appellation "friendly enemies," a designation that is now applied in the Arab world to Meyerson-Meir and Abdullah's grandson, the butcher of Amman. It earned Abdullah his well-deserved assassination by a Palestinian.

The first phase of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 was ended by a truce that went into effect on June 11 and lasted until July 7. While the United Nations was busy trying to "mediate" the dispute, the Zionist leaders were busy consolidating their positions, obtaining new arms, and increasing the flow of Jewish immigrants into Palestine.

The number of new immigrants totaled 30,000. The arms came from the United States and Czechoslovakia, the Kremlin having decided to support the founding of the Zionist state, which Stalin apparently believed would reduce the influence of British imperialism in the Arab East. There is no evidence that any Arab government made any effort whatsoever to bolster its military position during the month-long truce. On July 9, when fighting resumed on a large scale, the Israeli army was able to throw nearly 100,000 troops armed with Czechoslovak and U.S. weapons into the field. The Arab forces were outnumbered by at least two to one.

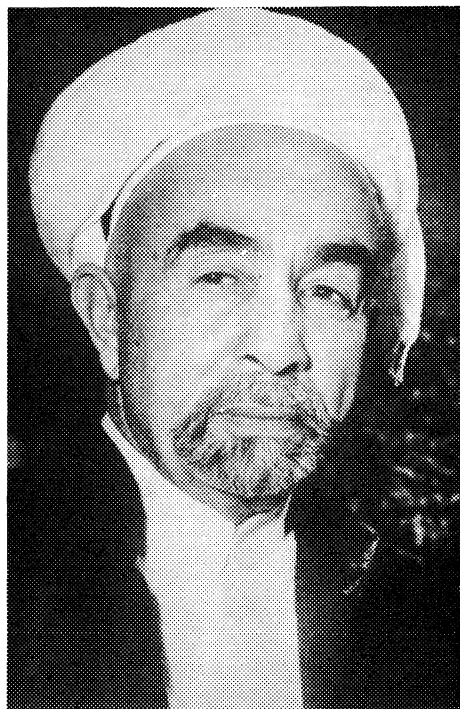
The second phase of Arab-Israeli fighting lasted ten days. During that time, the Zionist forces added 1,000



GOLDA MEIR: She and Abdullah were 'friendly enemies.'

square kilometers to their area of control. Fourteen Arab towns and 200 villages in the area allotted to the Jewish state were seized; 112 villages in the Arab district were taken. The road to Jerusalem was opened. By the time the second truce went into effect after the ten-day offensive, the Arabs had clearly lost the war.

The truce was supposed to be permanent. But in October, the Israeli army moved some 15,000 troops into the Negev and attacked the Egyptian army. New armed settlements—called Nahal—followed the troops into the Negev. A similar campaign was waged in central Galilee, where the tatters of Qawuqji's forces were wiped out. The Arab Legion and the Syrian troops on the northern front declined



ABDULLAH: Connived with Zionist leaders to take over Palestine.

to reengage the battle, allowing the Israeli forces to concentrate on the Egyptian army.

In December 1948 and January 1949 the Israeli army pressed into Gaza and marched south in the Negev to the Gulf of Aqaba. The fighting stopped on January 7. On February 24 an armistice was signed between Israel and Egypt; an armistice was concluded with Lebanon in March 1949, with Transjordan in April, and with Syria in July. The "war of independence" was over.

## The aftermath

The Palestinian flight, which had already reached massive proportions by May 1948, increased twofold during the July-November period. An estimated 400,000 to 500,000 Palestinian Arabs were driven from their homes as the Israeli army bulldozed its way through Galilee and parts of the West Bank of the Jordan. More than 700,000 Palestinians left their homes between April and December 1948. Some of them left under pursuit by Irgun gangsters or Haganah "official" troops. (The difference in behavior between the two outfits was not easy to detect.) Others fled when Zionist forces approached their villages, the lesson of Deir Yassin having been well learned. Still others left simply because war had come to their villages, a war in which they were not participating. So they moved out of the way, as civilian peasants have always done when invaders enter their fields, hoping to return when the war went away. But this was a new kind of war. The peasants who fled their villages to avoid the war found that they could never go home, that their fields had become the property of the Land of Israel, that their houses were occupied by foreign settlers, that they had been declared "absentee landlords" and had been expropriated.

The Israeli state turned out to be 2,500 square miles larger than the state the UN had allotted to the Jewish sector. About 2,200 square miles of Palestine was annexed by Transjordan, which became the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The Palestinians were scattered across the Arab world, the majority of them settling in miserable camps in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, where they remain today.

The Palestinian Arabs had been by-

standers in the war that determined their fate. They were driven out by the Israeli army, betrayed by the Arab regimes, double-crossed by British imperialism, ignored by the Kremlin bureaucrats. And lurking behind the entire process, reaping maximum benefit, were the U. S. imperialists.

The fate of Palestine was determined by the social structure and regimes of the surrounding Arab countries. The Palestinian Arabs were unable to defend themselves against Zionist and imperialist aggression primarily because of the neocolonialist character of the regimes in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq. The leaderships of those countries offered the Palestinians an insufficient military assistance and an anti-Jewish, reactionary political program designed to create the greatest possible unity in the Zionist camp. On May 15, 1948, for example, the day Arab armies entered Palestine, Azam Pasha, secretary general of the Arab League, issued a statement that was widely reported; it was picked up everywhere from the Cairo daily *el-Ahram* to the *New York Times*: "This will be a war of extermination and an unforgettable massacre that will be recalled along with the massacres committed by the Mongols and the Crusaders." So spoke the leader of an organization that was simultaneously plotting the partition of Palestine between the Zionist state and the Kingdom of Transjordan.

The Palestinian Arabs paid for the racist, reactionary demagoguery, and they are still paying today, as are the masses of the whole Arab East.

The "miracle" of the Palestinian flight in 1948 was no miracle at all. It was an inevitable result of imperialist control over the Arab East and the bankruptcy of the Arab ruling classes.

The problem of Palestine as such was "solved" by the 1948 war. But the manner of solution only raised the problem to a higher plane. In place of the problem of Palestine, the Arab-Israeli problem was born. The October War is the latest manifestation of the problem, which will be resolved not solely in Palestine, but in the entire Arab East. The solution will come when the forces that created the problem—imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction—are wiped out by the socialist revolution in the whole region.



Real relation between Israelis and Arabs is clear—Israelis are colonial oppressors.



## A Militant interview

# Eyewitness speaks out against Chile coup

By CINDY JAQUITH

Linda Wine, an eyewitness to the coup in Chile, is beginning a national tour this week sponsored by the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). Wine's tour is part of USLA's campaign to mobilize sentiment in the U.S. in defense of political prisoners in Chile.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Wine described some of her experiences during the 29 days she remained in Chile after the right-wing coup. A former student at New York University, Wine was attending the Catholic University in Santiago, doing a study on Chilean women.

"My apartment was raided about five times," she said, "because we were foreigners and we were denounced from within our building. The first time, the military just looked at our documentation and told us that whatever Marxist literature we had we had to get rid of."

Others were not so lucky, particularly Latin American exiles living in Chile to escape political persecution in their own country. "The first night they raided us," Wine said, "they took five Brazilians who lived downstairs."

The raids on Wine's apartment were frequent because sniper fire from her building and surrounding buildings continued for several days, she explained. Another time when the military broke into her apartment, Wine and a woman friend were there alone.

"There was still one Che Guevara poster up on the wall," she said. "We pretended we were quite a bit more helpless than we actually were—that we were just students and totally apolitical. They threw the poster in our faces and said this was absolutely the last warning. We spent the rest of



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

LINDA WINE: "The first night they raided us, they took five Brazilians who lived downstairs."

the day ripping up our literature."

Wine described the role of the U.S. embassy, where she and many other North Americans went to seek passage out of the country. "We were told there were no flights out," Wine said.

"I asked them, 'May I send a telegram to my parents through you?'" They said no, they had sent out a blanket statement."

The statement asserted that all U.S. citizens were safe—an outright lie, as events soon proved. Two of Wine's personal friends, Frank Teruggi and Charles Horman, were later found dead, shot while in the custody of the military.

The death of Horman, a filmmaker from New York, was only recently confirmed by the U.S. embassy, after repeated inquiries by friends and relatives. The U.S. State Department still insists that the "blame" for Horman's death cannot be fixed until after an "investigation."

Wine said she and others felt a sense

of impotence when the junta's takeover began. "We were listening to the radio the morning of the coup. We weren't sure how much resistance there was and what we should do. By 11 o'clock, when the junta came on the radio and demanded Allende's resignation, it was obvious that civil war wasn't going to break out."

Since returning to the U.S., Wine has spoken at two meetings on Chile—a teach-in of 400 people at Rutgers University and a meeting of 100 students at Princeton University.

She has found that students are anxious to hear a true account of the repression in Chile and want to know what can be done in this country. She said she stresses the need to get the broadest possible support for democratic rights in Chile and encourages the formation of committees like USLA to organize protest activities.

One of USLA's present efforts is to publicize the cases of well-known individuals in Chile who have been arrested or are being hunted by the junta. USLA is urging that messages demanding the safety of these people

be sent to the Chilean embassy (see box).

Wine added that it is important to raise money for victims of the junta and to obtain university grants for students and professors trying to get out of Chile.

She emphasized that support from a wide variety of individuals and groups was necessary to place maximum pressure on the military in Chile and on the U.S. government. Defense efforts should involve not just radical organizations, but church groups, members of Congress, and others, she said.

USLA chapters in 18 cities are organizing meetings for Wine on campuses, before Chicano and Puerto Rican groups, with church groups, and other organizations concerned with repression in Chile; interviews with the press; and fund-raising activities.

To arrange a speaking engagement for Wine, contact the USLA national office at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

## Campaign to save Chile victims

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is conducting a campaign on behalf of prominent figures whose lives are in danger in Chile. USLA asks that telegrams and letters demanding the safety and democratic rights of the following individuals be sent to General Augusto Pinochet, c/o Chilean Embassy, 1736 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036:

Luis Corvalán Lepe, general secretary, Chilean Communist Party; Carlos Altamirano, general secretary, Chilean Socialist Party; Miguel Enriquez, lawyer of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left); Jaime Barrios, economic aide to Allende; Gustavo Beghaut, Uruguayan director of Latin American Studies at the Sorbonne.

Also, Juan Lechín, Bolivian trade-union leader; Elsa Peña vda. Hernández, wife of Dominican revolutionist Homero Hernández; Anna Napoleon, Haitian political refugee; Emma de Torres, wife of former president of Bolivia, and leader of defense efforts for Bolivian political prisoners.

Also, Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, leader of the Bolivian POR (Combate); Patricio Gussman, Chilean filmmaker; Maria Ester Gilio, Argentine lawyer and journalist; Guillermo Lora, leader of the Bolivian POR (Masas); Ulrick Joly, Haitian political refugee; Luis Vitale, Chilean sociologist; Maria do Socorro Soares, Brazilian education and sociology student.

Copies of all telegrams should be sent to USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011.



## Protests continue: 'Stop the executions!'

Organizations with differing views continue to unite in building meetings and actions to protest the repression in Chile.

Nearly 200 people attended a teach-in on Chile at the University of California in Berkeley Oct. 24. The meeting called for "Free all political prisoners," "Hands off the emigres," and "No U.S. aid to the junta."

The teach-in was organized by USLA and Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), but was also endorsed by April Maynard, UCB student body copresident; Professor Charles Schwartz of Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action; the Young Socialist Alliance; Berkeley city council members Ying Lee Kelley and Ilona Hancock; Congressman Ronald Del-

lums (D-Calif.); and the campus Farm Workers Support Committee.

Speakers included Heather Dashiell, former translator for Allende; Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party; Ellis Goldberg of the *People's World*; Professor Forest Harrison; and others.

On Oct. 19, in Greeley, Colo., about 100 people participated in a march and rally to protest the military takeover in Chile. The action was called by Apostles de Justicia, a local Chicano organization.

Speakers included Eddie Guerrero of the Apostoles de la Justicia; José Calderon, state chairman of the Raza Unida Party; Art Potashnick of USLA; and Ernesto Vigil of the Denver Crusade for Justice.

An Oct. 18 protest meeting on Chile took place at the University of Washington in Seattle, sponsored by USLA, the Latin American Studies Committee, and the Associated Students. Many students signed up to continue activities in defense of victims of repression in Chile.

In New York a march and rally

has been called for Nov. 4, by the Chile Solidarity Committee. Supported also by USLA and other groups, the march will call for "Support of the Chilean people against the junta," "End U.S. intervention in Chile," and "Stop the execution of Chilean and other Latin American patriots." The rally is to take place at 3 p.m. at 106th Street and Broadway.



Chicanos march against Chilean junta in Greeley, Colo.

## Tragedy in Chile

LESSONS OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE  
AND ITS DEFEAT

By Gerry Foley and Malik Miah  
35 cents  
Pathfinder Press, 14 Charles Lane,  
New York, N.Y. 10014

By ANDY ROSE

A few days before the AFL-CIO convention opened on Oct. 18, it was reported that the real buying power of the average worker's weekly paycheck had declined by \$3.15 in the last 11 months.

In the midst of the union officials' deliberations, the latest Watergate crisis broke open.

As their meeting closed, Nixon was threatening to take the country into nuclear war in support of Israeli aggression.

Schlesinger berated those who call the \$80-billion war budget "swollen." On the contrary, he said, he feared the war budget might be getting dangerously low, because détente with the Soviet Union depended on keeping the U.S. in a "position of strength."

No dissent was reported on the question of the war budget, but Meany did have some harsh words for the détente. Meany would prefer a return to the militant anticommunism of the cold war, and he professes concern that the détente will interfere with U.S. aid to Israel.

The convention demanded that the

themselves have played the main role in imposing inadequate wage settlements, often over the protests of the rank and file, and often using the wage controls to justify their actions.

Contract talks are coming up next year for some 3.4 million workers in mining, communications, aerospace, shipbuilding, construction, and other industries. Despite Meany's rhetoric, A. H. Raskin wrote in the Oct. 21 *New York Times*, "few union leaders expect any strong push at the bargaining table or on the picket line for pay increases that run well above the old Pay Board guideline of 6.2 per-

Organization and Field Services."

One should not get the wrong impression from the word "organization" in the title. As the *New York Times* reported, "Mr. Meany himself has said that he did not assign major importance to the organization of more workers." The purpose of the new department will instead be to spend more of the union members' dues money on lobbying and contributions to Democratic Party politicians.

In fact, the *Wall Street Journal* wrote, "with more resources diverted to politics and lobbying, it seems likely there will be less direct AFL-CIO involvement in organizing, at least in the near future."

The man named to head the new department is W. J. Usery, who at one time belonged to the Machinists union and is currently an official in the Nixon administration. As director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Usery has "helped the administration avert several crippling strikes in major industries," said the *Wall Street Journal*. The *Washington Post* wrote that "in the 1970 Postal Service strike, he administered the Landrum-Griffin Act, which is regarded in labor as an anti-labor policing act."

The fact that this government strike-breaker has become the number three official in the AFL-CIO and a likely successor to Meany speaks eloquently about the bankruptcy of the trade-union officialdom in this country today.

### Democratic Party

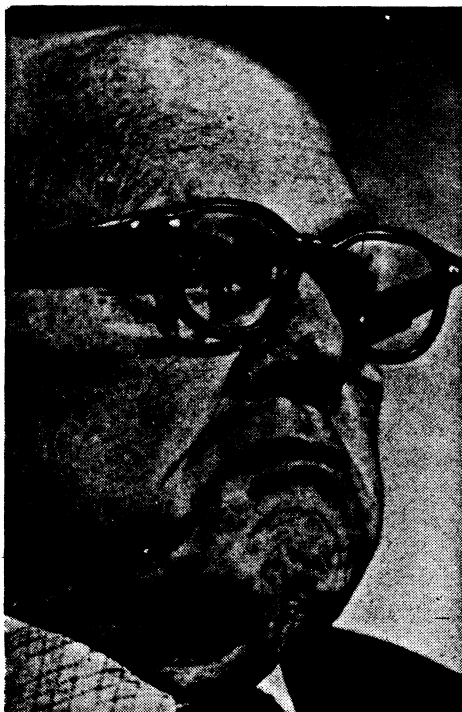
Faced with the decline in real wages, the relative decline in union membership, speedup, unemployment, and an overt antiunion drive in some industries, the union bureaucrats stand as though paralyzed.

They are more worried about the rebelliousness that is building up in the union ranks, especially among the dissatisfied young and Black workers, against their do-nothing policies and parasitic privileges. Mass struggle against the employers, these misleaders fear, would threaten to get out of their control—even to the point of sweeping them out of their well-paid positions in the bureaucracy.

All they can conceive of doing is deepening their involvement in the Democratic Party. The AFL-CIO is trying to build a "labor caucus" on the Democratic Party national committee,

*Continued on page 22*

## AFL-CIO officials look to Democrats in '74 elections



MEANY: Less organizing, more Democratic Party politicking.

These developments are of grave concern to working people in this country. To all of them the official leaders of the American trade-union movement gave basically one answer: They would spare no effort or expense organizing workers—not to struggle to improve their wages and conditions of life—but to vote for the Democratic Party in 1974 and 1976.

Two front-runners for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976, senators Henry Jackson from Washington and Edward Kennedy from Massachusetts, were invited to address the convention. Both were cheered for their attacks on the Nixon administration.

AFL-CIO President George Meany had favored Jackson for president in 1972. But when George McGovern won the nomination, Meany became "neutral for Nixon."

As Nixon has become discredited in most workers' eyes, Meany has found it necessary to take his distance from his former golfing partner. A new high point of this falling-out came when the convention voted to demand that Nixon resign or be impeached.

### Proimperialist

This was the first time that neither the president nor the secretary of labor was invited to speak to an AFL-CIO convention. But the ban did not extend to Nixon's secretary of defense, James Schlesinger.

The union heads were not about to let partisan attacks on Nixon for his domestic policies interfere with their fervent support to imperialist foreign policies. These, after all, are openly backed by Democrats and Republicans alike.

U.S. provide the Zionist settler-state with unlimited arms and money to carry out its colonial wars against the Arabs. It also called for strengthening the NATO military forces.

The convention resolution on Chile was devoted mainly to attacking the ousted Allende government for "reckless illegal expropriation of property." The AFL-CIO's concern for the property and profits of the Chilean capitalists and U.S. corporations like ITT was balanced off with a few words "deploring" the military dictatorship's book burning and outlawing of the Chilean unions.

### ERA stand reversed

At this convention the AFL-CIO, under pressure from the rising sentiment for women's liberation and the demands of women workers, reversed its previous position and called for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The resolution notes that women make up 38 percent of the work force, and says, "Women continue to be one of the most discriminated against and exploited groups of workers in the nation, one manifestation of which is the fact that they earn an average of only three-fifths of what men earn. . . ."

While it is not to be expected that the AFL-CIO hierarchy will actually do much to promote ratification of the ERA, its new position can be a valuable tool for those organizing support for the measure.

The AFL-CIO also formally stands opposed to discrimination against Black and other minority workers. However, the convention reaffirmed its opposition to quotas for hiring or promotion, calling them "inherently undemocratic." This failure to recognize that years of discrimination can only be overcome through preferential treatment for Blacks and women amounts to tacit acceptance of their continued oppression.

The labor officials gathered at the plush Americana Hotel in Bal Harbour, Fla., could not escape the fact that the union membership's standard of living has been going down.

To give the appearance of doing something about this, the convention for the first time put the federation on record as opposing Nixon's now-unpopular wage controls. Meany demanded that the president "take the shackles off wages—the only part of the economy stringently controlled for more than two years."

Yet a few weeks ago an economist for the AFL-CIO in Washington told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter he was "astounded" that union bargainers have been "so docile" in recent wage negotiations. The union bureaucrats

cent."

In addition, Meany and his underlings continue to sit on Nixon's labor-management advisory committee to the Cost of Living Council, the National Commission on Productivity, and the Industrial Peace Commission. Meany said it was a "strategically wise move" to stay on these antilabor boards.

Still another problem hounding the bureaucrats was pointed out in a resolution submitted by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. It said that from 1950 to 1972 union membership has declined from 35.5 percent to 26.7 percent of the nonfarm work force. It called for a campaign to organize the unorganized. This resolution was voted down.

Despite the expenditure of some \$4-million a year on "organizing," the only union chartered by the AFL-CIO since its last convention two years ago is the United Farm Workers. And in the face of concerted efforts to smash the UFW, the convention failed even to sanction boycotts of non-UFW grapes and head lettuce and Gallo wines.

The bureaucrats are looking in a different direction to "strengthen" the unions, as shown by the decision to reorganize part of the AFL-CIO apparatus into a new "Department of



Labor bureaucrats fear their plush jobs would be threatened if union ranks were mobilized in independent struggle.



## 9,099 new Militant readers

# Subscription blitz weekends surpass goal

By NANCY COLE

OCT. 31 — The second blitz weekend to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* was a big success, pushing us well over our goal of 8,000 new readers.

Twenty-one areas made or surpassed their quotas, selling 9,099 introductory subscriptions during this and the previous weekend in September.

## Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
TOTAL FOR BOTH BLITZ WEEKENDS			
Cleveland	350	466	133
Detroit	400	461	115
Seattle	350	395	113
Orono, Maine	10	11	110
Houston	300	325	108
Logan	25	26	104
Twin Cities	450	468	104
Atlanta	350	360	103
Los Angeles	600	609	102
Lower Manhattan	400	408	102
St. Louis	200	204	102
Boston	700	706	101
Chicago	700	705	101
Denver	300	304	101
Bellingham	17	17	100
Lexington	10	10	100
Philadelphia	350	350	100
Pittsburgh	200	200	100
San Francisco	500	500	100
Tipton, Ind.	17	17	100
Washington, D.C.	300	300	100
Austin	120	114	95
Brooklyn	400	358	90
Oakland/Berkeley	700	620	89
San Diego	400	350	88
Mt. Pleasant	25	21	84
New Brunswick	25	21	84
Upper West Side	400	315	79
Portland	300	233	78
Hartford	25	18	72
Bloomington	100	62	62
Amherst	25	15	60
Nashville	10	6	60
Ann Arbor	10	5	50
Indianapolis	25	9	36
Santa Barbara	15	5	33
Madison	50	16	32
Geneseo	10	3	30
St. Cloud	10	3	30
Cincinnati	50	12	24
Columbus	25	6	24
E. Lansing	25	4	16
Worcester	25	2	8
San Antonio	25	1	4
General		58	
<b>TOTAL SOLD</b>	<b>9,099</b>		
<b>GOAL</b>	<b>8,000</b>		

In addition, the 12 *Young Socialist* and two *Militant* traveling teams have sold 4,782 subscriptions so far, bringing us within 1,119 of our total national goal of 15,000 by mid-November.

Chicago subscription teams found a number of people interested in joining the Young Socialist Alliance, particularly at Northern Illinois University in De Kalb and at George Williams College in Downer's Grove. They now plan to hold public meetings at the schools where subscription sales were most successful.

Portland reports meeting many students who had subscribed last year and were more than willing to do so again this fall. The organizer of the blitz weekend in the Twin Cities said that as many as half the people he met were already familiar with *The Militant*.

In addition to the campuses, where a large number of subscriptions were sold, areas reported a warm receptivity to *The Militant* in housing projects in the Black community. Los Angeles sold 30 subscriptions by going door-to-door, and one woman who already had a subscription commented, "You don't have to sell me *The Militant*. I wouldn't mind if it were the only paper printed."

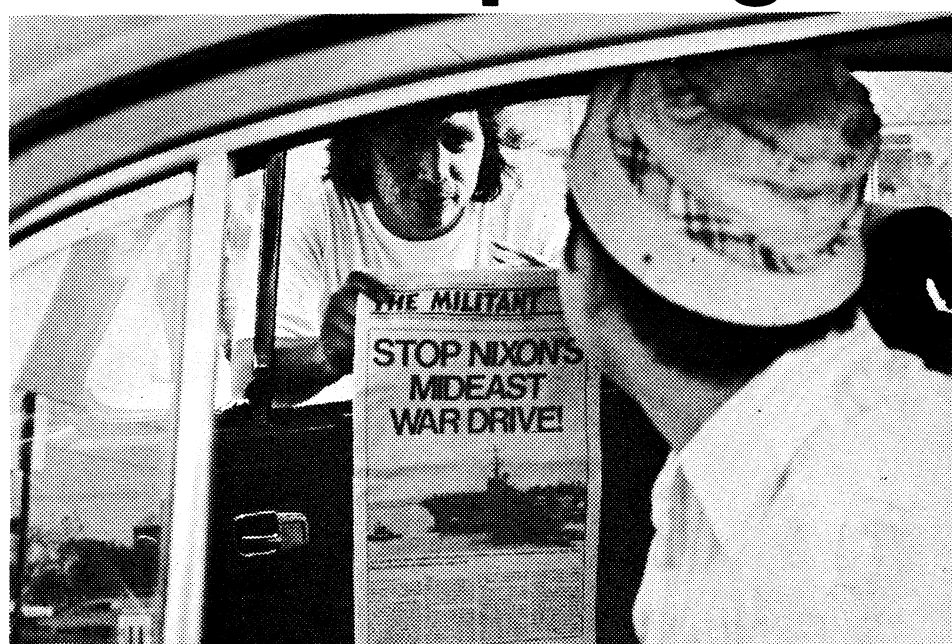
Selling single copies of *The Militant* while blitzing for subscriptions proved easy. Philadelphia set up tables in working-class and Black communities, selling 263 single copies of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* and eight *Militant* subscriptions.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and YSA in San Francisco sold 21 *Militant* subscriptions and 70 individual copies by going to Arab-owned grocery stores. They also went door-to-door in the area around their forum hall, selling 16 subscriptions and interesting many people in their weekly forum series.

*The Militant's* headline last week — "Stop Nixon's Mideast War Drive" — proved a harbinger of the administration's military alert. After the announcement of the alert, Lower Manhattan supporters sold 105 *Militants* in one evening at the Port Authority Bus Terminal.

Other areas report brisk sales at rallies called to protest Nixon's latest Watergate moves. This includes 93 in San Francisco, 30 in Boston, and 30 in Seattle.

The fall drive to sell 2,500 sub-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

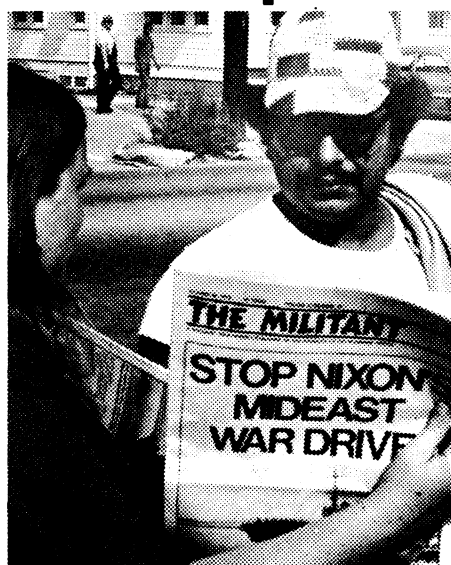
scriptions to the *International Socialist Review* got a boost from the blitz weekend. As a result, several areas have already made their *ISR* subscription goals a month before the drive officially ends.

San Francisco sold 37 *ISR* subscriptions on Sunday alone and 20 at a Mideast teach-in at San Francisco

State College. And in Chicago, one Arab reader took samples of the *ISR* and subscription blanks in order to sell subscriptions himself.

The traveling teams will finish their tours by mid-November, and we will run a final *Militant* subscription scoreboard at that time showing all subscriptions sold this fall.

## Help sell The Militant



Because of the subscription scoreboard, we are not running a street sales scoreboard this week. Reported sales totaled 9,089 last week, not including those sold by the 14 traveling teams. Fifteen areas

made their weekly goals — Atlanta, Brooklyn, Denver, Detroit, East Lansing, Knoxville, Lincoln, Me., Lower Manhattan, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Portland, St. Louis, San Antonio, San Diego, and Seattle.

This leaves three weeks to go in the campaign to establish weekly sales of 9,500, and all our supporters will be making a special effort to put us over our goal. If you can help, fill out the coupon below.

Send me a weekly bundle of (17c each and we bill you at the end of the month).

I want to take a weekly sales quota of \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

# Pamphlets on Mideast are popular on campus

The capitalist politicians and press in this country are trying to pretend everyone is united behind Israel. But sales of Pathfinder books and pamphlets since the outbreak of the Mideast war indicate quite the opposite.

Pathfinder is one of very few publishing companies in the U.S. that distributes books and pamphlets exposing Israel's role as an oppressor of the Arab peoples. During the first three days of the Mideast war, nearly 3,000 copies of these books and pamphlets were ordered. The Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party made the biggest order — 260 books and pamphlets.

Many of the pamphlets are being sold from campus literature tables. To get an idea of the response of students to literature supporting the Arab struggle I spoke with Sally Whicker, the national coordinator of the *Young Socialist* traveling sales

teams.

Since mid-September, 12 teams of Young Socialist Alliance members and supporters have been traveling around the country selling single copies and subscriptions to *The Militant*, copies of the *Young Socialist*, and talking to students about socialism.

## News from Pathfinder

One of the first things they do at each new campus is set up a Pathfinder literature table. The table becomes their base of operation.

Even before the outbreak of the war, Whicker told me, students were very interested in literature dealing with the Mideast. More and more students,

particularly Blacks, are rejecting the government's racist characterization of the Arab people and their struggle. They are looking for an explanation of U.S. imperialism's role in the conflict.

After the outbreak of the war, Whicker said, many of the teams came close to selling out of pamphlets on Mideast, and placed large reorders.

Many students are also buying the YSA button that says, "Self-determination for Palestine."

Interest is also high in other topics. The bestselling pamphlet is *What Socialists Stand For* by Stephanie Coontz. The YS team traveling in the Philadelphia area reports particular interest in *Watergate: The View From the Left*. "It's the book people are most likely to pick up off the table and look at," they said. "People are glad to see a socialist view of Watergate."

"The biggest value of these literature tables," Whicker told me, "is that they announce to the students that there are socialists on campus. People gather around to discuss socialist ideas. Some of these students have never before had the chance to talk with socialists, and they're very glad to see us. Since the teams started, more than 80 people have asked to join the YSA."

Selling books and pamphlets explaining the background of the Mideast conflict is one way to help win support for the national liberation struggles of the Arab peoples.

See page 14 for a list of titles on the Mideast and the Arab revolution available from Pathfinder. To get a 40 percent discount, order five or more copies of any book or pamphlet. Send prepaid order to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014.

—PEGGY BRUNDY

# ...W'gate

Continued from page 3

cial election would bring us together in the process of open and participatory debate."

In the meantime, the erosion of confidence not only in the White House but in capitalist institutions as a whole continues unabated. As Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) expressed the rulers' dilemma:

"There has not been a time in my memory when cynicism and skepticism were so widespread among the public. And, sadly, given the events of recent months, it is becoming increasingly difficult to dissuade those skeptics and cynics. Can anyone doubt that responsible reasonable men would conclude that cynics and skeptics have the evidence on their side?"

# ...SWP suit

Continued from page 5

the suit. Support has come from unions, civil libertarians, leaders of the Black movement, activists in the women's movement, representatives of the academic community, and many others.

Recently, the PRDF has won important new backing from lawyers and law school professors. Recent endorsers in this area include Thomas Buckley, president of the Cleveland ACLU; Gene Guerrero Jr., president of the Atlanta ACLU; David Isbell, chairman of the national capital area (Wash. D.C.) ACLU; and Ramona Ripston, executive director of the ACLU of Southern California.

The board of governors of the Student Bar Association of Golden Gate School of Law in California has gone on record as endorsing the aims of the PRDF suit. Their resolution states, in part: "In response to the Watergate revelations, steps must be taken to stop such illegal and unconstitutional governmental interference into the political activities and lives of those whose ideas the administration in power considers offensive and dangerous. . . . A victory in this case would set a powerful precedent in the defense of all political parties. It would be an effective counter-attack to the Watergate strategy and a victory for the Civil Liberties of all Americans."

Gilbert Padilla, secretary-treasurer of the United Farm Workers Union,

has also endorsed the suit.

Support on campuses is growing, too. William Sloan, president of the College Young Democrats, has added his name to the sponsors' list. The student governments of San Jose State College, Cleveland State University, and Temple University have also passed resolutions backing the PRDF suit.

# ...nuclear

Continued from page 13

At the same time, American predominance was reaffirmed when Nixon took the world to the brink of nuclear war without even consulting his NATO allies.

At his Oct. 26 news conference Nixon asserted that "the outlook for a permanent peace is the best it has been in 20 years." But even without the growing ambitions of Washington's partners in NATO, the prospect in the Middle East is not for peace and stability. Israel has made no secret of its dismay over U.S. pressure for even the most minimal concessions, and there is little possibility that the Arab states will regain all or even most of the land that was taken from them in 1967.

Added to these factors is the denial of the rights of the Palestinians by the U.S.-Soviet deal to recognize Israel as a permanent fixture in the Middle East. The Zionist state, which acts as an imperialist spearhead in the Arab world, will continue its policies of aggression and expansion, and the Palestinians will continue to fight for their rights until they win.

There will be new crises in the Middle East as long as imperialism exists. Until the socialist revolution in the U.S. disarms the Nixons and the Kissingers, the entire human race will be threatened with extinction again and again. Nixon's promises of "permanent peace" notwithstanding, that is the real lesson of the events of the last week.

# ...workers

Continued from page 20

which includes 13 union officials. Their influence is mainly directed at opposing the McGovern "new politics" wing in favor of more right-wing policies.

Meany went so far as to impose

trusteeship on the Colorado Labor Council for endorsing McGovern last year. Their appeal to the recent convention was voted down.

In 1972 the AFL-CIO spent more than \$2-million on political donations, and they promise to spend still more in 1974. The return on the last investment was a Congress that refused to override Nixon's veto of the minimum wage increase bill.

In his opening speech at the convention, Meany said, "Let us keep in mind that the Watergate and the cover-up was paid for by the great corporations of America—the members of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, who seem more than willing to pay out some of their exorbitant profits in order to place their hirelings in strategic spots in a friendly government."

What Meany didn't say was that these forces in fact contribute rather evenhandedly to both the Democrats and Republicans, all of whom are "hirelings" of big industry.

No amount of the workers' money will buy control of the Democratic Party, which is organized to serve the needs of the employing class, not the unions.

To defend the interests of the American workers will require determined battles on the job, coupled with independent political action through a labor party. The decisions of the AFL-CIO convention had nothing whatsoever to do with these tasks.

# ...S. Africa

Continued from page 24

One rally in Capetown drew some 10,000 students, mostly whites. The white student actions were primarily led by NUSAS and came in response to eruptions on the Black campuses. However, there was little activity by Afrikaaner-speaking white students, most of whom support apartheid.

The student protests reflected a growing willingness to struggle against apartheid. For example, Black workers have staged strikes, walkouts, and other militant mass actions demanding higher wages.

This Black nationalist ferment and the ability of Black students to win support from some elements of the white population has South African rulers worried. What they thought was the best way of handling "Bantu edu-

cation"—setting up segregated schools—has turned into its opposite. They've produced caldrons of Black ferment on the campuses, just as apartheid in the labor field has ushered in struggles by Black workers.

Divisions in the ruling circles have been accentuated, and some concessions have been won. However the dominant response is still one of harsh repression. In March of this year SASO received a major blow when the minister of justice banned eight of its leaders. Just prior to this, eight NUSAS leaders were banned.

Banning is a unique South African contribution to the methods of capitalist "justice." As specified by the "Suppression of Communism Act," banning restricts the movements of the student leaders for five years and prohibits them from attending classes, communicating with each other, participating in their organization, or having anything they write or say published.

Violations of the order can result in jailing. The NUSAS students were given a hasty hearing, but none of the SASO students were granted a hearing. The minister of justice told Parliament they would have used hearings as a "platform" to expound their beliefs.

In July, the government struck again by banning Henry Isaacs, the president of SASO.

Nevertheless, the continuation of protests shows that Black students refuse to be intimidated by the repression.

A step forward for the student movement came in July when a NUSAS conference finally recognized SASO. It passed a motion acknowledging that SASO is the "existing body best able to represent and realise the needs and aspirations of Black students."

One NUSAS leader said, "Black consciousness is the prime force of change and White students have a subordinate role to play in the struggle for change. . . . to Black people and Black organisations."

**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.**

# 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) 338-5660.

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) 761-6135.

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.



# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**BLACK AMERICA AND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION IN PALESTINE.** Panel discussion. Fri., Nov. 9, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## AUSTIN

**MILITANT 45TH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE.** Thurs., Nov. 8, 8 p.m.: The struggle for African liberation. Panel, including Noah Richardson, African Liberation Support Committee. Calhoun Bldg., Room 100, U. of Texas. Donation: 25c.

Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m.: The 56th anniversary of the Russian revolution. Film: From Czar to Lenin. Speakers to be announced. Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces. Donation: 50c.

Sat., Nov. 10, 7 p.m.: Militant 45th Anniversary Banquet. Featured speaker: Harry Ring, Militant Southwest Bureau. Cabrito Dinner. Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

## BOSTON

**FILM: TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD** by Sergei Eisenstein. Shown in commemoration of 56th anniversary of Russian revolution. Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## CHICAGO

**INFLATION: THE GREAT PAYROLL ROBBERY.** Speakers: Reverend Ed Reddick, Operation PUSH; Neil Bratcher, AFSCME; Ed Heister, former sec'y of trade-union committee of the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice. Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Fl. (across from Roosevelt Univ.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## DENVER

**WATERGATE: HOW TO FIGHT IT.** Panel: Syd Stapleton, national sec'y of the Political Rights Defense Fund; Fern Gapin, Socialist Workers Party; William Reynard, prominent civil liberties attorney. Fri. Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

## LOS ANGELES

**SOVIET DISSIDENTS: WHO ARE THEY? WHY ARE THEY PERSECUTED?** Speaker: Milton Alvin, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

## NEW YORK CITY

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN:** Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor, debates other mayoral candidates. Sat., Nov. 3, 10:30 p.m. WNEW-TV, Channel 5. Sun., Nov. 4, 2:30 p.m. ABC-TV, Channel 7. 5 p.m. NBC-TV, Channel 4.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**RACISM IN ELECTIONS: A LOOK AT SCHOOL DISTRICT 1.** Speaker: John Ratliff, Committee for Democratic Election Laws. Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**BLACK WOMEN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION.** Speakers: Ruth Rose, member of Nat'l Black Feminist Organization; Maxine Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn borough president. Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (105th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PHILADELPHIA

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND: REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR TODAY.** Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m.: The Middle East: Who are the real aggressors? Speaker: Peter Buch, author of Burning Issues of the Middle East Crisis.

Sat., Nov. 17, 10:30 a.m.: Latin America: Revolution or the 'peaceful road'? Speaker: Mirta Vidal, staff writer for The Militant, recently returned from Argentina and Mexico. 1:30 p.m.: Watergate: Who rules

America? Speaker: Duncan Williams, Socialist Workers Party. 3:30 p.m.: African liberation film, A Luta Continua.

All sessions at Houston Hall, Second Fl., U. of Penn. Registration: \$2.50, or 75c per session.

**Militant 45th Anniversary Celebration.** Featured speaker: George Novack, noted Marxist philosopher. Sat., Nov. 17, 6:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$4, banquet and rally; \$1.50, rally only. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## PORTLAND

**OREGON SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.** Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. Why we need a socialist America. Speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate.

Sat., Nov. 10, 11 a.m. Can radicals take over the Democratic Party? Panel: Wally Priestly, Democratic state representative; Caroline Fawkes, Socialist Workers Party. Lunchtime workshops on: defense of victims of repression in Chile; struggle of Arab peoples to regain their lands; United Farm Workers boycott. 2 p.m. The labor movement and the fight against racism. Panel: Mel Huey, Oregon United Farm Workers Union; Jeff Mackler, N. Calif. Federation of Teachers; Nathan Proby, chairman of United Minority Workers.

All sessions at Militant Bookstore Forum Hall, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. Donation: 50c each session.

**Banquet and rally to launch 1974 Socialist Workers Party Campaign.** Sat., Nov. 10, 6 p.m. The Old Church, 1422 S.W. 11th. Featured speaker: John Studer, Socialist Workers Party. Donation: \$4, banquet and rally only; \$5, entire conference.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**SHOULD NIXON BE IMPEACHED?** Speaker: Sue Voss, Socialist Workers Party. Film: Nixon's 1952 'Checkers' speech. Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## SEATTLE

**THE FIGHT FOR STAFF RIGHTS AT THE UNIV. OF WASHINGTON.** Panel discussion. Fri., Nov. 9, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

## Roots of the Mideast war

The International Socialist Review has recently published a special anthology taken from past issues of the ISR. Peter Buch, Gus Horowitz, Nabil Sha'ath, and others discuss:

- The Mideast War and the Future of Zionism
- Israel and the Arab Revolution
- The Palestine of Tomorrow
- Who Has the Right to Self-Determination in Palestine?
- The Myth of "Left" Zionism

This new pamphlet is available for 75c from the ISR. Orders of five or more cost 37.5c each. It will be sent FREE to new subscribers!

( ) Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.

( ) Enclosed is \$5 for one year of the ISR.

( ) Please send me FREE with my subscription a copy of Roots of the Mideast War.

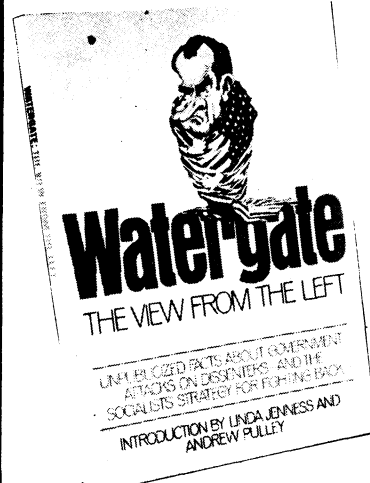
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ISR, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014



## Special Offer

Is deep-going corruption unique to the Nixon administration?

How much have both Democratic and Republican administrations always depended on Watergating tactics?

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in the Nov. International Socialist Review

## Who Rules Nixon?

Western tycoons or Eastern bankers?

By Dick Roberts

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 14 CHARLES LANE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

## Agnew: chickens come home to roost

By CINDY JAQUITH

If the Maryland grand jury currently investigating Spiro Agnew returns charges against him, it will be the first time in U.S. history that a vice-president has been federally indicted while in office.

Moreover, it will be the first time a vice-president has faced criminal charges at the same time that the president is widely believed to be guilty of crimes.

"The nation is now passing through as grave a crisis of leadership as it has ever experienced," concluded the editors in the Sept. 30 *New York Times*. This "debilitating situation at the summit of Government cannot long continue," they warned.

The question on the minds of the *Times* editor and other spokesmen for the U.S. ruling class is whether the government can withstand the blow of an Agnew impeachment after all the other Watergate-related scandals.

The fact that Agnew is now under the gun is particularly embarrassing because of his carefully groomed image as a "law and order" man. As the saying goes, chickens come home to roost.

The charges Agnew faces read like an indictment of a crime syndicate chief: bribery, kickbacks, extortion, fraud, and conspiracy. According to Assistant Attorney General Henry Peterson, "We've got the evidence. We've got it cold."

### 'Kangaroo trial'

In an effort to defend himself, the vice-president wails that "publication of distortions and half truths" about him have led to "a cruel form of kangaroo trial in the media." His lawyers say the numerous leaks about his case will prevent Agnew from receiving a fair trial.

While Agnew has supporters in the right wing of the Republican Party, there has also been a chorus of liberals speaking out for the vice-president's "rights."

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), for example, has called for an end to "the deliberate campaign of abuse" against Agnew. Kennedy, no doubt with his eye on the '76 campaign, says the vice-president "deserves the nation's respect for his demeanor in this unprecedented situation."

This sudden concern for civil liberties on the part of some liberals and conservatives is pure hypocrisy.

As Black Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) pointed out, "The vice-president claims he cannot receive a fair trial in the federal courts of our great land . . . this appears to violate the law and order concepts under which he was elected."

Indeed, the vice-president's past record on pretrial leaks by his colleagues is far from impressive. When Nixon publicly accused Angela Davis of terrorism after her arrest, Agnew did not speak out about "fair trials." Nor did he defend the rights of the



Now the squeeze is on Spiro

Berrigan brothers when J. Edgar Hoover charged them with plotting to kidnap Henry Kissinger several months before the antiwar activists were indicted on these frame-up charges.

But the Watergate revelations have demonstrated that when radicals are on trial, the government goes much further than denunciations in the press. Wiretapping, burglary, bribery, and other illegal tactics are all part of the "fair trial" that defendants like Daniel Ellsberg or the Gainesville Eight have received.

### Kid gloves

In contrast to the way the government treats radical defendants, the vice-president is being handled with kid gloves. It is now known that Attorney

General Richardson offered to ignore some of the bribery charges against Agnew if he would plead guilty to a lesser charge. The vice-president's lawyers, however, held out for dropping all the charges in return for Agnew's resignation.

This was too much for the Justice Department to concede. In the wake of Watergate, they are afraid to give the slightest impression of a cover-up.

The vice-president has hotly denied that he engaged in plea bargaining, since it weakens the main prop in his defense—the contention that Assistant Attorney General Henry Peterson is out to get him.

Of course Agnew's attack on Peterson is only a delicate way of saying that he thinks Nixon is the one pulling the strings. As the Oct. 8 *Time* maga-

zine pointed out:

" . . . Agnew, as part of the Nixon administration, knows better than most that Peterson is hardly a sovereign agent, that Richardson by his own admission has been making the hard decisions on Agnew, and that Richardson reports to the man who put him in his job: Richard Nixon." *Time* called the situation a "harrowing spectacle of the President and Vice President of the U. S., both under suspicion for different reasons, maneuvering against each other for survival."

That seems to be the way the rest of the population looks at it too. More than a third of the people now believe Nixon has been "unfair" to Agnew, according to a *Newsweek* poll. At the same time, 58 percent are in favor of Agnew resigning if he is indicted.

This poll was little comfort to Agnew last week as headlines across the country blared the rumors of his impending resignation. The vice-president finally decided to take the rumors head-on.

### 'I will not resign!'

Agnew's arrogant response was delivered in his speech at the Sept. 29 conference of GOP women in Los Angeles. "I will not resign if indicted, I will not resign if indicted!" the vice-president declared.

In the meantime, W. Clement Stone—the man who gave \$2-million to Nixon's 1972 campaign—announced the formation of the Agnew Defense Fund.

But even fat cats like Stone may not be able to bail the vice-president out. Agnew's options have been significantly narrowed.

When his negotiations with the Justice Department broke down, the vice-president went to the House of Representatives demanding an investigation of the charges against him. Agnew apparently hoped that the Democrats controlling the House would be too timid to impeach him, thus ending the case.

But for reasons of their own, the Democrats don't want to touch his case with a 10-foot pole. From a purely partisan point of view, if Agnew stays in office the Democrats have a better chance of winning the 1976 elections.

John Connally's sudden burst of speaking engagements no doubt has the Democrats worried that he may soon be in the No. 2 spot. That possibility was obviously in the back of Robert Strauss's mind when the Democratic National Committee chairman urged Nixon to nominate a "nonpresidential" replacement if Agnew leaves office.

### Democrats

But a deeper reason for the Democrats' unwillingness to start impeachment proceedings now is a fear of the snowballing effect. Already some of those named in the charges along with Agnew are Democrats. A full-scale

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