

THE MILITANT

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Cairo, Ill., Blacks mobilize against racist vigilantes

By DERRICK MORRISON

CAIRO, Ill., Oct. 28—While the Oct. 25 *New York Times* and other papers were giving big headlines to a fictitious mass Black assault on the Cairo police headquarters, they were ignoring what actually did happen: The police mounted an attack on the Cairo Black community and a white sniper put a bullet into the head of an innocent Black youth, John Garrett, as he was walking into the Pyramid Court housing project in the Black community. Garrett, in fair condition, is now out of the hospital and recuperating at home.

The *Times* article, published with the title "Armed Negroes Attack Police Station in Cairo, Ill.," underlines a calculated attempt by the white, capitalist press to misinform and suppress information about the situation of Blacks in Cairo. (For the *Times*' "disclaimer," see page 3. — *Ed.*)

When I showed the article to Leon Page, state coordinator for the Cairo Black United Front, he termed it a total lie.

Blacks in Cairo have withstood close to 150 nights of white racist attacks since March 31, 1969, when organized whites marched into Pyramid Court and opened fire on houses and passing automobiles. These assaults have been perpetrated by police and state troopers as well as vigilante groups.

Yet, for the capitalist media, "violence" occurs only when the Blacks—the victims of racial oppression—respond in self-defense.

A key focus of recent efforts by Blacks to organize their self-defense took place last weekend at the "United Front for Survival Conference" held in Carbondale.

CARBONDALE, Ill. — The United Front for Survival Conference held here Oct. 24-25 and attended by more than 500 Blacks has established the beginnings of a National Black United Front.

The gathering, held at Southern Illinois University (SIU), around the theme "United We Stand, Liberation at Hand," was organized by the Black United Front (BUF) of Cairo.

As part of its campaign to defend the embattled Black community of Cairo, the NBUF will sponsor a nationwide speaking tour for Rev. Charles Koen, the 26-year-old executive director of the Cairo BUF. The conference designated November "National Save Cairo Month."

Cairo is a town of not more than 7,000—half of whom are Black. Innumerable armed attacks have been carried out against its Black community since April 1969 when, in response to previous assaults, Blacks organized the United Front and launched an economic boycott against

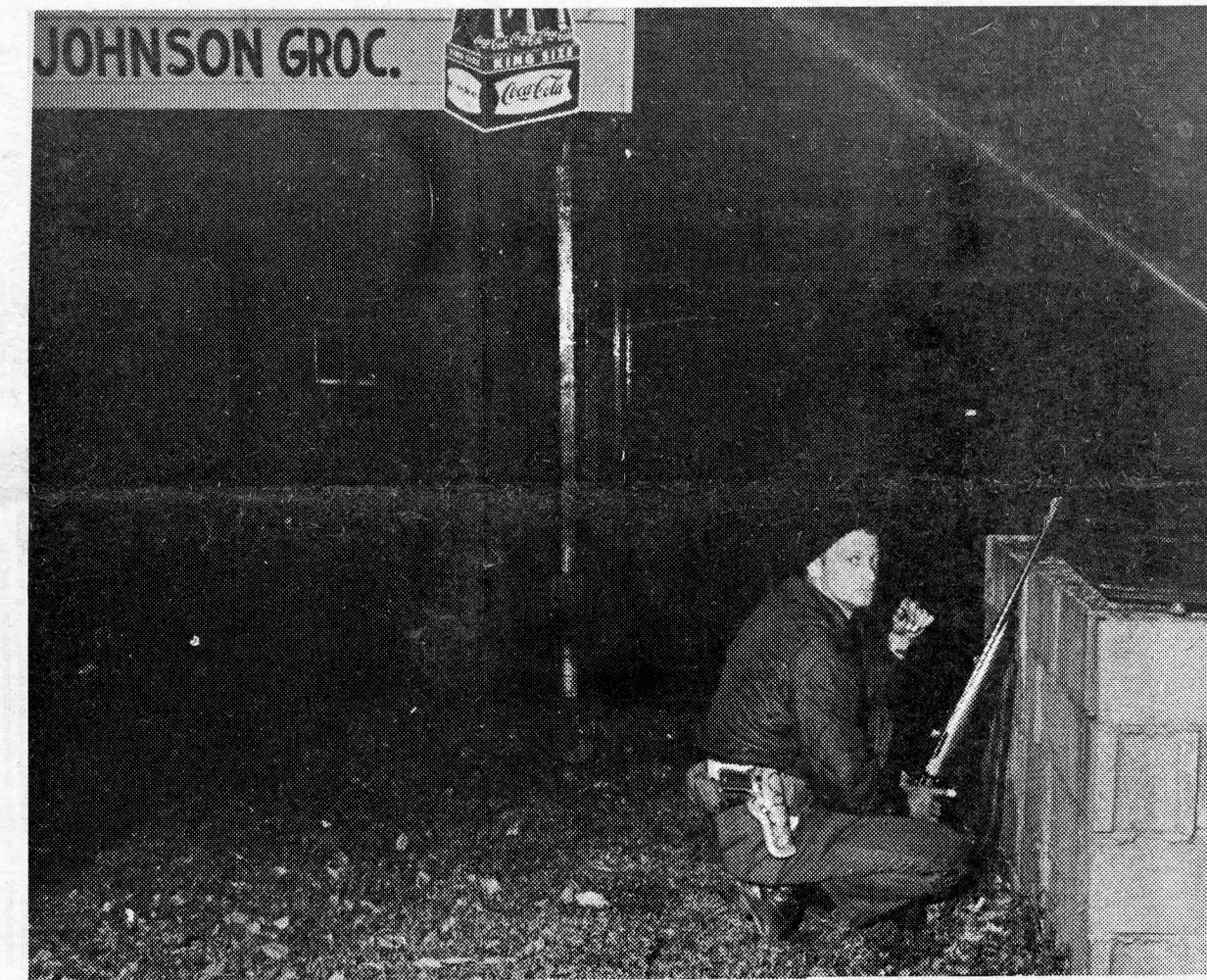


Photo by Carl Hampton/Cairo United Front

CAIRO, USA. Armed white facing toward the all-Black Pyramid Court housing project in Cairo, Ill., where Black community has had to organize itself against continuing police-vigilante attacks. In background is burning grocery which was razed to ground by arsonists.

the white merchants. Now in its nineteenth month, the boycott has closed eight white-owned stores.

The nearly 150 armed attacks on the Black community that have occurred since the formation of the United Front have been the work of police, Illinois state troopers, and a white vigilante group known as "The White Hats," organized in 1967 by Peyton Berdling, the local state's attorney.

The attacks have escalated during the past month. Within the space of a few days in mid-October, white vigilantes terrorized the community through arson and other acts of violence, the BUF reports. In one incident, an occupant of a yellow car parked in front of the police station was observed firing for more than five minutes toward Pyramid Court, a Black public housing project, leaving Monroe Jenkins wounded by bullet fragments from a bullet tearing into his car. On Oct. 12, eight shots were fired into the United Front's Palace Clothing Store. On Oct. 15, white arsonists burned a large portion of the cooper-

ative prefab housing factory, making it the thirteenth Black business to be partially destroyed by terrorists.

"We find that while the breakdown of 'law and order' takes place here in Cairo," Rev. Koen stated in a press release Oct. 13, "politicians, the governor and folks on the national scene are shouting 'law and order.' But 'law and order' here in Cairo means white folks raise hell while Black folks go to jail."

On Oct. 21, however, armed Blacks met the police before they were able to enter the Black community and drove them back into the police station. The cops reported firing thousands of rounds of ammunition during the confrontation.

The fact that police do not enter certain areas of the Black community, the continued growth of Black economic cooperatives, and the operation of a Black code of justice put Cairo in the very vanguard of the struggle for Black control of the Black community. This fact lent great im-

(Continued on page 8)

UAW local rejects selective strike policy

Defeats GM Tech Center back-to-work move

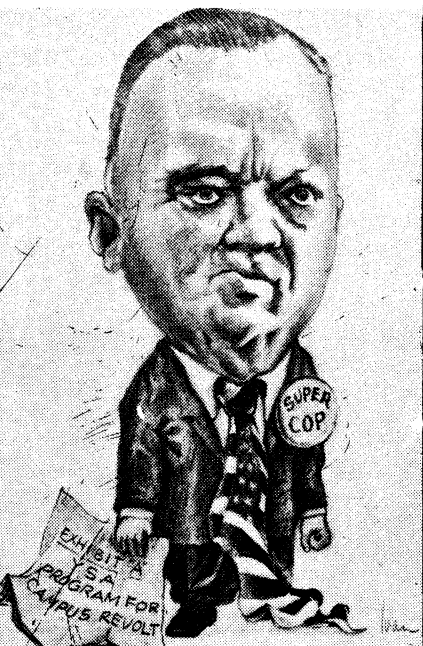
Dearborn, Mich.

The most important development in the GM strike to date was the unanimous rejection by the membership of Local 160 of a back-to-work movement proposed by UAW president Woodcock and the UAW International Executive Board (IEB). Local 160 officers refused to negotiate with the management of GM's Tech Center the return to work of over 300 skilled men working on safety and emission control experiments. In reply to IEB threats against the local's leadership, a meeting of the strikers was called to decide the issue.

Irving Bluestone, co-director of UAW's GM department, received nothing but boos when he began to present the International's policy of "selective strikes." He argued that allowing GM's competitors to continue production is the most effective way of winning the strike. Angry skilled workers at Tech Center called the proposal "strike-breaking" and rejected it by a unanimous vote.

The International's "one-at-a-time" strategy failed to win the demands of the Ford strike in 1967, and it is the feeling of many of the GM strikers — as Local 160's unanimous rejection

J. Edgar Hoover claims the YSA "is today the largest and best organized youth group in leftwing radicalism."



For once he's right.

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Letters from our readers

This 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. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

of it indicates — that this strategy will only prolong the strike without winning its demands.

GM Fleetwood Fisher Body Retiree

Aesthetic appeal

W. Hyattsville, Md.

Isn't there any way you can go back to the offset process? It had much more aesthetic appeal!!

R. H.

[We are still using the offset process. But instead of the small, high-quality press previously used, *The Militant* is now being printed on a large web newspaper press. This has meant a certain loss in quality. But it was necessary in order to move to a 20-page newspaper with a larger circulation and to pave the way for a further expansion in size and circulation. The quality can improve, however, as we think the past issue indicated. We expect that within several months we will be closer to our previous quality.

— Editor]

Real threat

Chesterland, Ohio

I have been a *Militant* subscriber for many years now and I'd like to continue my subscription. Unfortunately I have been unemployed for almost six months and am running out of funds.

I have a degree in physics but there are no physics job openings. Every time I apply for "nonprofessional" employment in factory labor or in any other field, I have been told I am "over-qualified." Even college graduates are screwed in a capitalist economy.

I'm personally a member of the IWW and I may have some disagreements with you on certain points, but you Trotskyites are doing a fine job in organizing a real threat to capitalism. I say Right-On.

L. C.

Coors Brewing Co. boycott

Austin, Texas

Chicanos throughout Aztlan have been boycotting the Adolph Coors Brewing Company because of its racist hiring and firing practices.

Centered in Golden, Colo., the Coors Co. was cited this August for racial discrimination by the Colorado Civil Rights Commission. The citation stems from the firing of an employee in 1969.

Through contracts with the government, Coors produces huge quantities of beer for consumption by GIs in Vietnam. Just as the U.S. government aided the growers in the grape boycott by making Vietnam the world's third largest importer of California

grapes, the taxpayers' dollars are now going to the aid of the Coors Co.

When the boycott began three years ago, only six of the 1,750 employees were Chicanos. The hiring process not only required Chicanos to give extensive life histories, but also to submit to psychological and lie detector tests. If Chicanos didn't pass (for white?), they were not hired.

The racist actions of Coors are nothing new to Denver area residents. Reports indicate the local brewery was a meeting place for the Ku Klux Klan some years back. Joseph Coors is a University of Colorado regent. Coors also donated a helicopter to the Denver police department, which has been used to tear gas Chicano demonstrators.

For more information on the boycott, contact the Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colo. 80218.

Mariana Hernandez

New York Times

Philadelphia, Pa.

That *New York Times* spoof of marriage on the women's liberation page of the Oct. 16 *Militant* was terrific. The only things the *New York Times* forgot to mention were that the bridegroom's title before he got married should have been noted as *Master James Buckingham*, and that it should have been "Ms. and Mr." Buckingham who announced the marriage, not "Mr. and Ms."

Amy Lowenstein



Master James Leslie Buckingham?

Proposes GM strike strategy

Los Angeles, Calif.

If I were a GM striker, I would make the following proposals: 1) Close down all GM plants, not just some of them as is now the case; 2) Organize mass picketing, peaceful but large-scale, with banners proclaiming the demands of the workers; 3) Take a lesson from the antiwar movement and organize mass demonstrations, especially in Detroit, inviting all those who wish to participate on the side of the workers; 4) Set a short time limit to settle the strike or spread it to the rest of the auto industry, including all parts-production plants and sales agencies; 5) Publicize in every possible way the demands of the workers and explain the relationship between wages and prices.

Radio news, TV and the daily papers here don't say a word about the GM strike. I wouldn't know that such a thing existed if I didn't depend on Frank Lovell's articles in *The Militant*.

Milton Alvin

THE MILITANT

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Friday, Nov. 6, 1970

Closing news date — Oct. 28

Progressive Labor disrupts UAW support rally

Chicago, Ill.

Several members of Progressive Labor Party and their SDS sympathizers disrupted an Oct. 15 rally called at the University of Chicago in support of the United Auto Workers Strike.

No sooner had one of the auto workers begun to speak than about 10 PLers sprang to their feet shouting accusations of "sellout", charging that the union leadership was not fighting in the true interest of the workers.

One of the more amusing aspects of the disruption came when PLers began to shout, "We're trying to organize action in support of the workers. What are you doing?" The speakers replied in bewilderment, "But we are the workers."

The entire incident raises a serious question about the way in which differences within the movement should be resolved. The movement can only function if the democratic right of groups to hold their own meetings is respected and differences are discussed in a rational manner with all points of view having an opportunity to be expressed.

Rick Feinberg

Amazing accomplishment

West Orange, N.J.

The Militant is an amazing accomplishment. With a minimum of resources you continually produce a newspaper whose standards of truth and of writing far exceed those of any capitalist publication I have seen originating in this country.

One thing bothers me, however. It seems to me that the paper is dated too far in advance. I think it should come out on or about the cover date and not a week or so earlier, as is the case at present. It somewhat jars the "truth image" you otherwise generate so brilliantly.

F. A.

[Most weekly publications are printed in advance of the date on the cover so that the date does not convey the impression of being an "old" issue. With continuing deterioration of postal service, it becomes necessary to advance the actual date of publication even further. We publish the closing news date each week on page two to make clear we're not trying to kid the public. — Editor]

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New York vows to close gap in subscription drive

By WADE DOUGLAS

OCT. 27—Thermometers during a certain stage of civilization measured body temperatures.

In recent decades, however, thermometers have measured other things such as *Militant* subscription goals.

In the headquarters of New York City's Socialist Workers Party, visitors are occasionally startled by a huge

thermometer in striking red, yellow, and green colors that lunges up a pillar near the entrance to the hall.

According to this thermometer, the New York City *Militant* sellers are behind schedule. They should have sold 1,320 subs as of Oct. 27, but the thermometer registers only 1,010 sales.

But Doug Jenness, one of the two New York sub campaign directors, is confident the gap will be closed.

"We'll make our two thousand quota," Jenness said. "We're making a major effort because we are totally convinced in the expansion of circulation of *The Militant* and its increased size which the current radicalization makes possible."

Jenness points to the 232 subscriptions that *Militant* sellers in New York sold the week of Oct. 21-27.

"We sold 140 of them in a single mobilization," puts in Jenness, underlining the point that anybody can sell subscriptions if they put their minds to it. The 140 subs resulted from *Militant* sellers, sub blanks in their purses and pockets, papers tucked under their arms, working their way through some of the dormitories of Columbia, Barnard, New York University, Fordham and Pratt, Oct. 25.

Jenness adds a corollary to the reasons for an all-out effort. New members to the YSA have been recruited during the *Militant* subscription campaign in New York.

One of *The Militant's* most enthusiastic boosters is Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator in New York and an activist in the women's liberation movement. "You've got to read *The Militant* to know what's happening in women's liberation," says Dawson, "especially in New York." She said the newspaper's extensive coverage and analysis are having considerable impact in women's liberation groups. An increasing number of women active in build-

ing the movement here look more and more to *The Militant* for both news and analysis on women's liberation.

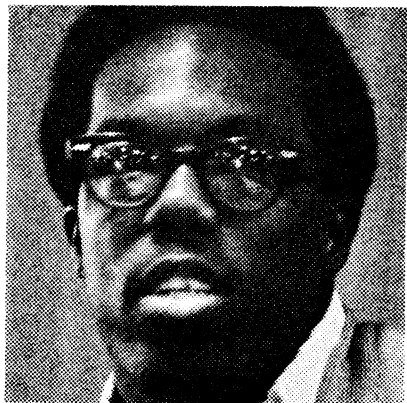
The drive to push the socialist news-weekly past the 15,000 mark by Nov. 15 still will require a massive effort. At this writing, 8,440 subscriptions have come in, whereas, according to business manager Flax Hermes, 9,990 were needed to keep the drive on schedule.

The Worcester area *Militant* sellers joined the ranks of those groups increasing their sub drive quota. Worcester became the sixth, jacking its quota from 100 to 125.

Dean Reed—a one-man blitz—upped his quota from 20 to 100. He's already sold 96 subscriptions. Santa Cruz, Calif., it appears, has never seen anything like it.

Natalie Harary of New York, who has sold 63 subs, found Reed's effort so impressive that she has decided to try to surpass it.

On the spot



Derrick Morrison

When major social and political struggles erupt, *The Militant* makes every possible effort to provide on-the-spot reporting. This week we sent staff reporter Derrick Morrison to Carbondale to cover the important conference of Blacks that took on the job of mobilizing national support for the Black community of Cairo, Ill., which has organized itself in resistance against a murderous white supremacist campaign of intimidation and bloodshed.

From Carbondale, Morrison went on to Cairo where he is now gathering more firsthand information on the situation there. If ever there was proof of the unreliability of the capitalist media in these matters, it was the UPI dispatch featured prominently in the Oct. 25 *New York Times*:

"Squads of armed Negro men drove up to the Cairo police station," the dispatch said, "and opened fire three times in six hours late yesterday and early today. In the third attack, hundreds of rounds of gunfire ripped into the police station for 35 minutes."

Without bothering to retract that report, the *Times* printed another account two days later which revealed that the Black "attack" was a pure invention:

"The police contend that hundreds of rounds of ammunition were fired at their headquarters," the *Times* now reported. "The beige sandstone building has only 17 small pockmarks that COULD be from bullets. (Emphasis added.) One window is cracked. Directly across the street, the front of a Negro-owned tavern is riddled with bullet holes."

In Cairo, Morrison is getting the story of the police-vigilante attacks, which the concoction about the "attack" on the police station is designed to cover over. Setting the record straight is *The Militant's* job. When we report a story you can believe it.

Coming issue of ISR will be spur to sales

OCT. 27—Hungry for Marxist theory? The new issue of *International Socialist Review* is a veritable delicatessen of revolutionary ideas. The November number will be off the presses Nov. 2 and will feature articles by Barry Sheppard, Evelyn Reed, Derrick Morrison, and Mary-Alice Waters.

The bustling New York offices of the *ISR* were bedecked with posters of Rosa Luxemburg and Che when we dropped in last week to talk to the editor. Larry Seigle looked up from the final galley proofs of "Is Man an Aggressive Ape?" an article by Evelyn Reed. "It's a really good article," said Seigle. "It challenges the current theories that human beings are by nature aggressive."

Coming this winter, he said, will be a polemic against anarchism by Karl Marx, never before published in English, and a major work by Ernest Mandel on the Leninist concept of the party.

The *ISR* drive for 2,500 new subs by Nov. 15 has hit the 44 percent mark, 22 percent behind schedule. Boulder and Detroit were ahead of schedule and Mansfield had made its quota of eight. Sell more subs was the most solid advice. And if you don't have one, well, do your thing.

Want to sell subs?

Just fill out the coupon

The *Militant* will send you a complete subscription kit, including coupons, posters, etc. Your area will be added to the scoreboard if you wish.

I would like to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* this fall.

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List the above quota in *The Militant's* weekly scoreboard.
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Subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New Subs	City	Quota	New Subs
Baltimore, Md.	10	19	Chicago, Ill.	1,500	675
Selinsgrove, Pa.	5	6	DeKalb, Ill.	150	64
Mansfield, Pa.	50	50	Washington, D.C.	300	124
Middletown, N.Y.	5	5	Eugene, Ore.	10	4
Oxford, Ohio	50	48	Geneseo, N.Y.	5	2
Santa Cruz, Calif.	100	96	Portage, Mich.	10	4
Long Island, N.Y.	75	69	Staatsburg, N.Y.	10	2
Austin, Texas	350	301	Hayward, Calif.	40	15
Ypsilanti, Mich.	50	42	San Joaquin Val., Calif.	50	18
Portland, Ore.	100	79	Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	35
Northampton, Mass.	50	39	El Paso, Texas	75	26
Berkeley, Calif.	600	464	Bloomington, Ind.	100	34
Seattle, Wash.	400	306	Tallahassee, Fla.	50	16
Twin Cities, Minn.	600	452	Binghamton, N.Y.	150	47
Philadelphia, Pa.	650	482	Yellow Springs, Ohio	125	39
Youngstown, Pa.	10	7	Cincinnati, Ohio	60	18
San Francisco, Calif.	800	547	Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	30	9
Boston, Mass.	1,000	678	St. Louis, Mo.	50	13
North Boston	(250)	(210)	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	235	52
Cambridge	(250)	(201)	Milwaukee, Wis.	100	22
South Boston	(250)	(142)	East Lansing, Mich.	25	5
Logan, Utah	50	33	Kingsville, Texas	5	1
Albany, N.Y.	50	32	Madison, Wis.	300	60
Houston, Texas	250	159	San Jose, Calif.	5	1
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	46	Paterson, N.J.	60	9
Detroit, Mich.	700	423	Tampa, Fla.	100	15
Grinnell, Iowa	5	3	Kent, Ohio	45	6
Niagara Falls, N.Y.	20	12	New Haven, Conn.	60	8
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	12	Riverside, Calif.	150	18
Worcester, Mass.	125	75	Nacogdoches, Texas	10	1
Atlanta, Ga.	500	295	State College, Pa.	10	1
Newark, N.J.	75	43	Tacoma, Wash.	20	2
Kansas City, Mo.	100	57	Bellingham, Wash.	40	3
La Crosse, Wis.	50	28	Oshkosh, Wis.	50	3
Cleveland, Ohio	600	313	Grosse Pt., Mich.	20	1
New York, N.Y.	2,000	1,010	Little Rock, Ark.	50	1
Pittsburgh, Pa.	10	5	Red Hook, N.Y.	50	1
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000	487	East Stroudsburg, Pa.	10	0
Knoxville, Tenn.	50	24	Marsing, Idaho	50	0
San Diego, Calif.	100	48	Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	0
Providence, R.I.	150	70	Waverly, Iowa	10	0
Stanford, Calif.	30	14	General	400	206
			GOAL	15,000	8,440

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Roots of the Mideast conflict (I)

Western imperialism and Arab nationalism

By GUS HOROWITZ and
BARRY SHEPPARD

(First of a series)

The colonial revolution has been one of the most important features of world politics in the twentieth century, especially after World War II. The majority of the world's people are rising to demand an end to imperialist domination, which has kept them living in backwardness and squalor. The oppressed peoples of the world are fighting for an end to their national oppression and subjugation, for an end to the systematic super-exploitation they suffer at the hands of the advanced capitalist countries.

The Arab revolution is one facet of this struggle against foreign domination. The peoples of the Arab world, which stretches from the Middle East all across North Africa, have been subjected to the same kind of imperialist exploitation as the peoples of Black Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Western capitalist domination of the Arab world began in the early part of the 19th century with the French conquest of Algeria in 1830 and the establishment of British outposts in Aden, along the Persian Gulf, and on the Red Sea.

French rule over Algeria typified one form of Western domination: colonization by French settlers who controlled the economic and political life of the country while the Algerian Arabs were relegated to the status of a subject people. By 1851 more than 150,000 Europeans had settled in Algeria; by 1936 their number was to reach almost one million out of a total population of less than eight million. The French also colonized Tunisia and Morocco, but somewhat later, with the number of European settlers in 1936 reaching 213,000 and 236,000 respectively. This kind of settler-colonization was later attempted by Mussolini in Libya, but was short-lived. The era of *direct* colonial control over Arab North Africa ended in 1962, when the Algerian revolution succeeded in winning formal political independence from France.

The latter part of the 19th century ushered in the modern era of imperialist domination over Asia, Africa and Latin America. This period was marked by an intensive search for profitable areas of investment and a race to win control over the natural resources of the world. The fierce competition among the imperialists finally exploded in World War I, a war which was fought to decide how the world was to be divided among them.

In this period, France and Britain were able to seize most of the remaining Arab lands. France took over Tunisia in 1881 and Morocco in 1912. Britain occupied Egypt in 1882 and took over the Sudan in 1899. Following the breakup of the Turkish Ottoman Empire after World War I, France and Britain carved up the Arab East, with the blessing of the League of Nations. France got Syria and Lebanon; Britain took over Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq and strengthened its position in the Arabian peninsula and Egypt. Prior to the war, Italy was able to grab Libya, while Spain reached an agreement with France formalizing Spanish control over the Northern Zone of Morocco. The Arab world was thus totally controlled by Western imperialism.

The imperialist powers exercised their control through a variety of forms, ruling through exclusive treaty relationships, through servile regimes, importing administrative bureaucracies, settling large numbers of Europeans as in Algeria, or through some combination of these. In all cases, however, political control was ultimately backed up by the imperialist armies. The imperialists' aim has been the economic exploitation and domination of the area (e.g., Persian Gulf oil) or control over important trade routes or strategic military outposts (e.g., the Suez Canal and the Gibraltar area).

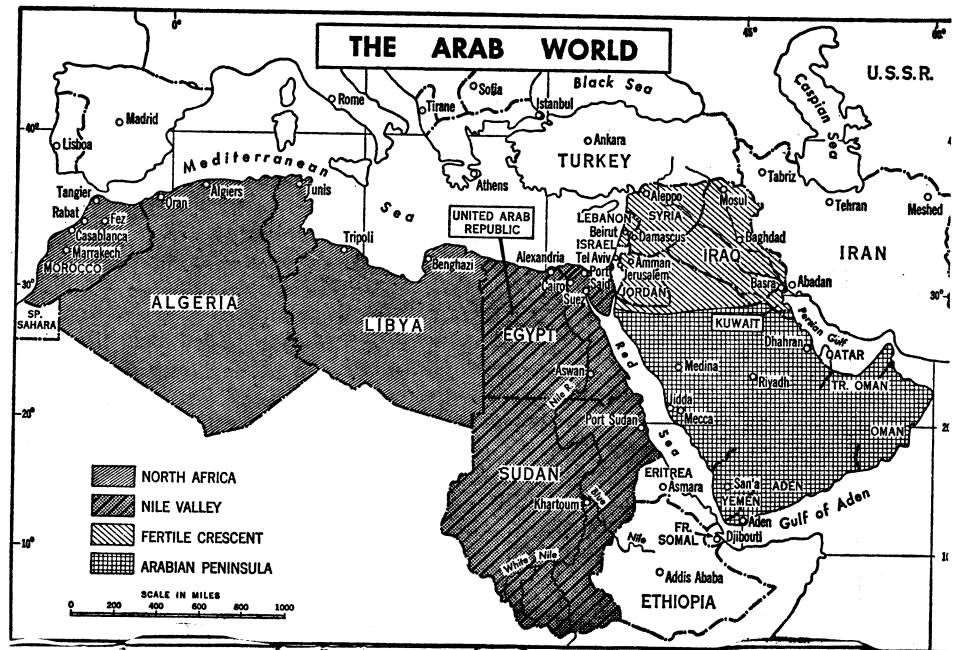
The history of the subjugation of the Arab peoples is marked by recurring rebellion and opposition to imperialist oppression. Armed resistance occurred in Algeria from 1830 to 1848, and the country was not secured for French domination until the 1880s. Later resistance culminated in the 1954-1962 national uprising. In Morocco, French control was not fully secured until after rebellions in 1926 and 1933 had been crushed. In Tunisia, nationalist opposition to France won some concessions in the period between the two world wars. Struggles in 1952-1955 forced France to grant formal independence to Tunisia and Morocco. Syrian rebels fought the French Army in 1920 and rose in rebellion again in 1925-27. Egypt and Iraq saw national uprisings in 1919 and 1920, resulting in more indirect forms of British rule. Uprisings in Lebanon in 1943 and Syria in 1945 led to the granting of formal independence. In Palestine, in the 1920s and 1930s, uprisings occurred against British domination and the colonization of the country by European Jews. Rebellions, insurrections, and other forms of nationalist resistance occurred in other areas.

The upsurge of the Arab colonial revolution during and after World War II was part of a general worldwide upsurge of the colonial revolution. This, coupled with the weakening of the European powers in the war, resulted in the erosion of imperialist rule and the breakup or overthrow of the old imperialist empires. In some cases the United States encouraged this process, taking an "anti-imperialist" stand against the old European empires in order to facilitate U.S. imperialist penetration into the Arab world.

But formal independence has not meant true independence for the Arab peoples. Under the blows of the colonial revolution, the imperialists have been forced to give up most of the crudest forms of overt rule, but they have been able to devise new, less direct methods of maintaining the essence of their domination. This new policy has sometimes been called neo-colonialism.

The imperialist powers use their economic and military might to maintain governments in the neo-colonies which will defend their basic interests. These pressures are usually indirect—military or economic aid and such methods as CIA-organized military coups. But the imperialists are always ready to use direct military intervention to safeguard their interests if that should prove necessary and practical.

In 1958, for example, Washington landed troops in Lebanon, fearing potential revolutionary developments



The long-exploited Arab Mideast

which could have threatened its hold in the area. During the recent civil war in Jordan, Washington stood ready to intervene militarily to save King Hussein. And as Vietnam shows in full detail, Washington has no qualms about massive direct U.S. military intervention when it feels that it is necessary to try to stop the national liberation struggle.

In the Middle East, the state of Israel fulfills a special, unique function in defending the interests of imperialism. Artificially and arbitrarily carved out as a settler-colonialist state, Israel is by its very nature hostile to the Arab nationalist struggle. And by the same token its survival in an Arab world is contingent on a harmony of interests with imperialism. The imperialists know that they can count on Israel as a trustworthy and militarily powerful ally already well-entrenched in the Arab East. Thus, after the Suez Canal was nationalized in 1956, Israel was the spearhead of a joint Israeli-British-French invasion of Egypt. In 1970, Israeli troops were poised to invade Jordan if Hussein had fallen, while American planes were prepared to guard the flanks of the Israeli attack.

As the power of European imperialism weakened in the Arab world after World War II, that of Washington has increased, economically as well as militarily, particularly in relation to Mideast oil. As a result, while British

and French interests are still strong in the Arab East, the dominant role is now being played by Washington.

This places a special responsibility on revolutionary socialists in the United States to oppose all actions by Washington designed to keep the Arab peoples in subjugation. Revolutionary socialists must take on the job of explaining to the American people that the U.S. has no business intervening in the Arab world, just as it has no business in Vietnam.

Our defense of the Arab peoples against U.S. imperialism is unconditional. In other words, our support for the just struggles of the oppressed Arab peoples does not depend on our estimate of the political strengths or inadequacies of the Arab nationalist leaderships at any given time. The essential consideration is to side with the oppressed against the oppressor.

So long as imperialist exploitation of the Arab peoples continues, it dooms them to remain "underdeveloped," just as is the case with the peoples of Asia, Black Africa, and Latin America. They cannot begin real national development until every form of imperialist domination is ended. Their struggles for complete national liberation are part of the worldwide struggle to end the exploitation of man by man; it is *our* struggle, too, and one which the American people should support.

(To be continued.)

IN THE OCTOBER

International SOCIALIST review

THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE PAST/ by George Breitman. An examination of the prospects for the revolutionary movement in the 1970s.

Other articles include
THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM/ BY EUGENE V. DEBS

LENINISM, STALINISM AND BLACK NATIONALISM

THE FAMILY: OPPRESSOR OF WOMEN OR REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

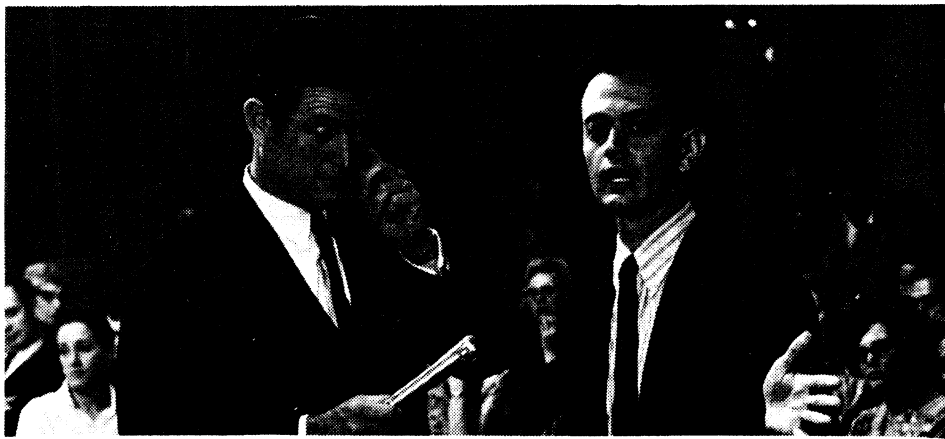
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Camejo confronts Kennedy and Spaulding



Camejo vs. Kennedy



Camejo vs. Spaulding

Photos by Bob Horn

BRIDGEWATER, Mass. — The Democratic, Republican and Socialist Workers candidates for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts met and debated at Bridgewater State College Oct. 21. This was the first joint encounter between all three. On previous occasions, SWP candidate Peter Camejo had separately confronted incumbent Edward Kennedy three times and his Republican opponent Si Spaulding twice.

Spaulding had announced his intention to go to Bridgewater in a clear attempt to imitate Camejo's campaign strategy of confronting Kennedy at his own meetings.

The three-way confrontation drew both a large audience—1,000 of the 3,000 students enrolled at the college — and wide press coverage.

Camejo is tried on trumped-up trespass charge

By JERRY KEENE

BOSTON — Peter Camejo, Massachusetts senatorial candidate for the Socialist Workers Party, appeared in Roxbury district court Oct. 21 to face charges of trespassing brought against him by Northeastern University. The charges stemmed from a noontime SWP campaign rally Oct. 8 at the NU quadrangle during which Camejo was arrested at the instigation of university officials (see *The Militant*, Oct. 23).

Prosecution witness Sgt. McCall of the NU campus police testified that he instructed Camejo to leave in three minutes "or else," but that he did not inform Camejo what he meant by "or else." When he dismantled the sound equipment and attempted to pull Camejo from the platform, he related, the crowd started yelling, "You let Father Drinan speak, let him speak!" His suggestion that the crowd was disorderly was contradicted by photographs and subsequent testimony.

When Camejo took the stand he made it clear that he had in no way tried to incite the crowd to violence.

It was pointed out that other candidates had been allowed to speak in the same area and that the Democratic candidate for governor had held a rally there one week before.

Camejo explained that he was a bona fide candidate who had debated Sen. Edward Kennedy three times and his Republican opponent Si Spaulding twice. This abuse of constitutional rights would never have happened to a Republican or Democratic candidate, Camejo charged.

Judge Eisenstadt ruled that there had, in fact, been no attempt to incite the crowd to violence, but he found Camejo guilty nonetheless of trespassing on private property. And although no penalty was meted out, the sanctity of private property had to be upheld, if only for the record.

Kennedy opened his remarks by welcoming Spaulding and Camejo and offering both time to speak. But it soon became clear that he was trying to turn the meeting into a two-way debate with Spaulding.

When Camejo got the floor he began by pointing out that the mass media define elections in such a way that people hear only the Democratic and Republican candidates. His assertion that he alone of the three stood for unconditional and immediate withdrawal from Vietnam drew applause, which mounted from point to point. He blasted Kennedy for his promise to continue to vote for the war and his admission during a Camejo-Kennedy exchange at Holy Cross College earlier that week that he supports the use of some chemical warfare in Vietnam.

Camejo's call for legalization of

abortion to prevent the death of 7,000 women who die each year from abortion received strong applause. But the nearly all-white audience responded with a mixture of hisses and applause to his support for Black control of the Black community.

Camejo concluded by quoting Kennedy's book *Decisions for a Decade* (in which Kennedy claims to oppose the kind of big-money, television advertising campaign he is running) and by challenging Kennedy to immediately accept a live TV debate between the three candidates.

Kennedy refused to answer a single question raised by Camejo. The chairman hurriedly adjourned the meeting despite the fact that Kennedy had indicated he would take questions from the audience.

As the audience broke up, more than

150 students congratulated Camejo and shook his hand. At least 10 older non-students told him they would not vote for Kennedy after what they had seen. Young campaign workers for Spaulding urged Camejo to keep up the fight. One said he was going to support socialist candidates in the future. Supporters of Democratic "peace" candidate Studts told Camejo they would vote for him.

All the daily newspapers mentioned Camejo's presence but tried to emphasize the Kennedy-Spaulding confrontation. A round-up article on the Massachusetts campaign in the *Boston Evening Globe*, however, noted that Kennedy was beginning to change his position on war appropriations in response to Camejo's repeated attacks on this question. Kennedy denied he was changing his position.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '70

"There is a group here called the Socialist Workers Party. They are welcome. I am delighted to see them here tonight. They follow me around from meeting to meeting and ask me questions on abortion and the war in Vietnam," said Senator Edward Kennedy last month at Weymouth High School near Boston. Kennedy's numerous run-ins with SWP senatorial candidate Peter Camejo and his supporters throughout the campaign have visibly led less to "delight" than to embarrassment for the senator, however. In some meetings his confrontations with the SWP have lost him large portions of his audience.

"SWP has a reputation within radical circles for anticipating political chic, backing fashion before it is fashionable to do so," states an article entitled "On the Socialist Workers Party" in the Oct. 6 issue of *The Phoenix*, a Boston weekly. The SWP's presidential candidate in 1960 campaigned in support of the Cuban revolution "at a time when it was quite unpopular, if not downright dangerous" to do so, and its 1964 candidate was a "Black with strong ideas on Third World nationalism," the article explains. The paper focuses on the Massachusetts congressional campaign of another SWP pacesetter, Joe Miles. Miles was a key figure in organizing the GI antiwar movement at Forts Jackson and Bragg before the Army exiled him to remote Alaska in 1969.

When Daniel Fein, Rhode Island SWP senatorial candidate, proposed

to a statewide conference of about 300 social workers that they support the antiwar movement, the gathering voted overwhelmingly to join the Rhode Island Peace Action Coalition and give time and money to build the Oct. 31 demonstration.

Supporters of Earl Craig, a defeated peace candidate in Minnesota's Democratic primary in September, have received an open letter from Nancy Strebe, SWP senatorial candidate. She calls on them to endorse her campaign, "even those who do not necessarily agree with my entire platform . . . as the best alternative to the lesser-evil shell game of war, racism, and oppression."

The most recent issue of *The New Broadside*, a New York feminist tabloid, has an article entitled "Bella v. Barry v. Eva" which discusses the 19th congressional race in New York. After describing the campaigns of Barry Farber and Bella Abzug, the Republican and Democratic candidates, the author indicates that "perhaps a more digestible candidate for many people, however, is Eva Chertov, who is running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket."

Responding to charges that it was playing favorites, the administration of Blackburn College in Carlinville, Ill., put on the same "social hour" for the SWP that it had for the Democrats and Republicans. One hundred of the 500 students at the college

turned out to hear SWP candidates Willie Petty and Nancy Cole, candidates respectively for Cook County sheriff and University of Illinois Board of Trustees.

Georgia SWP congressional candidate Frank Grinnon filed for official write-in status Oct. 13. His action did not invalidate the SWP's challenge to the election laws, currently on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court and which could still place the SWP on the November ballot. An *Atlanta Journal* story on the filing extensively quoted Grinnon's views on the Vietnam war, police brutality, the Mideast and women's liberation.

The Georgia Democratic and Republican gubernatorial candidates have created a diversionary issue over whether or not to vote a straight ticket. Democrat Jimmy Carter favors the straight ticket since the state generally votes Democrat. He recently told the *Atlanta Jaycees*, according to a report in the *Atlanta Journal*, that he could be induced to split the ticket only if SWP candidate Linda Jenness were the Democratic nominee.

In a statement Oct. 27, Stephanie Coontz, Washington SWP candidate for U.S. Congress (1st C.D.), called on all who value civil liberties to defend the Seattle Eight. Indicted on conspiracy charges stemming from a demonstration last February, their trial is scheduled to begin in Tacoma Nov. 9.

— DAVID THORSTAD

GM balks at serious bargaining



Deserted Southgate, Calif., GM plant

Photo by John Gray

FRANK LOVELL

OCT. 26—Striking members of the United Auto Workers union looked to their leadership for a break in the bargaining sessions with General Motors, and some locals of the union began a stepped-up campaign to force the giant corporation to start serious bargaining on the crucial wages question as the strike settled into the seventh week with no end in sight.

A special convention of the UAW in Detroit Oct. 24 adopted emergency measures to meet the cost of the strike, then in its 40th day. The only order of business before the 3,000 delegates from all parts of the country was a special strike assessment that will average out to about \$10 a month for all working members.

At present the union pays out \$14-million weekly, expected to rise to \$19-million Nov. 1, when it starts paying

strikers' medical-hospital-doctor insurance and life insurance.

There are roughly one million UAW members employed in the auto, farm implement, and aircraft industries. Their strike contributions starting Nov. 1 will bring in \$10-million mostly to augment the rapidly dwindling \$120-million strike fund. The new source of income is calculated to insure payments of \$30 to \$40 a week to 350,000 GM strikers until Nov. 23.

In addition to these immediate matters of financing the strike, UAW officials announced that they now hope to launch an "offensive" against GM, to broaden the base of support for the strike by appealing to other sections of the union movement, students, and the general public.

Other unions have pledged financial support: the Teamsters, \$25-million; the Steelworkers, \$10-million; the United Rubber Workers, \$4-million.

A 78-member national citizens committee to aid families of the strikers is headed by former Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and includes AFL-CIO president George Meany and Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. Also included are such prominent Democratic politicians as Senators Hart, Muskie, Kennedy, Bayh, and McGovern.

These moves by the union leadership signaled the recognition on their part that GM management is prepared to extend the strike into the new year.

The key issue is a new wage pattern that will have far-reaching effects upon the standard of living of all working people in this country. The UAW is demanding an immediate first-year increase from the present \$4 average hourly wage to \$4.61 plus a no-limit cost-of-living escalator clause that will keep wages abreast of rising prices. This clause, central to the UAW wage demand, is the only defense wage earners have against inflation.

The crucial importance of the escalator clause is now generally recognized throughout the union movement and is becoming a standard demand, having been adopted at the recent convention of the Steelworkers union. Consequently, the entire union movement now has a more-than-ordinary interest in the outcome of the GM strike, recognizing that all workers have a direct stake in winning it.

On the side of Big Business, there is now little confidence in the ability of the Nixon administration to curb inflation. In a report on the fall meeting of the Business Council, the *Wall Street Journal* revealed the following:

"It was learned that prior to the meeting, James M. Roche, chairman of General Motors Corp., circulated

a long memorandum to the business leaders and top administration economists on the wage and price situation. While stopping short of recommending any wage-price guidelines, the report did call for stronger presidential leadership in this area. Informed observers, however, claimed the memo was unrelated to the GM strike."

This means that after the Nov. 3 general election and before the year is out, if the UAW strikers do not weaken, the Nixon administration at the prompting of GM will find a pretext to intervene and attempt to force a settlement which will rule out the effective kind of cost-of-living wage escalator now demanded by the union.

The UAW officialdom expresses a greater interest in the outcome of the election than in the direction of the strike, urging union members to vote for the Democratic Party. Yet the Democrats have favored wage-price guidelines, and if they are returned to Washington in large majority the chances are that the new Congress will urge wage-price restraints of some kind.

Despite the record of the Democrats in promoting wage curbs, as well as legal restraints on union activity, the UAW top leadership clings to the vain hope that a big Democratic victory will create for them a more favorable bargaining climate.

The strikers at GM plants are trying in a different, more realistic way to create a more favorable bargaining climate—by closing all GM operations and thereby changing the "selective strike" into an effective strike.

Considerable opposition to the soft strike strategy of the UAW officialdom developed when the 6,300 strikers at the Detroit Diesel Allison plant were sent back to work at pre-strike wages Oct. 1 after settlement of some "local grievances" and without any agreement on the fundamental national issues.

Since then, criticism has become more widespread and rumors are circulating that all the "non-economic" demands affecting representation, hours, and working conditions have been withdrawn. The "prerogatives of management"—which vitally affect conditions of work and production speedup—are not being tampered with.

Pickets in Detroit at the GM Fleetwood plant were critical of the International UAW policy which returned the Diesel strikers to work and which keeps other GM plants operating to produce parts for Chrysler and Ford.

A veteran UAW member reports that in Detroit some of the best actions of earlier strikes against GM are now

Masses of Black youth are jobless

Establishment propagandists like to promote the notion that the maxim about Blacks being "the last hired and the first fired" no longer applies in our affluent society, where there are jobs for all—or, at least, practically all.

Yet the expendability of Blacks, particularly youth, is as great or greater than ever in an economic situation where the byword is rationalization of production—that is, producing more goods with fewer workers.

Total unemployment of Blacks between the ages of 16 and 19 soared to 34.9 percent in the third quarter of 1970, July-September, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

"Hardest hit of all were young Black men in urban slums," the *New York Times* reported Oct. 21.

At the depth of the great depression, the worst unemployment levels suffered by American workers reached 24.9 percent in 1933.

Any wonder that Black youth are a vanguard in the radicalization?

recalled and discussed. He says, "In the 1946 GM strike R.J. Thomas (then UAW president) suggested the A.C. Spark Plug plant in Flint be allowed to reopen to produce parts for Packard Motor Co. Reuther charged Thomas with starting a back-to-work movement."

Some UAW locals are trying to bring greater pressure upon General Motors by calling the strikers into action even though the top leadership has so far refused to call mass meetings to report on the course of the strike.

Cadillac Local 22 has picketed the GM building in Detroit.

The United National Caucus, a Detroit-based inner union group, issued a leaflet with the following five suggestions to strengthen the strike: 1) For a citywide strike committee in the Detroit area; 2) For this strike committee to advise the UAW International Executive Board on strike policies; 3) For meetings to be called of all GM locals on strike to give them a progress report and prepare them for a long strike; 4) For mass picketing of the GM building one day a week; 5) For asking the International officers to call a mass demonstration in Kennedy Square (Detroit) on Friday, Oct. 30, at 1 p.m., and call for the closing of all Chrysler and Ford plants so all UAW members can participate in the mass demonstration.

Some of these points have been adopted by a few UAW locals, according to reports from the Detroit area.

An estimated 3,500 pickets of striking UAW Local 160 blocked all gates for one day, Oct. 23, at the GM Technical Center in Warren, Mich., forcing a 60 percent absentee rate among the 2,000 salaried employees who have been working behind the picket lines.

Such actions are counter to the aims of the UAW leadership as stated by President Woodcock at the union's special convention. He was quoted by the *New York Times* reporter as saying: "We are not out to teach General Motors a lesson. We are not out to defeat them."

The GM strikers are out to teach General Motors that even the largest corporation in the world must respect the needs of its workers. They are out to defeat the GM strategy of starving the strikers back to work on GM terms.

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"Firebrand of a book."

Publishers Weekly

Black Nationalism And The Revolution In Music by Frank Kofsky

280 pp. 20 pp. of photos, discography
cloth \$7.95 paper \$2.75

"Kofsky, history professor, writer on jazz and leftist, combines all three avatars in this firebrand of a book . . . He destroys the misapprehensions that blacks don't support jazz, that jazz is not protest music and that the death of jazz is 'imminent.' Attacking the music critics by name, Kofsky discovers that the white American left never 'adequately comprehended the nature either of Negro music or Negro nationalism.' He deplores, too, the use of black musicians as instruments in the cold war diplomacy of the United States. . . ."

Publishers Weekly, Sept. 28

Chapters include the following:

- 2. The Blues People of Leroi Jones
- 3. Black Music: Cold War "Secret Weapon"
- 9. John Coltrane and the Revolution in Rock
- 10. Elvin Jones: Polyrhythmic Innovator
- 13. Black Revolution and Black Music: The Career of Malcolm X

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Almost all Laos towns wiped out



The U.S. bombing devastation of vast areas of South Vietnam, like the one shown in this photo, is being carried into Laos, AP reports say.

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 27 — U.S. Special Forces troops are engaged in combat operations in Laos; they have suffered casualties which are not being disclosed by the Pentagon. Meanwhile, U.S. bombers, in operations extending far beyond the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail, have destroyed virtually every town in northern Laos.

These facts have emerged in a series of recent disclosures which underline the continuing, unrelenting pressing of the war in Southeast Asia by the U.S. despite the relatively low levels of GI casualties in Vietnam in recent weeks.

U.S. bombers, U.S. Special Forces units, divisions of the Saigon Army, Cambodian and Thai battalions, the Royal Laotian Army and the CIA-controlled Meo mercenary army in Laos, all directed, armed and financed by Washington—in addition to the giant U.S. occupational army in South Vietnam—are spreading the devastating war into every last pore of the Indochinese subcontinent.

An Oct. 8 AP dispatch carried by *The Times-Picayune* of New Orleans gave details about the vast scope of destruction by U.S. bombing operations in Laos which were not disclosed by other major news sources: "refugees from northern Laotian towns said in Vientiane, Laos' capital, that American planes have been bombing population centers there for more than two years.

"The refugees said they had to spend most of their days underground and ventured out to work in their fields only after dark," the AP dispatch continued. "Refugees said the bombing has destroyed all major towns in northern Laos.

"A Western military source went a step further and said apart from a few government-controlled provincial capitals *there are no towns left in Laos. The U.S. now is bombing Laos with about 700 sorties per day, more than six times as heavily as North Vietnam ever was hit.*" (Emphasis added.)

These shocking facts make it clear that Washington is applying the same saturation-bombing tactics in Laos that have left the South Vietnamese countryside looking like the pock-marked surface of the moon.

The war is also deepening in Cambodia, according to a report from Pnompenh by *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Daniel Southerland. "... barring a negotiated Indochina settlement," Southerland stated Oct. 22, "the Cambodian war, inextricably linked with the fighting in Vietnam,

still has all the makings of a very long and costly affair."

Southerland compared the present state of the Pnompenh army to the Saigon regime's army of five years ago—a comparison that has also been made by other war correspondents: "... the funds are limited and much of the \$50-million U.S. military aid fund for Cambodia has been going into basics such as communication equipment and bullets. . . .

"With all the aid in the world, they're not trained for the war and won't be for another 12 months, when you consider the sophistication of the enemy," said one Western military attache."

Southerland also offered an opinion on the activities of Vietnamese Communist forces in Cambodia: "It is certain that the Vietnamese Communists are not putting as much effort into fighting the Cambodian Army as they could if they wanted. The best guess is only 7,000 or 8,000 of the 40,000 to 50,000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops believed to be in Cambodia are being used to fight the Cambodian Army.

"The rest are being used to raise Cambodian recruits, organize village committees and liberation associations, provide logistical support, and build

new sanctuary areas, particularly in the rugged northeastern part of the country. This is an historical stronghold for dissident movements and many of the montagnards in the area have been cooperating with the North Vietnamese for years."

Meanwhile, with the currently reduced weekly casualty figures for American GIs, the Pentagon has been releasing the figures for "noncombat" GI deaths along, with those for GIs killed in combat. "Noncombat" refers to "accidents, illness and other non-combat causes."

In the week ending Oct. 17, 40 Americans were "killed in action" and 33 died from "noncombat" causes. This brought the totals to 43,861 "combat" deaths in the war; 8,692 "non-combat" deaths—52,553 American GIs' lives wasted in the slaughterous U.S. invasion of Southeast Asia since Jan. 1, 1961.

In the nine-month period between March 19 and Oct. 17 of this year alone, a total of 3,979 GIs died in Vietnam. And the slaughter of Indochinese is of course, incalculably greater.

Can we do anything less than press the fight for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia?

Nat'l antiwar convention set for Chicago

A national convention of the antiwar movement has been set for the weekend of Dec. 4-6 at the Packinghouse Union hall in Chicago. Called by the National Peace Action Coalition, this might well be the largest meeting of antiwar activists in the history of the Southeast Asian war.

Coming after the elections and after the Oct. 31 national antiwar demonstrations, the antiwar conference in Chicago will be making plans for future actions based on assessments of these events.

"The purpose of this convention is to plan massive antiwar activities for the spring," a circular for the NPAC conference states. "Everyone who opposes the war is invited to attend. All who register for the convention will have voice and vote."

Registration for the Chicago meeting will begin at 12 noon, Friday, Dec. 4, in the lobby of the Packinghouse Labor Center, 4959 S. Wabash St. The convention will begin at 7:30 p.m. on Friday and will conclude around 5 p.m. on Sunday.

The convention information numbers are (216) 621-6518 in Cleveland and (312) 922-1068 in Chicago. Because of the large number of people expected, those planning to attend are urged to pre-register.

The NPAC circular lists these area coalitions as cosponsoring the Chicago convention: Atlanta Mobilization Committee; Chicago Oct. 31 Peace Action Coalition; Detroit Committee to End the War Now; Minnesota Peace Action Coalition; Seattle Oct. 31 Committee; Cleveland Area Peace Action Council;

Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition; Connecticut Peace Action Coalition; Rhode Island Peace Action Coalition; New York Peace Action Coalition; Rocky Mountain Peace Action Coalition; and the Los Angeles Oct. 31 Out Now Committee.

Killing of Chicano vet protested in Texas

CORPUS CHRISTI, Texas—Over 700 persons marched Oct. 18 to protest the killing of Mario Benavidez, a Chicano Vietnam veteran, by an off-duty Corpus Christi cop. The cop, R. P. Spencer, claimed he caught Mario Benavidez stealing some tires from a parked car late Sunday night, Oct. 11. The cop has three different stories to explain the shooting.

The first: After getting Benavidez' identification, Benavidez attacked the cop with a crowbar and the cop shot Benavidez in self-defense.

Second: After getting Benavidez' identification, Benavidez attacked the cop and was accidentally shot in the scuffle.

(No crowbar was found at the scene. Benavidez was 5'7" tall, weighing 150 pounds. The cop is 6'3" and weighs well over 200 pounds.)

Third: Benavidez made a three-foot leap from the top of a 10-foot barbed wire fence at the cop, and Benavidez was shot in the scuffle.

The march demanded the dismissal of the cop from the police department

and a full investigation to determine if the cop should face criminal charges in the shooting. The police have already completed an "investigation" and have ruled the shooting "accidental."

The march was sponsored by the Corpus Christi chapter of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) and had the participation of MAYO chapters from nearby cities. The march began with approximately 150 persons but swelled to over 700 as it marched four miles through the Mexican-American community. Most of the protesters were Chicano high school students, but the march included persons between the ages of seven and 70.

The march stopped in Ben Garza Park for a rally before ending at the police station. Speakers at the rally included Yolanda Garza Birdwell, a Houston MAYO community organizer; Dr. Hector T. Garcia, national chairman of the American GI Forum; state representative Carlos Truan; and Domingo Pena, a Chicano television actor.

After the rally, the march continued to the police station. The police commander Nicholas Baumann, backed up by almost the entire police force in riot gear stationed along the march route and the tops of the surrounding buildings, came outside the station to accept the petition of the march organizers.

Isidro Ortiz, chairman of the Corpus Christi MAYO, gave the petition to Baumann and demanded Spencer be dismissed and a complete investigation be conducted. Mr. Baumann refused to answer the demands and said he would meet with five MAYO representatives in a couple of days to discuss it. The marchers booed this proposal and demanded Baumann act immediately.

The rally at the police station ended with Julia Benavidez, Mario Benavidez' mother, who thanked the marchers for their concern for her son and demonstrating for Spencer's dismissal. MAYO may call further actions if Spencer is not dismissed.

... Cairo Blacks defend rights

(Continued from page 1)
portance to the Carbondale conference.

As part of the activities on the first day of the conference, participants from several workshops were loaded onto buses to attend one of the regular Saturday mass rallies held by the BUF in Cairo, a little over 50 miles from Carbondale.

This was an important rally, occurring as it did after the Oct. 21 confrontation with the police and a police attack the following day. In response to the combativity of the Black community, the city government had let it be known that there would be no more street demonstrations or picketing of stores in Cairo. Death threats had been made against Rev. Koen. Scores of state troopers were assembled in the area, armed with sub-machine guns and other assault weapons.

When challenged by this state of affairs, Rev. Koen told the 300-400 people assembled that if Black people were not allowed to take to the streets it would not be possible to maintain the successful economic boycott. A march was scheduled to go through the downtown area that day. And it did.

The march assembly point was only a couple of blocks away from the towering Cairo police station.

After passing several areas where Black housing and economic cooperatives had been burned to the ground by white vigilantes, the marchers entered the Pyramid Court housing proj-

ect, a stronghold of support for the Front. There a couple of hundred more persons joined the march. Although predominantly youth, their numbers included children and many Blacks in their late thirties or early forties.

As the march proceeded through the white community and into the downtown area, state troopers cleared traffic—which indicated that the city government had backed down on its threat to prevent such a demonstration from taking place. Chants of "Black Power," "Soul Power," and the song "Ain't Goin' to Let Nobody Turn Me Around" resounded throughout the area.

Several groups of BUF members in cars drove around in an effort to assure that the march would proceed smoothly.

How to contact Cairo United Front

As we went to press, the united front formation initiated at Carbondale to defend the Cairo Black community had not announced a mailing address. Financial aid and requests for information can be addressed, however, directly to the United Front of Cairo, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914.

On Sunday, Oct. 25, workshops were held back in Carbondale on politics, communications, defense, culture, religion and economic development.

In the final plenary session, Rev. Koen ran down the history of the situation in Cairo, giving evidence that the state government and the Nixon administration were involved in the effort to destroy the BUF. He especially condemned the Southern Illinois University administration for barring the use of the university to raise funds for the BUF.

Invoking the recent government guidelines on campus dissent, SIU officials had ruled against the Black Student Union holding any benefit to raise funds for the Front. This meant that the Front had to shell out a lot of money in order to pay for use of the facilities at SIU. Yet, through the Illinois Crime Commission, set up by the state last spring to get federal funds to fight "crime," every cop that goes to Cairo receives police training at SIU! And this is a university where there are over 3,000 Black students in attendance out of a total student population of 23,000.

Before Rev. Koen spoke, about 20 youthful members of the Cairo self-defense unit were introduced. They were given two standing ovations by those present.

The conference was completely democratic. When Rev. Horace Jones, head of the Peoria, Ill., BUF and chairman of the conference, laid out the proposed staff for the National

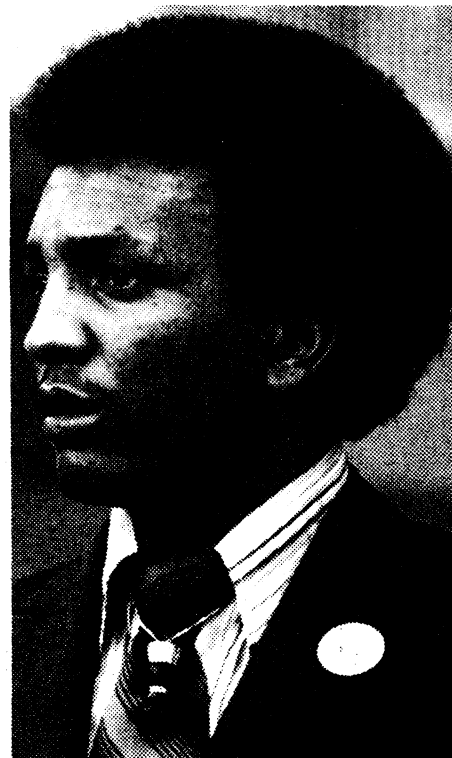


Photo by Jim Brown/United Front
Rev. Charles Koen

Black United Front, there was discussion and a vote was taken. All decisions at the conference were made in this way.

The conference concluded with a benefit show featuring the noted singer Jerry Butler.

Among the conference participants were contingents from the BUF organizations in Peoria and East St. Louis, Ill., Boston and Washington, D. C.; students from Lincoln University in Missouri, Malcolm X Community College and Marshall High School in Chicago, and numerous others.

—DERRICK MORRISON

'The seed of Chicano power'

Phoenix boycott hits school racism

By JOHN BEADLE

PHOENIX, Ariz. — "You are making history because you are taking a stand. In the six days of the boycott you have come together as a people. The seed of Chicano power is planted across the Southwest and is coming up like blades of grass."

The words — of Denver Chicano leader Corky Gonzales — were greeted

by cheers from the high school students who are boycotting Phoenix Union High School here, in protest against racist, inadequate education and physical assaults on Chicano students.

The boycott was launched Oct. 9 and was going strong in its second week, Oct. 20, when Chicano students and their parents voted unanimously to reject an offer from the Phoenix Union High School's district board inviting students to return.

Corky Gonzales of Denver's Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party addressed the students Oct. 16.

An ad hoc Chicano school board has been formed to conduct classes in the community during the boycott. In addition to parents and students, the boycott is supported by the Valle del Sol Coalition (a coalition of 22 Chicano organizations), the Barrio Youth Project, the Arizona Association of Mexican-American Educators, and others. There are three basic demands:

1) Removal of the Union school principal Robert Dye and his replacement by a Chicano; 2) Immediate steps to insure the safety of students on the campus; 3) Adoption of curriculum reforms drafted earlier this year by a community-parent group.

The week of Oct. 12 was one of picketing, demonstrations, and a 50 percent absentee rate at the school. The barrio school was formed Oct. 15 and attendance has been about 400 students.

The press in Phoenix has attempted to blame the school boycott on "racial tension" between the Black and Chicano students at the Union school because Black students have been involved in the increased assaults on Chicano students.

But Joe Eddie Lopez, chairman of Chicanos por la Causa and chairman of the ad hoc school board, explained it differently: "The situation has been

around for many years," he told a *Militant* reporter.

"There are deeper causes of polarization than just racial tensions. The fights are just what started it with the parents. I think they're realizing that the main problem now is a school system which has failed Black and Chicano students."

In an interview in *The Arizona Republic* Oct. 16, Martha Castaneda, a campus monitor at Phoenix Union, said, "I'm tired of seeing kids come to school and get put in retarded classes because they can't read. I'm tired of teachers pushing Chicanos into vocational schools when we need people in professional fields."

The barrio school stands in marked contrast to the dead-end vocational curriculum offered by Union. Among its subjects are: sociology, Chicano culture and art, organizing in the community, physical education, practical politics and picketing.

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Photo by John Beadle

Chicana demonstrator

ATLANTA

THE STRUGGLE IN QUEBEC. Speaker: John Volava, member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 6, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree. Donation: \$1. For further information call 876-2230.

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MILITANT BANQUET AND PARTY. Featured speaker: Mariana Hernandez, Texas Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 1701 East Ave. Donation \$2, students \$1.25. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

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SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL: STRATEGY FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION TODAY. Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, YSA women's liberation director. Fri., Nov. 6, 8:00 p.m. 295 Huntington, Rm. 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information call 536-6981.

LOS ANGELES

IN DEFENSE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Peter Buch, author of Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis. Fri., Nov. 6, 8 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE RAGE OF WOMEN: WHY SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL. Speaker: Ruth Cheney, NYC women's liberation activist. Fri., Nov. 6, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib.: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

HOW WOMEN LOST CONTROL OF THEIR DESTINY AND HOW WE CAN REGAIN IT. Speaker: Evelyn Reed, noted Marxist anthropologist and author of Problems of Women's Liberation. Fri., Nov. 6, 8 p.m. 686 N. Broad St. at Fairmount. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Evelyn Reed in D.C.: Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, (off du Pont Circle). Women interested in meeting the noted Marxist anthropologist are encouraged to attend an informal discussion on the theme: How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny and How We Can Regain It. . . . Mon., Nov. 9, 8-10 p.m. Catholic U, Caldwell Hall Auditorium. . . . Tues., Nov. 10, 7:30-9:30 p.m. George Washington U, Rm. 410-415, Student Center. . . . Tues., Nov. 10, 11-12 midnight, WWDC-AM (1260).

Solzhenitsyn's Nobel prize**Award leaves bureaucrats uptight**

By GEORGE SAUNDERS

The awarding of the 1970 Nobel prize for literature to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn opens a new chapter in the prolonged battle between the anti-Stalinist writer and the privileged bureaucrats of the Soviet Union.

It will undoubtedly be the occasion for another clash between the growing Soviet movement for socialist democracy—the "democratic movement," as many of its adherents call it—and the heirs of Stalin who wish to silence all challengers of their privileged position.

Solzhenitsyn has accepted the prize, stating that he regards it as "a tribute to Russian literature and to our arduous history." A group of thirty-seven Soviet oppositionists, including Pyotr Yakir and Zinaida Grigorenko, have hailed the award as an indication that "the civic inspiration, philosophic depth and high artistic craftsmanship of the works of Solzhenitsyn are recognized by the whole world." They declared that "the humanitarianism of the positions he has adopted and which he consistently and courageously defends . . . fully deserve an award of such high distinction."

"We are proud of our literature," they continued, "which, no matter what the barriers, produces such first-rank masters. In addition, we are prepared for the awarding of the prize to become another of those regular occasions for continuing the badgering which consistently takes place here against him and which we consider a national disgrace."

The regime was not long in "continuing the badgering." On October 9, the day after the award's announcement, *Izvestia* ran a statement by the Soviet Writers Union recalling that it had expelled Solzhenitsyn in November 1969 for "conduct unbecoming a Soviet writer."

"It is deplorable," the statement said, "that the Nobel committee allowed itself to be drawn into an unseemly game that was not started in the interests of the development of the spiritual values and traditions of literature but was prompted by speculative political considerations."

The badgering continued October 14 when *Sovietskaya Rossiya* reported



Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

a speech by Sergei V. Mikhalkov, a Writers Union functionary who played a key role in Solzhenitsyn's expulsion.

After praising orthodox writers, Mikhalkov declared: "Unfortunately, there also exist other writers, diametrically opposed to the kind of which I speak. You know about the award of the Nobel prize to Solzhenitsyn . . . We Soviet literary workers view this as an international act of anti-Soviet nature."

Literaturnaya Gazeta, the Writers Union weekly, on the same day condemned the Nobel prize committee for referring to "the ethical force with

which he has pursued the indispensable traditions of Russian literature."

"It is completely clear," said the weekly, "that in the given case, the members of the committee, under the expression 'ethical force,' had an anti-Soviet direction in mind."

Solzhenitsyn, as an eloquent defender of the common man trampled on by arrogant officialdom, has indeed carried on and developed the ethical traditions of Russian literature. The fact that the trampling nowadays are Thermidorian labor aristocrats rather than the grandees of bourgeois-czarist times does not eliminate the need for them to be exposed, nor does such exposure make Solzhenitsyn "anti-Soviet."

Just a few years ago, no less authoritative a pro-Moscow organ than *World Marxist Review* ran an entire article praising *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. An international award for Solzhenitsyn then would undoubtedly have been hailed as a great achievement of Soviet culture.

Now the Kremlin bureaucrats have zigzagged back to defending the Stalin heritage, instead of halfheartedly criticizing it. But the international pro-Moscow current shows signs of difficulty in readjusting. The French CP in its organ *l'Humanité* October 10 stated: "The paltry advantages that the enemies of socialism will seek to gain from this affair will quickly evaporate: the work of Solzhenitsyn will endure." Whether or not one agrees with his views, *l'Humanité* concluded, there is no doubt of his stature as a writer deserving such an award.

The American CP was unambiguous in its adherence to the Kremlin's line on this issue. Phillip Bonosky in the October 13 *Daily World* not only saw the award as "an obvious political provocation in the spirit of the Cold War," but added: "The quality of Sol-

zhenitsyn's works, judged solely from a literary standard, does not warrant such august recognition."

What particularly infuriated this Stalinist spokesman was that the secretary of the Swedish Academy described Solzhenitsyn as "a son of the Russian October Revolution, Lenin's revolution, and [he] has never abandoned this spiritual paternity—it is an essential part of his heritage and character."

Bonosky termed this simple truth a "blatant political provocation." "Thus," he blustered, "those opposed to Solzhenitsyn's ideas—which are anything but Leninist—are declared anti-Leninist. This of course is impudence, but it also represents a distinct political line—one that operated in Czechoslovakia lately."

Now it becomes clear. It is the echo of the Czechoslovak democratization implicit in Solzhenitsyn's work, and in the Soviet democratic movement of which he is a part, that disturbs the American CP apparatus. In this concern they mirror the feelings of the Soviet bureaucratic caste, for whom they still nurture such a sick, blind loyalty.

The Swedish Academy, of course, has not been won over to the cause of "socialism with a human face," though it is symptomatic that it gives lip service in that direction.

The point is: to the extent that political speculation is involved, the opportunity to engage in it was handed to the bourgeois propagandists on a silver platter by the Kremlin and its supporters themselves. If the greatest living Soviet author had not been persecuted and his works banned in his own country, would international recognition of his merit have been harmful to the Soviet leadership?

Intercontinental Press

Responds to voters' group**Michigan socialist explains why he's in race**

DETROIT — The Michigan New Democratic Coalition (NDC) has circulated to its entire membership and mailing list the text of an Oct. 2 interview four of its members had with Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general, Ronald Reosti. "We have been told that you are opposed

to the established political processes, that you have discouraged registration and political participation as being worthless," the NDCers remarked at one point. Reosti's reply follows.

* * *

I wouldn't be running for office as a political candidate if that were true.

I have always encouraged voter registration and the involvement of people in the political process. It is also important to point out, however, that the Socialist Workers Party sees political activity as something that includes but goes beyond electoral politics. We feel that much of the political strength of the American people lies in their ability to organize independent mass political movements and that this is the necessary foundation for effective electoral action.

The antiwar movement is an excellent example of this, and is a movement that the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates feel is basic, and can't be forgone for the sake of running peace candidates for public office. When people have said that the antiwar movement should stop its mass activities and concentrate on running peace candidates, we point to the past effects of such action.

All major decisions that have moved toward a lessening of the conflict in Southeast Asia have followed mass demonstrations — Johnson's announcement of retirement, stopping of the bombings, the removal of some troops. And each time candidates who say they will stop the war are elected — in 1964 and 1968 — we get escalation instead.

The Socialist Workers Party believes in a combination of political efforts, both electoral and through mass action. We helped get the referendum on

immediate withdrawal from Vietnam on the Detroit ballot, and we are working for the success of that issue. The past five years of antiwar demonstrations laid the basis for getting the referendum on in Detroit. We believe that one votes with both the ballot and the feet.

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Interview with political prisoners

Six days in the Montreal jails

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

MONTREAL — Arthur Young and Penny Simpson were among the first of those arrested in the predawn police raids in Montreal on Oct. 16. Both are leaders of the Quebec Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO—Socialist Workers League).

They were jailed under the provisions of the emergency war measures act which was invoked by the Canadian federal government of Prime Minister Trudeau for the ostensible purpose of discovering the kidnapers of British diplomat James Cross and the kidnap-murderers of Quebec minister of labor Pierre Laporte. The act annulled all semblance of civil liberties for the Quebec people and placed the province under virtual military occupation.

As a revolutionary Marxist organization, the LSO has many times made known its opposition to terrorism and the methods of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ), the group which took credit for the kidnappings. But Simpson and Young as well as dozens of others who had no possible connection with the FLQ were arrested anyway.

Young and Simpson were held for six days—without access to attorneys, without access to telephones. No one from the outside was able to contact them. An estimated 200 prisoners are still being held in similar circumstances.

They were released without charges on Oct. 22. I talked with them the day after they came out of prison and they told me about their arrests.

"When the doorbell rang at 5:00 a.m. that morning, we certainly knew it wasn't friends," said Simpson. "We ran for clothes and tried to get the door open before the cops broke it down. Four cops were suddenly all over the apartment, searching the oven, the refrigerator, ordering us to get dressed, looking everywhere.

"As we looked on, they spent the next two hours going through every book on our shelves, every drawer, every cupboard, even the dirty clothes. They found things I've been looking for for six months.

"At the end, they boxed up everything they were interested in—like 10 years of internal documents of the Canadian League for Socialist Action. Then they hustled us and the boxes into a squad car and drove to the provincial police headquarters.

"They took the oddest collection of things with them, like *Fidel Castro and the Sugar Harvest of 1962*. But the thing they loved the best was Peter Camejo's pamphlet *How to Make a Revolution in the United States*. [Pathfinder Press, 25 cents—Ed.] They all goggled at it. It was unbelievable. They thought they'd found the recipe book."

"Once we were down there," continued Young, "it was obvious that the whole thing was a major operation. People kept arriving in squad cars. The fingerprinting and photographing was an assembly line process. In talking to each other it became clear that about 90 percent of the arrests took place within the same 15-minute period—between 5:00 and 5:15 a.m. It was obviously a major operation planned in advance, with lists drawn up in advance."

When the police arrived at their door, Young and Simpson hadn't yet learned of the special war measures act invoked one hour earlier by the federal government. "But while they were there," said Young, "a friend who



Photo by Mary-Alice Waters

Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, LSO leaders, shortly after release from Montreal prisons.

had been up all night and heard the news on TV telephoned us. We just had time to say that the cops had already arrived at our place. Then the police cut the connection."

We went on to discuss life in the prisons of Montreal.

"Most people were questioned only once and the questions they asked were generally very political," said Young. "What are your ideas? What is socialism? What are you going to do with the police after the revolution? What do you think of the FLQ?" Those types of political questions. They never asked anything directly related to the kidnappings, for example.

"Some other people got a bit rougher treatment, but in general two things were clear. The questioning was political and secondly they had no leads on the kidnappings.

"Most of the women weren't questioned until a couple of days after we were picked up," added Simpson. "Very few were asked any direct questions about the FLQ. They asked us things like, 'What organization do you belong to? What is its purpose? Have you ever been on a demonstration?' There was very little rough questioning. In fact, some of the women gave them a hard time.

"Close to half of the 37 women arrested were people in no way involved in the socialist or separatist movements. For instance, one woman told how the cops had broken into her house by one door while she was trying to open another. A cop aimed his revolver at her 8-year-old son's head and threatened to shoot. She'd never even been on a demonstration because she always had to stay home and take care of the kids. She still goes to church every Sunday. But she was very sympathetic to the independence movement.

"They arrested her simply because her husband wasn't there and they felt they had to take someone. But she was very proud of it. She kept saying that the next time she was picked up it would be because they were looking for her, not her husband. They certainly created some new activists among the women they arrested, and there was no demoralization at all."

"The worst part for everyone," Young commented, "was the fact that you didn't know how long you were going to be in. It wasn't even as though you had been framed-up on some specific charge where you knew that in three months you were going to be out. All we knew was that this special law was good for seven days, and after that they could hold us up to 21 days without charges if they wanted to, and after that they could

keep us three months without trial or bail—barring the enactment of some new law during that period.

"We got special treatment as political prisoners. They tried to keep us in total isolation from the outside. No lawyers were permitted to come in. We weren't able to find out what was happening outside, what our rights were. No lawyers could verify who was in jail, who was missing, killed in a car accident, gone to an uncle's for a weekend, what have you.

"The worst part of it was that they refused to let us have any newspapers, shut off the radio at newstime, and moved the TV set which was normally there for prisoners' use. They gave the guards strict orders not to tell us what was going on outside. So it took us about a day to learn that Laporte had been killed, for example. The news filtered in anyway—mixed with fantastic rumors, etc.

"It was a brand new prison, at least the sector we were in. A big skyscraper in downtown Montreal. Our cells had never been occupied before. It was so new that there were no locks on the doors even; it was all operated by push buttons, electronically.

"We were all kept in our individual cells and allowed out only three times a day to walk in the corridor. What they called 'recreation.'"

By comparison, said Simpson, the women got deluxe treatment. "Our cells were unlocked during the day. There was a common room where we had TV and newspapers; we ate our meals together, went to the gym for recreation. They even let us go outside once. But most important, of course, we could get news of what was going on outside.

"From the news reports we certainly knew that—contrary to what some ultra-lefts were saying—fascism had not suddenly arrived, the left had not been crushed, the union movement was organizing opposition. The fact that there were demonstrations in English Canada was very important. A lot of people, even those in jail, had written off the possibility of such demonstrations, and they certainly picked everyone's spirits up.

"The international actions like those which took place across the U.S. were also extremely important. They had a big impact on the Quebec radical movement, on the Quebec and Canadian governments, and on the morale of those in jail. I think it was the first time there have been demonstrations in the U.S. for Quebec."

I asked why, in their opinion, the government had decided to pick up so many individuals who obviously had no connection with the FLQ.

"There was an aspect of irrational-

ity in the whole operation," Young replied. "For example, one person I talked with had been active in the nationalist movement up until 1966 but inactive since. Another prisoner was an employer who operated a big business with more than 200 employees, and he was completely apolitical. Such people were probably picked up because they were on the telephone list of someone arrested earlier or because their names were found in someone's pocket.

"But the fact that so many people with absolutely no connection to the FLQ were picked up served several very important functions.

"One was to create the impression that Canada was really threatened by some kind of terrorist revolution. The police intentionally gave the impression that 'everybody else may believe these people have nothing to do with the FLQ, but we know different.'

"The mass arrests also served to reinforce the government's line on the kidnappings—'we're not going to give an inch, because to yield anything is to give in all the way.'

"A third important function of the arrests was to try to paralyze the left, to try and head off a growing movement, not exactly out of solidarity with the FLQ but of general nationalist protest, a movement for independence, for freedom in general. Such a movement had started to develop during the few days prior to the government measures. So in picking up most of the left and by intimidating the left, they hoped to prevent any kind of mass movement from developing.

"Then, whether by direct intention or by ricochet, the arrests also served the purposes of Montreal mayor Jean Drapeau and his party in the current municipal elections."

I asked Simpson and Young about the "FLQ manifesto" which had been receiving such widespread discussion. The manifesto was published in all the big daily papers in response to one of the first demands of the kidnapers. What did it say?

"In a certain sense, you could call it a 'gripe sheet,'" replied Young. "It talks about unemployment, lousy wages, and domination by the English bosses, the foreign corporations, and the federal government. The manifesto talked about disillusionment with the Parti Quebecois, a bourgeois separatist party that won almost 25 percent of the vote in the provincial elections last April. It was clear that many FLQers had believed that the PQ could bring about some kind of valid change. The manifesto talked about independence and socialism and said armed revolution would be necessary.

"It wasn't a program for political



New York demonstration Oct. 2

A SUGGESTION. If you're finished with it, why not pass this copy on to a friend?



Photo by Howard Petrick

New York demonstration Oct. 20

action, but rather a list of complaints and grievances, things that will have to be changed in Quebec."

"It made no attempt to pull people together or mobilize them for action," added Simpson. "It simply indicated everyone should do their own thing, make the revolution at home, at school, at work."

"This makes it understandable why you saw motions passed in the union movement and in big campus meetings in favor of the FLQ manifesto," said Young. "The manifesto expressed what are the very basic, common feelings of many Quebecois, and people said, 'well, independent of how or what the FLQ is doing, we agree with what they said in the manifesto.' This broad sympathetic response was one more confirmation of the depth of the nationalist and separatist aspirations of the Quebec people."

"It was not just a few wild ultra-lefts who were saying they agreed with the FLQ and that even its methods were okay. For example, the night before the war measures act was invoked here was a meeting of some 3,000-5,000 people, a very enthusiastic, dynamic meeting at which that was the mood."

"Two nights before there had been a meeting of the Montreal labor council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) where a motion was passed supporting the FLQ demands for the release of the political prisoners."

"And the FRAP [Front d'Action Politique des Salaris — Wage-workers Political Action Front], which is a serious labor-based Montreal municipal party also took this stand. That is, they said they supported the FLQ goals of independence and socialism; and that while they have chosen other methods of struggle, they denounced the sheer hypocrisy of government attacks on the FLQ for violence. The government has repressed us for too long, they said, and now finally someone is doing something."

"This should all be placed in the political perspective of events in recent years."

"First has been the clear political victimization of more than 20 people, the creation of political prisoners whose cases have often dragged on for years. They went after these people in much the same way as the U.S. government has gone after the Panthers."

"Second, you have to take into account the events which transpired during the provincial election campaign last April. All kinds of pressures were applied and attempts made to scare voters away from the party which stood for independence, the Parti Quebecois. This left a very bitter taste in people's mouths."

"Third, were the events of last October when the provincial government pushed ahead to pass the infamous Bill 63 despite massive demonstrations and the overwhelming opposition of the majority of Quebecois. The bill for the first time gave legal backing

to a bilingual school system in Quebec, thereby further jeopardizing the primacy of the French language."

"In such a context it was inevitable that the frustration would be expressed."

"There was a fairly widespread understanding that violence is not just hitting someone on the head. That to be unemployed, to be oppressed for speaking your own language, to get a rotten education because of your language, to be poisoned by pollution, to be unable to control your own destiny—that these things represent greater violence against masses of people than even the death of an individual here or there, however regrettable that may be."

A few days prior to the Oct. 25 Montreal municipal elections, Jean Marchand, a key figure in the federal cabinet of Trudeau, opened a vitriolic witch-hunting attack against the Montreal FRAP, Mayor Drapeau's chief opposition. I asked Simpson and Young to explain what the FRAP is.

"The FRAP—which came into being over the summer and held its first convention at the end of August—is a municipal political party that has very close organizational ties with the union movement," Simpson explained. "A leader of the steelworkers was the first president of FRAP and is now a FRAP candidate. The majority of the candidates are actually union staff organizers, etc. Paul Cliche, current FRAP president, is a member of the political action staff of the Montreal CNTU."

"The concept of such a municipal political party was first raised at a conference of the three major trade union confederations—the CNTU, the Quebec Federation of Labor, and the Quebec Teachers Corporation. Despite its reformist weaknesses, it has projected quite a radical program for working-class power in Montreal."

"Some of the important planks in the FRAP program call for an immediate freeze on fares—and the eventual abolition of all fares—on public transport in Montreal; municipalization (nationalization) of land within the city limits to put an end to speculation; massive low-cost housing developments; and an end to pollution. The convention—at the initiative of the LSO—passed a resolution in favor of official French unilingualism within the city of Montreal. The program also calls for the elimination of all discrimination against women in municipal jobs, and the establishment of a commission to which all women in Montreal can appeal and which would actively work to eliminate discrimination against women in the city."

"The FRAP constitution states that only persons who are workers in the broad sense, that is wage workers, and salaried persons, can join FRAP. The membership is organized by municipal wards, but it is an organization of activists oriented toward continued action after the elections as well."

"From the point of view of working-class political action, which is the key to the national liberation struggle in Quebec," continued Young, "the FRAP is probably the most important political development in Quebec in many years. It foreshadows the extension of a similar formation onto the provincial plane. The Montreal area comprises roughly half of Quebec's seven-million population and is the economic center of the nation, and it's obvious that any action here has big ramifications throughout the province. By its clear working-class character, its relatively radical program, and its organizational seriousness, FRAP represents a very promising start."

"And that explains in part the fact that Marchand climbed so far out on a limb in attacking FRAP as an FLQ front. It was a blatant attempt to influence the outcome of the elections. The FRAP currently—but even more so in embryo form—represents a real danger for the ruling class. I don't think they brought in this wave of repression primarily to go after the



Manon Leger

By PHIL COURNEYEUR

MONTREAL, Oct. 27—Manon Leger, candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO — Socialist Workers League) for mayor of Montreal in the Oct. 25 municipal election, came in third out of a field of seven with 7,000 votes or 1.9 percent. The second-ranking candidate won slightly over 2 percent of the vote. The socialist vote, seemingly small alongside the landslide 92 percent vote for Mayor Jean Drapeau, is quite significant and certainly larger than observers expected.

Also important was the firm 15 percent vote won by the candidates of the labor-backed opposition group, FRAP.

The massive army invasion of Quebec followed by the relentless police raids, intimidation and arrests had virtually suffocated political life in the city. The opposition to Drapeau was effectively paralyzed with many of its leaders in prison. It was under such constraint that the revolutionary socialist campaign moved ahead and challenged the war measures act and the military occupation of the city.

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialist League) were the only revolutionary organizations to continue functioning and actively oppose the repression. Actions included the publication of a special issue of *La Lutte Ouvriere* (Workers Struggle), whose editor, Arthur Young, remained in prison, and the publication of an election leaflet and its distribution in Montreal streets and campus meetings. Several LSO press releases denouncing the repression were reported that week and Manon Leger obtained radio

Montreal elections are held despite army occupation

and television time in spite of the repression.

The electoral campaign culminated Oct. 24 with the arrest of Manon Leger and six of her supporters while leafleting the Blackwatch army barracks in downtown Montreal. The seven were later released. Leger's denunciation of this repressive move was widely publicized by the Sunday papers on election day.

The Quebec government went ahead with the so-called election in spite of widespread demands that it be postponed until after the army left the city. Such demands were made by the three trade union confederations, the 90,000-member Parti Quebecois, the Front d'Action Politique des Salaris (FRAP) — Montreal's main opposition party — the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom.

The federal government and Mayor Jean Drapeau used the FLQ terrorist kidnappings in order to stage their own terror campaign against FRAP. Jean Marchand, a federal cabinet minister, accused the labor-based party of being merely a front for the terrorist FLQ. Drapeau played second fiddle with the threat that "blood would run in the streets" if FRAP were elected. He claimed FRAP intended to set up a provisional government pending an insurrection by the FLQ.

Such denunciations spearheaded the witch-hunt against the opposition already somewhat muted and crippled by the government repression. In spite of such vicious blows, FRAP retained a firm 15 percent vote in the electoral districts where they put up candidates for the city council. FRAP did not have a mayoral candidate.

The election results offer little security to the capitalist rulers of Quebec. They have succeeded in eliminating all opposition from city hall but the social and national problems have only been aggravated in the past weeks.

FRAP, but it creates a climate which makes things a lot more difficult for the FRAP and in that sense it has some very welcome side effects for the provincial and federal governments.

"The potential strength of FRAP was a factor the federal government weighed very carefully before they decided to send troops into Montreal."

"The attacks on FRAP are important for another reason. Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, has never been able to sink roots here in Quebec, and there has never been any tradition of organized working-class political action here."

"If you wanted to find a partial parallel in the United States, the FRAP has aspects which make it somewhat analogous to the Raza Unida Party. There are many important differences also, particularly the involvement of the organized labor movement. But there is a parallel in that it represents the beginning movement of an oppressed nationality towards independent political action. Given the explosiveness of the Quebec situation it represents a very real danger to the ruling class—even despite its weaknesses."

Our discussion returned to the question of the immediate political tasks and I asked what kinds of actions were being organized to mobilize opposition to the war measures act.

One of the most important things is that a committee has been formed, said Young, the Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom. "It is now organizing a major teach-in at the University of Montreal on Oct. 29 to protest the repression. That will be the first really major public action against the repression involving large numbers of people."

"Already a teach-in of some 500 students was held at McGill University today. After two hours of discussion, it was agreed the war measures must be opposed and the teach-in broke down into subcommittees to organize communication with other protest groups and plan further action."

"We expect the University of Montreal teach-in will be quite big. Out of it will probably come defense committees in other schools, unions and groups to demand an end to the emergency war measures, withdrawal of the federal troops from Quebec, and the freedom of all political prisoners."



Photo by Howard Patrick

Support mounts for Kent State 25

KENT, Ohio—The 25 indictments designed to silence the student movement may be having just the opposite effect.

Significant national support appeared to be building against the frame-up charges leveled at 25 persons for rioting.

At Kent State, scene of the massacre of four students May 4, a newly formed Student Mobilization Committee drew some 200 to its first meeting.

The SMC launched an all-out drive to link the demand of "Free the Kent State 25" to the demand of "Bring All the Troops Home Now" for the demonstration slated in Columbus Oct. 31.

In some quarters here, there was discussion of calling a national student conference to defend the Kent State 25.

A group of lawyers for some of the defendants, meeting at the Kent State campus last weekend, agreed to work together in defeating the indictments.

Telegrams of support, many of them from campus Student Mobilization Committees, poured in from around the country.

A rally on the Kent State campus Oct. 23 drew 4,000 students.

Leaders of the Association of Student Governments and Don Gurewitz of the SMC denounced the indictments at the rally.

No campus-wide rally here since the Portage County special grand jury made public its secret indictments has drawn less than 1,000 students.

Police officials moved at a deliberate pace against indicted students. By Oct. 28, 19 of the 25 were under arrest on charges of first and second degree riot and for arson.

Arrested last week were Jeffrey Hartzler, 21, on second degree riot. Hartzler, who is not enrolled at Kent State now, turned himself in and was released on bond. He had been arrested Sept. 30 for allegedly selling hallucinogens. Also under arrest was John J. Gerbetz, 19, on second degree riot. He was not enrolled this fall but had been a student last spring. Thomas Miller, 21, was charged with second degree riot and released on bond. Not enrolled since last winter, Miller turned himself in.

Peter Blik, 22, a junior, transferred to Kent last spring. He is currently a student. Charged with arson and

first degree riot, Blik was released on \$5,000 bond. Mike Erwin was indicted on second degree riot.

Ron Weisenberger, 25, a former student was arrested on four counts of inciting to riot, first degree riot, second degree riot and interfering with a fireman. William Arthrell, 21, and enrolled at Kent, was charged with second degree riot. He turned himself in and was released on bond.

Joe Lewis, a 19-year-old who was shot in the stomach May 4, was indicted for second degree riot. Lewis is not enrolled at Kent this semester.

"Students here believe it's a white-wash," says Fred Kirsch, temporary chairman of the SMC. "They feel that the grand jury didn't view all the facts in the case."

Kirsch was almost shot himself May 4 on the sloping embankment called Blanket Hill where a line of National Guardsmen suddenly wheeled, knelt and opened fire on students who had gathered to demonstrate against the U. S. invasion of Cambodia.

Mike Alewitz, who was a leading activist during the May events, characterized student reaction here at Kent as "outraged." Said Alewitz, "This is an extremely blatant attack on the student antiwar movement."

The SMC and the Kent student senate were organizing at this writing to send students across the country to publicize the frame-up.

Students here were furious at an injunction prohibiting demonstrations near the Portage County courthouse in Ravenna, Ohio. The injunction bans leafleting, picketing or "confronting lawful authority," until the grand jury adjourns. It is currently recessed.

A second injunction bars persons who testified before the grand jury to be interviewed about the hearing for publication by the press.

Kent State University president Robert White appeared to be among the most celebrated of the witnesses gagged by the injunction. Being unable to comment on the grand jury



Kent State rally

report, however, did not stop White from firing off a letter to Kent parents denouncing the Yippies. Why did he do it? "I had to," White gruffly told *The Militant*. "Otherwise there would have been trouble."

Trouble could be expected from quarters other than Yippies, however. They held a meeting of about 100 last week and appeared to tend seriously toward nonviolence. Yippieleader Jerry Persky said in an interview that the main objective must be to stick together and defend the 25.

One of three special prosecutors of the grand jury offered a very different

opinion. Seabury Ford, 68, told the *Akron Beacon Journal* that National Guardsmen on campus last May "should have shot all" the troublemakers. The incidents that led up to the shootings, said Ford, a Ravenna attorney and chairman of the Portage County Republican Party, were "Communist inspired."

Apparently too free with his tongue, Ford was quickly cited by the grand jury for contempt for speaking to the press—and possibly for saying a little too much of what was on the grand jury's mind.

— RANDY FURST

Background: Who was responsible for

By RANDY FURST

KENT, Ohio—Capitalist justice has committed the ultimate injustice at this state university where four students were shot down in cold blood in May.

The dead, the wounded, and those who survived the murderous 13-second barrage of M-1 rifle fire have suddenly become the accused.

In scandalous disregard for all evidence, Guard officials and state and national leaders whose exhortations to suppress student demonstrators set the climate for the Kent Massacre were exonerated.

The guardsmen, asserted the grand jury report, were "surrounded by several hundred hostile rioters." It concluded, "We have found those guardsmen who fired their weapons acted in self-defense. . . ."

Few indictments in modern times can compare with the incredible allegations.

"The time has come to detach from university society those who persist in violent behavior," urged the jury of 15 men and women. "Expel the troublemakers without fear or favor. Evict from the campus those persons bent on disorder."

It was clear that more than 25 individuals were under indictment. The entire student movement is on trial here at Kent, the right to demonstrate is under attack, and the Kent Massacre has been twisted into a monstrous frame-up of students.

But what happened here May 4 cannot be erased by the warped assertions of a grand jury report.

There have been several intensive studies following the killings. This reporter interviewed numerous eyewitnesses. None of them believed the National Guard troops were in danger of losing their lives, as Guard officials later asserted. All of them branded the killings unwarranted.

A team of reporters from the Knight newspaper chain spent two weeks in Kent, Ohio, conducting hundreds of interviews. Their conclusions, published in the *Detroit Free Press* May 24, included the following:

"The guardsmen were not surrounded and they could have taken several other courses of action rather than shooting at the students.

"The four students who died had thrown no rocks at the Guard. They were not politically radical."

In its own investigation, the FBI said the shootings "were not necessary and not in order." The FBI concluded that the guardsmen were not surrounded and not in real danger. No guardsmen had been hurt by flying rocks, the FBI investigation reported.

The FBI asserted that one guardsman fired at a student who was making an obscene gesture. A second fired at a student preparing to throw a rock. This notwithstanding, said the FBI, the distance separating the front

line of the guardsmen and the student and other students was so considerable that a thrown stone would not have struck any guardsman with sufficient force to cause injury.

"There was no rioting on the campus of Kent State University at any time on May 4," flatly states Senator Stephen Young (D.-Ohio) in remarks published in the *Congressional Record* (S 17814).

While the President's Commission or Campus Unrest is subject to serious rebuttal on some issues, it accurately concluded: "The indiscriminate firing of rifles into a crowd of students and the deaths that followed were unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable."

"People were standing around peacefully," one student told *The Militant*, "and they were yelling antiwar slogans and telling the National Guard to leave our campus. The crowd got large and after a time the National Guard shot tear gas into the crowd to disperse them. Most of the crowd dispersed, running up the hill. . . . From what I could see, there were 10 or 15 people that were throwing small rocks and a few sticks. I saw some guardsmen throwing rocks back at the students also."

A senior from Garfield Heights was one student who resented being told by the Guard to leave the campus. "If the students want to assemble, it's the students' prerogative to assemble,"

Demonstrations for Kent 25

Demonstrations demanding "Hands off the Kent State 25" were held in numerous cities last week. A thousand students and faculty members at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst participated in a rally of solidarity with the 25 victims of the indictments. The rally was called by the UMass Student Mobilization Committee.

In Atlanta, 175 students on one day's notice came out for a noon rally at Emory University. A rally of 200 at Holy Cross University gathered to protest the indictments at Kent and to protest the frame-up conviction of nine members of the Black Coalition and a member of SDS in Worcester.

A thousand attended an SMC-initiated protest rally at Ann Arbor and 300 participated in an SMC-initiated meeting at Case Western Reserve in Cleveland.

Funds were still needed for the Kent 25 defense. Contributions should be sent to Kent State Student Defense Fund, c/o Student Government, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44240.



— We find that the students did attack National Guard bullets with their bodies . . ."

John Fischetti

1,000 attend parley

Detroit women's conference

By SUZANNE SPIEGEL

DETROIT—Close to a thousand attended a women's teach-in at Wayne State University in Detroit Oct. 21-22. Women of all ages from across Michigan and from Ohio and Windsor, Ontario, participated in over 40 workshops and listened to eight keynote speeches. Workshops covered women's role in today's society and causes of their oppression. There were also panels on women in history, politics and Third World women.

Marlene Dixon, radical feminist from McGill University, Montreal, and Frances Beal, coordinator of the Third World Women's Alliance in New York, spoke to an auditorium filled with men and women from campuses in the area. Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*, and Ruth Gage-Colby of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom spoke in the evening to an auditorium of students as well as women from the community.

On Thursday afternoon, Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist and author of *Problems of Women's Liberation*, spoke on "How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny." In an eve-

ning session Beulah Sanders, vice-president of the National Welfare Rights Organization, Washington, D. C., spoke of the struggles of welfare mothers across the nation. Two women representatives from the Feminists, an organization in New York, also spoke.

The teach-in itself was built by a coalition of women's organizations both on and off Wayne's campus. The aim was to build an educational conference which would attract the largest number of women.

A significant number of Black women attended the conference, and over 50 participated in a panel on Black women.

The university newspaper, the *Southend*, was overwhelmingly favorable and before the teach-in put out a special issue entirely devoted to women.

The effectiveness of the teach-in as a means of raising women's consciousness of their oppression and the goals of the women's liberation movement was striking. There is now a whole new periphery of women who are interested in the women's liberation movement and in doing something at Wayne.

the Kent State killings?

he told us after the murders.

Some of the students chanted "End the war in Vietnam." Others shouted, "Fuck you, Agnew," and some chanted "One, two, three, four, we don't want your goddamn war."

Such comments apparently led the grand jury to decree "a level of obscenity and vulgarity which we have never before witnessed!"

What happened next far surpassed any verbal obscenity.

A student described to *The Militant* what happened: "Without warning, they turned, they knelt down, pointed their guns at the crowd. They were firing shots. I just thought to myself, 'It can't be.' The guy next to me fell. I hit the dirt, I lay there for a few seconds. When I lifted my head there were people lying all over the ground, and the guy next to me was hit in the head and he was bleeding all over the place. I looked down on the road and there was a guy laying face down on the road, and I heard a yell, 'The guy's dead.'"

The dead were Sandy Lee Scheuer, 20, Jeffrey Miller, 20, Allison Krause, 19, and William Schroeder, 19.

The Knight newspapers reporters published the following conclusions:

"Ohio governor James Rhodes, who has called out the Guard at least 40 times in the last two years, was responsible for the order that the Guard was to break up any assembly at Kent, peaceful or otherwise.

"General Del Corso champions the special Ohio Guard rule allowing guardsmen to carry live rounds in their weapons.

"General Canterbury exercised no control over the men on the Hill under his command who eventually fired."

If any remarks encouraged the guardsmen to fire, they came from Governor Rhodes. Arriving at Kent State the day before the massacre, Rhodes imposed martial law. "We have the same dissident groups and their allies going from one campus to the other," Rhodes told a televised news conference in Kent. "And they use a university . . . as a sanctuary. . . . They're worse than the brown shirt and communist element and also the 'night riders' in the vigilantes. They're the worst type of people that we harbor in America."

The climate of hate culminating in the murders was fanned by Nixon himself, who ran on a platform of "law and order." Three days before the Kent Massacre he lashed out at demonstrators during a talk with a group of Pentagon employees. He was the man who publicly branded dissenting students as "these bums /who blow up the campuses."

Perhaps Bernard Miller, father of the slain Kent student, commenting on the present indictments, said it best.

"You mean," Miller asked a reporter, "you can get away with murder in this country?"

Parley in Boston focuses on abortion law repeal

By CLARE KERR

BOSTON, Oct. 24—A crowd of over 200 people gathered here at the Arlington Street Church to attend the conference sponsored by the Massachusetts Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws.

After an initial business meeting, Republican candidate for U. S. Senate Si Spaulding explained why he favored the repeal of abortion laws in this state as opposed to the position of his Democratic opponent Ted Kennedy who maintains that the fetus has rights.

Following the opening address, the audience heard a panel discussion on the general subject of abortion. Mitchell Benjoya, an attorney, was the first panelist. He explained how the anti-abortion laws enacted in the last century were then in the interest of women because interrupting a pregnancy was a hazardous and frequently fatal undertaking, but now with the progress made in surgical procedures and therapeutics, ending a pregnancy was generally safe. He urged the repeal of existing laws.

The following two speakers discussed the psychiatric aspects of abortion and the impact of the outdated laws on low-income women. Ronnie Tobin, a social worker, pointed out the relative ease with which middle class women could terminate their pregnancies, whereas Black and Puerto Rican women found it almost impossible. Cindy Cisler, of New York National Organization for Women, stated that physician's assistants should be trained to perform abortions. She also said that women should fight for the type of laws they wanted and should be in favor of repeal rather than reform of existing laws.

In the afternoon four workshops were held. One on legislation was led by R. S. Aronson, Republican state representative, and J. H. Backman, Democratic candidate for State Senate in Massachusetts. A woman from a local TV station outlined ways of approaching the mass media.

The workshop on community organizing drew attention to the need for women to hold meetings in their communities and enlist the help of others. The fourth workshop addressed itself to the delivery of services. Suggestions were made about encour-

aging MDs in hospitals to perform abortions on the weekend when the hospitals were less busy.

The plenary session went on record as being in favor of women being able to decide the number and spacing of their children. The necessity for initiating a massive statewide campaign mobilizing women from all walks of life will be needed to repeal the existing abortion laws. It was recognized that the fight might be a difficult one but the enthusiasm of the participants insures its eventual victory. For more information write MORAL, P. O. Box 238, Boston, Mass. 02134.

Bostonians hit abortion law

BOSTON, Oct. 26—In spite of rain and very cold weather, a crowd of about 200 gathered at Government Center Plaza here at noon to publicly demand that abortions be available to all women. Among the speakers was Professor Mary Daly, the noted Catholic theologian from Boston College. She expressed the opinion that the Catholic church, a dominant force in Massachusetts politics, should not be permitted to impose its anti-abortion views on all women. The Rev. Clyde Dodder said that the legislature has no right to dictate the number of children a woman has. Another woman explained how young people would have to lead the fight to abolish the anachronistic and inhuman laws which force women to bear unwanted children.

One of the most enthusiastically received speakers was Ruthann Miller, a co-founder of People to Abolish Abortion Laws in New York and coordinator of New York's Aug. 26 Women's Strike. She related how mass mobilizations of women in New York forced the legislators to act on women's demands.

The demonstration was sponsored by MORAL.

— CLARE KERR

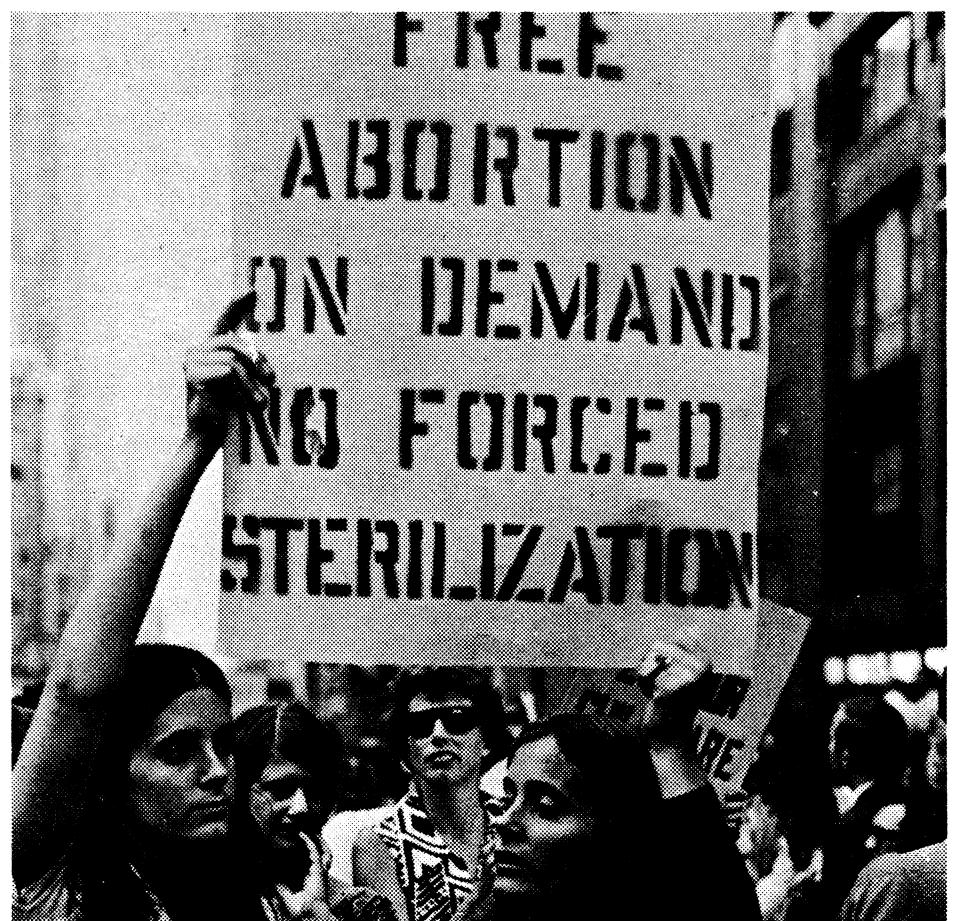
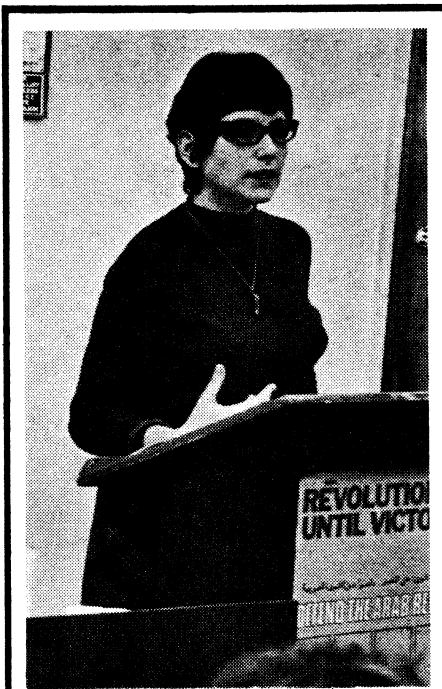


Photo by Howard Petrick



Eva Chertov

SWP wins time demand from WOR

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK — Eva Chertov, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in lower Manhattan's 19th district, won an important equal-time ruling from the Federal Communications Commission Oct. 19. The ruling declared the SWP candidate to be a bona fide write-in candidate and called on radio station WOR to reach an agreement with the SWP on the amount of free time to be granted.

The SWP brought the question of equal time before the FCC in the first place because the host of a Monday-through-Friday WOR interview show, Barry Farber, is also a candidate in the 19th congressional district. He has Republican-Liberal endorsement. The right to equal time with broadcasters was established last summer when the FCC granted equal time to Farber's Democratic opponent, Bella Abzug. Once the FCC was convinced that Chertov's campaign was "bona fide," it had little choice but to rule in favor of her right to equal time as well.

The agreement reached with the radio station provides the Socialist Workers candidate with 94 broadcasts of one-minute statements between 6 p.m. and 5 a.m. over a period of nine days. In addition, Chertov is co-host with Farber on his 45-minute show six evenings prior to the election. Such a format produces what amounts to a daily discussion between the Republican and SWP candidates and the guests, whom are invited by both.

The focus of the Oct. 26 "Barry Farber-Eva Chertov Show" was women's liberation, which is also an important issue in the 19th district race. Chertov's guest was Carolyn Welch of the Phoenix Organization of Women, a New York group of Black and Puerto Rican feminists who direct themselves to the problem of drug addiction.

The one-minute spot announcements have dealt with a number of different topics. These include the Oct. 31 antiwar demonstrations, child-care centers, *The Militant* subscription campaign currently in progress, and the alleged "suicide" Oct. 15 of Young Lord Julio Roldan in the Manhattan House of Detention, also known as the Tombs.

Long Islanders get socialist message

By WILL REISSNER

NEW YORK — Hedda Garza, the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for Nassau County Executive on Long Island, carried through an eight-month campaign which has introduced tens of thousands of people to the ideas of the SWP.

She debated her opponents more than 15 times, five of them on radio and TV. Several times, when excluded from debates, she was able to force the other candidates to publicly object to her exclusion and to support her right to participate.

In addition to debates, Garza has spoken before many other audiences. A letter to high school social studies departments, for instance, led to seven speaking appointments for the candidate.

Hedda Garza played an important role in the May student strikes in Nassau County. The respect her participation gained her aided in securing speaking engagements at most of the campuses in Nassau County. At these meetings, she is the only candidate who speaks as an active participant in building the antiwar movement.

Comparing her current campaign to two previous ones in which she was a statewide candidate for the SWP, Garza said: "This year the response to our ideas is qualitatively better. When I speak to high school audiences, I can never find anyone who is 'willing to defend his country.'"

The receptivity to her campaign is not restricted to youth. At a candidates' debate before several hundred predominantly middle-aged voters in

Freeport, for example, she received warm applause from a large part of the audience when she urged them to vote for the SWP because "it's a vote for your own dignity, because it shows that you're tired of being lied to and bamboozled. Vote for the SWP," she emphasized, "because you're no longer willing to be fooled and conned. As long as you keep pulling down the lever for the Democratic and Republican parties, things will keep getting worse and the bloodbath will go on."

The impact of the Garza campaign is also demonstrated by the reactions of the other candidates. Her Democratic opponent told her, "If you ran with us you could win." A Republican campaign worker told her the Democrat was afraid she might take enough votes away from him to defeat him. The country chairman of the Conservative Party sent a letter to *Newsday*, the Long Island daily, complaining that he considered coverage of her campaign to be too favorable.

During the course of her campaign, Hedda Garza has also supported the struggles of a number of key Third World activists and groups on Long Island. One of these is People for Adequate Welfare, a group of welfare mothers in Patchogue, L. I. Ten of the group's activists were arrested last August after expropriating school clothing for their children from the local Sears store when store officials refused to charge the merchandise to the department of social services. Their trial has been set for next February. Hedda Garza has made defense of the group a part of her campaign.



SPREADING WORD. Hedda Garza offers antiwar leaflet to GI at bus terminal. From outset, SWP has insisted on key importance of bringing message of antiwar movement to members of armed forces.

Special issue of *Intercontinental Press*

30th anniversary of Trotsky's death

By ALEX HARTE

The current issue of *Intercontinental Press* (Nov. 2) deserves special attention—not that every issue of this revolutionary Marxist weekly doesn't deserve special attention.

Two feature articles have stretched it from its usual 24 pages to 32. The first is "Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of the World Revolution."

Written by Joseph Hansen, it commemorates the 30th anniversary of the death of the man who contributed so much in both theory and practice to launching the world socialist revolution in czarist Russia and to sustaining and advancing it in subsequent years.

Hansen offers a succinct statement on the crisis of capitalism, the decay of Stalinism, and the meaning of the upheavals occurring with increasing frequency throughout the world today.

Against this background, the radicalization of the youth, he maintains, is of immense import:

"The time is obviously nearing when we can expect a great new renaissance of the revolutionary Marxist movement. The program defended by Leon Trotsky and his followers will become the heritage of millions."

The second feature is the opening installment of "Looking Back Over My Years with Peng Shu-tse." This is an account by Peng Pi-lan of the contributions her companion Shu-tse has made in the struggle for socialism, beginning in 1920 as one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party.

This is a timely piece, for on November 24 the world Trotskyist movement will celebrate the 75th birthday of Peng Shu-tse and his half century of battling for the program of Lenin and Trotsky.

Another contribution is a speech made by Ernest Mandel, "The Role



Leon Trotsky

of the Universities in the West," given at the Science and Welfare Seminar held some months ago at the Rijks University of Leiden. A lucid discussion of the basic causes of the ongoing revolt on the campus and where it is headed.

On the current international scene, the issue measures up to the usual high standards set by *Intercontinental Press*:

Canada: Allen Myers reports the mounting resistance across the country to the police rule imposed by Trudeau. One of the most encouraging developments is the formation of a united front by the unions in Quebec.

Bolivia: Translation of an article from the Havana weekly *Bohemia* giving a blow-by-blow account of the end of the Ovando regime and the installation of Torres. Besides fresh information not published elsewhere, the account is noteworthy for its critical attitude. Its title: "Bolivia—A Struggle That Has Not Yet Been Concluded."

Also on Bolivia: News about the capture of guerrilla leader Chato Pedro.

Middle East: "In the Liberated Zone in Jordan" (an interview with a member of a medical aid team, translated from the French weekly *Rouge*), and "Red Cross Condemns Israeli Repression."

Chile: Is the new president a fire-eating Marxist? Les Evans shows that Allende's main backers, the Communist and Socialist Party leaders, intend to do their utmost to avoid any spectacular upsets. Includes some telling items on the true nature of this "popular front" government.

USSR: "Soviet Scientists Rally to Pimenov's Defense," by George Saunders. The latest round between the bureaucracy and the political dissidents. And from the underground, the translation of a *samizdat* appeal: "Vladimir Bukovsky's Open Letter to Theodorakis."

Philippines: "Huk Commander Pedro Taruc Killed."

Brazil: "Yes, There Is Torture in Brazil." (Confirmation from an unusual source.)

Ireland: "Founding Conference of the Irish Solidarity Campaign" (report from the Irish press about an important meeting in Birmingham, England), and an article "'Gun Plot' Defendants Found Not Guilty."

Documents: Text of the speech given by the Trotskyist Theologos Psaradellas before the Athens court that sentenced him to twelve years and three months in prison.

Reviews: "Back to Dynamite or Forward to Mass Action?" Short and to the point.

To get a copy of the Nov. 2 issue, send 50 cents to *Intercontinental Press*, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.

♀ Women's liberation notes

Last month, an Amman woman said, "Women should not be on the edge of society. They should play a political and social role, and if they are Arabs, this means supporting the Palestinian revolution." And from hijacker Leila Khaled, who said she was "engaged to the revolution," to the unnamed Jordanian woman who is the leader of the Popular Democratic Front and in September became the first Arab woman to lead a combat unit into battle, women did play a major role in the civil war in Jordan. Furthermore, there are signs that a women's liberation movement is developing in the Mideast.

Traditionally, women have been regarded as men's chattel in Arab society. The Koran says man is a "step above" woman. Moslem law permits polygamy, and a man can easily be rid of his wife by simply announcing, "I divorce you," three times in front of witnesses. So insecure is the status of Moslem wives that there is an Arabic saying: "A woman never knows whether she is going to eat the meal she is cooking."

In Egypt where illiterate men but not illiterate women can vote, a woman's suffrage movement has developed. And feminists are working with public health officials to do away with "female circumcision," a widespread practice in Egypt. In this degrading operation, the clitoris is crudely scarred or severed to curb young women's sexual drives and to allay the jealousy of their male relatives.

Even in Saudi Arabia, where women

are fully veiled from puberty on, change is underway. Although newspapers still will not print a woman's picture, several have started running women's sections. And in Jidda, the first woman radio announcer was recently hired.

Female university graduates, who find that their husbands expect them to give up their independence and revert to a more traditional, secluded existence when they marry, are especially active in this new women's liberation movement.

The November issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* contains a sampling of the thousands of letters the magazine received as a result of its recent supplement on "The New Feminism." The section, written by members of the women's liberation movement, was wrested from the *Journal* through a sit-in last March at their offices.

Journal editors report the letters were 46 percent against feminism, 34 percent in support, and 20 percent "mixed." The range was from the usual "Keep your cotton-pickin' hands off my shackles. I don't want to be liberated," to others giving full support to the goals of the movement. One housewife wrote, "I realized through reading the articles that I was militant, too."

Another reader wrote, "It's too bad they were forced to invade your office to get you to accept the responsibility of your job and inform your readers of what is happening." And it is clear from the letters that *Journal* readers are expecting more coverage of the

feminist movement in future issues.

One of the many groups participating in the Aug. 26 women's demonstrations was Federally Employed Women (FEW). Started in 1968, FEW now has over a thousand members in 30 chapters across the country. Half its membership is Black.

According to FEW, 80 percent of the 700,000 women employed by the federal government are clustered in the six lowest-grade job levels. And of the 9,000 top-grade positions, including presidential appointments, where policy decisions are made only 147 are filled by women.

As Tina Hobson, FEW member in Washington said, "President Nixon, who has said he would like to see more women hold these high-level jobs, has yet to appoint a woman cabinet member—his vision of women is strictly home-oriented. Like Mrs. Nixon or Martha Mitchell."

In the past, women employed by the government who have filed complaints of sexual discrimination have met with severe reprisals. Often they have been demoted to a lower grade, or asked to transfer to a new geographic area on the assumption that they would refuse the transfer and could then be fired. The existence of FEW, which has gained many new members since Aug. 26, is certain to give support to women who want to take action against their inequality on the job.

SUPREMACIST QUOTE OF THE



LNS

Palestinian guerrilla

WEEK: In the November *Harper's*, John Corry discusses what he sees as the similarities between Black Panthers and feminists. "For one thing, the members of both tantrum a lot. For another, neither the Panthers nor the ladies care much for themselves and they both have great doubts about whether or not they can make it in life. They wear oppression like both a badge and an excuse, and they do not seem to be seriously engaged in anything other than being oppressed, and in telling everyone else about it."

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

The national picket line

Rail unionists fight for voting right

Marvel Scholl is on vacation, and we are reprinting this week the following from *Union Democracy in Action*. UDA offices are at 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y. 10003; subscription is \$3 a year.

Rank-and-file railroad workers last November set up a *Right to Vote Committee* within the United Transportation Union to campaign for constitutional changes that would permit members to vote on collective bargaining agreements. The Committee quickly won support from union lodges in the Midwest; and by August of this year, according to Ed Heisler, its secretary, about 100 locals had voted to donate and members of 500 locals had made individual contributions.

The UTU was founded in 1968, when four rail unions agreed to amalgamate: the Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen; the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; and the Switchmen's Union. It now represents 270,000 rail workers in the United States and Canada.

The RTVC seeks to win for railroad workers the very right which others would take away from all workers. About two years ago there were suggestions, applicable to many industries, that workers be denied the right to vote on ratifying agreements and that final authority to accept collective bargaining terms be turned over to union officials. One such proposal was even drafted as federal legislation and introduced into Congress.

While employers, public officials, labor leaders, and politicians mull over the proposition, weigh the prospects of legislation, and assess its reception

by rank-and-file workers, the new RTVC movement of rail workers is the first important sign of active opposition to it.

The RTVC hopes to put up a strong fight at the UTU international convention in 1971. If it can force its constitutional amendment to the floor—and that alone would be an impressive achievement—the convention will present the first public debate on the issue. The RTVC campaign affects the rights of all unionists in all industries.

"A direct membership vote on contracts is basic to union democracy," reads the RTVC *Statement of Aims*. "A trade union cannot be truly 'democratic' or 'free' unless the membership has the final and decisive word on contracts."

Without that right, the Committee says, workers' standards deteriorate. "For the last decade, if not longer, the wage agreements negotiated have failed to meet the needs and desires of trainmen and enginemen . . . the cost-of-living, railroad retirement, and

other taxes have increased at a far higher rate than the wage gains negotiated. The carriers' attacks on our living standards and working conditions can be halted if the UTU negotiators are provided with greater bargaining power and if the negotiators and UTU leadership are responsible to the rank-and-file membership.

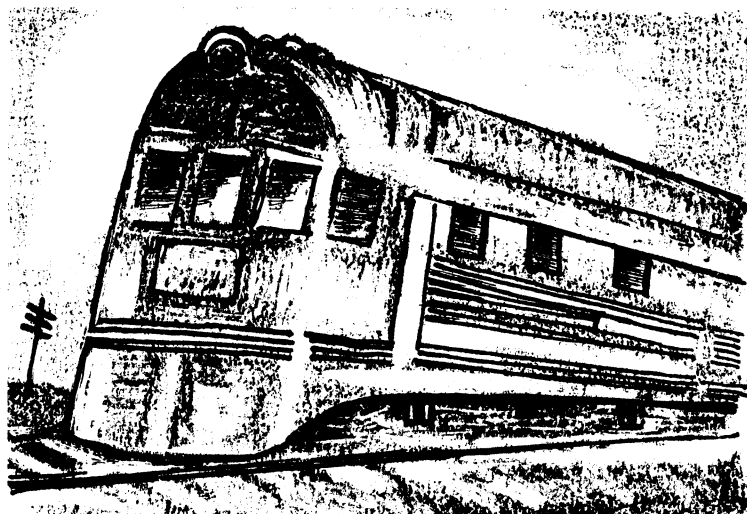
The RTVC hopes to get a majority of the membership to sign petitions before the 1971 convention, an ambitious aim. It mails a steady stream of reports and plans to local lodges and individuals; it publishes a periodical, *RTVC Progress Report*, in newsletter format.

While the Committee seeks to extend the rights of union members, it is compelled to establish its right to address the members. In March, it mailed out raffle books to raise money; and on April 9, Committee officers received a letter from Charles Luna, UTU president, castigating their efforts as an "illegal enterprise."

"The Constitution of the United Transportation Union clearly indicates the manner in which amendments may be proposed to our Constitution," wrote Luna, "and I am asking that the three of you immediately advise me in what manner you have determined to violate federal and United Transportation Union law in the wide distribution of this material through the mail. I shall expect your replies prior to the close of business on April 17."

RTVC secretary Edward Heisler, who signs his letters "Yours for Union Democracy," replied at length and asked, "Would you please write us at your earliest possible convenience and indicate precisely what articles of the UTU Constitution we and thousands of other UTU members are violating by proposing changes in the union Constitution that will allow all local officers and rank-and-file members to vote on their wages and conditions?"

In September, UTU president Luna thought of something new. He ruled that no lodge could donate to RTVC without presenting the issue for decision to its membership for referendum vote. With that, a lodge might have to spend \$300 to run a referendum before giving \$25 to the RTVC. That, however, is not the most bizarre aspect of Luna's ruling. Right now, UTU members are prohibited from voting by referendum on contract terms which determine their income level, standard of living, and working conditions. But they are required to vote by referendum before their lodge can donate money to win that important right to vote which they are denied. (Luna's ruling applies only to Penn Central RR's East division.)



In Brief

REVOLT IN HUD: Five years ago President Johnson signed into law a bill creating the Housing and Urban Development Department. The agency was supposed to dispose of the urban crisis. It didn't. The nation's cities are as plagued by poverty and racism as ever. And today, HUD is immersed in a crisis of its own. During October, Black employees staged meetings, rallies, demonstrations and sit-ins inside the department's offices in Washington. As this column is written, some 400 employees are engaged in a slowdown. The workers, says one militant, "are doing as little work as possible, doing about one piece of work a day." The main beef of Black employees is the failure of white federal officials to advance them. Although workers can theoretically be advanced to Grade 18 without presidential appointment, almost all Blacks get no further than Grade five. "Blacks are trapped in grades one through five," says R. H. Booker, chairman of the Washington Area Construction Industry Task Force, a coalition of Blacks fighting discrimination in the construction trades and in the federal government. "They're called the nigger grades," Booker told this column. "Salary-wise, Blacks at HUD have dead-end jobs, you know, clerical work, typing and messenger work." Several hundred workers met with HUD secretary George Romney Oct. 14. "His response was very racist and bureaucratic," says Booker. Romney told employees that he could not change things in HUD overnight. That was not satisfactory for the Blacks. The next day, about 400 held a rally outside the headquarters and vowed to continue the protests. "Black employees won't sit back and wait any longer," says one of their leaders, Ronald Wallace, in an interview. "We will do anything we deem necessary to get our point across." More demonstrations, says Wallace, are likely this week. Meanwhile negotiations continue. "The employees," explains Booker, "are taking the approach of the Vietnamese. We are going to fight while the negotiations are going on."

REPRESENTING WHO? Eighty-seven percent of the candidates running for the House of Representatives favor some degree of government intervention "when violence occurs on college campuses," a survey by **Congressional Quarterly** reveals. A full 94 percent of Senate candidates favor such intervention, the magazine says.

POLICE PROVOCATEUR: At first glance, Charles R. Grimm Jr., 21, was like many other radicalizing students on U.S. campuses who go on demonstrations. But Grimm was different. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Grimm makes molotov cocktails, advocates armed violence and enjoys baiting police—according to lawyers who represented him in Tuscaloosa where Grimm attended the state university. Grimm, says his former attorneys, is a police agent. The story goes back to last May when most of the nation was rocked with a national student strike. The University of Alabama had its share of protests, culminating on May 18 in the arrest of 150 persons. One of the arrested was Charles Grimm, who sought and obtained three attorneys to defend him. In July, the attorneys learned that Grimm was a narcotics agent, brought him into their office, queried him, and discovered he was a paid informer during the May disturbances at the university. It also turned out that Grimm works for the FBI, although the FBI refused to comment on the matter. Referring to May 18, attorney Jack Drake explained Grimm's role. "He in my opin-

ion caused a lot of arrests," Drake said by telephone, "by throwing a brick and a bicycle pedal at police. On another occasion he threw a brick through a plate glass window of a movie theater. He attended radical meetings and would consistently take the most radical line. He would urge violence, say we have to fight the pigs and the only way to fight was with guns. On another occasion he asked two members of the student movement to help him steal dynamite so he could blow up a building." Grimm's exploits, says Drake, included burning a couple of buildings. In the wake of the revelations, most of the charges were dropped against the protesters. Nine cases have been tried, five were won by defense attorneys and four were lost. Those four, Drake believes, will be won on appeal. In the meantime, Grimm hurriedly left Tuscaloosa for Minneapolis and now has dropped out of sight.

CANADIAN REPRESSION HIT: Two demonstrations in Seattle Oct. 20 protested the suppression of civil liberties in Canada. Gary Porter, Trotskyist candidate for mayor of Vancouver, spoke at both rallies, one at the University of Washington and the other at the Canadian Consulate General in downtown Seattle. . . . Pickets chanted "End Canadian martial law, Hands off the Quebecois!" and "Trudeau must go." . . . **HOOVER ANSWERED:** Shortly after FBI director J. Edgar Hoover sent his "Open Letter to College Students" in September, the YSA responded with its own "Open Letter to U.S. Students." The Hoover letter and the YSA answer is now available in bulk quantities at three cents each. Write YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. . . . **NOT OUT OF CONTEXT:** The interview with the Young Lord by Soviet journalist Genrikh Barovik took place in Harlem. It originally appeared in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* and has since been translated into English by Atlas. This is a verbatim excerpt:

Carl [the Young Lord] and I walked down Madison Avenue for a long spell. He described the Young Lords to me. "We are a political organization. Our task is revolution in the U.S.A."

"What revolution?" I wanted to know.

"Socialist, of course."

"What do you mean by socialism?"

"Justice," he replied.

"For whom?"

"The Puerto Ricans are our business. But if we can help others too, we will."

"What do you call justice?"

"For there not to be what we have seen today."

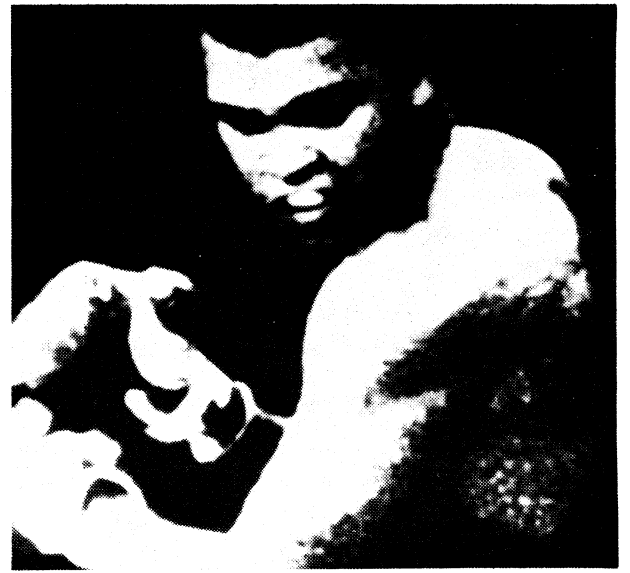
"How do you expect to achieve that?"

"By revolution."

I asked him: "Isn't there too much talk in the U.S.A. about revolution right now?"

JET FORCE URGED: The state of California should create an airborne campus "strike force" to curb violence on college campuses, secretary of state candidate Edmund G. Brown Jr. says. Brown is the son of the former governor. In an interview with the Santa Monica **Evening Outlook** Oct. 3, Brown proposed that members of his special force would have access to a fleet of jets and would be equipped with the latest crowd-control devices—"such as tranquilizer guns, wood pellet guns and water cannons." . . . **CONFRONTATION** is the name of a game from Creative Communications and Research that pits student protesters against the university administration, Washington, the banks and the financial community and other agents of the ruling class. The game doesn't measure up to a genuine revolt. . . .

PANTHER DEVELOPMENTS: Lonnie McLucas has pleaded guilty in New Haven to attempting a jail break. He was sentenced to a year in prison. The new sentence will run concurrently with his earlier 12-15 year sentence for his conviction in the Alex Rackley case. . . . Defense attorneys for Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins are challenging the law that allows only registered voters to sit on Connecticut juries. . . . Panther trial in New York is under way. Prosecution alleges that Panthers aimed to murder police. Defense retorts, whole trial is an effort to destroy Panther Party. . . . All conspiracy charges have been dropped against Seale in Chicago. The case of the Panther chairman was separated from the rest of the Chicago Eight last winter. The Honorable (you should excuse the expression) Julius Hoffman, who presided over the trial, ordered the charges dismissed Oct. 19 at the request of U.S. attorney William J. Baur, who noted it would be "inappropriate" to try Seale on conspiracy after the other seven were found innocent of those counts. Seale still faces a four-year prison term for contempt of court.



Muhammad Ali

ALI WINS: Even if boxing is disgusting, one has to admire Muhammad Ali who scored a third-round knockout over Jerry Quarry in a heavy-weight bout in Atlanta Oct. 26. In commemoration, we publish this poem, written by the champ himself:


Hell no
I ain't going to go
Clean out my cell
And take my tail
To jail
Without bail
Because it's better there eating,
Watching television fed
Than in Vietnam with your white folks
dead.

McINTIRE SPEAKS: "We think we can have a victory in at least eight weeks," says Rev. Carl McIntire, the right-wing preacher who doesn't like the way President Nixon is pussyfooting in Vietnam. McIntire informs this column that he's slated "Marches for Victory" next year in Key Biscayne and Sacramento, Calif. with rallies at the capitols of all 50 states on March 20 and a D.C. protest May 8. What does he think of the Oct. 31 demonstrations? "It's going to be the same old thing," opines McIntire. "I don't think they are going to get very far." . . . Don't bet on it, Reverend. We hope readers will be marching Oct. 31 as well as making plans to attend the National Peace Action Coalition conference in Chicago December 4-6 to map out the next stage in the antiwar movement.

Contributors to this week's In Brief include Susan Shinn, Seattle, and John R. Glenn, Venice, Calif.

—RANDY FURST

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A CP smear job on Ernest Mandel

By ROBERT LANGSTON

For more than a year, Attorney General John Mitchell's Justice Department has denied the internationally noted Belgian, Ernest Mandel, a visa to visit the United States. His exclusion has led to a vigorous drive by civil libertarians of all political persuasions to force the Justice Department to rescind this undemocratic decision. The campaign has also been supported by the Communist Party of the United States—a matter of some political significance, since Mandel is a leading figure in the world Trotskyist movement.

If the days are gone when the Communist Party can support a capitalist government's denial of basic democratic rights to Trotskyists and other non-Stalinist communists, the Stalinist mind still seems to find irresistible the opportunity to slander political opponents. A recent instance occurred in connection with a conference of Marxist economists held Sept. 10 to 13 at the University of Tilburg in Holland.

About a thousand students and teachers from Europe and several other countries gathered at Tilburg to discuss "Capitalism in the Seventies." Among the seven reporters invited to address the conference were Mandel and the CPUSA's most prominent economist, Victor Perlo.

The Sept. 24 *Daily World*, voice of the American CP, contained, in the guise of a news story about the Tilburg conference, a brief but lurid melodrama. It told how the conference of innocents "was almost broken up by disruptive tactics of a small group of Trotskyites," but how virtue finally was rewarded when "in a stormy session, the conference by a four-to-one margin voted to reject a resolution attacking the conference report of Victor Perlo, the U. S. economist. It also

Rights fighters are sentenced for 'contempt'

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Alan McSurely was sentenced to a year in prison and Margaret McSurely was ordered to serve three months for contempt of Congress Oct. 20.

The U. S. district court here was packed with friends of the couple when Judge John L. Smith Jr. handed out the sentences. The McSurelys were freed under bond pending appeal to the U. S. Court of Appeals.

The McSurelys made statements to the judge criticizing him, Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas, and State's Attorney Thomas Ratliff of Pike County, Kentucky. Brooks Hays, former U. S. representative from Arkansas, made a statement to the court in behalf of the McSurelys.

Ratliff started the attack on the couple three years ago when he arrested them and three other persons on sedition charges. These grew out of a fight against strip mining of coal in Eastern Kentucky.

The sedition charges were dismissed, but McClellan ordered the McSurelys to bring to Washington certain documents seized by Ratliff in a raid on their home. McClellan said he needed these documents for his investigation of uprisings in U. S. cities.

The McSurelys were cited for contempt when they refused to give the papers to McClellan. They were found guilty last June 26.

At the time of their arrest, they were field workers for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a human-rights organization based in Louisville, Ky. They now live in New York City.

rejected the demand that the paper be omitted from the conference proceedings." Prominent for villainy in the piece, naturally, was Ernest Mandel.

On Oct. 1, Perlo followed up with his own version in the *World*. After protesting Mitchell's denial of Mandel's freedom to speak in this country, Perlo charged that Mandel "joined with his political sidekicks, Andre Gorz of France and Elmar Altvater of West Germany, to organize a gang of political Neanderthals to try to suppress somebody else's freedom to speak.

"I was that somebody else," Perlo continued. "And the attempt was made because I presented the viewpoint of the U. S. Communist Party and world Communist movement on the perspective [sic] developments of the coming decade."

Mandel's motive, according to Perlo, in trying to keep the CP spokesman from being heard, is exactly the same as the attorney general's in excluding Mandel from the U. S.—"a fierce hatred of the Soviet Union and the Communists."

In particular, Perlo charged that the "Trotskyite clique" tried to disrupt his talk with organized heckling, tried "to get passage of a slanderous resolution denouncing Perlo and the Soviet Union," and tried "to block publication of my talk in the book of conference proceedings."

(It is worth observing that there was not one mention of the specific point of contention in the Sept. 24 *World* news story, and only one passing reference to it in Perlo's Oct. 1 column—Perlo's defense of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia which he included in a paper supposedly devoted to problems of U. S. imperialism in the 70s.)

Moreover, Perlo somberly hints, the poisonous "Trotskyite" influence was at work even on the conference's organizers. "There wasn't a single item from any Communist Party author on the conference literature tables. And the speakers' list at the conference was overweighed by anti-Communist leftists," Perlo complained.

What actually happened at Tilburg is reported by Mandel in the Oct. 19 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. In reality what Perlo chooses to regard as an attack on his freedom of speech was simply an exercise of the right to disagree with him by participants in the conference.

As to "discrimination" against Communist parties in the organization of



the conference, Mandel pointed out that three of the seven reporters were CPers—Perlo himself and Maurice Dobb and Bob Rowthorn of the British Communist Party. Moreover, "the literature sold in front of the conference hall was not sponsored by the organizers but by a great number of very diverse groups. . . . It was not the fault of the organizers, nor the Trotskyists, nor mine, that the Dutch Communist Party chose to pass up the chance to have a literature table in the hall."

Perlo tried to justify the Czechoslovak invasion in his paper. "This was," Mandel agreed, "of course, his right. Equally it was the right of the majority of the participants in this conference to take the position that (1) this question was not on the agenda; and (2) that they did not agree with Perlo on this matter."

In particular, Mandel reported, "the resolution that was proposed condemned his point of view on the invasion of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, not his right to express his point of view.

"The conference did not vote down this resolution (the great majority of the participants were opposed to the

invasion of Czechoslovakia). What the conference rejected was putting the resolution to a vote, that is, transforming a conference called to discuss the questions raised by the development of capitalism in the 70s into a deliberative body deciding political questions—above all, questions not on the agenda. It was a procedural and not a political vote."

Following Perlo's speech, Mandel explained, the majority of the reporters demanded of the conference organizers the right to discuss Perlo's opinions on Czechoslovakia at a plenary session and demanded the right to include a statement by those who condemned the Czechoslovakian invasion in the published conference proceedings. "The organizers of the conference accepted the dual demand. This closed the incident. In doing this, no injury whatsoever was done to Victor Perlo's freedom of speech. All we did was to forcefully reaffirm freedom of speech in the workers movement."

"One person," Mandel reported, "whom I do not know and with whom I have nothing to do, proposed that Perlo's speech be omitted from the conference proceedings. He was booed by the gathering and supported by no one—and rightly so."

Mandel concluded, "There is only one difference between Perlo's position and mine on this point. For me, the right of freedom of speech is a universally valid principle, applicable in the Netherlands, in the United States, in Czechoslovakia, and in the USSR. Perlo, in contrast, claims this right for himself in the Netherlands and in the U. S.—I hope that he will continue to demand this right for me, too, in the U. S. (at Tilburg I thanked the Communist Party of the USA in front of all the participants in the conference for its protest against the American government's excluding me from the country)—but Perlo denies this right of freedom of speech to Czechoslovak or Soviet Communists who disagree with the present rulers of the USSR and who are in prison (or, still worse, insane asylums) for the sole 'crime' of publishing documents, which, for example, end with the words, 'Leninism yes, Stalinism no!'"

The *Daily World* news story and Perlo's column in the *World* are reprinted in full along with Mandel's reply in the Oct. 10 *Intercontinental Press* (P. O. Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N. Y. 10010; 50 cents a copy, \$15 a year.)

Successful D.C. women's liberation meet

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A newly formed women's liberation group at George Washington University sponsored a regional Conference to Unite Women the weekend of Oct. 17. It was the first of its kind in the Washington, D. C., area. Some 300 women participated in the various workshops and sessions, coming from as far away as New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

The first evening, Dana Densmore, author of many articles on female oppression and member of Female Liberation in Boston, spoke on the need to unite as many women as possible to fight around feminist issues of concern to all. Other participants in the sessions included Wilma Scott Heide, chairman of the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women, and Ruthann Miller, coordinator of the Aug. 26 demonstration in New York City and Socialist Workers candidate for New York comptroller. Members of the George Washington

women's liberation group performed a skit.

The workshops covered a wide range of issues currently being discussed in the feminist movement: abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, life styles, child care, Third World women, etc.

The conference concluded with a play entitled "Everywoman" and a karate demonstration by members of Female Liberation in Boston.

DEKALB, Ill. — The Northern Illinois University Student Association voted overwhelmingly Oct. 11 to endorse the petition circulated by EVERYWOMAN, the local women's liberation group, which demands that the University Health Center provide birth-control information, prescriptions and devices to those students who request them.

EVERYWOMAN is also working closely with women Civil Service workers in an effort to form a local of the

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The group is also building a women's contingent in the Oct. 29 antiwar march in DeKalb.

HOUSTON—Clairol Company recently sponsored a conference on "Contemporary Woman Confronts Her Problems." The purpose of the conference, part of a series of public affairs, tax-deductible programs held in cities throughout the country, was "to develop leadership in women to better participate in society." Nearly 300 women attended.

A leaflet circulated by the Houston chapter of NOW welcomed the company's interest in the problems of contemporary women but questioned the "intentions of Clairol and its sister institutions in the cosmetic industry." Two prime concerns of women—the image of women and the exploitation of women as consumers—were not listed for discussion.

Pied pipers of the capitalist two-party system

By FRANK LOVELL

This is the fourth in a series of articles dealing with the two-party electoral system in this country—the role it plays, how it functions, and the relationship of the labor movement to it. Previous articles appeared in our issues of Sept. 25, Oct. 2 and Oct. 23.

The unique two-party system of electoral politics in this country is one of the key institutions of class rule. It is a historically tested and carefully maintained system through which the most powerful capitalist interests exercise monopoly control of government.

Each of the two parties has its own history and tradition; each has more than a hundred years of political struggle and government manipulation. With one seemingly pitted against the other, the mechanism proves useful as a safety-valve device. Dissatisfied voters and blocs of voters can shift from one to the other.

Currently, the general feeling of dissatisfaction with the two-party system has produced some shifts in the existing labor-Democratic coalition, raised hopes among Republican campaign strategists of capturing part of the "labor vote," and generated some talk among left-liberals about the need of a "new" party.

These signs of impending shifts on the field of electoral politics are what prompted AFL-CIO president George Meany to advise against close ties with either political party. Firmly committed to the two-party system, he hopes in this way to exert greater influence upon both parties and in the process get a few concessions from the Nixon administration for the union bureaucracy.

Other union officials have been busy bolstering the labor-Democratic coalition by collecting money and votes for the Democrats. Gus Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, collects from the underpaid Puerto Rican and Black workers who are poorly represented by the ILGWU in order to elect the millionaire Democrat Richard Ottinger to the U. S. Senate.

Tyler says, "The money is given in greater quantities by the man who is still employed but afraid he's going to be unemployed unless something is done." As if Ottinger and 99 others like him in the Senate could or would do anything for garment workers.

Both Meany and Tyler, while differing over tactics of the unions in the



George Meany

two-party electoral game, serve the same end as promoters of the game.

One of the most skillful at this business in recent times is Michael Harrington, chairman of the Socialist Party. He wrote an article in the *New York Times Magazine* last Sept. 13 explaining how he worked in the Kennedy and McCarthy campaigns in '68 and polemicizing against any notion of a new party in this country. It is necessary, "socialist" Harrington argues, to stay right inside the Democratic Party.

The Socialist Party started out in 1901, with Debs as its most popular and effective spokesman, to become a party of the working class. Harrington and his party spend their time advising representatives of the ruling class, organizing supportive coalitions for the Democratic Party, and doing everything in their power to keep the capitalist two-party system going.

In the current New York election, for example, the Socialist Party officially endorsed Democrat Goldberg for governor and his running mate Ottinger for senator. The party made a point, however, of underlining that it supports only "regular" Democrats by specifically repudiating the liberal

Democratic congressional contender Bella Abzug on the McCarthyite grounds that she was not sufficiently hard on communism and the USSR.

In his *Times* pro-Democrat article, Harrington described fairly accurately the surface appearance of the present electoral system. "The Democratic Party of McGovern, Muskie, Mendel Rivers and Eastland faces a Republican Party of Goldwater, Hruska, Javits and Hatfield. These fratricidal coalitions help decide who will be president and which party will organize the houses of Congress. After these trivial questions have been settled, the parties dissolve, and under normal conditions a bipartisan conspiracy of Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans takes over the legislative branch, particularly the House. The system is scientifically designed to stifle serious debate about why society is tearing itself apart and, of course, to subvert any legislation that might deal with basic problems."

This is what Harrington tries to convince his listeners can be changed within the framework of the two-party electoral system. His prescription is to reconstruct the labor-Democratic coalition around a program representative of what George Meany and Hubert Humphrey symbolize — that is, the union bureaucracy and opportunist politics. A compatible combination.

The argument is that only such a supportive coalition can change the character of the Democratic Party, but why exactly this coalition failed in the recent past to change the Democratic Party is not dealt with directly.

Harrington implies, however, with statistics and quotations, that campus revolts, antiwar demonstrations, Black nationalism, the emergence of La Raza Unida, and conflicting views of the war in Southeast Asia are what disturbs the broad coalition around the Democratic Party.

This happens to be very close to what George Meany says is wrong with the way things have been going.

Both Meany and Harrington are partly right, except they confuse the causal sequence of events. Campus revolts and antiwar demonstrations have caused the labor-Democratic coalition to falter and show signs of weakening. But it was the failure of the unions and the Democratic Party and all political tendencies within the two-party capitalist system — in short, the failure of the system itself —

to solve any of the problems presently plaguing society that first gave rise to the campus revolts and the demonstrations and the disaffection of Blacks and other minorities.

There is interaction between these many manifestations of social unrest and the weakening of the labor-Democratic coalition as this political process unfolds. The old relations within that coalition can never be restored.

Harrington keeps talking about how this will be possible *after* the war. "So long as the Vietnam tragedy dominates our national politics, I do not see the possibility of the basic kind of realignment I am proposing. . . . Moreover, when the war in Vietnam ends . . .," etc. But this is the issue. When will the war end? How will it be ended? Who will end it? The organization of those political forces capable of ending the war will create the only viable political structure that can cope with the basic economic and social ills of this country.

All the different disaffected groups — the youth, the minorities, the liberal intellectuals, including the few "nominal Republicans who are cryptoradicals" — do not add up to the forces that can organize a "fourth party" to operate within the framework of the capitalist two-party system and change that system. Harrington's arithmetic is accurate in this respect. But neither are there any other social forces, including the trade unions, that can change this two-party system so long as they remain locked within it. The purpose of the two-party system is precisely to render all antagonistic class forces subservient to the politics of the capitalist class. This is the way the capitalists govern society. As a minority, they could not hope to rule except through a coalition in which they are the decisive power.

They need all sorts of clever strategists to explain, as Harrington does, how it is not possible to organize a "fourth party" as a counterweight within the system to George Wallace's "third party" because this would only help Nixon. But it is possible, says Harrington, "after the war," to reorganize and restructure the Democratic Party if all the dissenters will kindly reassemble behind George Meany and Hubert Humphrey.

This is old music, the tune of every pied piper who has led the victims and opponents of capitalism into the two-party political trap.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party have their own way of doing the same thing. Most confidence men for the two-party system use the "lesser-evil" come-on. The Democratic Party is no good but it is better than the Republican. This approach is too direct for the Stalinists. They piously proclaim that both parties are bad and, occasionally, for those who are convinced of this, there is even a token CP candidate.

But for the great majority of others who shouldn't waste a vote, the main thing, the CP solemnly intones, is to "defeat Nixon at all costs." This is the "greater-evil" technique, patented by Earl Browder in 1936 when the CP joined the labor-Democratic coalition and helped defeat Alf Landon the Republican "at all costs." This "sophisticated" method has been used by the CP ever since without change. It serves to stimulate interest in the two-party system and helps the capitalist class retain monopoly control of electoral politics.

There is a need for and the prospect of an alternative to this two-party system — and not the fake "third" or "fourth" capitalist party that is talked about. The real alternative to the electoral politics of capitalism, the independent party of the working class, will be the subject of another article.

Two Atlanta cops cleared in killing of Black youth

By SAM MANUEL

ATLANTA—The Fraternal Order of Police cheered and applauded the decision by an all-white jury here Oct. 15 acquitting two policemen who killed a 15-year-old Black youth last summer. To the Black community, the decision was just one more indication that a white cop can kill a Black youth — even by shooting him in the back — with impunity.

On Aug. 4, two white policemen rushed to a reported burglary scene. According to the *Atlanta Constitution*, the officers were carrying out a routine investigation when they recognized Andre Moore, a 15-year-old suspect in a previous burglary attempt.

When the cops attempted to arrest Moore, the youth allegedly broke away and began to run.

Andre Moore died from one bullet that entered his back and exited through the abdomen. The *Constitu-*

tion quotes the officers as stating that they fired at Moore "with intent to kill."

The entire Black community was awaiting the verdict of the jury, but none more intensely than the Blacks of Summerhill, one of Atlanta's worst ghettos. Summerhill was the scene of a rebellion by the Black community touched off last summer by the murder of Andre Moore.

Leaders of the community responded to the jury decision by calling on all forces in Atlanta's Black community to deal with this case of overt injustice.

A meeting was held Oct. 17 at the Greater Mt. Calvary Church in Summerhill, where about 100 Black leaders and citizens announced plans to mobilize the Black community in protest of the verdict. The meeting formulated several demands, including one for control of the police by the Black community.

The great society

Motion test—A West Palm Beach attorney has filed suit against the county school system for conducting a "bra test" of students. To stamp out brassiness, the county school system reportedly sends suspects to the school's dean of women where they are required to jump up and down. If there is too much bounce, the student is sent home and instructed to wear a bra in the future.

Forward-looking gift—For that relative or friend who's gloomy about the future of our planet, the Neiman-Marcus Xmas catalog is offering an 80-foot, \$550,000 ark. Four-year delivery.

For the hen who has everything—From Tiffany's a split-wood egg basket, 9 and 1/2 inches, sterling silver, \$1,100. Subject to prior sale. Act now.

Plain-talk dep't—Reporting that a top Japanese business leader had agreed to reopen textile trade negotiations with the U.S., the Oct. 24 *New York Times* explained that Kogoro Uemura is president of the Japanese Federation of Economic Organization and, with refreshing candor, added that Mr. Uemura "sits on the top level of the establishment of businessmen, bureaucrats and politicians that governs Japan. . . ."

Like a red herring—"Last month most of the Argentine Navy put to sea after a radar man flashed a report of suspected Soviet submarine activity. When the Argentine ships arrived on the scene the menacing shapes turned out to be a couple of copulating whales."—*Time*, Oct. 5.

How would we manage without them?—Those who argue that practically anyone could manage the country as well as those now in charge should seriously ask themselves how many ordinary people could accomplish the following: Lamont du Pont Copeland Jr., great, great, great grandson of the original du Pont and currently employed as securities analyst in the giant trust's treasury department, advised the courts he presently has personal assets of \$26-million and liabilities of \$63-million.

It just seems that way—Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, the hucksters, claim they've laid to rest the persistent notion that the average American is exposed to nearly 1,500 ads a day. BBD&O says it's really only 285 a day for men and 305 for women.

Pure science—Jack Crawford of Berkeley was fired as a human guinea pig in a NASA nutrition experiment for the astronaut program. Dismissal came after he refused to sign a no-sex oath demanded of substitute astronauts after NASA learned they were engaging in homework during twice-weekly visiting hours. Crawford filed a back-pay suit. NASA lawyers responded that the experiments involved measuring waste and energy output and sex constituted an "unauthorized energy output." At least they didn't consider it a waste.

—HARRY RING

Book review

Building an independent Chicano party



Photo by Dave Warren

Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales

LA RAZA! WHY A CHICANO PARTY? WHY CHICANO STUDIES? Pathfinder Press, Inc. 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. 16pp. 30 cents.

LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY IN TEXAS. Pathfinder Press, Inc. 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. 16pp. 25 cents.

These two pamphlets are about the building of an independent nationalist party of the Chicano people—the second largest minority in this coun-

try. The first, *La Raza!*, is a symposium at California State College, Hayward, Calif., Nov. 13-14, 1969. There are eight participants, mostly students, all activists in the Chicano liberation movement. One, Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales, is the nationally prominent chairman of the Denver Crusade for Justice and an initiator of the Colorado Raza Unida Party.

This symposium is far-ranging, touching upon many basic questions.

First off is the way a minority people can participate effectively in electoral politics. One participant posed a question: Should such a popular labor leader as Cesar Chavez be supported if he decided to run for public office in the Democratic Party primary?

Then came the question of whether electoral politics can be useful.

One of the most basic questions of all, that of program, was raised when another participant raised this question: "It seems to me that if we started a political party according to the view of the socialist as spoken, we might alienate many of the people from the Crusade for Justice, the *Alianza*, the *Huelga* people, because, how many socialist Chicanos are there now in the Bay Area? Socialists with a capitalist S?"

Corky Gonzales, speaking of the liberating power of Chicano nationalism, said, "We had communalism and socialism hundreds of years before the white man ever hit these shores."

The second pamphlet, *La Raza Unida Party in Texas*, tells about the activity of the independent Chicano party that won a school board election and councilmanic election on April 4, 1970, in Crystal City, Texas. Here is a living answer to many of the questions raised earlier in the California symposium.

These election victories and what

Raza Unida accomplished after the election, are movingly described in talks by Mario Compean and Jose Gutierrez. Compean is chairman of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO); and Gutierrez, former MAYO chairman, is presently, at 25, the leader of La Raza Unida Party. Gutierrez was one of three Chicanos elected to the Crystal City school board. He is chairman of the board.

Immediately upon election they changed the school by filling teacher vacancies with Chicanos. All students were served free breakfasts provided by the school.

Gutierrez compares this with other "free breakfast" programs. "Everyone publicizes the fact that the Panthers are feeding kids all over the country. And everybody pours out money at cocktail parties and gets very concerned about little kids eating in the morning.

"Well, right now in Crystal City any kid who wants to eat can eat. Free breakfast in all schools."

His comments about the liberal Texas Democrat, Ralph Yarborough, should be of interest to those who bemoan Yarborough's defeat. "He's perfectly content with the bigoted sheriff and Captain Allee (Texas Rangers) and the guys that break the strikes in El Rio Grande City. . . . Well, he gets beaten, and he knows why."

The success of La Raza Unida Party is a fascinating story that should be of particular interest to Blacks and other national minorities of this country.

For those who will want to read more on the power of minority parties, another pamphlet by Pathfinder, George Breitman's *How a Minority Can Change Society*, is also recommended.

—F. L.

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-2416.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel: (415) 537-3656.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

Riverside: YSA c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, Andrew Jackson Sta., San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Vern Westerberg, 1360 Sumac, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o Miguel Pendas, 313A N. Illinois, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80907.

Denver: Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Jacksonville: YSA, c/o Neill Wade, Box 8409 Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

Orlando: YSA, 762 Overspin St., Winter Park, Fla. 32789.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 288-4655.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Dennis Drake, 3321

Tapp Road, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: Northampton YSA, Rm. 4188 Student Union, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ); 547-8557.

South Boston: YSA, 88 Myrtle St., Waltham, Mass. 02154. Tel: (617) 891-7852.

Cambridge: YSA, 14 Howard St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 354-6687.

Worcester: YSA, Box 410, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1 6135.

East Lansing: YSA, c/o Alex Harshey, 113 Louis St., East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, UMKC Student Center, Box 38, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, McArthur Hotel, 100 N. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. 63101.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd. Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mark Anthony, 217 Spruce St., Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sandy Knoll, Box 250, Memorial Hall, U of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.

Tel: (513) 475-2721.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: (216) 861-3862.

Kent: YSA, c/o Jerry Alter, Box 1, Musselman Hall, Kent State U, Kent Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 672-4956.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Carol Kershner, 2635 S.W. Hume St., Portland, Ore. 97219.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o Ken Evans, Apt. 208-A, Corey Creek Apts., Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Michael Lemonds, P.O. Box 8641, University St., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 523-8445.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Dallas-Ft. Worth: YSA, Box 863, UTA Station, Arlington, Texas 76010.

El Paso: YSA, UTEP, P.O. Box 178, El Paso, Texas 79999.

Houston: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 39196, Houston, Texas 77039.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Ingrid Johansen, Rt. 2, Box 109, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA, c/o 431 N. 9th St., LaCrosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 276-4463.

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, 1603 Elmwood Ave., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.

PLAN EARLY FOR XMAS. Are you drawing up a list of people who would appreciate gift subscriptions to The Militant?

Supersnooper sniffs out a 'plot'

J. Edgar Hoover learns YSA fights for socialism

The Nixon administration is conducting a systematic campaign to curb the activities of the student movement. A principal weapon in this campaign has been recent Internal Revenue Service guidelines designed to compel college administrations to deny students the use of campus facilities for their activities. This is done on the fake claim that such activities conflict with a college's tax-exempt status and provide the basis for rescinding such exemption.

These moves have been accompanied by stepped-up red-baiting, with super snooper J. Edgar Hoover playing a principal role in the smear attacks. One such attack by Hoover was leveled against the Young Socialist Alliance and Student Mobilization Committee in an article for a Veterans of Foreign Wars publication. The following review of that article is from Intercontinental Press, Oct. 12

The September 1970 issue of the monthly *V. F. W. Magazine*, published in Kansas City, Missouri, contains an eloquent sounding of alarm entitled "The Red University." The subtitle reads: "Goal of Trotskyist Communism in the U. S."

"A college student strode across the university campus," the FBI chief begins, in Dick Tracy comic strip style. "He was a clean-cut young man, his hair cut short, wearing a pair of brown trousers and a white sports shirt. There was nothing of the beatnik or hippie type in his appearance."

Who is this apparent innocent? No innocent at all! He is carrying something? What? Marijuana? Heroin? A bomb? Far worse: he is carrying nothing less than a copy of the *Young Socialist* magazine!

This issue of the magazine [September 1969], Hoover reveals, contained an article entitled "YSA Program for the Campus Revolt." He quotes a paragraph calculated to send shivers oscillating in the spines of all true patriots of the VFW:

"The concept of a 'Red University' oriented toward the need of the working class and the oppressed first arose in Europe. The concept means that the university ought to be transformed from a factory producing robots into an organizing center for anticapitalist activities, a generator of revolutionary education, an arena for mobilizing youth in the struggle for the complete transformation of society."

Hoover now gives his audience a small dose of pedagogy, bringing them up to date on the latest intricacies of "Communism."

"Much less has been heard about the Trotskyist brand of Communism than the Stalinist Communists of the Communist Party, USA. The Trotskyists are old-line, orthodox Marxist-Leninists, basing their ideology [sic] on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. . . ."

"For years, the Trotskyists . . . were orphans in the ideological vineyards of the left. They were small, ineffectual and virtually forgotten when compared to the much larger Communist Party, USA.

"But the tables have now turned. The Trotskyists, especially its [sic] youth group (YSA was founded in the late 1950's), have shown a vast membership growth and resurgence in the last 24 months until YSA is today the largest and best organized youth group in left-wing radicalism. Trotskyist influence is especially strong in the youth field, particularly on the college campus.

"For example, at YSA's National Convention in Minneapolis last December, roughly 1,000 members and observers were in attendance. Enthusiasm was high. The convention was effectively organized and run. A number of new recruits were obtained."

The successes of the YSA have obviously either greatly disturbed the aging chief of the FBI or given him what he considers to be a priceless new argument in seeking funds from Congress for his political police:

"Under the banner of Leon Trotsky, old-line Communism—virtually unopposed—is making an almost unbelievable comeback in the nation. Here lies a danger of great magnitude. . . ."

"Today there are an estimated 50 YSA chapters on college campuses throughout the nation. They operate openly and effectively, representing orthodox Communism's most extensive current beachhead in higher education."

Not at all deterred by such considerations as consistency, Hoover accuses the YSA of not working "openly and effectively" but of boring secretly from within:

"A ready-made channel of Trotskyist influence on the college campus is the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). The SMC is a nationwide antiwar group which, along with the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [the New Mobilization Committee is in fact at this point all but defunct—IP], has influenced literally thousands of students, faculty members and others against the war in Vietnam. SMC has received

Indict YSAer for 'trespass'

CARBONDALE, Ill.—Dale Garee, a former student at Southern Illinois University here, appeared in Jackson County courthouse Oct. 27 to answer charges of "criminal trespass" as a result of allegedly violating a decree banning him from the SIU campus. Garee, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a former leader of the Student Mobilization Committee here, faces a maximum sentence of one year in jail and a fine of \$1,000.

Garee was arrested Sunday morning, Oct. 25, by campus security guards. He was in Carbondale with some friends who were attending the United Front for Survival Conference held here this past weekend. He was charged with violating a state statute prohibiting "criminal trespass to state-supported land."

Garee had been formally barred from appearing on campus by SIU president Delyte Morris following an SMC demonstration held on campus last July at which Garee spoke. At that time he was informed that his "presence on campus [would] be to the detriment of this academic community and inimical to the university's pursuit of its assigned function."

Garee, who now lives in Chicago, had been a member of SDS. During last May's demonstrations here he was arrested in a police raid on an SDS center and charged with unlawful assembly, but the charges were later dropped.

The arraignment this morning was postponed until Nov. 6, so that legal counsel for Garee can be obtained. A number of students from SIU accompanied Garee to the courthouse here, protesting his arrest and protesting the law which gives the university president and board of trustees the right to arbitrarily bar individuals from campus.

Students, faculty, and community people are organizing a defense committee to provide legal defense for Garee, to publicize the case, and to raise funds to cover expenses. Inquiries and donations can be sent to Dale Garee Defense Fund, c/o Jack Hammond, 910 E. Park, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

extensive publicity in the national news media and its leaders are frequently interviewed as 'representatives' of student opposition to the American presence in Vietnam.

"Early in 1970, an SMC National Conference was held in Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of organizing antiwar protest strategy. Some 4,000 individuals of varying ideological backgrounds attended. Yet, few people know that SMC is controlled by the Trotskyists. YSA and SWP leaders hold top positions in the SMC and call the signals."

Hoover views with alarm what is happening on the high-school campuses, too:

". . . the Trotskyists also have a well-functioning program aimed at high school students. They know that if students are radicalized at this age they are more apt to become militant revolutionaries in college. The Trotskyists have made considerable progress at a number of high schools.

"In one instance, for example, a group of Trotskyist adherents in one school openly proclaimed support of Socialist Workers Party candidates for their area . . . They set forth other demands, saying that unless these demands were met they could no longer participate in the morning activities of their school, such as the pledge of allegiance."

Trotskyism, in fact, is to be seen just about everywhere. Opposition inside the armed forces to fighting and dying for Ky and Thieu in Vietnam? That's straight Trotskyism:

"Mention should also be made, in discussing the Trotskyist attempt to reach young people, of YSA's and SMC's 'GI Antiwar Movement,' whereby YSA and SMC members encourage GIs to challenge military regulations, to agitate among their comrades against the Vietnam War and to demand what YSA calls their 'constitutional rights.'"

The great defender of the American Way of Life and Death cannot conceive of constitutional rights of Americans, it seems, except as a synonym for Trotskyism:

"In a northern state a bus pulls into

the terminal. It is loaded with off-duty GIs coming from their base to spend Sunday afternoon and evening in the city. On the sidewalk stands a group of some five or six college students—members of YSA. As the GIs alight, the students hand out leaflets which denounce the Vietnam War and urge the GIs to 'stand up for peace and against militarism.'"

In fact, it is highly unlikely that many leaflets—whether written by members of the YSA or any other organization—would use the pedestrian slogans that lifted the hair on Hoover's head straight up. In any case, he is sure that such language has an almost magical effect:

"No wonder a recent Trotskyist publication could brag: 'The growth of the anti-war movement among the GIs adds powerful new forces to the anti-war movement—forces in a key strategic position from which to campaign against the war. Anti-war actions led or initiated by GIs are increasing. GI anti-war papers are proliferating, and on-post battles for constitutional rights to oppose the war are becoming a regular feature of life in the armed forces.'"

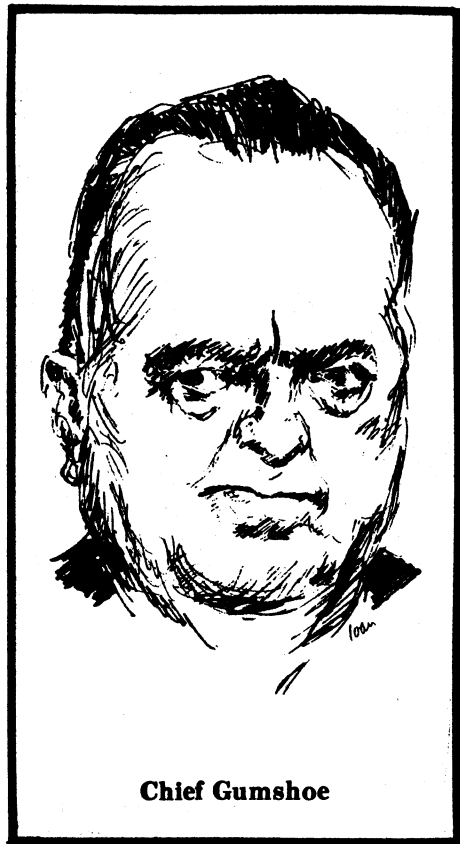
Fortunately for the future of the world, America has its Hoover just as ancient Rome had its Horatio, who stood so valiantly at the bridge, whacking away at the barbarian hordes while shouting to the great "silent majority" for assistance:

"To meet this Trotskyist challenge, we must be positive in our support of America—its ideals, its values, its principles.

"As never before, America needs help. In today's world, with so many forces endeavoring to disrupt democratic government, each citizen must be willing to stand up and boldly say: 'You can count on me.'"

We foresee a promising market for a new badge on the American campus—Hoover's mug framed in glowing red words: "You can count on me."

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Chief Gumshoe