



**A socialist
analysis
of the
elections:**

What happened to Nixon's 'great silent majority'?

By BARRY SHEPPARD

The 1970 election campaigns and the results at the polls underscore the fact that under the capitalist two-party system elections give a highly distorted reflection of the real political processes occurring in the country.

Someone following the contest from abroad would never know from what went on in the elections that there is a growing, militant women's liberation movement in this country; that there is a deepening determination by Black and Brown people to win their liberation; that there is a highly radicalized student movement and deep-rooted opposition to the war; that increasing numbers of Americans are for the first time questioning a system responsible for the host of social evils confronting them. None of these profound developments were able to find any serious expression in a capitalist-rigged two-party setup.

Because the capitalist class wields a virtual political monopoly through their firm control of both major parties, it was possible for the contending aspirants for public office to ignore or bury the important issues of the day. It is within the framework of this political reality that the election results should be discussed.

First, it should be noted that the much heralded "shift to the right" among the American people, which the pundits assured would be registered at the polls, failed to materialize.

On the key question of the war in Southeast Asia, there was a virtual conspiracy to keep the issue out of the elections.

Supporters of Nixon avoided public advocacy of military victory in their campaigns. Instead, they backed Nixon's phony "peace" offer of a cease-fire and slow withdrawals of troops—a plan designed to disarm antiwar forces in the country while Washington continues its aggression in Southeast Asia.

The "dove" capitalist politicians likewise covered up for Nixon on the war, giving his "peace plan" a stamp of legitimacy. There was almost no way for antiwar sentiment to be registered in the elections, not even through the highly distorted form of a vote for "dove" capitalist politicians.

This fact makes the results of the referendums on the war in San Francisco, Detroit and Massachusetts particularly significant. Especially in San Francisco and Detroit, where unambiguous positions for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam were voted up or down, the majority vote against the war indicates that antiwar sentiment continues to develop and is very deep in the country.

The referendums show that Nixon's "silent majority" for the war doesn't exist. The antiwar referendums are even more significant when one takes into account the fact that the rolls of registered voters do not accurately reflect the social weight of young people, Blacks and Browns—that is, those most strongly against the war.

The referendums also knock into a cocked hat the theory that the working people are for the war, an image the admin-
(Continued on page 8)

GIs encouraged by Oct. 31 actions

Antiwar sentiment growing in ranks

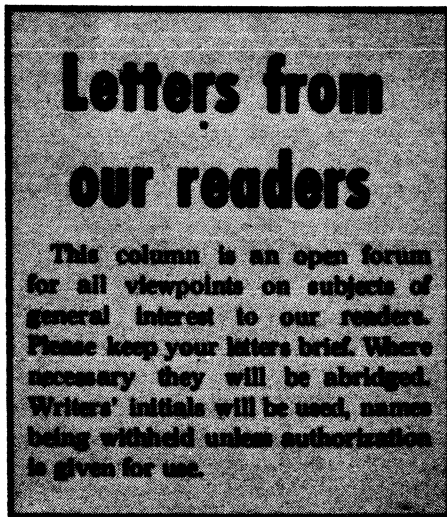
Ft. Polk, La.

While thousands marched against the war on Oct. 31, GIs here at Ft. Polk were forced to watch a "firepower" demonstration of weapons used in Vietnam. While civilians around the country denounced U.S. imperialist involvement in Southeast Asia, the brass showed us and their Democratic and Republican guests how to make the war even more "efficient."

Although GIs are in a sense captives, we are not immune to the antiwar sentiment which exists in this country. In fact, we are probably the single sector of society most opposed to the war. Yet GIs must be reached and mobilized if we are to put an end to imperialist ventures once and for all.

Each antiwar demonstration assures GIs that efforts are being made to end this war. Each mobilization brings an awareness to greater numbers of our brothers in uniform that they have the power to do something about it.

I wish to personally thank the civilian antiwar movement for its efforts thus far, and to urge them to double their efforts in the future—especially in reaching GIs. To those civilians who are tired of marching and who consider demonstrations a thing of



the past, I can say only one thing: GIs are tired of marching, too—through the rice paddies of Vietnam, crushing a struggle for self-determination. Out now!

Pvt. Edmund Jurenas

Another subscription seller

Philadelphia, Pa.

I would like to sell subs. Set my quota for now at five. List the area on the scoreboard as Coopersburg, Pa.

I'm a member of the Penn SMC and I want to thank you for the great antiwar-movement coverage you have.

S. E.

Question about photos

New York, N. Y.

No photo credits were given for three particularly interesting pictures in last week's *Militant*. Who took the front page photo of the GI military band leading the antiwar parade in New York, the photo of Trotsky's home in Mexico, and the shot of the individual sleeping under a copy of *The Militant*?

J. R.

[All three photo credit lines were dropped by mistake. Howard Petrick took the front page photo. The sleeper originally appeared in the *Dayton Daily News*; he was found on the Columbus statehouse lawn on Oct. 31. The photo from Coyoacan, Mexico, was taken by Joseph Hansen, one of Trotsky's secretaries, shortly after Trotsky's assassination. Moreover, we erroneously identified the photo as a view of Trotsky's home. It was, in fact, the view from inside the watchtower on the roof of Trotsky's home, showing a portion of the patio and the garage. — Editor]

Protest imprisonment of Iranian writers

Cambridge, Mass.

Early last spring Feraydoun Tonkaboni, a contemporary writer of Iran, was arrested because of the publication of his book, *Notes of a Turbulent City*. In this book he made direct and indirect criticism of the Iranian government and the Shah's regime.

Several members of the Association of Iranian Writers and Artists (AIWA) signed a letter protesting his imprisonment and sent it to the prime minister as well as to the press. The response of the government was the arrest of a number of signers, including M. A. Sepanloo, Naser Rahmani-Nejad and M. A. Beh Azeen. The first two were released after a while but Beh Azeen,

accused of being the author of the letter, is still in jail.

F. Tonkaboni is presently free after having finished his six-month sentence. But circulation of a second letter protesting Beh Azeen's detainment resulted in the rearrest of Sepanloo and Rahmani-Nejad. Other members of AIWA who signed the protest letters face similar harassment.

We protest these arrests as a direct violation of basic freedom of expression and as a denial of human rights. We request the release of these prisoners and a public explanation of their arrests.

Statements of support and donations can be sent to P.O. Box 82, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Committee to Defend Iranian Political Prisoners

Group seeks to publicize U.S. prison conditions

New York, N. Y.

The Fortune Society has as its basic purpose to create a greater public awareness of the prison system in America today. We also hope to help the public realize the problems and complexities confronted by the inmates—during their incarceration and when they rejoin society.

The Fortune Society does this by sending out teams of speakers (ex-convicts) to school, church and civic groups and on radio and television. We want to relate first-hand experience of prison life and help to create a greater understanding of the causes of crime in America.

Donations and requests for speakers or literature can be sent to Fortune Society, 1545 Broadway, Suite 603, New York, N. Y. 10036.

David Rothenberg
Executive Secretary

Suggests warmer climate for capitalists

Costa Mesa, Calif.

One of the most amazing things to me is that we have let capitalism survive this long.

Capitalists have raped our forests and polluted the lakes and rivers with their waste. They have taken over the oceanfronts as private property. They have spilled oil in the tidelands. In return, society gets unemployment, high taxes, inflation, and wars to protect the capitalists' counterparts around the world. They promote racism to keep the workers divided.

I believe the young people and the exploited men and women of this country are about to send capitalism to hell.

Raul Y. Rodrigues

Questions Quebecois goal of French unilingualism

New York, N. Y.

Quebec may be "an entire nation of hostages kidnapped three hundred years ago" (*Militant*, Oct. 23). But, unfortunately, the fact remains that both captors and captives saw nothing wrong in robbing the Indians and Eskimos of their land, customs, and ultimately their civilizations. To further impose French unilingualism (i.e. French or Quebecois domination) upon the Indians and Eskimos would simply mean adding one more to the already countless injustices inflicted upon the *only* truly native people of

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Closing news date—Nov. 11

what is now known as Canada.

The suspension of civil liberties and especially the manner in which this was achieved in Quebec is, of course, deplorable. And yet, it may serve as a reminder to many [people] of the much longer and infinitely more cruel treatment red men have received at the hands of *all* whites. No country on this continent can have any claim to legitimacy unless it resolves to undo some of those injustices. Perhaps an independent Quebec could become the first state in North America to truly represent the interests of all its residents.

W. M.

[For a revolutionary socialist view on the right of Canadian Indians to self-determination, a 30-cent pamphlet entitled *Red Power in Canada* may be ordered from Vanguard Publications, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto 2B, Ontario. For a discussion on the question of unilingualism in Quebec, see the article by Arthur Young printed in this issue. — Editor]

New border for Quebec

Montreal, Quebec

Congratulations on your excellent coverage of the crisis in Quebec in your Oct. 30 issue.

I was particularly struck by your page one photo entitled "In occupied Quebec." The building silhouetted behind the soldier is unmistakably that of Canada's parliament in Ottawa—a mile on the Ontario side of the Quebec border.

A particular irony of Trudeau's war measures has been the sealing off of the borders of Quebec by police and army checkpoints. The federal government, dedicated to the "unity" of capitalist Canada, has recognized in its unique way the existence of a Quebecois nation! And as your photo indicates, Ottawa seems to be defined as part of Quebec for purposes of the war measures act.

Revolutionaries who support Quebec independence, for their part, have never accepted Quebec's present borders. Large areas adjacent to Quebec have a majority French-speaking population. As for Ottawa—half its population and the majority of its workers are French-speaking.

Was your caption in error—or an inspired prediction?

J. Martin

[With all due apologies to our Canadian readers especially, the caption was an error. — Editor]

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



For once he's right.

JOIN THE YSA!

— I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA
— I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION
— ENCLOSED IS .75 FOR "INTRODUCTION TO THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE"

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
ZIP _____ PHONE _____
CLIP AND MAIL TO YSA, BOX 471 COOPER STATION, NY, NY 10003

ON THE MOVE? If you're re-planning on moving, advance notice to our business office of change of address will reduce undue delay in receiving your subscription.

YSA to hold national convention Dec. 27-31

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK — The Young Socialist Alliance, the nation's largest and fastest growing radical youth organization, will hold the biggest convention in its 10-year history next month. The national office of the YSA expects between 1,000 and 1,500 delegates and observers to attend the Tenth National Young Socialist Convention at New York's Manhattan Center Dec. 27-31.

Young Socialist conventions make the decisions about what the revolutionary-socialist wing of the youth radicalization will do with its energies in the coming year, based on an assessment of the developing political situation and an evaluation of the past year's experiences. The convention next month will discuss the growth of the mass movements for Black liberation, for Chicano liberation, for women's liberation, and against the war in Southeast Asia during 1970 and map plans for young socialist participation in the building of these movements toward further victories in 1971.

The Young Socialist National Convention will also hear a report on revolutionary developments in other countries. Revolutionaries from many nations will be attending.

In addition to the main sessions, there will be a number of other programs during the five days of the convention.

This year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky. A special point at the convention will be devoted to recalling the role this great revolutionary played in the struggle for socialism and the role his ideas are playing today in the world revolutionary movement.

Another feature of the convention will be a program organized around the theme of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the YSA.

Special workshops and panels will also take place dealing with the defense of the Arab revolution, the defense of Latin American revolutionaries, and a variety of other topics.

The convention will be open to rad-

ical young people interested in attending. The resolutions which will be discussed and voted on are available to anyone interested. These resolutions are: political resolution, Chicano struggle resolution, Black struggle resolution, women's liberation resolution and antiwar resolution. They are available from the YSA national office and YSA locals around the country for 25 cents apiece.

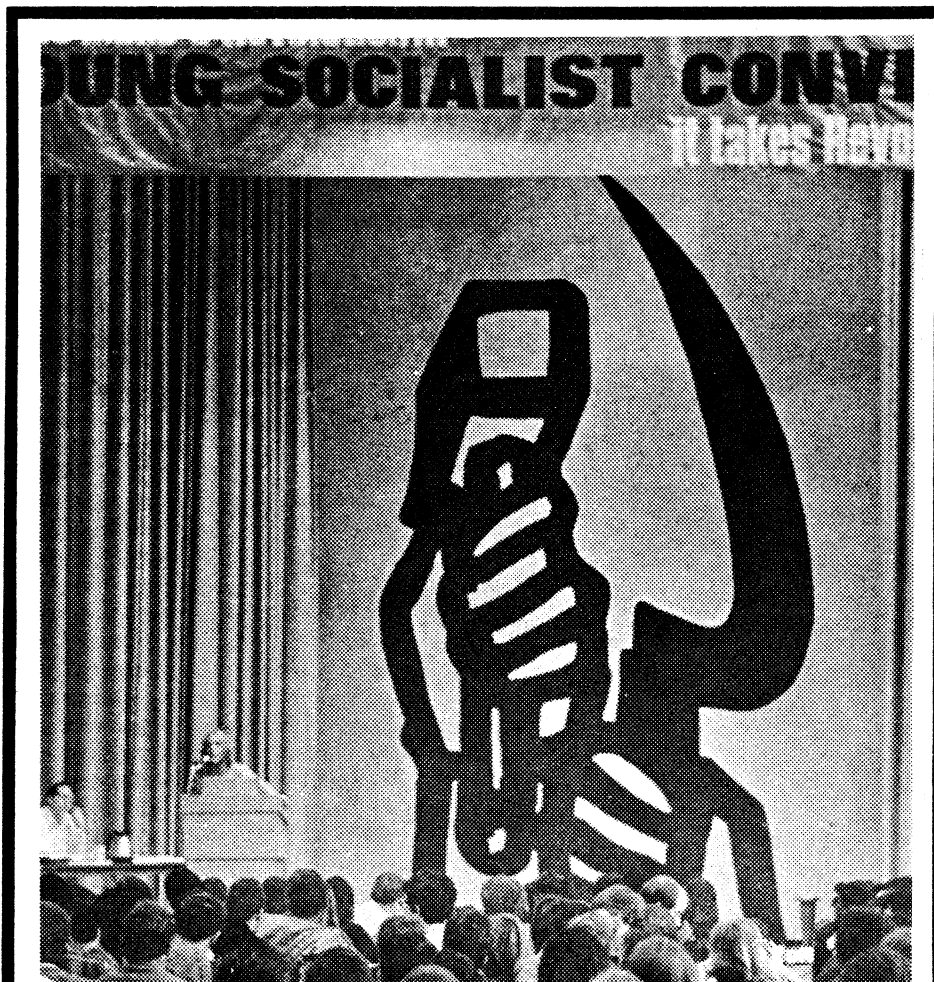
The convention will be the largest and most significant gathering of its kind to take place during the coming year, and the YSA national office expects many young radicals who are not members of the YSA to come to observe and participate. Many of the special programs will be open to the participation of nondelegates, and the delegates' sessions are open for others to observe without voice.

National Chairwoman Susan LaMont also expects more YSAers than ever before to attend "because there are more YSAers than there ever were before." The YSA has been on a recruitment campaign since the middle of September. According to LaMont, several hundred new YSAers have joined during the last two months. "More than that will probably join between now and the convention," she said, "because of the Socialist Educational Conferences taking place around the country at which many who have met the YSA in action this fall will decide to join."

The YSA's National Executive Committee has chartered seven new locals of the YSA since the recruitment campaign began, and accepted more than 50 members-at-large in areas where no locals yet exist. But the biggest growth has been in those areas where locals already exist, according to LaMont.

"Some of the most outstanding gains have been made by relatively new locals, such as Binghamton, New York, Portland, Oregon, and Houston, Texas," LaMont said.

The majority of YSA members will attend the convention, as well as hundreds of other young radicals from the campuses who want to get a first-



Come to the YSA Convention

Name _____
 Address _____ City _____
 State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____
 Please send me information on the convention.
 I want to join the YSA.
 Enclosed is \$1.25 for the convention resolutions. Clip and Send to YSA, P. O. Box 471 Cooper Sta., N. Y., N. Y. 10003

hand look at how a revolutionary organization decides its political line.

YSA locals are organizing chartered buses and other transportation for the convention. Information on this aspect of the convention arrangements

as well as housing and registration can be obtained by writing to the YSA national office at P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003, or by contacting the YSA in your area.

Young socialists win in two student government races

NOV. 9 — Students running on young socialist platforms have recently won campus elections in Chicago and Austin.

Four of seven young socialist candidates were elected to the Student Government Assembly at the University

LENIN-HEGEL Number

of *Radical America* (Vol. IV, #7)

Contents Include:

"Towards An Understanding of Lenin's Philosophy," by P. Piccone.

"Lenin & Luxemburg: Negation in Theory & Praxis," by R. Jacoby.

"Concept of Praxis in Hegel," by Paolo Gambazzi.

"Anthropology, Dialectics and Phenomenology in Hegel," by E. Paci.

96pp, 75c. Or \$5/year (10 numbers), including free copy of classic Marxist pamphlet by Paul Lafargue, *The Right To Be Lazy*. 1237 Spaight St., Madison, Wi. 53703.

of Illinois Circle Campus Oct. 28-29. All four are members of the Young Socialist Alliance. Of the slate of seven, four had been endorsed by the *Chicago Illini*, the student newspaper.

Those elected were Carol Burke of the campus Women's Liberation group, who received the highest vote of any candidate; Gilberto DeLeon of the Latin American Student Union; Bill Rayson, staff member of the Student Mobilization Committee; and Joe Callahan, chairman of Young Socialist Campaigners.

The candidates' platform contained three main planks:

- An end to campus complicity with the Vietnam war and use of university facilities to reach out to involve labor, GIs, Blacks and Chicanos in the fight to end it;

- Support for the demands of the women's liberation movement. These include university distribution of birth-control information and materials, a free day-care center and a women's

study department, both to be controlled by the women involved;

- Open admissions for Blacks and Latin Americans and the establishment of Black and Latin study programs to be controlled by a committee of the students, faculty and community members involved.

At the University of Texas in Austin, YSAer Derek Jeffers was recently elected to the legislative body of the student government on a similar platform. He placed third out of a total of 19 candidates.

Socialist educational conferences slated

Regional educational conferences sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are now being planned for the last two weeks of November in cities across the country.

The dates of nine of these conferences have already been decided. Cleveland and Atlanta will host regional conferences on Nov. 14-15. Washington, D. C., Boston, Austin, Houston and New York will hold conferences on Nov. 20-22. Philadelphia and Los Angeles will have educational conferences on November 27-28. Among the topics scheduled for

many areas are the Palestinian revolution, nationalism and self-determination, perspectives for the antiwar movement, women's liberation, perspectives for the American revolution, Marxism vs. terrorism, and the campus radicalization.

In addition to educational discussions, the conferences are also scheduling workshops to discuss specific areas of activity such as literature sales, finances, Third World struggles, women's liberation movement, building the YSA convention, lessons of the SWP election campaigns and other topics.

The *International Socialist Review*, the magazine of socialist theory and education in the United States, has offered its full cooperation to the educational conferences and will be providing speakers from its staff for some of the gatherings.

Individuals interested in attending the YSA-SWP regional educational conferences should contact the nearest center (see listing on page 18); or should write to the YSA national office, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003; or SWP, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Protest grows on detention of Angela Davis

NOV. 10—After a court order forced New York City prison officials to release Angela Davis from solitary confinement in the Women's House of Detention, the next day, Nov. 6, her attorneys filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus.

The petition states in part: "The California complaint and affidavit which purport to charge [Angela Davis] with the crime of murder and kidnapping do not furnish probable cause that she committed said crime.

"Petitioner [Angela Davis] has been and is the object of persecution by the governor and authorities of the state of California who, because of her membership in the Communist Party and her political opinions and beliefs, caused her to be ousted from her post as assistant professor of philosophy at the University of California and have now caused her to be charged with murder and kidnapping. To permit her to be extradited to California under these circumstances and on the insubstantial showing made in the requisition would constitute a violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and a flagrant denial of due process of law."

A hearing on the writ will be held Friday, Nov. 20, in New York Supreme Court at Foley Square.

The New York Committee to Free Angela Davis is calling for a mass demonstration in front of the courthouse on that day.

Meanwhile, on Saturday, Nov. 7, several hundred persons attended a reception at the Harlem branch of the Young Women's Christian Association. Speakers included Angela's sister, Fania Jordan; Alice Graham of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Martha Davis of the Harlem Drug Fighters; Afeni Shakur of the Black Panther Party; and Charlene Mitchell of the Communist Party. The meeting was sponsored by Black Women for the Freedom of Angela Davis.



Women's liberation notes

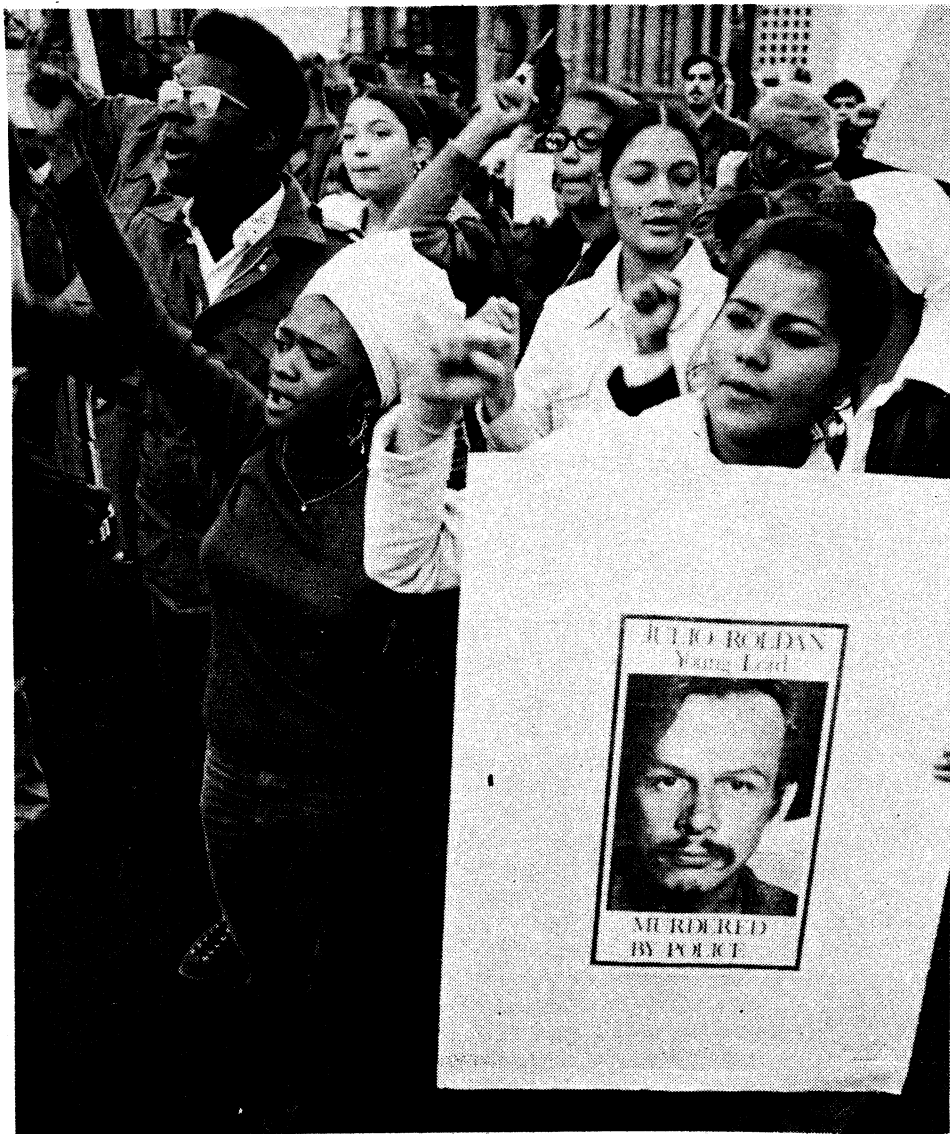
A Black Women's Study Group has just been formed in Riverside, California, based on the campus of the University of California at Riverside. According to a statement by the group, its purpose is "to create a group easily mobilized; to draw attention to and solve specific problems of Black women; and to formulate and present study papers for the purpose of intellectual growth and use in clarifying our position in the future." The activities of the group have so far included an open meeting on the relation between feminism and the Black struggle, and organizing a contingent of Third World women for the Oct. 31 antiwar demonstration.

The Central Committee of the Young Lords Party, a Puerto Rican organization, has recently issued a position paper on women. Pointing out that Puerto Rican women are often victimized by the *machismo* (male supremacy) of Latin culture, the Young Lords urge their female members to get involved in women's liberation. "Puerto Rican and Black women make up over half of the revolutionary army, and in the struggle for national liberation they must press for the equality of women; the women's struggle is the revolution within the revolution."

The statement also acknowledges the active role Puerto Rican women have played in history. Women such as the nationalist poet of the 1860s, Lola Rodriguez de Tio, who fought for women's rights and in defiance of tradition cut her hair short, are even more left out of history than the Susan B. Anthonys.

Recognizing that if Puerto Rican women are to become active outside the home they will need free, 24-hour child care, the Young Lords support that demand. An important part of the statement deals with the genocidal sterilization which the Young Lords say is forced on one out of every three Puerto Rican women, often without their knowledge. Support is given to the demand for community-controlled birth control and abortion clinics.

Before the feminist movement, women didn't notice it when words such as



Liberation News Service photo

Funeral march for Young Lord Julio Roldan, who N. Y. cops said "committed suicide" in cell.

manpower, chairman, and mankind were used to describe us. But the consciousness-raising that has been so much a part of women's liberation has awakened us to the sexism which has thoroughly penetrated the language we use.

For example, why is there a teamster, but no teamstress; seamstress, yet no seamster? Why are there career girls, but no career boys; wrestlers and then lady wrestlers? Why are female twins called fraternal twins?

To combat this, some feminists are

writing women back into language.

Varda One, a feminist from Los Angeles, calls sexist language "manglish" and has developed this idea in the women's liberation newspaper *Everywoman* (6516 W. 83 St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90045). In her last column, Varda points out that although feminist "euphemisms" can help to raise people's consciousness about the sexist nature of many words, they do not change the reality those words reflect. To call history "herstory" does not correct the fact that we have been left out of it. She gives an example: "If a man says to me, 'Now I'm going to talk man to man with you,' stops and realizes what this supposed compliment is, then corrects himself to say 'really level with you,' nothing changes if inside his mind I am still an inferior person known as a woman."

A victory for the demands of the women's liberation movement was won at the August convention of the American Federation of Teachers held in Pittsburgh. At the urging of a caucus of all women delegates, the convention passed resolutions calling for day-care centers for the children of AFT members as well as community residents, the elimination of discriminatory classroom materials, lesson plans on women's history, and maternity leave for women teachers.

A resolution was also passed calling on the AFL-CIO to "change its stand and support the Equal Rights Amendment and struggle for the continuance of protective-rights labor laws, and their extension to all workers, female and male, in all jobs."

Resolutions for paid maternity leaves and for making available contraceptives and free abortions through the schools to teachers and students were rejected.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

Denver male 'reactors' evoke reaction

Black women hold liberation forum

By CARRIE JASIN

DENVER—A Nov. 4 women's liberation forum here was sponsored by a predominantly Black Denver church, New Hope Baptist.

The audience of over 100, the vast majority of whom were Black women, listened to a lively panel discussion based on Robin Morgan's new book, *Sisterhood Is Powerful*. Four of the six panelists were Black women speaking on the welfare system, women of China, women's liberation in the high schools, and the psychological oppression of women.

The other two panelists were white women representing the racism collective of Denver Women's Liberation. They spoke on the objectives and history of the women's liberation movement.

Also part of the program was a panel of three male "reactors" who gave their comments after the women spoke.

The Black chairwoman opened the meeting by asking the audience to seat themselves according to their be-

liefs in one of three sections of the room—"for the women's liberation movement," "undecided," or "against." At the beginning, many women sat in the "against" and "undecided" sections. Everyone, however, was encouraged to switch sections if they had a change of mind during the discussion.

One of the most interesting presentations was on the welfare system. Ernestine Gipson, a social worker, stated that welfare reinforces the role of women as child supporter and homemaker, while the welfare system acts as a "substitute man." If you think domination by a husband is bad, she said, you can imagine being dominated by the Welfare Department. The Welfare Department views poverty as the fault of the individual woman, thus creating intense guilt feelings.

The church organist, after giving a brief history of women in China, concluded her remarks by saying, "Women, if we band together we can even overthrow a government."

One reactor, a Black man who is

assistant to the chancellor of the University of Denver, was napping during the panel discussion. He awoke to entertain the audience by uttering such profundities as the statement that he wanted his wife to wear a bra, panties, and slip at all times. "What will happen to the moral code if the marriage ceremony is done away with?" he asked.

As the Black male reactors gave their negative views on the women's liberation movement, a sizable number of women transferred to the "support for women's liberation" section of the room. This happened especially after one male stated that child-care centers were like putting children in concentration camps and that the birth control pill was making public property out of women, when they should be private property.

Since the male reactors took up much of the time scheduled for questions from the audience, and because of the wide interest in the subject, the sponsors of the program are considering conducting another women's liberation forum.

Sub goal in sight — one week to go

By DOUG JENNESS
and FLAX HERMES

NOV. 10—Subscriptions are arriving at an accelerating rate in *The Militant* business office as the two-month "blitz" drive for 15,000 new readers nears completion.

Three hundred and seventy new subscriptions were received from New York alone in the past week, with the bulk being obtained by members of the New York Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

The New York SWP and YSA have found the drive to be an important aid in their work in other fields. Tying the sub drive in with antiwar work, for example, sub getters distributed thousands of leaflets for the Oct. 31 antiwar action while they were selling subs.

SWP and YSA activists also found that the subscription drive was useful in their work of building the women's liberation movement. While selling subs, revolutionary-socialist feminists made contact with four new women's liberation groups, at Adelphi University, the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Sarah Lawrence College and C.W. Post College, and were able to put these groups in contact with the women's coalition that is organizing a mass women's demonstration in New York on Dec. 12.

Women's liberation activists were also interested in reading *The Militant*, with its extensive coverage and revolutionary perspective on the women's movement. For example, a number of women active in the Phoenix Organization of Women, a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican organization,

are new readers of *The Militant* as a result of the drive.

An important part of work done in support of the SWP election campaigns in New York was getting *The Militant* into the hands of people interested in the ideas of revolutionary socialism. Many were hearing these ideas explained by the socialist candidates.

Subscription teams were also able to distribute hundreds of leaflets advertising the weekly *Militant Labor Forum*, and met many new people interested in the socialist movement. Even a number of small donations were received by sub getters for the SWP and YSA.

To these kinds of immediate gains, of course, must be added the more important longer-range gains which result from expanding the Marxist press. As the radicalization deepens, *The Militant* is playing a greater and greater role as educator and organizer of the broader mass movements, as well as of the revolutionary-socialist movement directly.

An indication of the success of tying the subscription drive into all areas of work for the SWP and YSA has been the enthusiasm generated among New York sub getters. Last weekend, after a tiring job of moving the local headquarters of the SWP and YSA, 175 subscriptions were sold in a single evening!

In the contest among the top four sub getters in the country, Bill Rayson of Chicago has jumped into first place with 140; Syd Stapleton of Cleveland is next with 130; Natalie Harary, New York, 122; and Dean Reed of Santa Cruz, 110.

U of Tenn students fight for constitutional rights

NOV. 9—Over 250 people participated in a demonstration on the University of Tennessee campus Nov. 6 as part of a "Day of Concern" over constitutional rights to free speech and assembly.

The march, sponsored by the Student Government Association, was in opposition to the prosecution of a group of students and nonstudents arrested last January for taking part in a demonstration on the campus.

The first person to face trial, Peter Kami, was sentenced Oct. 31 to two years in prison for incitement to riot. (See story in Nov. 13 *Militant*.) Kami is asking for a new trial and plans to challenge the constitutionality of the law against incitement to riot.

In the subsequent trials of Rick Flowers and Carroll Bible, charges of incitement to riot were dismissed for lack of evidence. Flowers was sentenced to six months in the workhouse after pleading guilty to a charge of obstructing the entrance to the University of Tennessee administration building.

Bible, a former student and instructor at the university, pleaded not guilty to the same charge. The maximum sentence he faced was a year in the workhouse and a \$1,000 fine, but the jury, after four and one-half hours of deliberation, fined him \$150.

Although Bible was found guilty, the light sentence was considered a victory by students who have protested the infringement of civil liberties on the campus.

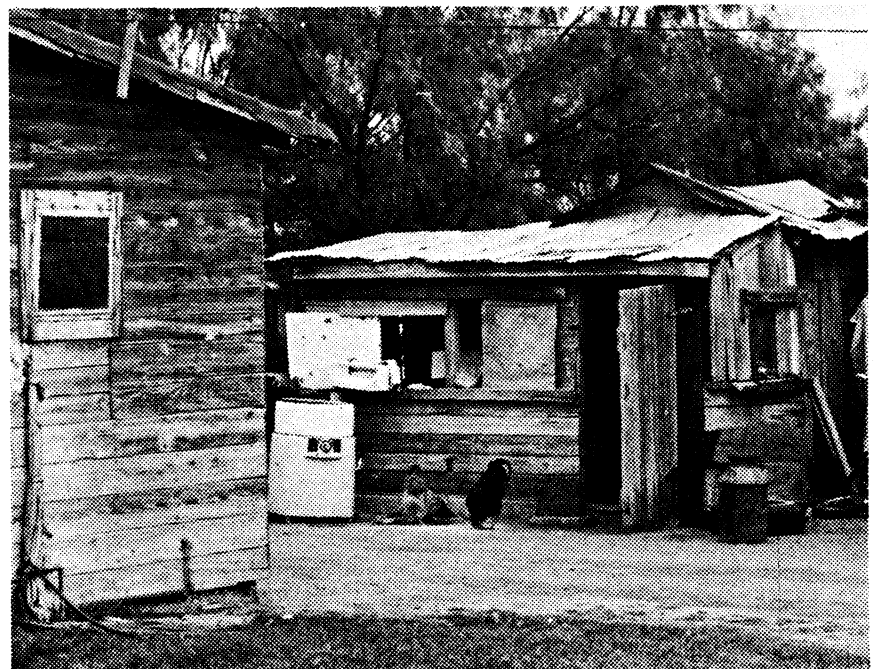
At Bible's trial, both students and faculty, including former vice-president of the student body Gary Crawford, testified that Bible was not involved at all in the pushing or shoving which took place outside the administration building during the demonstration and that he in no way obstructed the riot squad which broke up the demonstration.

The students were protesting the appointment of a new university president opposed by the student government. Sixteen other defendants await trial under charges stemming from the same demonstration.

Subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New Subs	City	Quota	New Subs
Northampton, Mass.	50	109	Binghamton, N.Y.	150	98
Baltimore, Md.	10	21	Grinnell, Iowa	5	3
Waverly, Iowa	10	19	Niagara Falls, N.Y.	20	12
Selinsgrove, Pa.	5	8	Utica, N.Y.	15	9
Middletown, N.Y.	5	7	Kansas City, Mo.	100	57
Youngstown, Ohio	10	14	San Joaquin Val., Calif.	50	27
East Stroudsburg, Pa.	10	12	DeKalb, Ill.	150	75
State College, Pa.	10	12	Eugene, Ore.	10	5
La Crosse, Wis.	50	56	Pittsburgh, Pa.	10	5
Oxford, Ohio	50	55	Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	49
Santa Cruz, Calif.	100	110	Hayward, Calif.	40	17
Long Island, N.Y.	75	81	New Haven, Conn.	60	27
Mansfield, Pa.	50	50	El Paso, Texas	75	33
Portland, Ore.	100	98	Geneseo, N.Y.	5	2
Austin, Texas	350	337	San Jose, Calif.	5	2
Knoxville, Tenn.	50	48	Tallahassee, Fla.	50	20
Ypsilanti, Mich.	50	48	Bloomington, Ind.	100	39
San Francisco, Calif.	800	766	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	235	86
Seattle, Wash.	400	380	Yellow Springs, Ohio	125	44
Berkeley, Calif.	600	563	Madison, Wis.	300	102
Cleveland, Ohio	600	547	Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	30	9
			Nacogdoches, Texas	10	3
			Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	75	22
New York, N.Y.	2,000	1,703	Milwaukee, Wis.	100	26
Worcester, Mass.	125	103	St. Louis, Mo.	50	13
Tampa, Fla.	100	82	East Lansing, Mich.	25	6
Boston, Mass.	1,000	817	Bellingham, Wash.	40	8
North Boston	(250)	(237)	Kingsville, Texas	5	1
Cambridge	(250)	(234)	Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	1
South Boston	(250)	(183)	Staatsburg, N.Y.	10	2
Twin Cities, Minn.	625	508	Paterson, N.J.	60	9
Philadelphia, Pa.	650	522	Tacoma, Wash.	20	3
Portage, Mich.	10	8	Riverside, Calif.	150	22
Logan, Utah	50	39	Kent, Ohio	45	6
Cincinnati, Ohio	60	46	Oshkosh, Wis.	50	3
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,000	762	Deland, Fla.	20	1
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	15	Grosse Pt., Mich.	20	1
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	56	Little Rock, Ark.	50	1
Newark, N.J.	75	55	Red Hook, N.Y.	50	1
Washington, D.C.	300	220	Aurora, Ill.	20	0
San Diego, Calif.	100	73	Barre-Montpelier, Vt.	10	0
Houston, Texas	250	182	Beloit, Wis.	40	0
Albany, N.Y.	50	36	Coopersburg, Pa.	5	0
Detroit, Mich.	700	495	Indiana, Pa.	20	0
Atlanta, Ga.	500	352	Marsing, Idaho	50	0
Providence, R.I.	150	101	Yonkers, N.Y.	5	0
Chicago, Ill.	1,500	999	General	400	281
Stanford, Calif.	30	20	GOAL	15,000	11,666

ON THE SPOT



Crystal City, Texas

When major political and social struggles erupt, *The Militant* makes every possible effort to provide on-the-spot reporting. For example, last week no fewer than five reporters went to Crystal City, Texas, where La Raza Unida Party fought to get real representatives of the Chicano struggle elected to office. The news coverage they obtained begins in this week's issue of *The Militant*.

And it will continue in future issues, along with eyewitness reports of other key events. Why not subscribe today?

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Report from Crystal City

How they stole La Raza Unida Party's vote

By PAUL McKNIGHT

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas — To prevent La Raza Unida Party from making further gains in South Texas, county officials ruled the party off the ballot in Dimmit, La Salle and Zavala counties on the grounds of minor technicalities in the party's preparations for the election. Despite the fact that Raza Unida was therefore forced to run a write-in campaign, and despite the fact that officials used every trick in the book on election day to hinder Chicanos from voting for the Chicano party, still the Raza Unida Party made an impressive showing. One candidate in La Salle County won election; the six candidates in Zavala County were officially recorded as winning between 34 and 45 percent of the vote.

In Zavala County, where Crystal City is located, the Raza Unida Party was denied ballot status because of a typographical error on a form stating the date as 1969 instead of 1970. In La Salle County it was claimed by officials that the precinct conventions required by the Texas Election Code were held by La Raza Unida Party in incorrect locations and at the wrong time of day.

In Dimmit County the district attorney told Chicanos that it was possible to vote in the Democratic primary and then later sign the Raza Unida petition for ballot status. This was a deliberate lie. The Texas Election Code specifies that only newly registered voters or voters who did not participate in the primary election can sign for a new party. The Raza Unida Party was disqualified merely because 10 of the signers of its petition had voted in the primary.

These rulings were appealed by La Raza Unida Party through three state courts and a federal court. In each case, to protect the monopoly of the two capitalist parties, the judges in



Photo by Joel Britton

La Raza Unida Party supporters put up posters throughout the Chicano community in Crystal City.

very important because the median educational level of Chicanos in Crystal City, for example, is 2.3 years.

Many of the older Chicanos cannot read or write, especially in English. Posters were put up all over town showing the names and ballot lines of the write-in candidates. On the Sunday before the election, a rally of hundreds was held in Crystal City where the voting procedures were explained.

Election day

But on election day the full weight of the county establishment was used to confuse, intimidate and cheat the Chicano voters. In one of the Crystal City precincts, Raza Unida poll watchers were prohibited from entering the

on election day in a clear attempt to intimidate the voters.

Also, in the precinct where La Raza Unida poll watchers were excluded, the Chicano voters were intimidated by the precinct judge, who watched them mark their ballots. One old Chicana was even forced to pry open her crippled hand just so that the election judge could check to see if she had written the names of La Raza Unida candidates on her palm.

In Dimmit County an official sample ballot that was distributed before the election was printed with the local offices listed in the wrong order. Many Chicanos who could not read had carefully memorized how to write in the Raza Unida candidates by starting a certain number of lines from the bottom of the ballot and writing the candidates' names in a certain order. The ballots on election day were printed with the local offices in a different order, so that many of the names that were written in did not coincide with the office for which the candidate was running.

Also, the polling places in Dimmit County were not equipped with partitions as required by Texas election law. This allowed the election judge to watch how the voters were marking their ballots. The Texas Election Code also requires that voting booths be provided in cities of more than 10,000 population. Crystal City falls into this category, but private booths were not provided by Zavala County officials.

Literacy tests

In Cotulla, election officials began the day by giving literacy tests to Chicano voters, many of whom cannot read English. This illegal practice was stopped only later in the day after it was vigorously protested.

One Chicana set up a Raza Unida Party table near a Cotulla polling place to help the Chicano voters. It was outside the 100-foot limit around the polling place, but a Department of Public Safety officer (state police) told her to take the table down on the grounds that it was on state property. The Chicana insisted that it was her right to have the table set up there. The officer grabbed the table and attempted to put it in the trunk of his car. When the Chicana attempted to defend her rights, she was arrested for disorderly conduct.

In Crystal City some Chicano voters arrived at the polls only to be told that they had already voted, and that

their name had already been checked off. Only if they insisted, and fought for their right to vote were they allowed to vote.

The election judges refused to help illiterate voters with the write-in process. The fact that the white election judges spoke only English also helped to intimidate Mexicanos who spoke only Spanish.

Many of the voters misspelled the name of one or more of the write-in candidates. These votes were counted by the election officials as votes for someone other than the Raza Unida candidate. For instance, a vote for Isaac Juarez, a vote for Isaac Juares, and a vote for Isac Juarez would be counted as votes for three different people, thus depriving the Raza Unida Party candidates of their vote.

One candidate, Ramon de la Fuente Jr., lost 109 votes when people forgot to write Jr. after his name. Also, if a name was written on the wrong line on the ballot, it was recorded as a vote for that person, but for a different office.

In spite of all this harassment, intimidation and fraud, La Raza Unida Party write-in candidates made a very impressive showing in the official Zavala County tabulations issued by the racist County Election Board (see table). In the key race for county judge, La Raza candidate Julian Salas won 38 percent of the vote.

In La Salle County, La Raza Unida Party candidate Roel Rodriguez, candidate for county commissioner for precinct three, was elected.

Jose Angel Gutierrez, Zavala County Raza Unida leader and chairman of the Crystal City school board, has announced that all possible legal steps to invalidate the election there will be exhausted.

The reporters on the scene for *The Militant* saw much evidence that the Chicanos in these counties are not demoralized by being cheated out of the victory they deserved, but are determined to keep organizing on all fronts. A vigorous voter-registration campaign and an adult education program are being planned.

Elections will be held next spring in Crystal City for city council and board of education. Since the city administration is in the hands of La Raza Unida Party officials, Chicanos are assured of a fair election. Gutierrez predicts that the party will then have an even greater majority on the city council and board of education there.

The following are the official election results of La Raza Unida Party write-in votes for offices in Zavala County, Texas. In order to be counted, the candidates' names had to be written in with the exact spelling.

Office	RUP candidate	RUP vote	Democratic candidate	RUP percentage of total vote
County Judge	Julian Salas	925	1,502	38
County Treasurer	Carmen Flores	811	1,496	35
County Clerk	Isaac Juarez	776	1,507	34
County Commissioner, P'ct 2	R. de la Fuente	528	774	40
Justice of the Peace, P'ct 2	Manuel Palacios	524	804	39
County Commissioner, P'ct 2	Jose Serna	288	346	45

these courts ruled against the Chicano party. The final ruling came down just a couple of weeks before the election.

Officials in Hidalgo County tried to remove La Raza Unida Party from the ballot there, just as in the other three counties, but they were forced to back down in the face of protests. Due to the relative weakness of La Raza Unida Party there, its candidates are reported to have won only about 10 percent of the vote, despite having ballot status.

In the two weeks preceding the election the Chicanos organized a massive write-in campaign in the three counties where their candidates were not on the ballot. Even with a write-in campaign, there was a good chance that the Chicanos could have won several offices because of the population ratio (as high as 85 percent Chicano) and the wide support enjoyed by La Raza Unida Party.

Rallies and classes were held to teach people how to write in the names of the Raza Unida candidates. This was

polling place by the gringo (white racist) election judge because their credentials specified the wrong precinct number. The number had been changed shortly before the election.

When the poll watchers insisted on their right to carry out their duty in this heavily Chicano precinct, the Zavala County sheriff threatened to arrest them. When the poll watchers tried to explain the situation to the sheriff, he said, "I ain't here to argue the law. That's a lawyer's job. I'm just saying I'm goin' to arrest you if you don't move on."

The sheriff also stopped a Raza Unida sound truck that was urging Chicanos to vote. He did this on the grounds that the sound from the truck might be heard inside the polling place. The truck, however, had at all times stayed outside the proscribed areas near the polling places.

Cars full of heavily armed highway patrolmen, Texas Rangers, the sheriff and even game wardens were cruising ominously around Crystal City

Nixon's 'Vietnamization'**Capitalist spokesmen assail plan as 'perpetual' war**

By DICK ROBERTS

President Nixon's "Vietnamization" plan is a total fraud. It is designed to cover the perpetuation of U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia. And it threatens to cause a renewed escalation of the war, possibly including the resumption of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and the U.S. mining of the North Vietnamese port of Haiphong.

These opinions were stated in the week following the Nov. 3 elections by two former high officials of the Johnson and Nixon administrations. They completely confirm the analysis of Nixon's war plans that has been advanced by the militant vanguard of the U.S. antiwar movement, and which was expressed in the national antiwar demonstrations Oct. 31, under the sponsorship of the National Peace Action Coalition and Student Mobilization Committee.

The top-level criticisms of Nixon's Southeast Asia policies were made by W. Averell Harriman, former chief U.S. negotiator in Paris, and Morton H. Halperin, a deputy assistant secretary of defense in the Johnson administration and a member of the National Security Council Senior Staff under Nixon.

"The administration's Cambodian policy has exposed its present aim in Vietnam as well as in Cambodia," Harriman declared in the Nov. 17 issue of *Look* magazine. "It is to attempt to support pro-Western military governments regardless of local opposition.

"This is quite impossible of permanent achievement without the continued presence of large U.S. forces in Vietnam and a perpetuation of the fighting."

Halperin wrote on the editorial page of the *New York Times*, Nov. 7, "President Nixon's Vietnamization policy, far from getting us out of Vietnam, will at best lead to an indefinite presence in Vietnam of thousands of American troops. It could well drive the president to massive escalation, the

mining of Haiphong Harbor and saturation bombing of North Vietnam."

Harriman and Halperin's views show that there are major differences in U.S. ruling-class circles about what to do next in Vietnam. Apparently, these critics of the administration preferred to wait until after the Nov. 3 elections to voice their disagreements in public. (The Nov. 17 *Look* was published Nov. 3.)

W. Averell Harriman—a capitalist of substance in his own right—and Morton Halperin declare that they support the "withdrawal according to a fixed timetable" proposal of former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford.

They see this as the only way of divorcing Washington from the Thieu-Ky regime in Saigon. Harriman and Halperin view Nixon's support of Thieu and Ky as a virtual promise of unlimited war.

"The administration's program of Vietnamization of the war is not in my opinion a program for peace but is a program for the perpetuation of the war," Harriman states.

"At best, we can only hope for a reduction of less than half of our forces in South Vietnam two and a half years after this administration took office. But after that, there is no assurance whether or when our forces will be withdrawn. . . .

"Furthermore, the Vietnamization of the war is dependent on an unpopular and repressive military government. With all of the military influence, President Thieu and Vice-President Ky got less than 35 percent of the votes cast in 1967; over 60 percent of the votes were cast for civilian candidates who had some kind of peace plank in their platform.

"The election confirmed that the people of South Vietnam want peace and not a continuation of the war."

Halperin raises the possibility of a drastic reescalation of the war: "If many Americans cling to the hope that the president's rhetoric is a smoke-screen to cover a total withdrawal by November 1972, Hanoi has no such illusions.

"The North Vietnamese recognize that the president is seeking to give them a Hobbesian choice—either negotiate a political settlement with the Thieu-Ky regime in Saigon or de-escalate the war, permitting the U.S. to leave enough troops in Vietnam to keep the current government in power.

"However, Hanoi has a third choice—stepping up the level of combat—which President Nixon recognizes. Thus, in almost every statement he has made about Vietnam, the president has warned Hanoi that if its forces take advantage of our withdrawal he will respond. . . .

"The Joint Chiefs of Staff will tell the president, as they told his predecessor, that they can win the war if given permission to bomb all targets in North Vietnam, mine Haiphong and invade Laos. The president could well order them to implement this plan.

"It is perhaps unnecessary to say that such escalation will not end the war. It will get us in deeper, destroy North Vietnam, bring us to the edge of a confrontation with the Soviets, and lead our allies to conclude that we have lost all sense of balance and judgment. What it will do at home the reader can judge for himself." (Emphasis added.)

Neither Harriman nor Halperin evi-

AN EDITORIAL**Building NPAC parley a key political task**

The National Peace Action Coalition, the antiwar formation which organized the Oct. 31 troop withdrawal demonstrations, will hold a national conference Dec. 4-6 at the Packinghouse Labor Center in Chicago. All organizations and individuals opposed to the Vietnam war have been invited to attend.

The conference will assess the outcome of the Oct. 31 demonstrations and the present stage of U.S. intervention in Indochina and will project plans for a major national antiwar action in the spring.

In building the Oct. 31 protests, NPAC correctly assessed Nixon's "peace" moves as a political fraud designed to defuse antiwar sentiment. In convening a national conference to map further, more extensive opposition to that hoax, NPAC will establish itself as the central force for mobilizing antiwar sentiment in this country.

And there can be no mistake about it. Antiwar sentiment continues to deepen and pervades virtually every sector of the population. This fact was most dramatically recorded in the outcome of the referendums on the war held in Detroit, San Francisco and the state of Massachusetts.

In both San Francisco and Detroit, where the voters had the opportunity to vote yes or no on immediate withdrawal, the vote was for withdrawal. In Massachusetts, where the choice was military victory, phased withdrawal or immediate withdrawal, phased withdrawal drew the largest vote, with immediate withdrawal a close second. The hawk proposition received only 15 percent of the vote. In Boston, immediate withdrawal came within a few hundred votes of carrying.

In all three areas, the antiwar propositions had official union support. In Detroit, the sample ballots distributed by the United Auto Workers called for a yes vote on immediate withdrawal.

While a breakdown of the returns in these referendums is not yet available, it can be safely assumed that the antiwar propositions ran strong in working-class districts. For the fact is, contrary to the "hard-hat" theme of the capitalist media, antiwar sentiment is as deep within the working class as any other strata of the population.

This fact was corroborated by a little-noticed but important article which appeared in the May-June

issue of the social-democratic magazine, *Dissent*.

Written by Harlan Hahn and entitled *Dove Sentiments Among Blue-Collar Workers*, the article cites the results of Gallup and other polls as well as the votes in the 1966-68 referendums held in Dearborn, Mich., Cambridge, Mass., San Francisco, Lincoln, Mass., and Madison, Wis.

Two significant facts emerged from studies of these referendums. One was that in each case the antiwar vote was about 25 percent higher than the sentiment disclosed by public opinion polls conducted at the same time.

"Perhaps more striking, however," Hahn adds, "was the fact that the vote against the war in nearly all referendums was concentrated in working-class districts, rather than in the upper-middle-class segments of the community."

With far more official labor opposition to the war today than in the 1966-68 period and with the sharp increase in antiwar sentiment since that period, this phenomenon has certainly not been reversed.

This is a matter of central importance for the NPAC conference. If the Nixon "peace" moves are a hoax, as in fact they are, and if antiwar sentiment continues to deepen, as it will, and if the prospects for involving labor are greater than ever before, then the potential for building a major national antiwar action this spring is greater than ever.

A new coalition, NPAC succeeded in carrying through an Oct. 31 action which while modest was more extensive and more effective than any previous demonstration organized on the eve of an election. This also underlines the excellent prospects for the spring.

But the first key step toward a successful spring action is assuring a large, broad attendance at the Chicago conference. Antiwar activists should make every effort to bring to the conference the unionists, students, women, Third World people, GIs and others involved in building Oct. 31. The effective way in which the Oct. 31 actions were carried through undoubtedly convinced numerous new supporters of NPAC of its key role and responsibility in mobilizing millions of Americans against the war in Southeast Asia. Many of them will want to come to Chicago to continue the fight.

dence any concern for the rights of the Vietnamese people and while they are fearful of the outcome of Nixon's policy, neither advocates immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. Instead, they apparently hope for the emergence of a Saigon regime with some kind of a popular base capable of sustaining it. Such a regime, it is believed, would be less likely to jeopardize what remains of the U.S. position in that area.

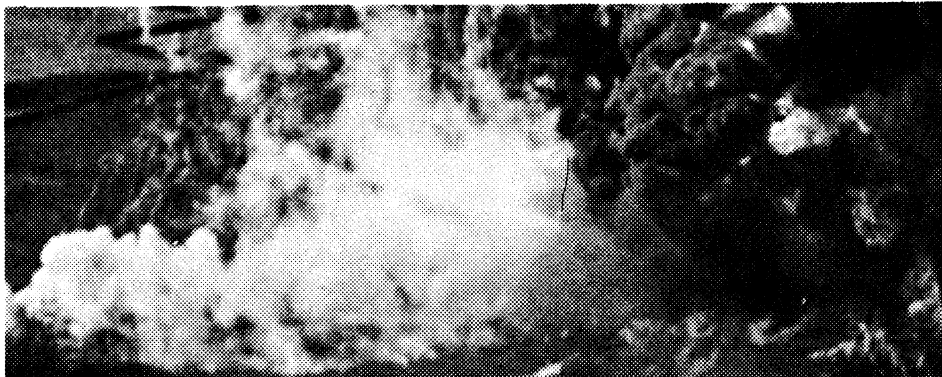
But in their concern that the Nixon plan will not make Southeast Asia

safe for U.S. imperialism, these capitalist politicians do lift the curtain on some of the reality behind Nixon's demagoguery.

Regardless of motivation and bias, their analysis is based on access to important information systematically denied to the general public. Their informed judgment of the Nixon strategy confirms the estimate that the antiwar movement cannot afford to relax its efforts by an iota. Indeed, they underline that the watchword must be: **Now more than ever!**



Averell Harriman when he was chief U.S. negotiator with Vietnamese in Paris.



...what happened in elections

(Continued from page 1)

istration and the capitalist press has promoted. In San Francisco, so-called "hard hats" of the building trades unions endorsed the withdrawal position in the referendum, as did the San Francisco Labor Council and the Longshoremen's unions. The powerful United Automobile Workers in Detroit urged its members to vote for immediate withdrawal. And, the referendums could not have won (in Detroit by a 62-37 margin) without significant support from the working people.

While attempting to appear "moderate" on the war issue, Nixon and the administration made a vigorous effort to whip up a red-baiting and witch-hunt atmosphere and to turn the elections into a massive repudiation of radicals. Agnew was unleashed to spearhead this effort. For a time the "old" Nixon, the witch-hunting supporter of Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s, emerged. Using smear tactics and attacking the "radical liberals" in Congress, Nixon went so far as to invent a phony "attack" by "rock-throwing antiwar demonstrators" on him in San Jose, Calif., just before the elections.

The gutless Democratic politicians, for their part, ran scared. Under Agnew's whip, they leaped right onto the "law and order" bandwagon. Even so, Nixon's attempt to roll up a big vote of repudiation of "radicals" backfired, and failed to such an extent that the Republican high command is now discussing the "mistake" they made with this strategy.

The failure of the Nixon strategy verifies that red-baiting is becoming a much less effective tool for the ruling class in dealing with the growing radicalization.

Three additional points should be made about Nixon's red-baiting campaign. First, it does reflect stepped-up attempts by the ruling class to pick off vanguard elements of the radicalization when they feel they can get away with it. The campaign against the Black Panthers, and the indictments

Black conductor brutally beaten by S.F. police

By RICHARD HILL

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 9—On the evening of Thursday, Nov. 5, Black cable-car conductor Robert Coates was arrested, hands cuffed behind his back, and beaten by San Francisco police as he lay on his stomach. This example of racist police brutality occurred following a minor traffic accident between Coates' cable car and a truck.

Accounts differ on how the accident happened, how and why police were involved, and why Coates was arrested. However, it was clear that after his arrest Coates was brutally beaten, which prompted his fellow workers to come to his aid.

The confrontation between cable-car men and police that followed resulted in two additional arrests of cable-car men and an assault on a municipal railway inspector on the scene who has been disabled as a result of being struck on the back by a nightstick.

Following the incident, all cable-car men pulled their cable cars into the car barn and a two-day wildcat strike ensued which union officials effectively kept localized to the cable-car division. At this writing the men have gone back to work. On Nov. 13 a hearing will take place in the mayor's office of all involved—police and union officials. The cable-car men's demands are that charges be dropped, that the cops involved be fired, and that a commission of civilians be set up to investigate the attack.

at Kent are examples.

Second, as red-baiting becomes less effective, it is easier to mobilize opposition to these attacks against basic democratic rights. Third, such defense campaigns against ruling-class victimization cannot rely upon the Democrats or any other capitalist politicians, who turned tail and ran with the first snarl of the red-baiters, and who aren't even capable of defending elementary democratic rights.

Within the context of the bourgeois parties and candidates themselves the election results were contradictory. The Democrats generally made gains on a state and national level. Liberal Democrats like Kennedy, Muskie and Humphrey won. Nixon's much-touted "Southern strategy" failed except in Tennessee. On the other hand, some of Nixon's candidates made it, and some of Agnew's targets were defeated. James Buckley, Conservative Party candidate for senator from New York, won with a minority of the votes, against the Democrat and the nominal Republican candidate.

The contradictory aspect of the election was shown most clearly in California, where ex-cowboy-movie star Ronald Reagan, a right-wing Republican, won reelection as governor with a reduced margin. At the same time, John V. Tunney, whose claim to fame is that his father is former heavyweight boxing champion Gene Tunney, ran for senator as a liberal Democrat and won against Republican George Murphy, former Hollywood song-and-dance man.

In a major upset, Max Rafferty, long identified as a leading ultraconservative in this supposedly conservative state, was defeated in his bid for reelection for the office of state superintendent of public instruction by Wilson Riles, a Black Democrat and liberal.

The election of James Buckley, brother of the ultraconservative spokesman William F. Buckley, on the Conservative Party ticket in New York, represented a strengthening of the Conservative Party in New York, but not a "shift to the right" among New Yorkers.

The Conservative Party functions as a faction of the Republican Party in the state. While Buckley won, the Conservative Party candidate for governor was swamped by Republican victor Rockefeller and Democratic candidate Goldberg. What made the difference in the two races was the fact that Buckley was in fact if not in name the real Republican candidate.

Running a campaign with less stridently right-wing appeals than Agnew's campaign rhetoric, Buckley was openly endorsed by the Republican administration in Washington and covertly but obviously by Republican Rockefeller. While some of his votes were undoubtedly from the ultraright, Buckley also gained the bulk of the regular Republican vote, which, because his opposition was split, won him the election.

The day after the election, Buckley made his position clear, declaring himself to be in the "mainstream" of Republicanism nationally.

While most important issues facing the country remained essentially submerged throughout the campaigns of the capitalist politicians, the Democrats did address themselves to the issues of unemployment and inflation to the extent of blaming the Republicans. This was a factor in winning votes for the Democrats, who still have the aura of the "party of prosperity." This indicates that attempts by Washington to try to curb inflation by increasing joblessness is politically dangerous for the ruling class.

The problems of the economy, however, are deeply rooted in the capitalist system itself, and its international interests and commitments which are

essential to the long-range interests of the ruling class. While both Nixon and the Democrats may now take measures to try to slow the growth of unemployment, these measures will be inflationary, exacerbating the longer range problems of the economy. And, unemployment itself is likely to continue to rise in the immediate period ahead, no matter what policy the ruling class adopts.

The kaleidoscopic results of the elections reflect a growing uneasiness among many with politics as usual. Contradictory results occur as people vainly attempt to express their needs and frustrations through voting for this or that capitalist party candidate. Ticket splitting was unusually widespread.

The whole lot of right-wing ex-cowboy-movie stars, Hollywood misfits, scions of billionaire families, red-baiters, "liberals" who run scared of the red-baiters, and all the other riffraff that makes up the Democratic and Republican parties are tied in lock, stock and barrel to the two parties of capitalism. Through these two political instruments, and the essentially rigged electoral contests between them, the capitalist class keeps an iron grip on the government.

The deepening radicalization is opening greater opportunities for revolutionary socialists to propagandize for the need to break this political monopoly exercised by the capitalist class, and further the concepts of independent, anticapitalist political action by Black people, Chicanos and labor, as well as of independent socialist political action.

In this regard, the election campaigns waged by La Raza Unida Party in Texas and Colorado were important steps forward for independent Chicano political action.

An interesting aspect of the election was the failure to attract large numbers of students to campaign for liberal capitalist politicians. Such a perspec-



This boy was 6 years old when the Vietnam war started.

Seems like only yesterday, doesn't it?
When there wasn't an endless war.
When a lot of kids were young.
And alive.
When a 6-year-old boy's chances of dying in Vietnam were remote.
Think about it.
We've been getting out of Vietnam for years now.
Isn't it about time we got out?
Let's not sacrifice another American life for a war we've already abandoned.
Let's not put off until tomorrow what's costing lives today.
On November 3, you'll be asked to vote on the war.

Gradual can mean a lifetime.

Vote immediate withdrawal. Vote "C" Nov. 3.

Pro-withdrawal poster in Massachusetts referendum.

tive was projected during the massive student and antiwar upsurge last May as a way to take the antiwar movement off the streets and into "politics"—capitalist party politics where the independent thrust of the antiwar movement could be safely defused.

On the other hand, the campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party candidates received a generally much more favorable response on the campuses than in past campaigns.

The SWP campaigns were broader and had wider appeal generally, especially when compared with past off-year elections. This augurs well for the 1971 elections, and for the 1972 presidential elections, when the SWP will be launching campaigns to present a socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Weekly Calendar

BERKELEY

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY IN THE 70s: Northern California Socialist Educational Conference. Fri., Nov. 20, 7 p.m. 1 LeConte, U of California at Berkeley. Panel of Chicano activists on The Mexican revolution and Chicano liberation today. Sat., Nov. 21, East Pauley Ballroom, U of California at Berkeley. 10 a.m. Sisterhood is powerful—strategy for women's liberation. Panel of activists. 1 p.m. Why Americans should support the Palestinian revolution. Panel of Arab and American speakers. 3:30 p.m. Nationalism—aggressive or reactionary? Speaker: Herman Fagg, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California. 7 p.m. Lobster Banquet at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. \$5 a plate (\$3.50 for students). 8:30 p.m. Keynote Address by Peter Camejo, 1970 SWP candidate for senator from Mass. On the meaning of the 1970 elections. Sun., Nov. 22, East Pauley Ballroom, U of California at Berkeley. 1 p.m. How to make a revolution in the U.S. Speaker: Peter Camejo. Ausp. Northern California Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance; International Socialist Review.

BOSTON

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Nov. 20-22. All sessions at Boston U Law School Auditorium. Fri., 8 p.m. U.S. Imperialism and Mideast Oil. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Sat., 10:30 a.m. Prospects for the radical movement. Speaker: Peter Camejo, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from Mass. 2 p.m. The revolutionary potential of Black nationalism. Speaker: Joe Miles, 1970 SWP candidate for Congress (9th C.D.) from Mass., and a founder of Ft. Jackson GIs United Against the War. 4:5-30 p.m. Workshops: strategy for women's liberation; La Raza Unida and the need for a Black political party; the Mideast; the GM strike and the state of the union; high school rights; economics. 7:30 p.m. Marxism and terrorism—a revolutionary view. Speaker: Harry Ring, editor of The Militant. Sun., 12 noon. Women and revolution—Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria. Speaker: Matilde Zimmerman, former executive secretary of GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Ausp. Mass. SWP and YSA in cooperation with the

International Socialist Review. For further information call 536-6981.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM OF THE AIR: A socialist perspective on current issues. Tuesdays, 6 to 7 p.m. WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sundays, 7 to 8 p.m. WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tues., Nov. 17 and Sun., Nov. 22: Interview with feminist playwright Myrna Lamb and a reading of her latest play, Scyldon Z. Tues., Nov. 24 and Sun., Nov. 29: The influence of Malcolm X on the Black struggle with tapes of Malcolm X. For further information call 536-6981 or 731-3985.

CLEVELAND

WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT THE LETTUCE BOY. COTT. Speakers: Lillie Sprintz, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and Marisela Ayon, 14-year-old lettuce striker. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. Contrib: \$1 (h.s. students 50c.) For more information call 861-3862. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARYLAND-VIRGINIA SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. Keynote Address: Should America go socialist? Speaker: Peter Camejo, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from Mass. Sat., Nov. 21, 2 p.m. Dynamics of women's liberation. Speaker: Eva Chertov, 1970 SWP candidate for Congress from New York. 4 p.m. Workshops on the antiwar movement, women's liberation, the Mideast and the labor movement. 8 p.m. The Arab revolution—why Blacks should support it. Speaker: Paul Boutelle, 1968 SWP candidate for vice-president and recently returned from a tour of the Mideast. Sun., 2:00 p.m. The Nationalist struggle in Quebec. Speaker: Manon Leger, 1970 Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (Socialist Workers League) candidate for mayor of Montreal. 8 p.m. Mankind and its destiny, a Marxist view. Speaker: George Novack, noted Marxist lecturer and scholar. Place: American University, Ward Building, Rm. 2. Ausp. Washington, D.C. Young Socialist Alliance in cooperation with the International Socialist Review. For further information call 833-9560 or 527-7135.

Quebec nationalism: its roots and meaning

By ARTHUR YOUNG

The following article is based on a talk given by the author at a session of the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, Aug. 9-16, 1970. The conference drew some 700 members and supporters of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party for a week of education, discussion and recreation.

Arthur Young is the editor of *La Lutte Ouvriere* (Workers Struggle), a revolutionary-socialist paper published monthly in Montreal. He is a leader of the Canadian Trotskyist League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSA/LSO).

Young was among the first wave of those arrested by the Canadian government when the sweeping war measures act was imposed last Oct. 16. He was released without charges six days later.

For many years the thinking of revolutionary socialists in Canada on the national question has been molded by the course of the Black liberation struggle in the United States and by the analysis the Socialist Workers Party has made in its writings on Black nationalism. The writings of George Breitman have been particularly important.

But I think now we're coming to a point when the Quebec struggle will be able to provide the American movement with examples and experiences. Perhaps it will indicate some of the developments ahead for the American national liberation struggles.

The main thing I want to explain here is the qualitative change that the struggle in Quebec has undergone in the last few years and some of the paths forward. The recent development of the mass struggle for national liberation through independence indicates that the Quebec revolution on the North American continent has come to the fore more than ever before. The revolution in Quebec will play a central role in the whole Canadian revolution. It may well be the vanguard of the Canadian revolution, coming in advance of English-speaking Canada.

To begin, I should mention some background information on Quebec. Those who live in Quebec are called the Quebecois. There are about six million Quebecois out of a population of some 21 million Canadians—about 30 percent of the Canadian population. They live in one geographical area, the province of Quebec, geographically a large proportion of the country.

The Quebecois have had a provincial government, roughly comparable to a state government in the U.S., for several hundred years. The Quebec government deals with many local and limited matters and its spokesmen are Quebecois.

This has given the Quebec struggle some unique characteristics. In contrast with the Black struggle in the U.S., there is a well-defined area in which the Quebec nation lives and the proportion of the Quebecois in the total Canadian population is much higher. So the Quebec struggle occupies a tremendous strategic position in the whole social struggle in Canada.

The first point to understand is that the Quebecois form a nation. Very few people dispute this fact. In contrast to the Black nationality in the United States, the Quebecois have all the classical characteristics of a nation which Lenin outlined—sharing a common language, common culture, common



MONTREAL 1944: A demonstration of over 2,500 Quebecois against the draft. Signs on the right read: "Does India have conscription?" "Ireland does not have conscription." Quebecois saw no reason why they should be drafted to die in the interimperialist onslaught, and they fought it, as they have fought oppression of the Quebec nation from the 18th century.

history, and a geographical entity which is their homeland. The Quebecois consider themselves a nation, and have a well-developed national consciousness.

The second point is that Quebec is an oppressed nation. One of the aspects of this oppression is the wage level in Quebec, which is 20-30 percent lower than the wage level for comparable work in the rest of the country. Also unemployment rates are much higher than the Canadian average, in fact roughly double the unemployment rates of the neighboring province of Ontario, which is comparable to Quebec in many respects.

Another indication of this oppression can be seen in housing conditions. In a city which is composed of English and French-speaking inhabitants, the slums and the worst areas are all inhabited by the French-speaking Quebecois. It shows up in other areas, such as inferior education, inferior facilities, etc.

In contrast to some of the stereotypes you may have learned in school, Quebec is a highly developed capitalist nation like the rest of Canada or the United States.

But at the same time, its economy is overwhelmingly dominated by foreign capital. Roughly 80 percent of the economy is in foreign hands, divided about equally between American investment and investment from English Canada. Investment is concentrated in extractive industries, industries related to processing the extracted resources, and industries which require an abundant supply of cheap labor.

It's a commonplace in Quebec that the bosses are English-speaking and the workers are French-speaking. Foreign capital has destroyed what possibility there was for a native national bourgeoisie to develop. There exists a very small national bourgeoisie, but it is completely tied to foreign capital and subservient to it. The Quebecois form a pool of cheap labor, as you can see from the unemployment statistics and the wage rates.

Federal domination

In addition to the economic oppression, there is a specific form of political oppression and domination in Quebec. Under capitalism the Quebecois do not have the right of self-determination; they don't have their own independent state. Canada is a federal state in which the key powers are controlled by the federal apparatus in Ottawa. The federal state, of course, has a federal army to back it up, and the Canadian bourgeoisie has not been reluctant to use it when necessary. The Quebecois feel this domination in a political sense.

The basic powers are in Ottawa. So, while there is the illusion of having our own state, and while many Quebecois regard the Quebec provincial government and its power as the first step towards having control over our own lives, still the existence of the political domination which was imposed by military conquest is a constant factor no one can forget.

In addition to these classical features of colonial oppression, there are sev-

eral specific features I want to underline.

First of all, there is no land reform question to speak of in Quebec, in contrast to most colonial countries and oppressed nations. Capitalism has done its job well, and the percentage of the population engaged in farming has been drastically reduced. The proportion of the population devoted to agricultural production in Quebec is smaller than it is in the United States.

The proportion of workers in the Quebec population is between 75 and 80 percent. Obviously, the Quebec nation is proletarianized, and in addition there has been a tremendous urbanization. Quebec is one of the most urbanized nations in the world. Half of the nation—that is, half of six million people—lives in one metropolitan area, the area of Montreal, and most of the rest live in a scattering of smaller cities.

The working class in Quebec is Quebecois, and it is substantially unionized. They have a long history and tradition of independent struggle. They continue to organize unorganized sectors of the population. The extent of unionization in Quebec is slightly higher than the rest of Canada and considerably higher than in the United States. So the working class not only is numerically a powerful force, but its organizations stand very strongly counterposed to the weakness of the national bourgeoisie.

The middle classes in Quebec have tended to play a somewhat exceptional

(Continued on page 10)

'Since 1967 there has been a decisive rise in the

(Continued from page 9)

role, through their control of the provincial state apparatus in Quebec. This position has given them a certain ability to maneuver, to put forward demagogic appeals, and to lead certain struggles. It has given the middle class a certain perspective, not of becoming big capitalists but of balancing between the Quebec working class and imperialism.

So the middle class has been very vocal, very outspoken, and sometimes has led aspects of the Quebec national struggle up to now.

What all of this means is that in Quebec the different roles played by the various classes have become evident at an early stage of the national liberation struggle.

A history of struggle

I want to mention the long history of national struggles in Quebec. In 1760 the Quebecois were conquered; the French colony of New France was conquered by the British Army, and this began the period of national oppression. The British eventually granted formal political independence to Canada and merged Quebec into the rest of Canada in 1867.

But before they did that, in 1837, there was an armed uprising by the Quebec people. The Quebecois attempted to gain independence and control of their national destiny. It failed and was crushed by force of arms, and that eliminated the possibility of an independent capitalist development in Quebec.

But the national struggle continued to erupt in different forms. In the two imperialist world wars, the Quebecois overwhelmingly refused to fight. They recognized that the world wars were imperialist wars, waged by imperialist powers, and that the Quebecois as an oppressed nation had nothing to gain by participating in these struggles. In fact, during World War II the federal government organized a referendum for or against conscription—in order to carry through their plans to impose conscription in Canada. The vote in Quebec by the French-speaking Quebecois was more than 90 percent against conscription for that imperialist war.

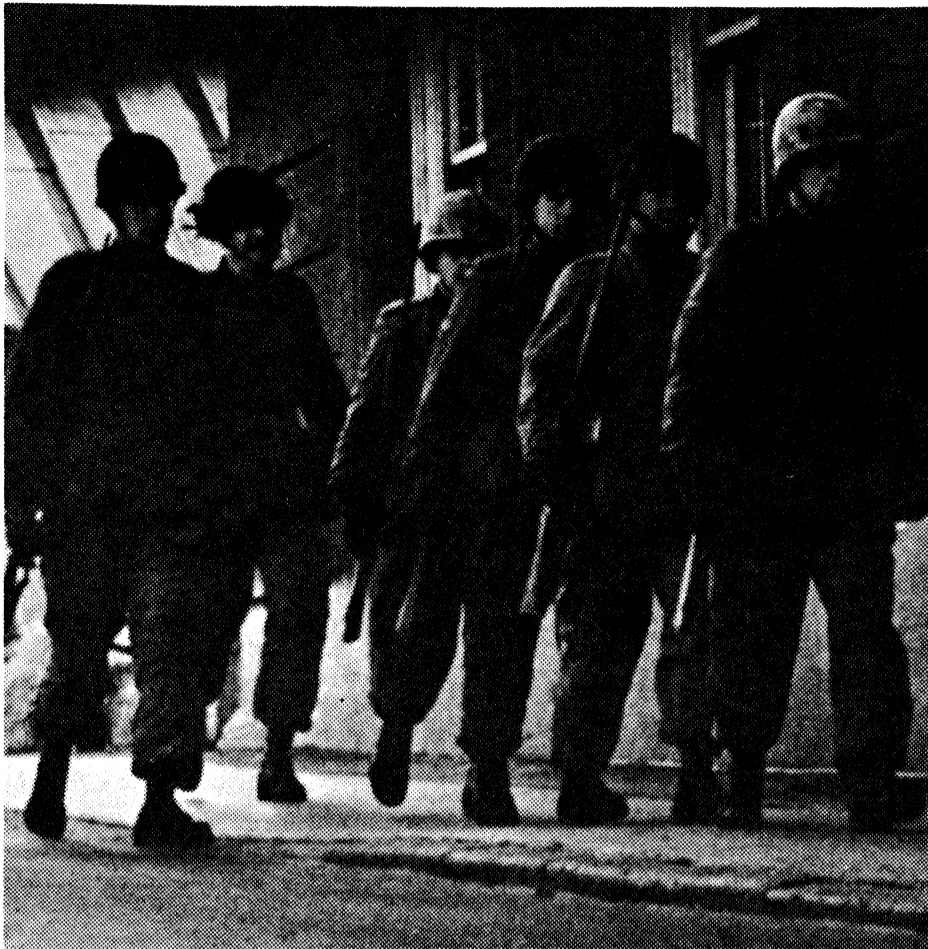
The conscription agents who came into Quebec were lynched. I mean quite literally lynched. You can see photos in the papers of the Canadian conscription agents hanging from trees. The Communist Party, which wholeheartedly supported the war effort and Canadian conscription, lost what support it had gained in Quebec.

I've tried to show with just these few examples that there has been a long history of struggles by the Quebecois against what has been a consistent policy of the Canadian ruling class to submerge the identity of the Quebecois into a sort of Canadian melting pot. Above all, the ruling class wants to eliminate the independent existence of a French-speaking people by eliminating their language.

Since World War II, in the last 25 years, a new nationalism has developed which is completely different from the previous nationalism. The new nationalism has some of the features of the old but it is a much deeper and more revolutionary nationalism.

Some of the features of this new nationalism include the development of the independent organizations of the Quebecois working class and the growing nationalist struggles which began in the early 1960s and have developed into the current thrust towards independence for Quebec.

The central issue of the national struggle in Quebec is the language



Canadian troops in occupied Quebec, October 1970.

question. In Quebec the language question is like skin color in the United States—it identifies the Quebecois as a nation—but it goes much deeper. It's a means of communicating, part of a personality and a national psychology. It's a means of discrimination, of course, on the part of the ruling class.

After the national rebellion in 1837, the British sent an investigating committee in to discover why the Quebecois were discontented. The conclusion of the lord who came to study this question was that as long as the Quebecois existed as a national minority within Canada there would be trouble; therefore the Quebecois language and culture had to be wiped out. This official report, called the Durham Report, has been followed to one degree or another, consciously or implicitly, by the Canadian ruling class ever since. There has been a constant attempt to push the French language and the Quebecois into an inferior status, so that the only way to get out is to learn the English language and abandon your national identity.

At the present time, language discrimination is the deepest felt form of national oppression. It unites everybody in Quebec, from all the various classes. Everybody is a victim of this discrimination. Even the bourgeoisie can't get ahead because it speaks another language, and is discriminated against.

In Quebec, where 83 percent of the population is French-speaking and only a minority of 17 percent speaks English as a first language, you must speak English if you want to get anywhere. Those who only speak French have the most menial jobs. I would imagine that it's similar to the situation in New York City for Puerto Ricans who have not learned English. They can only get the worst jobs, cleaning streets or cleaning toilets or something like that.

In Quebec, a nation that is 83 percent French-speaking, the same situation exists. You can't rise above the level of foreman without knowing English. All the offices function in English. Up to a few years ago you had to speak English in order to get served in many of the stores, even sometimes in French-owned stores. And the federal government, officially the government of both the French- and English-

speaking nations, conducts all its meetings and functions in English only. Even to be a policeman in Quebec you have to speak English.

So this is a profound form of discrimination and oppression. The language discrimination is a manifestation of foreign oppression from the United States and English-speaking Canada. In this way the foreign control of Quebec is directly revealed to the Quebecois every day of their lives.

For the past 50 or 100 years the government didn't give a damn about this situation. If you were French-speaking, you stayed in your place, you did what you were told, you were a second-class citizen. Everybody more or less recognized this fact.

Bilingualism

But in recent years the government has tried to mollify the rising nationalist ferment with a policy of bilingualism. Canada is now officially a bilingual state. If you phone a federal government office in Vancouver, you're supposed to be able to speak French to the person at the desk, but it's a myth. This is an attempt to buy off and stem the struggle. It is a liberal answer to the rising national liberation struggle in Quebec.

The first thing to understand about this "bilingualism" is that the overwhelming majority of those who are bilingual in Canada are the Quebecois, the French-speaking. The Quebecois are only one-third of the population of Canada, and yet they are probably three-quarters of all the bilingual people in Canada, for the reason that in Quebec you have to speak English to get ahead.

You can't speak French outside of Quebec. The only place that is bilingual in all of Canada is Quebec, where 83 percent of the population speaks French, where the French-speaking people are an oppressed nationality, and where English is used in all the commanding heights of society. That's what bilingualism means in Canada.

Bilingualism, in the current context in Quebec, serves as a cover for capitalism. The boss who is operating a factory in Quebec says to his workers, "Canada is a bilingual country. I can operate my factory either in French or in English. And since I

speak English, and everybody down my chain of command speaks English, it's more efficient for me to run my factory in English. So you workers have to speak English." That is, the workers have to be bilingual. So bilingualism is just a cover for big business to go on operating in English.

Under capitalism the bosses have the right to run their factories as they please, and there is nothing preventing them from simply declaring themselves bilingual and then operating in English.

New factors

Several developments in the 1960s have brought this struggle to a head. One of them has been the new rise of revolutionary struggle around the world, especially the struggle of the Vietnamese and the Black liberation struggle in the United States.

There's another factor. The process of Anglicization, of pushing back the French language, has been gaining ground in recent years. There is a very real threat that the French-speaking majority in Quebec will be completely wiped out in a period of time; that is, the majority will speak English. Concretely, this would mean the destruction of the Quebec nation. So the question of national existence has been posed that crudely.

What happens is that parents decide that their children should go to English schools instead of French schools, to help the child get ahead. The parents might speak English very poorly, but the child is brought up thoroughly Anglicized and often has difficulty speaking his native language. This has happened to hundreds of thousands of Quebecois.

In addition, there is heavy immigration to Quebec, and all the immigrants opt for the language that puts them into the dominant national group: English. So gradually the majority is in the process of being overthrown.

One of the factors that perpetuated the existence of the Quebec nation in the face of these tendencies was a very high birth rate. The Quebecois had a birth rate which demographers considered to be inexplicable, it was so high. However, in recent years the birth-control pill and the increasing freedom of women has had a tremendous impact, and the birth rate in



Meeting of 5,000 Montreal students Oct 15 gave impetus for Quebec independence.



Meeting of 5,000 Montreal students Oct 15 gave enthusiastic support to demands for Quebec independence.

in the national struggle in Quebec'

Quebec has now sunk lower than in the rest of Canada. This is another factor which puts national genocide on the agenda.

Still another factor is that almost all the English-speaking Quebecois are concentrated in Montreal, the heart of the nation. Right now 60 percent of the city is French and 40 percent is English. But the proportions are gradually shifting, and estimates are that by the end of this century Montreal will be a majority English. Then the process will be irreversible towards placing the Quebecois in a minority position in their own nation.

These factors have led to the development of the massive struggles in the last few years around the demand to protect the French language. The demand is to eliminate the phony policy of bilingualism, to institute unilingualism, which means that in Quebec there should be one official language: French. Of course, English could be spoken by those who wished in private conversations, in their homes, etc., but French would be the sole official language of government, schools, business, factories, shops and on the streets.

Since the Quebecois do not have a workers government and have no leverage against the huge foreign monopolies that control their lives, unilingualism is the only solution to the situation where the French language is pushed into an inferior status.

This demand has given rise to mass struggles of unprecedented proportions, and, in my opinion, has the support of the majority of the nation. The Communist Party and other tendencies in the radical movement rear up on their hind legs against this demand. They consider it "undemocratic." As liberals rather than revolutionaries, they see the rights of the English and the rights of the French equally. The French are oppressed, they say, therefore they should have equal rights with the English, but we shouldn't go overboard. So they have stood aside, constantly attacking the mass struggles for defense of the French language and the national status of the Quebecois as implicitly fascist, antidemocratic, dictatorial, etc.

These so-called radical groups are not the only ones saying these things. They have the same position as the Canadian government. We in the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO) have

replied to the Communist Party and other groups that the main problem is not the rights of the English-speakers. The English-speaking Quebecois form an outpost in Quebec of the oppressor nation, the rest of Canada. The main question is the position of the French-speaking people, the Quebecois. We support the demand for unilingualism as one means of redressing the oppression of the Quebecois. It is a just demand, because it is the beginning of the exercise of the right of self-determination, that is, the right to determine what will be the state language in your nation. Also, it is a demand that has proven its capacity to mobilize masses of the Quebec people in anticapitalist struggle. Unilingualism must be part of a transitional program for the liberation of Quebec.

New rise in national struggle

Since 1967 there has been a decisive rise in the national struggle in Quebec. You may have read about DeGaulle's visit to Quebec in 1967, when, during his trip to Expo, he voiced the cry, "Vive le Quebec libre" [Long live free Quebec]. The most important thing was not what he said but the way in which the Quebecois responded to it.

Here was a figure of world importance who came to Quebec, deliberately thumbed his nose at the Canadian government, which was implementing the policy of bilingualism, and said, however demagogically, "I'm for a free Quebec," and there was a virtual outpouring of mass sentiment behind that cry. The nationalist movement had developed to such a point in Quebec that DeGaulle considered it politically profitable to utter those four words.

Since that time the developing national sentiment has become more and more clear. A year later, in the fall of 1968, the mass unilingual struggle broke out in a suburb of Montreal called Saint Leonard. The nationalists there elected a school board to control the local school, and a majority of the board was for unilingualism. The demand was for French-only schools.

During the election campaign the nationalists organized mass actions in the streets in this largely working-class suburb, and they waged a very efficient campaign to bring out the French Quebecois behind the unilingual candidates. It was remarkable that the unilingual candidates won a majority on the board, because in the suburb of Montreal the proportion of French speaking is only around 55 percent and there was a 45 percent Italian immigrant minority who were lined up 100 percent against the unilingual demand. So there was an almost total mobilization of the French community behind the demand for unilingualism, to stop the assimilation, to stop the national genocide.

Students were some of the most active people in the mass street actions, and at a crucial turning point in the struggle they moved in and occupied one of the schools. It was this occupation of the schools that symbolized the whole struggle and that broadcast the name of Saint Leonard across all of Quebec.

When that school was occupied, Saint Leonard became for other parts of Quebec a spark and a symbol of the struggle. It inspired the same kind of action across all of Quebec, mobilizing the community in the mass unilingual movement, centered around the question of the schools.

After the Saint Leonard victory, the provincial government moved in and tried to annul the elections by passing a law that you can't abolish English schools. The first time they tried to pass this law, a spontaneous mass movement broke out, and the govern-

ment was forced to withdraw the law. But the English minority, reflecting the desires of imperialism, mobilized more efficiently and continued their pressure, and last year were able to force the government to reintroduce what was in essence the same law, called at this time Bill 63.

Bill 63

This law provoked the largest upsurge of protest that has ever occurred in Quebec since the conscription protests of World War II. This law provoked a movement which can only be compared in its scope and impact to what happened in the U.S. in May of this year after the invasion of Cambodia. Perhaps even bigger.

What Bill 63 did, in essence, was to enshrine in law the rights of the English to have an official school system, and for the first time it enshrined the policy of bilingualism in law.

The first to move against the law were the students. In October 1969, they occupied large numbers of schools and then took to the streets in daily protest marches of 10,000, 20,000 and 30,000. In the outlying cities in Quebec some of the schools were completely turned over to the struggle and the facilities used to mobilize students and others in protest.

The demonstrations grew from day to day, drawing new forces into the struggle. It was clear that the students were reflecting the feelings of the majority of the population. The response you would get from people in the streets or hanging out of windows was very favorable. Even some of the cops—who are very vicious in Quebec—would come up and congratulate the marchers, saying, "I'm with you, I'm a Quebecois, and you're doing the right thing."

This mass protest against the government attempts to institutionalize English privileges flowed into the unions. All the three main union feder-

ations were deeply affected by the nationalist sentiment. The teachers union, which has 60,000 members in Quebec, came out officially for the struggle and sent a representative to the central struggle committee that was formed.

The official leadership of the second-largest trade-union federation, the Confederation of National Trade Unions, representing 200,000 members, first came out for the government, but then the ranks were able to overturn that decision. It also officially sent a representative to the struggle committee.

The other federation, the Quebec Federation of Labor, representing some 300,000 workers, tended to split, and the official position was a stand-off.

Other organizations came into the struggle, nationalist organizations, cultural organizations. I saw a list of some 200 or 300 organizations opposed to this bill, including the Society for the Blind of Quebec, some society concerned with animals, all kinds of groups that do not usually take political stands. This gives you an indication of the depth of the movement.

The prime minister of Quebec went to dinner one day in a small town in the Eastern Township. Suddenly the population was upon him, picket signs appeared, and someone spat in the minister's face.

Demonstrations took place every day, building to a mass demonstration of 40,000 or 50,000 in front of the Quebec parliament to protest the law. Speakers were starting to say, "We represent the people, not those hundred jackasses inside this building. We represent the people, we have the majority. The government is a traitor to the nation for this law that they're putting forward."

But the union movement did not enter into action, and so despite the overwhelming opposition of the Quebec population, the government succeeded in imposing Bill 63. Nevertheless, the struggle was a forerunner of more massive struggles to come.

Independence

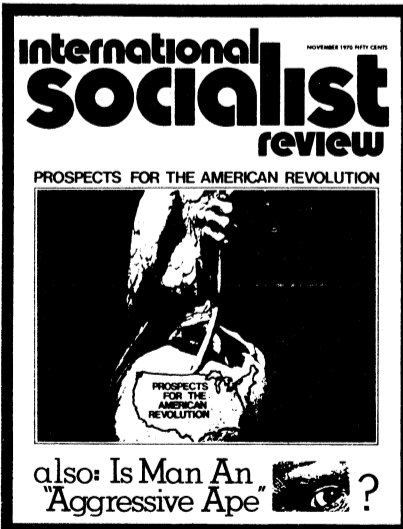
I want to go on to discuss the question of independence, but first it is (Continued on page 12)



Students Oct 15 gave enthusiastic support to demands

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... Quebec nationalism

(Continued from page 11)

important to recall that we are now at the point of the culmination of several struggles that have developed in recent years. In October 1968 there was a massive student revolt in which students occupied almost all the schools in Quebec above a junior high level for three weeks. We've had all sorts of nationalist demonstrations. So there has been the emergence of a mass student movement which, because of the national oppression, has generalized from its experiences more quickly than other students movements and posed the whole question of power in the society.

These struggles have had big repercussions in the working class too. The national struggle has given a cutting edge to all day-to-day class struggles in Quebec.

We have seen the development of more radical forms of working-class action. Sit-ins by workers, for instance, still only occur on an isolated basis, but they have occurred more and more often. There have been sit-ins for workers control. When a boss threatens to close a factory and move, workers have sat in. Sit-ins and occupations of the factories have occurred for other demands, and on a couple of occasions workers have organized armed defense guards.

The working class militancy has gone so deep that last year even the police force went out on strike, and there were millions of dollars worth of damage done when the people decided to do a little private expropriation.

Thus it has become clear that nationalism, far from being a diversion or some kind of middle-class movement, is in Quebec an expression of the desire of the working class to struggle; it serves to heighten class consciousness and is a powerful revolutionary factor in Quebec.

But we are also beginning to see that there has been a qualitative rise in the national struggle in the last few years. The tempo of development of social struggles has tended to diverge between English Canada and French Canada. The struggle in Quebec has assumed much more peculiar national forms.

The logical thrust of the struggles that have occurred in the past three or four years goes in the direction of independence for Quebec. The demand to have a national language and to eliminate the privileges of the English, for example, naturally flows in the direction of increasing the powers of the Quebec state government, eliminating the control of the federal government, and winning complete political independence.

Another factor has been the failure of the Canadian labor party, the New Democratic Party (NDP), to identify with and lead the national struggle in Quebec. A few years ago it appeared that this could be a possible development, but the course of the struggle has shown otherwise. The NDP has shown insensitivity and, in some cases, chauvinism toward the Quebec nationalist struggle. The NDP has no serious movement in Quebec at the present time and does not look like it will be a factor in the coming period.

So the development of the struggle in Quebec is assuming new forms around the growing demand for independence. There is a very perceptive statement relating to this by George Breitman in his book *The Last Year of Malcolm X*. I don't have the exact words, but the essence of what he said was that there is a difference between nationalism and separatism, that at the present time the nationalism of the Black people in the U.S. has not yet taken a separatist course

but it is not excluded that Black nationalism will take this course. He said if it turns out that the Black struggle does not take the separatist course, but another course, then this nationalism will not have been a fully developed, or classical nationalism. What we are seeing in Quebec is the development of nationalism to its classical conclusion, that is, the demand for independence.

The past elections in Quebec in April 1970 constituted, in essence, a referendum on the question of independence for Quebec. One party, the Parti Quebecois (PQ), ran in the elections on a platform unequivocally for independence, and this posed the issue squarely. A considerable proportion of the Quebec working class mobilized in support of this position. The PQ won 23 percent of the vote.

Following this qualitative turn toward the direction of the demand for independence, it is the responsibility of revolutionaries not only to support the right of self-determination for Quebec but to support and participate in the national struggle, advancing the demand that is now the central demand of the nationalist movement and the working class: independence.

Now, I'm not saying that I think there is an absolute majority of the

Quebec population in favor of independence, or even that this is the majority position among the working class. The point is that there has been a qualitative turn toward the direction of independence. Independence is the logical thrust of the struggles that have been taking place. And now a decisive sector of the working class favors independence, including the young workers, plus the youth and the students in general. These elements in the working class and in the population as a whole are the determining forces who are going to lead the struggles in the next period.

The demand for independence expresses a desire for full national liberation. What the French-speaking people are saying when they demand Quebec independence is the right to control their own lives. They want an end to oppression, and the most direct forms of oppression are first of all the language discrimination, and secondly the political domination by another nation, the English Canadian nation, through the federal state.

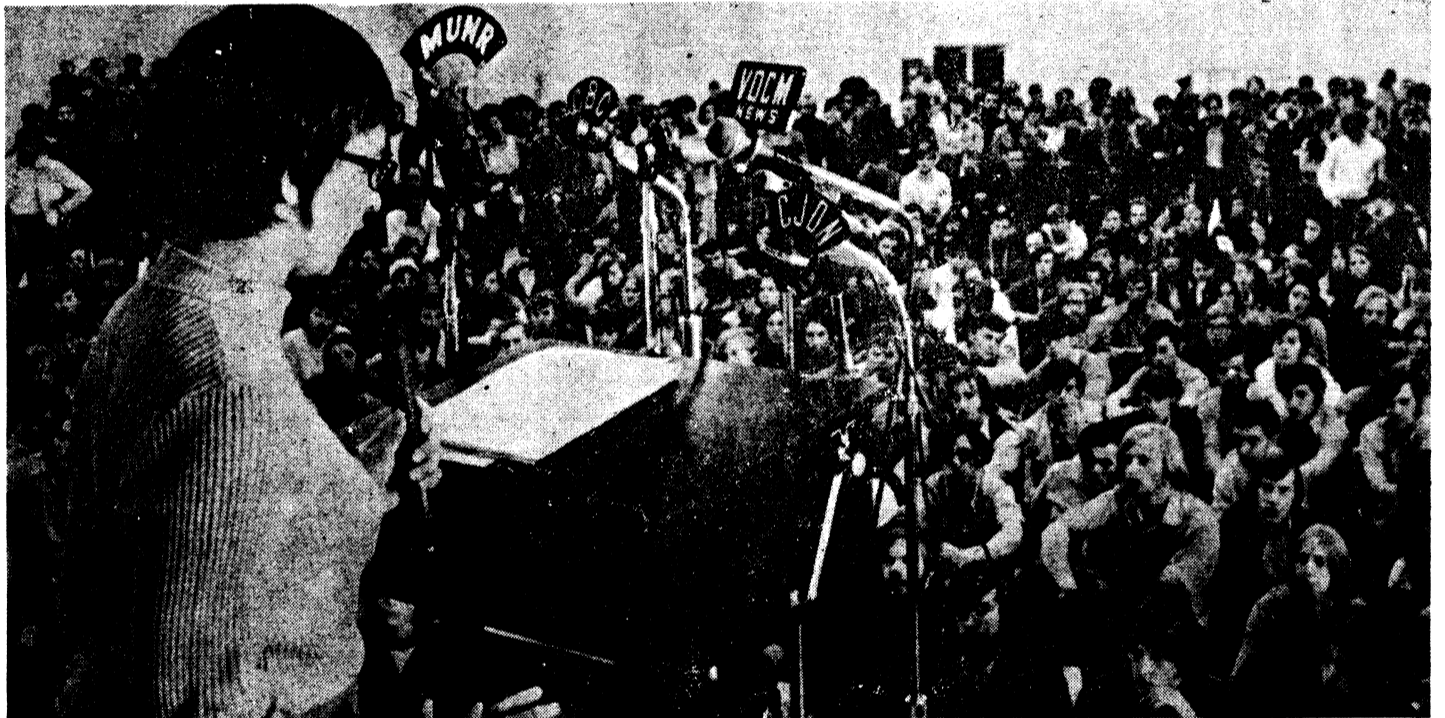
In this demand the Quebec people are saying they distrust and want an end to the existing political structure. What that implies is a distrust and opposition to the social relations that the existing political structure supports and enforces. That's what's involved in the dynamic of the struggle for independence by an oppressed nation, and that's why we consider that the Quebecois have chosen a profoundly revolutionary path.

The LSO fully supports and par-

ticipates in the struggle for independence. We do not, however, in any way support the Parti Quebecois, which is a capitalist party oriented toward compromise with imperialism. It is incapable of leading a struggle for independence and should be seen as an expression of mass pressure and mass sentiment for independence, a party which could break up under the pressure of the developing mass movement in Quebec. For instance, the PQ will have to face and deal with the union movement, the organized Quebec working class, which has been drawn into the PQ temporarily because there is no other nationalist or socialist alternative at this stage.

So we think it would be a big mistake for socialists or nationalists to support the PQ. We will be participating in, and building mass struggles outside the PQ. In the course of the struggle, the inadequacy of the PQ, its bourgeois character, and its orientation toward and its compromise with imperialism will become clear.

We are for national liberation, a workers and farmers government, and nationalization of the giant foreign monopolies that control Quebec. We will continue our work in building a mass liberation movement, building demonstrations in the streets around the language issue and other issues. We will continue to advance the concept that Quebec workers should form their own independent party, a labor party, which could fight a consistent, uncompromising struggle for independence and also for socialism.



Labor Challenge photo

A meeting of 1,000 students at Memorial University, Newfoundland, is addressed by Young Socialist Penny Simpson.

24 indicted in Quebec

War measures act fought across Canada

NOV. 10—On Nov. 5 a court in Montreal brought charges against 10 men for seditious conspiracy to overthrow the Canadian and Quebec governments by force. The 10 had been held by the Quebec government under the war measures act invoked on Oct. 16. Fourteen other prisoners were also charged under the war measures act with having been or having professed to be members of the now-banned Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ).

Over 50 people are still behind bars in Quebec.

Among those charged with seditious conspiracy were Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal central council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions; attorney Robert Lemieux; Pierre Vallieres, author of *The White Niggers*, a book about the plight of the Quebecois people; former professor Charles Gagnon, and Jacques Larue-Langlois, a former CBC radio producer.

The wave of protests against the

war measures act, which abolished all civil liberties in Canada, is emerging stronger and broader than ever. Nov. 13 has been set as a day of cross-Canada protest against the war measures act and against the substitute law being considered by the federal legislature.

These protests will coincide with a big assembly in Montreal being called by the Comité Quebecois pour la Defense des Libertés (Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom). This assembly will be the culmination of a series of rallies and teach-ins that have been taking place on campuses and community colleges in Quebec. For instance, on Oct. 28, some 2,000 students, faculty and workers rallied at the University of Montreal against the war measures act.

In addition to the student community, the three main trade-union federations in Quebec and the left wing of the New Democratic Party (the Canadian labor party) have been active in organizing opposition to the act. The Tor-

onto Law Union, an association of lawyers, law school faculty and law students, organized a rally of 500 against the act, and has launched a cross-country petition campaign calling for immediate revocation of the act.

Penny Simpson, who was among the first wave of Montrealers to be victimized by the sweeping arrests under the war measures act, has begun a speaking tour of eastern and central Canada against the act. On her tour she spoke to over 1,000 students and faculty at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland.

At the time of her arrest, Simpson was treasurer of the socialist campaign of Manon Leger for mayor of Montreal. She is also known as a leader of the Montreal Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialist League).

Simpson is calling for release of all those arrested under the war-measures act and the dropping of all charges against the 24.

Socialist campaign '70

SWP candidates won broad endorsements

"Of the four candidates running for the U. S. Senate from the state of Illinois, (Socialist Workers Party candidate) Lynn Henderson's program is by far the best," Democratic state representative Leland Rayson told an end-of-the-campaign banquet in Chicago Nov. 1. Rayson became interested in the SWP campaign through his son Bill, a YSAer, who only a few days earlier had been elected to the student government at the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Endorsement also came from Dan O'Connell, producer of the popular Chicago TV talk show "At Random." He urged groups like the SWP to keep up the pressure on the mass media to present their point of view. "The SWP isn't a major party yet, but I hope that some day it will be," he said.

Other speakers, besides the candidates, included the SWP's 1968 presidential candidate Fred Halstead.

A TV camera crew filmed the event.

Speakers at an Oct. 31 windup rally in Minneapolis for the Minnesota SWP campaign included five independent supporters, most of them former supporters of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party. Among them were an Army reservist, a Congressional minister who decided to endorse the campaign after interviewing SWP senatorial candidate Nancy Strebe on his radio talk show, and Dennis Brasket, who, after liberal Earl Craig lost the DFL primary to Hubert Humphrey, switched his support to Strebe. He helped print up and distribute "Nancy Strebe for Senate" bumper strips to former Craig supporters throughout the state.

"This year in Rhode Island and elsewhere a new breed of socialist has

found his way onto the ballot," says a Nov. 1 article on the Socialist Workers candidates in the **Providence Sunday Journal**. The lengthy, sympathetic article by Thomas G. Hughes calls the Rhode Island SWP nominees "personable, articulate candidates who talk solely about the issues, and in this campaign they have been talking loudly and often to anyone who will listen." The SWP's position on a dozen different issues is explained in the course of the article.

In the last few weeks of the campaign, the New York SWP received hundreds of inquiries in response to radio and TV coverage, much of it stemming from equal-time broadcasts and one-minute spot announcements urging listeners among other things, to subscribe to **The Militant**.

The majority of those responding indicated that they had not previously been aware of the socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

The Conservative Club at the University of Georgia in Athens put out a "Special Linda Jenness Edition" of its newsletter Oct. 30. (Jenness was

the SWP candidate for governor of Georgia.) Bemoaning the SWP's opposition to capital punishment and its support for free abortion on demand, it concluded: "Nothing so succinctly sums up the sickness of radical groups like the Socialist Workers Party, the Students for a Democratic Society, and persons like Jerry Rubin and Linda Jenness, and others."

The newsletter implausibly claimed that "international capitalists" finance the socialist movement. Unfortunately for the socialist campaigns, which can always use more money, it neglected to name any of these alleged philanthropists.

The Nov. 3 Atlanta Constitution ran an article on the write-in candidates for governor of Georgia. Linda Jenness was one that it considered to be "experienced in Georgia politics."

Among other things, it quotes Jenness as predicting that next year the women's liberation movement "will bloom into one of the great mass movements in the country."

The student newspaper at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor,

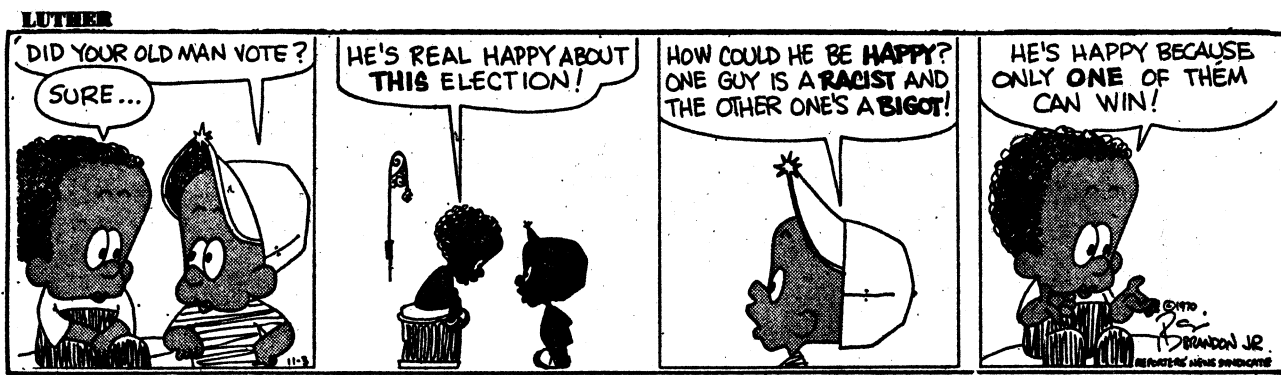
the **Michigan Daily**, called on its readers Nov. 1 to vote for SWP candidates Tom Vernier and Marcia Wisch. Both were running for the board of regents.

The paper pointed to their opposition to ROTC and other complicity with the military, and their demand for child-care facilities and an end to university discrimination against women as reasons for its endorsement. "They have the type of intimate experience with the university which other regents lack," said the editorial. "They would make fine additions to the board."

With this issue we will be concluding this column's reports on the 1970 SWP election campaigns. We have continued coverage of the campaign past the election in order to give Militant readers a better idea of the impact of the SWP campaigns as they neared Nov. 3.

Since the authorities are slow to tabulate the socialist vote in many states, we are not yet in a position to report on the vote totals for the SWP candidates. We will do this in a future issue.

—DAVID THORSTAD



By Brumsk Brandon Jr.



Photo by Tom Stanley/Univ. of Minn. Daily

Nancy Strebe

Black party in S. Carolina gaining ground

By SAM MANUEL

COLUMBIA, S.C. — The all-Black United Citizens Party in South Carolina had its first convention on April 25, 1970. Brother Redfern II, the party's 21-year-old campaign manager and a former student of engineering at the University of South Carolina, recently outlined a list of unredressed injustices which finally convinced the Black community of the necessity of establishing a Black political party.

High on the list was the Orangeburg massacre of February 1968, Redfern says. "The Democratic and Republican parties of South Carolina have yet to demand a coroner's inquest into the deaths of the three Black students. Further, while nine patrolmen were indicted by an FBI investigation, the only arrests so far have been of students and Black citizens like Cleveland Sellers.

"More recently," Redfern continued, "at a state Democratic convention attended by over 300 Black delegates, only a handful of Blacks were slated for office. And their voice in shaping the platform of the party was almost nonexistent."

One member of the UCP put it this way: "They don't want poor people in the Democratic Party. They want your vote but they don't want your opinion. A membership card costs \$100 in their party. They treat you like horses. You can pull the wagon, but you can't decide which way the wagon goes!"

Before steps were taken to form the UCP, other attempts had been made to bring about a solution to the problems of the Black community.

"At first," Redfern explained, "the community moved into action with protest demonstrations led by various groups, such as SCLC and the NAACP and many community groups. But the state did not respond to these protests.

"Then there were some militant and violent activities, such as some students arming themselves at Voorhees College. But as they picked up rifles, the Man moved in with tanks.

"Finally about 30 persons initiated the effort to organize a party."

The response to this initiative has been overwhelming. Party organizers now estimate the party's membership throughout the state at 10,000.

The UCP's platform calls for abolishing the draft; restructuring the tax system to ensure that big business and industry pay their share; restructuring the court system so Blacks and working people can receive a fair trial; adoption and enforcement of strong antipollution laws; a guarantee of collective bargaining, right to protest, and a minimum income.

The UCP was forced to run a write-in campaign in this year's elections when the secretary of state threw out 4,000 of the 12,000 signatures it had collected, thereby preventing it from obtaining ballot status. Its gubernatorial candidate was Thomas Broadwater, one of the attorneys in the Fort Jackson Eight case. His running mate, for lieutenant governor, was Rev. Julius McTeer, former president of the NAACP in York and Colleton counties.

At first the UCP said it would support Black candidates without regard to party affiliation. Some local chapters built campaigns for two Black Democrats.

More recently, however, UCP representatives have called for supporting only those Blacks who run on the UCP ticket. The support group at the University of South Carolina has come out against any ties to the Democratic Party.

Leaders of the party say it plans to expand beyond the electoral arena in an effort to organize the Black community in other forms of struggle as well.

NEW YORK

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance and International Socialist Review

Friday, Nov. 20

7:30 p.m.—Registration and first session at 408 Main Hall, Teachers College, Columbia University, 120th St. and Broadway.

8:30 p.m.—Barry Sheppard, Political Committee, Socialist Workers Party, on "Dynamics of World Revolution."

Saturday, Nov. 21

10:00 a.m.—Harkness Theatre, Butler Library, Columbia. Perspectives on Women's Liberation—a panel debate.

1:30 p.m.—Harkness Theatre. Derrick Morrison, staff writer for **The Militant**, on "Cairo, Illinois: New Stage in the Black Struggle."

6:30 p.m.—GALA BANQUET. GRAND OPENING OF NEW SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS — 706 Broadway (nr. 4th Street), 8th floor. George Novack, noted Marxist scholar, and Manon Leger, Quebecois revolutionary socialist. Five-course French dinner. Entertainment. Donation: \$5, college students \$3, h.s. students \$2. Sponsored by: Socialist Workers Party.

Registration: \$4 for all 3 sessions plus banquet, or \$1 per session. H.S. students, \$3 or 50 cents per session. For more information contact: Young Socialist Alliance, 706 Broadway; tel: (212) 982-8214.

Book review

Eugene V. Debs: speeches from the class struggle

EUGENE V. DEBS SPEAKS. Edited by Jean Y. Tussey with an introduction by James P. Cannon. 320 pp. Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. \$2.75 (cloth \$6.95).

He was denounced by American presidents, cursed by corporate barons and reviled by the capitalist press. You could tell by the enemies he made that there was something special about Eugene V. Debs, the union organizer from Terre Haute, Indiana.

And indeed there was. Throughout the first two decades of this century he was the foremost spokesman for socialism in this country, a brilliant orator and a fierce defender of the working class to which he devoted his life. For nearly a quarter of a century he crisscrossed America, speaking, agitating, pressing the case for socialism.

Capitalism, Debs argued persuasively, is an obstacle to the progress of humanity and has to be replaced by a system of economic organization based on the needs of the vast majority of workers. And of course he was right. This month, 115 years after Debs' birth on Nov. 5, 1855, revolutionary socialists are paying tribute to the man who founded the Socialist Party, the first mass socialist organization in America. That the Socialist Party is today a hollow reformist shell does not diminish Debs the man, or his work.

Part of his work can be examined in the new publication from Pathfinder Press, a collection of his writings and speeches. It's a fine book. The speeches literally ring true with the throbbing voice of Debs delivering his polemics against the ruling class, against the poverty and injustice he saw at every turn as America, beginning to heave and erupt under industrialized capitalism, headed into the twentieth century.

Five times Eugene Debs ran for president as a socialist. Invariably he balked at running but relented under

the insistence of Socialist Party convention delegates who knew he was the best they had. He polled 100,000 votes in 1900, 402,000 in 1904 and 402,000 in 1908. In 1912 he polled 897,000 votes and in 1920, campaigning from jail, he won 919,000 votes, the most any socialist has ever drawn in a presidential campaign.

The Socialist Party disintegrated under the pressure of its own contradictions, proving the impossibility of building an "all-inclusive" party that embraces reformists as well as working-class revolutionaries. In 1919 the left wing of the Socialist Party, inspired by the Russian revolution, helped found the Communist movement and by the early twenties the Communist Party had already become the leading workers party in the United States.

Debs invariably condemned the reformists who prostrated themselves before the conservative trade unionists and forsook revolutionary positions for advocacy of a program of municipal reforms at election time. But while he always remained steadfast in his revolutionary ideals, he refused to enter into the thick of the heated internal struggles over policy questions where his viewpoint could have been decisive.

That was Debs' main fault. Unlike Lenin, he paid little attention to crucial organizational questions, preferring to remain aloof from internal party leadership in the belief that the rank and file would find and evolve a revolutionary program on its own. He was dead wrong. The rank and file may have the correct inclinations, but a history of working-class parties has shown that party leadership is decisive. That was something Debs refused to give. Lawyers, ministers and doctors—many of them weekend socialists—filled the leadership void in the Socialist Party, steering it away from the revolutionary socialist track.

Debs, nevertheless, was a giant. On



"The capitalist system must be overthrown, class rule abolished and wage slavery supplanted by cooperative industry." Eugene Debs speaks.

the main questions of the time, as James P. Cannon outlines in his perceptive introduction, Debs was right on target. Debs supported the Bolshevik revolution; he opposed U.S. intervention in World War I ("I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the worldwide war of the social revolution"); he opposed both capitalist parties; and he stood in the vanguard of major defense campaigns such as the defense waged on behalf of labor leaders Bill Haywood and Charles Moyer, framed by the government in 1906.

It was Debs' opposition to the imperialist war in Europe that resulted in a 10-year prison sentence. The speech that did it was a campaign address he delivered in Canton, Ohio, in 1918 for which he was convicted of obstructing the conscription act. This remarkable piece of agitational oratory is reprinted in full in the Pathfinder collection. After the sentencing, Debs remained thoroughly unrepentant. "I enter the prison doors," he said, "a flaming revolutionist." Which was true. Nominated by the Socialist

Party for president, Debs, now prisoner number 9653, campaigned from jail in 1920.

Debs came to socialism from the labor movement. His first job was railroad fireman, in 1871. He joined a new local of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen in 1874, was elected secretary of the union lodge and became editor of the union magazine in 1877. He grew progressively more radical. In 1895 he led the mass walkout against the Pullman Co. for which he served six months in jail. He became convinced of the revolutionary-socialist perspective through a mixture of his own experiences and acquaintances and the writings of "imported" revolutionaries such as the German Social Democratic leader Karl Kautsky.

Debs died in 1926. The revolution he fought for did not take place in his lifetime. But what Debs said in 1900 is quite as valid today: "The capitalist system must be overthrown," he asserted, "class rule abolished and wage slavery supplanted by cooperative industry."

— RANDY FURST

Eugene V. Debs Speaks

with an introduction by
James P. Cannon

edited by
Jean Y. Tussey

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UAW calls meeting of GM Council

By FRANK LOVELL

One week after announcement of a "news blackout" on negotiations in the General Motors strike, the United Auto Workers summoned to Detroit their 350-member GM Council for a conference to convene on Wednesday, Nov. 11.

The GM Council members, representing all striking UAW locals in the U.S. and Canada, received telegrams from International president Leonard Woodcock telling them to come prepared to stay.

A statement issued by Woodcock said, "If a national settlement is reached or if a national settlement cannot be reached, a UAW-GM conference must be held. If the General Motors Corporation decides to force a continuance of the strike, plans must be made to meet the situation created when the strike benefits are no longer available. Since nothing definite is known at this time, delegates should come prepared to stay, should that be necessary."

Key union demands remained unaltered, as follows: 1) a wage raise in the first year of 61.5 cents per hour for all classifications, bringing the average to \$4.61 per hour; 2) restoration of the UAW cost-of-living formula, gearing wages to rising prices; 3)

retirement after 30 years at \$500 a month, regardless of age.

Its ability to win these three demands has become the test of the present leadership of the union.

Woodcock's statement was intended to allay rumors of a proposed settlement. Meanwhile, reporters for the capitalist press scurried about to find strikers who would say that after two months on the picket line they were starved out and ready to get back to work as soon as possible.

Jerry Flint of the *New York Times* got mixed reactions and turned in a report that showed the high morale of the strikers. A striker in Lockport, N.Y., whose wife is expecting their second child, told him, "We're buying more carefully, and we're watching sales. But we can hold out till February."

In Michigan he learned that strikers are looking forward "to having November off because the deer-hunting season is a favorite auto workers' sport."

An official of UAW Local 160 in Warren, Mich., told *The Militant*, "I have been at the union hall every day since the strike began Sept. 14 and talked with every man on the picket line at the GM Tech Center and no one has asked me when we are going back to work."

The UAW local at Willow Run, Mich., refused to return to work to produce transmissions for American Motors, turning down a request to do so from a nonstriking UAW local in Toledo, Ohio. American Motors has announced it will be forced to close its Toledo Jeep plant unless it can get transmissions from GM. The action at Willow Run is further evidence of the high morale of the strikers and their desire to extend the strike.

There are now an estimated half-million workers out as a result of the strike and its effects continue to spread.

An indication that negotiators at the "top table" may be preparing a compromise was the report that GM continues to pay strikers' medical insurance and the UAW has agreed to repay GM when the strike is settled.

If members of the union's GM Council agree in Detroit to a settlement which does not satisfy the three key demands of the strikers, they will have trouble selling it at this stage of the strike when they get back to their home locals.

This is understood by nearly all council members, who also know that the reason they have been summoned to Detroit is to let them shoulder the responsibility for whatever develops in the negotiations at this juncture.

Detroit high school rights fight

By TERRY HILLMAN

DETROIT, Nov. 9—In building the Oct. 31 demonstration against the war, the Detroit Student Mobilization Committee concentrated on high school participation. Leafleting was done by high school students and nonstudents as well.

The fact that high school students are not considered to be citizens of the United States with the same rights as any other citizens rapidly became apparent to those attempting to organize the antiwar sentiment in the high schools.

● At Ferndale High School, antiwar activists wishing to have an SMC in their school went through the official procedure for having a club or organization recognized. Recognition is important because it is a condition to calling and publicizing meetings in the high school. The principal, in an attempt to scare the SMCers, pulled out Hoover's "Open Letter to College Students," which says the SMC is run by the YSA. The principal then asked how many of the SMCers at Ferndale were in the YSA. They answered that none of them were in the YSA. Finally the principal denied recognition because the SMC is political! The SMC filed suit against the Ferndale board of education for abridgement of student's rights.

Auto unionists present case on television

By JERRY BUBENHOFER

DETROIT, Nov. 9—The United National Caucus of the United Auto Workers bought a half hour of television time yesterday to show "The strike and its effect on all UAW members." Five caucus leaders discussed the major issues in the strike against General Motors and the caucus' views on what should be in the new UAW contract.

Art Fox, Ford Local 600, gave statistics to show that the auto industry can afford much more than the \$1.25 an hour across-the-board first-year raise the caucus calls for.

Working conditions are not even being discussed at the bargaining table, said Grady Glenn, also from Ford Local 600. He gave vivid examples of intolerable working conditions and denounced the discrimination against Blacks, which forces them into hard production jobs.

Curtis Gadson, a Black from Dodge Local 3, attacked production standards and working conditions, blaming absenteeism on the dehumanizing aspects of production work and the unsafe, backbreaking conditions as well as the unsanitary facilities.

Other panel participants were Peter Kelly, a UAW official at GM Local 160, and Jim Griffen. Kelly called for a mass rally of all striking GM workers in downtown Detroit. Griffen, GM Local 235, called for the right of a local to strike without International UAW consent on issues regarding production standards and speedup, health and safety, discrimination, and other working conditions.

Caucus demands on working conditions are: no change in production standards without union concurrence; a union steward for every foreman; the automatic right to strike on local membership decision; UAW members in all grievance procedures are "innocent till proven guilty."

The television program was broadcast over a Canadian station, all other major stations in the Detroit area having refused to sell time, a spokesman for the caucus said.

● Lenore Romney and Pat Nixon recently visited Southfield High School and a school-sponsored assembly was held in their behalf. Although the assembly was ostensibly open to the entire student body, students were screened as they entered the auditorium. Several antiwar activists were denied entrance and some were detained in the principal's office. At least one student was physically assaulted



to prevent him from leafleting although he had been leafleting in a peaceful, nondisruptive manner.

● Dwight Karaszewski, a student from Osborne High School, was called into the principal's office after distributing antiwar literature. The principal informed Karaszewski that he was going to be suspended for smoking a cigarette on school grounds. He doesn't smoke. He called the SMC, which in turn put him in contact with their lawyer. The next day Karaszewski returned to Osborne and began leafleting outside the school. He then was ticketed by the Detroit police department. On the third day, he returned to school, after attorney Ronald Reosti had informed the principal that it is within the rights of high school students to pass out leaflets and to form a Student Mobilization Committee. Karaszewski was reinstated after winning a hearing on the charge of smoking and is currently engaged in organizing an SMC at Osborne.

● At several high schools in Detroit, including Redford, Osborne and Cody, students have been ticketed by Detroit police for leafleting. The students were ticketed on the basis of an ordinance which was previously ruled as pertaining to commercial literature only. The SMC contacted the Common Council which in turn contacted the corporation counsel. The corporation counsel reaffirmed the ruling allowing the distribution of political literature outside high schools. In addition they informed the SMC that Detroit board of education policy allows literature to be distributed within the Detroit public schools (a "crime" for which a number of students have been suspended).

The sentiment against the war is widespread among high school students and has been for quite awhile. Although high school students have been very prominent in mass demonstrations, organizing against the war and starting SMCs within the schools has always been a major problem because students have been consistently denied their basic civil rights. But now more and more students are demanding the right to have an SMC

recognized in their school and to distribute leaflets.

Along these lines, Nov. 20 (National High School Rights Day) provides a focal point for high school antiwar activists to assert their newly discovered rights and organize a day of antiwar action in their high school.

The SMC is launching a Committee to Defend the Right of the Student Mobilization Committee to Exist in the High Schools. The committee has a lawyers' subcommittee and a list of sponsors, including organizations and prominent individuals. The purpose is to fight for the rights of high school students both on a legal and a political level. Whenever there is a blatant denial of the rights of a student as in the cases at Ferndale and Osborne high schools, the committee will take legal action.

The SMC is confident that it can win the rights of high school students which are now being denied.

Phila. church is occupied by Young Lords

By FRED FELDMAN and DAN STEWART

PHILADELPHIA — Kings Way Church, located in one of Philadelphia's growing Puerto Rican barrios, became the "Iglesia de la Gente" (People's Church) when it was occupied on Nov. 6 by members of the Young Lords Party. It is being developed as a community service center to carry out a series of programs dealing with drug abuse, legal aid and child care. The flag of Puerto Rico now flies outside the church. The liberation of the church occurred with the approval of the minister, Father Robert Zepernick, who celebrated the event with an interdenominational mass on Sunday, Nov. 8. He compared the Young Lords' action to the driving of the money changers from the temple.

Militant reporters interviewed Young Lords information lieutenant Caspar Martinez, 17, at the liberated church. He told us the action was sparked by a series of highly publicized police raids allegedly aimed at the drug trade in the Puerto Rican and Black communities.

"The effect of the raids," said Martinez, "is to put the blame for the drug traffic on the Puerto Rican people, shielding the big drug suppliers and their protectors in the police department. Our people don't grow poppies in their backyards. They have only rats there. We don't go to Turkey to get the dope. Our people aren't born junkies. They aren't born with syringes in their hands. The needles are put there by the white establishment."

The Young Lords are setting up a 24-hour emergency clinic for drug addicts, and announced a campaign to end the sale of drugs in their community. When asked how they intended to deal with drug sellers, Martinez told us, "We want to talk to them. We will explain that they are not the enemy, that the real enemy is the system. We will tell them that they should stop carrying oppression for their brothers in their pockets."

Since the liberation of the church, the Young Lords have been harassed by bomb threats. At 6:30 a.m., Nov. 8, a time bomb went off at the Young Lords information office at 1540 N. Franklin St. One brother was injured by the blast. Caspar Martinez suspects the police of complicity in the bombing because the office is under 24-hour police surveillance and they know everyone who goes in or out.

N.Y. jury shown 'Battle of Algiers' in 'nonpolitical' Panther 21 trial

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK — Judge John M. Murtagh unexpectedly allowed the film "Battle of Algiers" to be entered as prosecution's evidence against 13 members of the Black Panther Party on trial here.

This was done by allowing the 12 jurors — among whom are seven Blacks and one Puerto Rican — to see the film in the afternoon session of the trial on Nov. 9.

The 13 on trial are among 21 Panthers under a 30-count grand jury indictment, which charges that they conspired to blow up police stations, department stores, and — of all places — the New York Botanical Gardens in the Bronx. The indicted Panthers were seized in predawn raids April 2, 1969.

Assistant district attorney Joseph Phillips sought to enter the film as evidence on the basis of a statement by a Black police agent that the film was "mandatory" for all Panther Party members.

The agent, detective Ralph White, testified that Lumumba Abdul Shakur, one of the defendants, told a political education class that they were required to see "Battle of Algiers." After White

saw it he went to Shakur's apartment. He testified hearing Shakur state that the tactics used by the Algerians would be used by the Panthers against the pigs (police).

Under questioning by Gerald Lefcourt and other defense attorneys, White revealed that he went to police headquarters daily to write reports on his work inside the Panther Party. Yet, in his written report the following day, White made no mention of Shakur's remarks on the film. And even when White conceded that he may have been under the influence of marijuana and/or alcohol during that day and that night, he still insisted he recalled the remarks of Shakur.

In spite of such flimsy testimony, Judge Murtagh allowed the film to be shown to the jury. The defense attorneys contended that the film would be highly prejudicial to the case. The ruling contradicts the judge's pious statements that only the 13 defendants are on trial, not the Panther Party.

The trial is expected to go on for several months. Funds are urgently needed. Contributions can be sent to the Committee to Defend the Panther 21, 11 E. 16th St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: 228-7745 or 46-

Roots of Mideast conflict (III)

Israel is carved out of Palestine

By GUS HOROWITZ
and BARRY SHEPPARD
(Third in a series)

Only a small minority of Jews supported Zionism in the early part of the twentieth century, and the Zionists experienced great difficulty in trying to stimulate a wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine. By 1931, the number of Jews fell far short of Zionist desires—175,000, or 17.7 percent of the total population of Palestine. But the rise of Hitlerism in Germany drove many Jews into the arms of the Zionists.

The Nazi persecution of the Jews was utilized by the Zionists to win over the Jewish refugees to their goal of colonizing Palestine. The United States, which could easily have absorbed the refugees, closed its doors to the victims of the Nazis. The U.S. government rigidly enforced the reactionary immigration laws which limited total immigration and placed quotas on immigration from each country. Between July 1, 1933, and June 30, 1943, only 165,756 Jews were admitted to the United States, while approximately one million places on the existing immigration quotas for various countries went unfilled during this period!

Revolutionists in the U.S., whose effectiveness was hampered because of their small numbers, campaigned for the U.S. to open its doors to the victims of Hitlerism. But for their part, the Zionists insisted that the question of refuge to the European Jews had to be tied to the colonization of Palestine.

The Nazi holocaust, in which six million European Jews were killed, was utilized to propaganda advantage by the Zionists, who were able to win over masses of Jews who had previously rejected Zionism. In the wave of reaction to the Nazi genocide, many Jews were led by the Zionists to disregard the interests of the Palestinian Arabs, who were certainly not responsible for the crimes of the Nazis.

Although many of the Jews who

came to Palestine did not intend to subjugate the Palestinian Arabs, and although many of the Jewish immigrants were themselves victims of oppression, nevertheless, the goal of creating a Jewish state in Arab Palestine was reactionary, for it could only be accomplished by dispossessing and subjugating the indigenous Arab people. Whatever may have been the subjective intentions of the mass of the Jewish immigrants, this was the objective logic of creating a Jewish state, as was proved by what happened in actual life.

Jewish immigration increased considerably, bringing the colony up to 600,000 by November, 1947. Even so, the Arabs were a two-thirds majority in the country.

But by this time, the imperialists were faced with the postwar upsurge of the colonial revolution throughout the world, including an upsurge of the national liberation struggle in the Arab world. Forced to retreat and concede formal political independence to many of the colonies, the imperialists nevertheless tried to retain as much of a foothold as they could.

In Palestine, Britain decided that it had to abandon its direct control in the form of the League of Nations mandate. World imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, which by this time was displacing Britain and France in the Mideast, decided to establish a Jewish state by partitioning Palestine. In the Jewish state at least, since it would be totally dependent upon them, the imperialists would be assured of a reliable ally and a strong foothold in the area. They decided to act through the United Nations, as earlier Britain and France had acted through the League of Nations.

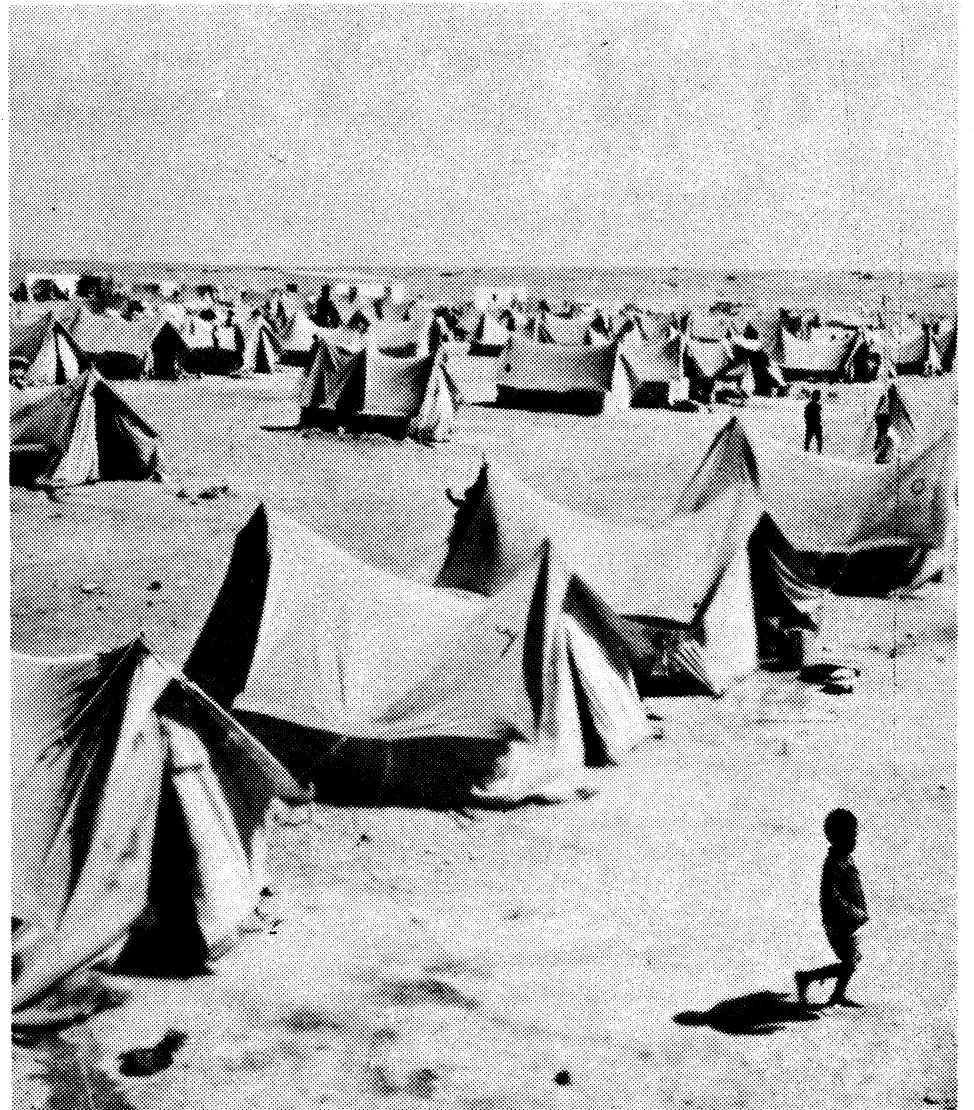
On November 29, 1947, the UN, with Soviet acquiescence, voted to partition Palestine. In the proposed Jewish state, almost half the population were Arabs. The Zionists accepted this formula, seeing it as a means of consolidating their gains and laying a basis for future expansion.

The Arabs rightly opposed the UN formula, which deprived them of sovereignty over their country. Immediately guerrilla warfare broke out, lasting almost six months. Then, in mid-May, 1948, as soon as the British began evacuating and the Israeli state was formally proclaimed, regular armies from the neighboring Arab states entered the fighting.

As soon as the UN had voted for partition, the Zionists moved rapidly to organize their governmental administration, and the Zionist military forces launched campaigns to take control over as much of the area as they could. The number of Arab refugees swelled considerably after April 9, 1948, when the Irgun, a Zionist terrorist organization, massacred 254 inhabitants of the Arab village of Deir Yassin.

Although the major Zionist organizations issued formal statements disclaiming the Irgun (while simultaneously concluding military alliances with it), the news of the massacre was broadcast far and wide, and threats of new massacres were used by the Zionists to terrorize the Arab populace into leaving their homes.

Within a couple of months, the Israeli army itself was forcibly driving



Arab refugees from the 1948 war that established state of Israel have been forced to live in miserable camps like the one shown in this photo. These camps remain to the present day.

the Arabs out of most of the areas it conquered. Meanwhile the Zionists encouraged a vast influx of Jewish immigrants and immediately began to settle them in the areas from which the Arabs had been dispossessed.

Although Zionist propaganda portrayed the Jews as a beleaguered people, vastly outnumbered by the Arabs, this did not conform to the actual military situation. Within a short time it became clear that the Zionist military was well-coordinated and trained and had the advantage of shorter lines of communication and the help of many skilled military experts trained in Western armies.

The Zionists were able to arm large numbers of soldiers during the course of the 1948 war. In the war's final stages, some 60,000 soldiers in the Israeli armies were facing 40,000 in the Arab armies.

By the time a general cease-fire went into effect in 1949, the Israeli state had vastly expanded its territory. Of the estimated 859,000 Arabs who had lived in the territory that came under Israeli control, only 133,000 remained, many of these as refugees within Israel. Those who fled Israeli-held territory left behind 388 Arab towns and villages, whole cities like Jaffa, Acre, Lydda, and Ramle, and large parts of 94 other cities and towns.

To this day, the Arab refugees from the 1948 war and their children live in refugee camps in the most miserable conditions. Although the Israeli state in its first four years alone found the means to more than double the Jewish population through immigration, it has absolutely refused to let the Arab refugees back into their own land on the grounds that a large Arab population would eventually undermine the basis for a Jewish state.

A 1952 Israeli law on nationality gave the right of Israeli citizenship to any Jew in the world who wanted it, while an Arab who wanted to return to his home had to apply for naturalization and swear an oath of loyalty to the Israeli state.

Of the Arabs who remained in the country, 80 percent were forced to live under a military administration. Arabs were required to obtain army

passes to travel short distances, they were unable to join the national labor federation, and they had to carry special identity cards marked with the letter B. Although some of the discriminatory regulations were subsequently lifted, the Arabs in Israel still remain second-class citizens.

Furthermore, the Israeli conquests of 1967 have brought a harsh military rule to the Arabs in the newly occupied areas.

The land stolen from the Arab refugees was given over to Jewish settlers and the deed was sanctified by Israeli law. The UN's Conciliation Commission for Palestine estimated that the land taken from the Arabs amounted to more than eighty percent of Israel's total area. (This included the Bedouin areas of the Negev.) Before the 1948 war, Jewish-owned land in Palestine had amounted to only 1,850,000 dunams. (There are approximately four dunams to the acre.) The Israeli state stole 4,754,000 dunams of cultivable land from the Arabs—about a fifth of the total area of the country.

In addition to the refugees across the border, any Arab who had remained within the boundaries of Israel, but who had left his home for a short time during the war, was also subject to dispossession. About forty percent of the land owned by Arabs who had remained in Israel was taken by the Israeli state.

The remaining areas of Palestine—the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of the Jordan—were incorporated into Egypt and Trans-Jordan (renamed Jordan).

Thus the manner in which the Israeli settler-state was created brought Zionism to its logical conclusion: the original Arab inhabitants of the area were dispossessed or forced to live in subjugation as second-class citizens. Many liberal Jews in Israel have protested against this injustice (as many liberal whites in South Africa have protested apartheid); but, as in the case of South Africa, the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs was not merely an unfortunate and easily correctable blemish on Israel. It followed as a logical consequence of creating a Jewish settler-state in an Arab country.

(To be continued)

Peter Buch on the Mideast

Zionism and the Arab Revolution: The Myth of Progressive Israel

30¢

Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis

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Leon Trotsky

On the Jewish Question with an introduction by Peter Buch

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Third World liberation notes**Chicanos win studies program in Milwaukee**

Roberto Hernandez, leader of the Council for Latin American Education, announced Oct. 23 that the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee had agreed to set up a Spanish-speaking outreach institute. Among other demands granted were stepped-up recruitment of Latinos to the UWM campus and the establishment of an adult bilingual, bicultural educational program. There are 20,000 Latinos in Milwaukee.

The agreement was reached only after representatives of the Latino community came onto the campus Oct. 12 and set up camp in front of Chapman Hall, the administration building. This was in response to the administration's unwillingness to implement agreements made in September.

After 200 students joined the Latinos, the way was paved for a settlement. Other organizations participating in the struggle were the Brown Berets, the Puerto Rican Youth Organization, and the Spanish Welfare Rights Organization.

During the last week of October, three survivors of the police assault that took the life of Chicano newsman Ruben Salazar demanded an investigation of the murder by federal and county grand juries, and by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. They also filed a damage claim in Los Angeles county court charging assault and naming sheriff's department head Peter Pitchess and several deputies.

The three are Guillermo Restrepo, a reporter for KMEX-TV where Salazar was news director, Gustavo Garcia, and Hector Franco. Their action came after the district attorney failed to indict members of the sheriff's department, even after a coroner's inquest

into Salazar's death raised questions about the deputies' conduct.

Salazar was shot through the head with a tear-gas grenade by a deputy sheriff. This occurred during the police assault on the Aug. 29 Chicano anti-war moratorium of over 30,000 people.

Shirley Graham Du Bois, wife of the late W. E. B. Du Bois was in the Bay Area during the first week of November. She spoke on the Middle East crisis and its relationship to the Black liberation struggle.

"I am in the full sense of the word a revolutionary, but I also know that there's no separation between what's occurring in Vietnam and here. If we are going to effect revolution, it's very necessary to have Black leadership and control in as many areas as possible. The revolution can only be achieved by a total involvement over the long haul." The statement was made by Al Hubbard, a Black ex-Air Force pilot who flew missions in Vietnam. The statement was made in an extensive interview with him that appeared in the Nov. 3 *Philadelphia Tribune*, the local established Black press. Hubbard is the national executive secretary of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

According to the Oct. 31 *Michigan Chronicle*, the leading Black publication in Detroit, Black telephone operators at Michigan Bell are making a bid to take over their union from its lily-white leadership. The union, Local 4000 of the Communication Workers of America, has about 1,500 Blacks out of a membership of 2,300.

The Black slate, which is all-women,



Sign urging vote for Lowndes County Freedom Organization during its heyday in 1966.

terms the white union officials "contemptuous" of the membership. "We simply want representation," explains the spokeswoman for the slate. Union bylaws state that an election has to be held in November, but the leadership has yet to inform the membership about plans to hold one.

John Hulett, former chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, was elected sheriff of Lowndes County Nov. 3 on the ticket of the National Democratic Party of Alabama.

The LCFO, initiated with the aid of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating

Committee in the winter of 1965, paved the way for SNCC's call of Black Power in 1966. For the November elections of that year, the LCFO fielded a slate of Black candidates for county offices. As an expression of its total independence from the Democratic Party, the LCFO chose the symbol of the panther. This led many to call it the "Black Panther Party." It was this LCFO emblem that became the symbol for the Black power movement. Its popularization related directly to a group of Oakland, California, youth coming together in the fall of 1966 to form the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.

— DERRICK MORRISON

George Novack analyzes Latin American revolution

By ALEX HARTE

The Nov. 16 issue of *Intercontinental Press* features two articles that should be of special interest to *Militant* readers.

In a six-page polemical piece, George Novack discusses "The Permanent Revolution in Latin America."

His special targets are two positions that appear to be polar opposites—one held by Andre Gunder Frank, the well-known Latin-American specialist; and the other by the Latin-American Communist Party leaders who believe in the parliamentary road to socialism and the need to make an alliance with the "progressive bourgeoisie."

Novack explains how Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was de-

rived from a more general law of social evolution—the law of uneven and combined development. This means that an underdeveloped country can develop advanced features. This is contrasted with the "gradualist" theories of nineteenth-century bourgeois thought, which predicted that precapitalist societies would repeat the slow capitalist development experienced by Western Europe.

Trotsky's theory was confirmed in 1917 by the workers who, in the process of sweeping away Russia's feudal rubbish, seized power and began the socialist revolution. But, ironically, the Stalinized Communist parties now ad-

vocate for the Third World what the Mensheviks of 1917 advocated for Russia: an antifeudal revolution in the present era and an anticapitalist revolution in some indefinite future. This perspective has led to defeat after defeat of revolutions that could have succeeded.

Again on the basis of the law of uneven and combined development, Novack attacks Frank's conception that Latin America lacks a feudal heritage.

Frank claims that Latin America has always been capitalist, even in the colonial period, but Novack advances some illuminating illustrations to show

that this view is quite one-sided.

The second feature is a four-page interview with Tomas Mac Giolla, the president of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish republican movement.

Mac Giolla discusses such questions as the recent split in the republican movement, the effort to overcome sectarian divisions in Northern Ireland, the movement's attitude toward the labor unions, and the ultimate goals of the Irish revolution.

The issue of *Intercontinental Press* containing these exclusive features can be obtained by sending 50 cents to P. O. Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.

Builds defense of Palestinian struggle

NOV. 10—Peter Buch, a former Zionist and a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, has successfully completed the upper West Coast portion of his national tour in defense of the Arab revolution.

In Vancouver Buch spoke at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver City College and the University of British Columbia and at a public forum sponsored by the League for Socialist Action. He devoted a large part of his talk to explaining the goals of the Palestinian revolutionaries, especially the concept of a democratic secular state of Palestine, by quoting from statements issued by Al Fateh, the Democratic Popular Front and other groups. Unfortunately the meeting was cut short due to heckling, shouting, and threats made by a few Zionists.

Moving on to Seattle, Buch spoke to around 200 students at a University of Washington teach-in on Palestine and the Mideast. The teach-in was sponsored by a newly formed Palestinian Support Coalition, made up of local Arab students and other groups and individuals. A total of over 700 students, faculty members and community residents attended some part of the teach-in.

Between 150 and 200 students came out to hear Buch debate a Zionist at Portland State University. Following the talk, the student speakers committee sponsored a press conference for Buch, and as a result he appeared on television twice. In addition, successful meetings took place at Lewis and Clark University in Portland and Oregon State University in Corvallis.

The next stop was the San Francisco Bay Area, where Buch spoke at eight different colleges and universities in Berkeley, San Francisco, Sacramento, Hayward and San Jose.

Arab students at the University of California at Berkeley put an ad in the student newspaper asking for a Zionist to debate Buch, but none could be found. Finally a radical Zionist agreed to debate, but a mutually acceptable time could not be arranged.

In Oakland and Sacramento, Buch had lengthy discussions with Arab student leaders about future perspectives for Palestine support activities here in the U. S.

Peter Buch's tour will be running through the month of March. Requests for Buch to speak should be sent to: Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

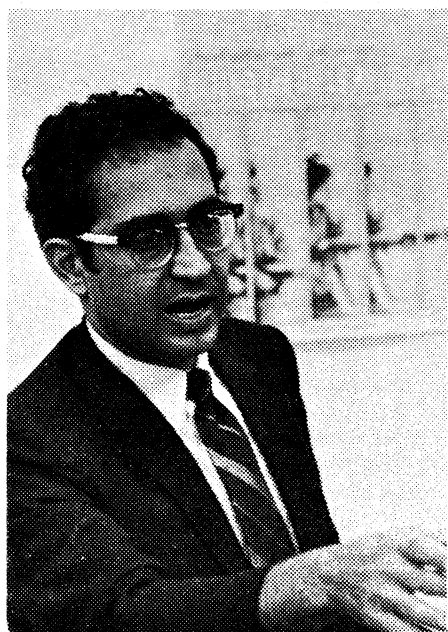


Photo by Howard Petrick

Peter Buch

The national picket line

Northwest Airlines strike enters fifth month

The starve-out strategy of Northwest Airlines against striking members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) resembles in some ways a miniature model of General Motors' strategy against striking auto workers.

The Northwest strike began July 8, four months ago.

Company officials say flights are about 20 percent of the normal schedule. They have laid off an estimated 5,000 nonstriking workers.

According to Jack Bacon, a BRAC union official in the Minneapolis strike headquarters, the strikers — almost three-quarters of them women — are determined to win. They receive \$30 per week strike benefits, costing the union about \$100,000 every week.

Northwest Airline's competitors have taken over most of the business. However, Northwest officials are not worried. The airlines have a mutual-aid pact, and most of the "strike" profits of Western Airlines and United are turned over to Northwest.

A Wall Street airlines financial analyst estimates that Northwest will do better than it would have if there had been no strike, but not necessarily better than its \$51-million or \$2.55-per-share earnings last year, according to the *Minneapolis Tribune*. United has turned over about \$4-million and Trans World more than \$2-million since the strike began.

Under these circumstances Northwest officials felt so smug they broke off negotiations.

On Oct. 13 Northwest pilots, flying under the no-strike clause in their union contract and with the sanction of BRAC union officials, threatened to walk out and tie up all Northwest operations. But they agreed to "cancel" their support of the clerks' strike when U.S. secretary of labor James Hodgson induced Northwest to talk with the clerks' union officials about resump-

tion of negotiations.

Sellers of *The Militant* in Minneapolis interviewed one of the pickets: "She expressed her dissatisfaction with the local news media. Her impression was that they were blaming the workers for being unreasonable in their demands. The morale in her opinion was still good despite the failure to stop all operations by the company and despite the financial strain on the strikers."

A male clerk with 20 years at Northwest said, "If the job is necessary, and they must think it is, you should earn a living wage doing it."

This airline strike, like the GM strike, involves an entire industry and can only be settled in the interest of the strikers when the unions move to an industry-wide shutdown instead of a partial or "selective" strike.

The great railroad swindle began in the 1870s and it is still going strong.

On Oct. 14 Congress approved a bill setting up a new service to be known as Railpax, operated by the government. In substance, Railpax will pay the railroads for use of their facilities and take over passenger service operations.

All railroads are supposed to contribute to this operation an amount equal to what they save by not operating passenger service. They claim a loss of \$200-million a year. Under the new government operation, the railroads will receive shares of common stock for every dollar they put into it, or they have the option of writing off these sums for tax deduction purposes. In either event, the railroads gain.

Congress authorized a grant of \$40-million to get Railpax started. On top of this, it authorized federal loans up to \$100-million to improve roadbeds and buy new equipment and an additional \$200-million in federal loans

distributing of a leaflet can in no way be considered disruption of the induction process. But the government chooses to call this disruption in order to victimize opponents of the war. The charge of unruly and boisterous behavior is completely untrue. After they disrupted the process by interfering with my rights, they accuse me of refusing to report and submit for induction and with disruption."

At the time of this incident Farinas was a supporter of the Progressive Labor Party and later became editor of *Desafio*, the Spanish-language newspaper of PL.

After the incident in 1968, Farinas was indicted on charges of failure to obey orders while at the induction center, but this charge was thrown out by the court on grounds that the charge was too vague. About a year ago he was reindicted with the new charges.

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee has been formed to mobilize "the widest possible support from the labor, student and socialist movements and from Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano militants."

The defense committee has indicated in its press releases, however, that it will not simply work to defend Farinas' civil liberties but that "it will be both possible and necessary to take up the fight against the war and the entire racist and anti-working-class policy of the Nixon-Agnew administration."

The address of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee is: 135 West 14th St., Sixth Floor, New York, N. Y., 10011.



Cartoon by Laura Gray

and guarantees to subsidize the railroads' "contributions" to Railpax.

This is only the beginning of the latest chapter in the great railroad swindle that has cost the taxpayers untold billions in a century-long shakedown.

A call has gone out to all Canadian locals of the United Transportation Union, largest railroad union in the United States and Canada, from UTU officials in Edmonton, Alberta, for Canadian autonomy.

This move is not confined to the UTU, as clearly stated in the call for autonomy.

"This is not an anti-American statement, rather a pro-Canadian statement. At the 1970 Canadian Labour Congress Convention held in Edmonton, the Congress came out strongly in favor of Canadian autonomy for Canadian members of international unions.

Labor Committee members fight frame-up charges

NOV. 9—A pre-trial hearing has been scheduled for Nov. 24 in the case of two members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, Steve Fraser and Dick Borgmann, being framed up on charges of conspiracy to possess and store explosives with intent to use.

The charges stem from a raid on their apartment by Philadelphia police on April 9, 1969. At the time, they were activists in the SDS Labor Committee in Philadelphia and were involved in a movement to get the University of Pennsylvania to allocate funds for low-rent ghetto housing in place of a science center.

A mere 10 minutes after the police began the raid, a KYW-TV crew, obviously tipped off in advance, walked in and began filming. They are reported to have filmed only what police told them to film.

Police "found" in the apartment small quantities of a military explosive and rifle powder, one dynamite fuse and three lead pipes with caps.

At a preliminary hearing April 16, 1969, police admitted that they had not even bothered to take fingerprints.

"On June 8, 1970, a special meeting of all UTU locals in the Edmonton area was held. At this meeting a special committee was formed with the power to start a national movement in Canada for Canadian autonomy."

This appears to be the first of such moves by other unions in Canada affiliated with U.S.-based internationals. The Canadians seek a stronger voice in the councils of the international unions.

In Quebec the UAW strike committee demanded of General Motors that all negotiations on "local issues" be conducted in French. GM balked, but the Quebecois won the point when they appealed to the provincial government for support. GM finally backed down and agreed to pay the full cost of simultaneous translation equipment. However, GM still refuses to make French the working language of the plant.

—FRANK LOVELL

They gave no explanation for their "oversight."

At the same hearing, charges against Jane Friedman and Paul Milkman, also arrested in the raid, were dropped on the grounds that they were not residents of the apartment.

"Our contention is that it was a frame-up to abort the movement around ghetto housing," Fraser told *The Militant*.

A Fraser-Borgmann Defense Committee has been established. The committee is attempting to organize a "National Commission of Inquiry" whose purpose would be to hear all evidence relating to the case, including evidence of a general political nature which it is felt might not be permitted as evidence in the trial. In this category would be evidence of the political opposition of the Labor Committees, to which Fraser and Borgmann belong, to terrorism.

To support the defense effort and to obtain further information on the case, contact: Fraser-Borgmann Defense Committee, c/o Paul Milkman, secretary-treasurer, 567 W. 191st St., New York, N. Y. 10040. Tel: (212) 927-9304.

Launch defense effort in Juan Farinas case

NEW YORK—A defense effort has been launched for Juan Farinas, a 23-year-old worker and supporter of the Workers League who has been charged with failure to cease and desist from distributing leaflets, from speaking, and from unruly and boisterous behavior at an induction center, and also with failure to report and submit for induction and with interfering with the Selective Service System.

His trial is set for Dec. 10, and the maximum sentence he faces on each count is 5 years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine.

The charges against Farinas stem from an incident that took place two years ago, on Aug. 13, 1968. On that day Farinas reported for induction at the Whitehall Induction Center in New York City, ready to enter the armed forces. The charges are based on the fact that Farinas distributed a leaflet condemning the Vietnam war to other inductees at the center.

In an interview with Farinas printed by the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, he says, "The charges are both false and unconstitutional. . . . The

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The great society

Another barrier crumbles—Reserved for men since its inception in 1399, Great Britain's Order of the Bath—outranked only by the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Thistle—may now be conferred on women. Announcement was made by a spokesman for the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood. We hear he said, "You've come a long way, baby."

A hardy breed—Like cockroaches, coffin-nail peddlers are hard to keep down. The major companies report the beginning of a reversal of sales declines, with R.J. Reynolds registering a gain of 2.2 percent for a solid total of \$73-million.

Ask a foolish question . . .—At the Oct. 31 antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles, the *L.A. Times* reports, an elderly, religious lady made her way through the crowd exhorting everyone to read Jeremiah 30 in the Bible. She confronted a young man with the question: "Do you know what Moses promised Israel?" The bewildered young man responded: "Chicken soup?"

Cultural advance—This year, Radio City Music Hall will open its Xmas show a week before Thanksgiving.

Space or stone?—To stimulate sales, Pacific Southwest Airlines will present its stewardesses in "space age" costumes featuring micro-mini skirts.

Protection device—For that relative who likes practical gifts, Sakowitz, the Houston department store, is offering an outside plastic dome to protect homes from pollution. \$322,500. We presume that includes a king-size tarpaulin to protect the dome.

And vice versa—Saigon President Nguyen Van Thieu says he may not run for a second term because the office "takes so much out of one."

Of course, of course—The AEC disclosed that "small" amounts of radioactive plutonium have been found in desert soil outside the agency's Nevada bomb-test site. A spokesman assured that "there doesn't seem to be any immediate health hazard."

Cover story—That official denial of the story that Jack the Ripper was a member of the British royal family was to cover the fact that he's alive and well in a U.S. Special Forces unit.

Say it the American Way—From Tiffany's, a gold ring with L-O-V-E spelled out in diamonds. \$1,575.

Note to social directors—Get rid of those tired old green and red Xmas decorations. For this year's party, deck the hall with a set of "Twelve Days of Christmas" ornaments from Hudson's in Detroit. In platinum, \$15,000 the set of 12. Delivered by messenger in a special box. Price subject to fluctuations in the platinum market, so order now.

—HARRY RING

in passing . . .

In the preface to *American Radical Thought: The Libertarian Tradition*, Henry J. Silverman, the editor of this historical anthology, asks himself this question about his theme of "libertarianism":

"How can, for example, such diverse exponents as are presented in this book, SDSers, YAFers, Marxists, transcendentalists, advocates of violence and nonviolence, be classified together?"

How indeed? Silverman's answer is that anyone who is nonconformist about established attitudes is a libertarian. Thus, we can see that there isn't much to be learned from Silverman's having grouped these materials together between two covers.

However, the book contains a considerable amount of valuable material, including C. Wright Mills' "Letter to the New Left" and the original Weatherman document, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows." Broadly speaking, these

two documents can be said to mark the birth and death of the new left ideological current in America.

Other selections include Malcolm X on "The Black Revolution" and Jefferson, who wrote in 1787 that: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."

(*American Radical Thought: The Libertarian Tradition*. Edited by Henry J. Silverman. 452 pp. D.C. Heath & Co. Paperback, no price indicated.)

Movies are being more and more pitched to young radical audiences, but to a large extent film criticism in the mass media is decidedly out of tune with the youth radicalization. One has to go outside the mass media to find a consistently high level of socially conscious film criticism.

In this connection, *Film Society Review* is one of my favorite magazines. Typically, an issue will have reviews of current movies with political or

historical themes, reportage on what radical film makers are doing and thinking, news of developments in film scholarship and film censorship, and reviews of books about both movies and television.

I don't always agree with the *FSR* reviews, but I always find them to the point since *FSR*'s critics never neglect to discuss the social implications of the movies they write about.

In one recent issue, Gary Crowds wrote in summing up his review of *The Strawberry Statement*:

"Finally the whole thing backfires. One curious consequence of the film is that it actually undercuts the moral and ideological stance it postures to uphold. Ostensibly on the left, it winds up trivializing its subject matter to the degree that it loses all possible empathy even from an ordinarily sympathetic audience. Politically savvy student protestors will see *The Strawberry Statement* as directing political energies away from the real centers of power by channeling them into anticop aggressions; hard-hatters in the audience may even cheer the finale."

(Subs to *Film Society Review* are \$5 a year, student subs are \$4 a year. Send to American Federation of Film Societies, 144 Bleecker St., New York, N.Y. 10012.)

—MALACHI CONSTANT



Ohio State Lantern photo

OUTSIDE AGITATORS? Testifying at an Ohio State U disciplinary hearing, an Ohio Highway Patrolman disclosed two plainclothesmen "helped" OSU students close the campus gates last April 29 in an incident that led to the arrest of several students. Police agents are the men on far left and far right.

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 Vera Westerberg, 1360 Sumac, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o Miguel Pendas, 3134 N. Illinois, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80907.

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

FLORIDA: Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

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.

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THEY GO TOGETHER. Readers of *The Militant* usually appreciate the *International Socialist Review*. Do you have a subscription?

OUTSIDE AGITATORS? Testifying at an Ohio State U disciplinary hearing, an Ohio Highway Patrolman disclosed two plainclothesmen "helped" OSU students close the campus gates last April 29 in an incident that led to the arrest of several students. Police agents are the men on far left and far right.



Ohio State Lantern photo

New steps to defend Kent 25

By DICK ROBERTS

NOV. 11—A broad challenge is being leveled against the indictments of 25 persons at Kent State University.

The indictments were handed down Oct. 16 by a special Ohio grand jury, which exonerated the National Guard of the murder of four Kent State students last May. The indictments—on phony charges of "incitement to riot" and "arson"—were accompanied by a state ban on any public criticism of the grand jury findings.

But the Ohio state government is running into stiff opposition.

● Following a federal ruling that the state ban on criticism of the grand jury findings is illegal, Kent State University president Robert I. White blasted the report and indictments. "The charges are applicable to all higher education," White declared. "In fact, the constitutional safeguards of American democracy are themselves under fire."

● Another influential university president, the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh of Notre Dame, also attacked the indictments. Hesburgh in addition criticized the new law that enables the FBI to investigate "campus violence" without being "invited" by the university administration.

● The American Civil Liberties Union announced Nov. 9 that former Attorney General Ramsey Clark would be a defense lawyer in the trial of Craig Morgan, the student president of Kent State, who is one of the 25 under indictment.

● A suit in federal court, with far-reaching constitutional aspects concerning the right of dissent, including the right "to discuss and dissent from Southeast Asia war policies," has been brought against the state prosecution. The suit also charges the grand jury with whitewashing the National Guard's role in the wanton murder of the four Kent State students.

Copplaintiffs in this important suit include nine of the 25 charged students, 10 prominent civilians from Kent including several clergymen, and 10 lawyers.

Associate Professor Thomas Lough, the only Kent State faculty member known to be under indictment, has also joined the suit. Lough is being represented by Att'y Gerald Messerman of one of Cleveland's best-known law firms.

"This could develop into the most important trial on constitutional rights in the nation," Att'y Jerry Gordon told *The Militant*.

Gordon, a leader of the antiwar movement and officer of the ACLU, is one of three lawyers representing the nine students. The others are David Scribner of the New York Center for Constitutional Rights and Benjamin Sheerer of the ACLU.

Meanwhile a Kent Legal Defense Fund has been formed to help raise

UAW and GM announce pact

NOV. 11—As we went to press, a tentative agreement in the auto industry was announced but not made available to the United Auto Workers' 350-member GM Council. Irving Bluestone, codirector of the union's GM Dept., promised written copies of the text of the GM proposal would be available at 9 a.m., Thursday, Nov. 12, for council consideration.

Meanwhile, outside the council meeting in Detroit today, a demonstration of more than 500 auto workers, called by UAW Local 160, demanded no retreat on basic union demands.

money for the 25 defendants. The KLDF is publishing a newsletter—"Kent 25 Plus"—in order to provide ongoing information about the cases. The KLDF address is P. O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Black GI critically wounded by vigilantes in Cairo

By DERRICK MORRISON

NOV. 9—White snipers pumped eight bullets into a Black GI in Cairo, Ill., on Nov. 8. The Cunningham Lumber Co. burned to the ground on the same day.

According to a press release issued today by the United Front of Cairo, "Wylie Anderson, age 23, a resident of Cairo, Illinois, and a member of the U.S. Army, remains in critical condition today in a Poplar Bluff, Missouri, veterans hospital. . . . The shots which hit the Black soldier came from white snipers hidden in a junk yard, three-fourths of a block north of where Anderson was standing in Pyramid Courts, an all-Black housing project."

The lumber company which burned was owned by Bob Cunningham, chairman of the United Citizens for Community Action. The UCCA, formerly called the White Hats, is a vigilante organization of white racists in Cairo. But the company was located directly across the street from the fire station, and according to the United Front, "Blacks generally feel that because of the location and the vicinity

in which the store burned, arsonists burned the building for insurance purposes."

Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Front, said that the snipers were trying to draw fire all evening. The armored car was located nearby and the motor was running. They were "only waiting for us to fire our first shot. It is plain to see now that the tactics of the White Hats and the state and local police are to kill Black people, to wipe all of us out. We didn't return the fire, but we must really prepare for whatever they plan to do to us. We will remain aggressively non-violent. We must and will defend ourselves. . . ."

In other developments, the Front opened a community cooperative clothing store on Nov. 7. Called "The Palace," it is a combination women's store and teen and tot shop.

And on Nov. 6, the Cairo police force became all-white with the resignation of Sgt. Wilbert Beard. Resigning just before him were Black police officers Howard McLeod and Robert Meeks. Beard resigned because of discrimination within the department. But Meeks left because he said he "could

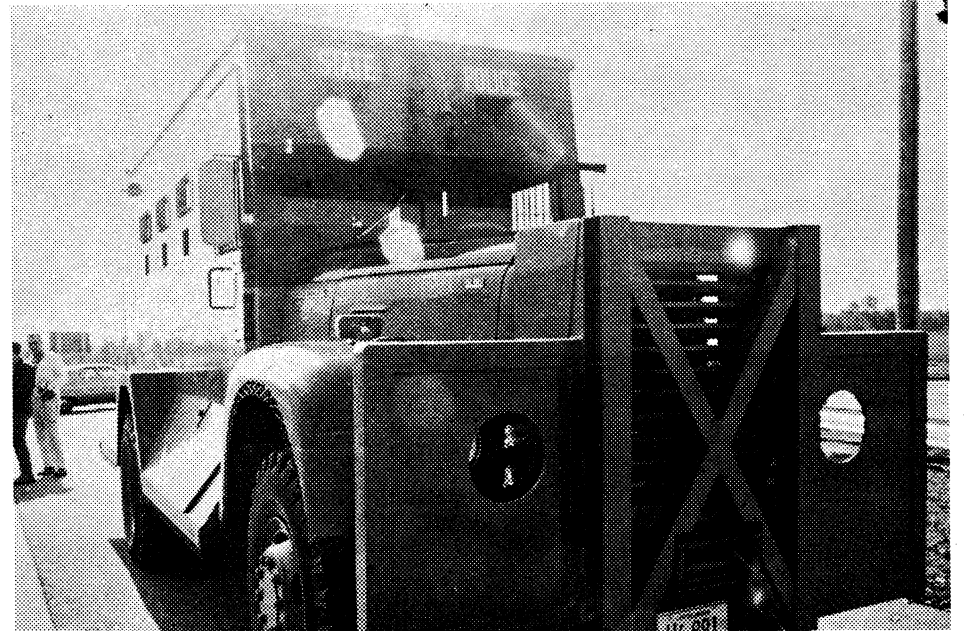


Photo by Carl Hampton/United Front of Cairo

Armored car helps Cairo cops maintain 'law and order.'

no longer feel safe in the streets as a policeman when legalized white vigilantes are at my back and could shoot me."

The Front is in urgent need of funds. Contributions can be sent to: United Front, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Illinois 62914.

Charges dropped against SMCer in Carbondale

CARBONDALE — State's attorney Richard E. Richmond announced Nov. 6 that criminal trespass charges against Dale Garee, a well-known antiwar activist at Southern Illinois University, had been dropped. The previous day SIU officials had rescinded the ban preventing Garee from coming onto the campus, following a hearing scheduled at the demand of the Dale Garee Defense Committee.

Dean Edward Hammond, assistant to the chancellor on student affairs and hearing officer, acknowledged at the Nov. 4 hearing that no legitimate evidence existed to justify the ban imposed on Garee last July by a personal letter from SIU president Morris. The defense committee had maintained that no evidence existed to justify the ban on Garee, a leader of the SIU Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam during last spring's antiwar action. The committee had maintained that Garee was banned because of his outspoken radical and antiwar ideas.

The hearing was granted when the committee sent a delegation to the chancellor demanding to know why

three and one-half months had elapsed without any response to Garee's request for a hearing.

After the Nov. 4 hearing, Garee's attorney disclosed that Dean Hammond had presented a letter from C. Richard Gruny, university legal counsel, recommending that the ban be lifted and the charges dropped. Further prosecution of Garee would have resulted in public exposure of the lack of evidence against him and made it clear that the university's real reason for banning him was simply his political views. Another letter from the chief of campus security also recommended that charges be dropped for lack of evidence.

Hammond had refused to honor Garee's request for an open, public hearing, presumably to avoid this exposure of the arbitrary and unjust nature of the university's act. He also refused to make public the proceedings at the hearing or the contents of the two letters.

Now that the Dale Garee Defense Committee has proven that this type of victimization can be defeated by

building a large-scale public defense, lawyers for the committee are considering a court challenge of the consti-

tutionality of the statute under which Garee and five other students were banned.

Los Siete acquitted of murder charge

By GEORGE JOHNSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The murder trial of Los Siete de la Raza ended in a partial victory Nov. 7, when the jury found all six defendants not guilty after six days of deliberation. Parents and friends of the youths cheered wildly when the verdict was announced. All six had been held in jail for 18 months without bail.

However, the jury hung on robbery charges against four of the six, and immediately after the verdict, Judge Lawrence Mana set bail at \$1,000 each for the four. Mana had allowed the jury two hours to deliberate the robbery charges before he declared a mistrial for four defendants. The jury had only time enough to decide that at least two of the defendants, Rodolfo Martinez and Nelson Rodriguez,

were not even near the scene of the alleged robbery.

The capitalist system of "justice" was even more exposed shortly after the verdict when Mana announced that none of the defendants could be released. All six were held for charges in another county for car theft and armed robbery. They have now been moved in handcuffs and leg irons to the San Mateo County jail to await trial on these new charges, which carry a sentence of from five years to life.

The murder acquittal for Los Siete is a clear victory for the entire movement, but a vigorous defense campaign must continue in face of these latest attempts to victimize the defendants and the entire Latino community.