

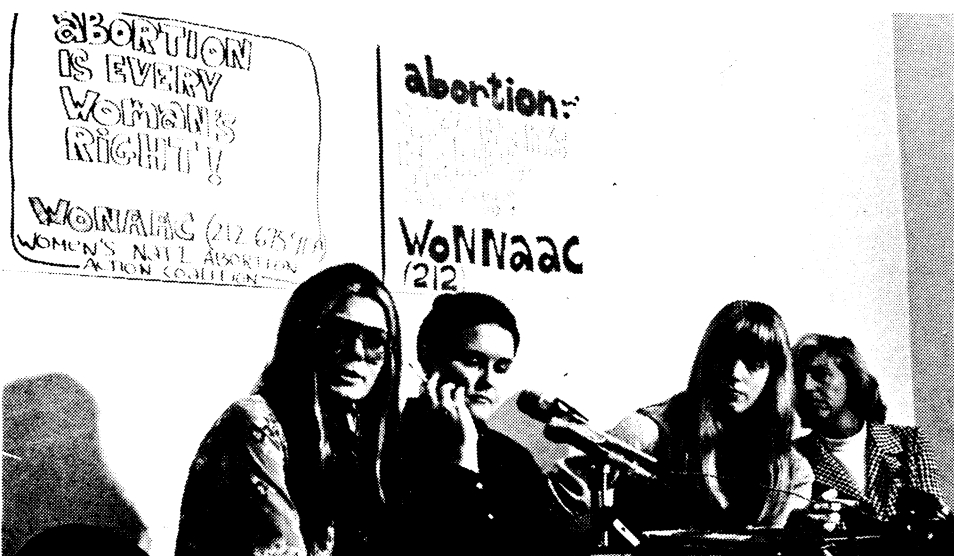
# THE MILITANT

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



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

**Antiwar protesters picket Nixon Sept. 26 at \$1,000-a-plate dinner in New York. Actions called across country for Oct. 26 and Nov. 18. See pages 6, 13.**



Militant/Carol Lipman

From left to right: Gloria Steinem, Cindy Cisler, Barbara Mutnick, and Mary Lindsay at Sept. 26 Women's National Abortion Action Coalition news conference.

## Women organize abortion rights hearings

— page 9

## Behind invasion of Uganda/9

# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Jenness denounces attack on Wash. SWP Pulley, Spock, confront brass at Fort Dix
- 4 Striking D.C. teachers
- 5 Lebanese regime pressures Palestinians
- 9 Behind invasion of Uganda  
Steinem, Lindsay, speak for abortion actions
- 10 Attack on Calif. farm workers
- 11 Old Man River gags on filth
- 12 'Neutral' Meany sides with winners
- 13 Neither Nixon, McGov, will solve country's problems
- 14 Ohio ballot ruling to be appealed
- 15 Socialist Workers alternative to Boss, Daley & Co.
- 19 13 regional sub-selling teams on road
- 21 Hucksterism, 'The Young Lenin,' & Doubleday & Co., Inc.
- 24 Atlanta cops arrest pickets  
Martial law decreed in Philippines

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 National Picket Line American Way of Life
- 8 Women in Revolt Great Society By Any Means Necessary
- 19 Militant Gets Around
- 20 In Review

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Protests against trials Sri Lanka
- 2 Venezuelan Trotskyist stand on '73 elections
- 4 Labour Party officials hit roof over socialist speaker

## THE MILITANT

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**RED-BAITERS UPTIGHT ABOUT HANOI TRIPS:** The House Internal Security Committee has approved a bill to ban "unauthorized" trips by American citizens to countries such as North Vietnam that are in armed conflict with the U.S. The bill would make the penalty for such trips up to 10 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. Representative Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), chairman of the committee, introduced the measure.

Ichord's main claim to fame was his "exposure," following the antiwar actions that took place in Washington in the spring of 1971, of the well-known fact that communists and socialists are active participants in and builders of the antiwar movement. Although Ichord has specifically called for the prosecution of Jane Fonda for her trip to Hanoi, he undoubtedly also has in mind the visit of former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clarke and that of the families of American POWs, both of which have caused considerable embarrassment to the government.

**NEW ATTACK ON ANGELA DAVIS:** On Sept. 22 the University of California Board of Regents rejected a request by the UCLA philosophy department that Angela Davis be rehired. At stake is the right of college teachers to hold varying political views without fear of victimization, and the right of students to hear dissident theories and ideas explained by their proponents. The continuing attempts by colleges across the country to purge radical teachers illustrates the role of the universities as centers of ideological indoctrination.



Angela Davis

**FOR A BLOC OF TWO CLASSES?** Militant readers who attended the annual picnic sponsored by the *Guardian* newspaper estimated that about 250 people attended. They noticed that some of those at the picnic displayed a correct application of Mao Tsetung-thought to American politics by wearing McGovern for President buttons alongside their Mao badges.

**MAGEE FRAME-UP MOVES AHEAD:** Ruchell Magee was denied his request for a lawyer of his own choosing at a pretrial hearing Sept. 25. Magee wanted to hire as counsel a cousin who practices law in Louisiana. Judge Morton Colvin denied the request because Magee's cousin is not licensed in California.

Robert Carrow, whom the court has retained to represent Magee despite the defendant's objections that he should be permitted to defend himself, pointed out fruitlessly that Angela Davis had retained three attorneys who were not members of the California bar. Such appointments, Carrow said, were lawful in special circumstances.

Militant reporter Michael Schreiber writes that Magee was ejected from the courtroom when he tried to object to Colvin's ruling. Judge Colvin set Oct. 18 as the date for opening jury selection.

When Carrow objected that he would be engaged in defending another client on that date, the judge retorted, "Counsel, don't tell me you won't be here," as he brusquely adjourned the hearing. "Court expects you to be here."

**NEW VICTORY FOR FORT WORTH FIVE:** After spending three months in the Tarrant County Jail in Fort Worth Texas, five Irish-American men from the New York area have been freed on bail and reunited with their families. The five were imprisoned for refusing to testify about their activities in support of the struggle of the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.

Considerable pressure has been generated in their behalf. For example, the Sept. 24 *New York Times* reported

that Judge Leo Brewster, who had originally remanded them to prison and was forced to set bail by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas (Brewster set it at \$100,000), "showed displeasure at having to reduce the bail. . . ." Apparently the government, embarrassed by the publicity the case has been receiving, put pressure on Brewster to lower the bail.

**ANTIWAR ACTIVISTS VICTIMIZED IN LOS ANGELES:** Ron Ridenour, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Free Press*, has been sentenced to one year in jail. He was convicted of interfering with an officer because he photographed the beating of Ron Kovic, a paralyzed Vietnam veteran. The beating occurred during a "lie-in" demonstration outside of Nixon's Los Angeles campaign headquarters when Nixon mined Haiphong harbor last spring.

Kovic was given three years' probation and fined \$315, as were two other participants in the action. Donald Freed, Marge Buckley, Herb Magidson, and Patricia Arnold, all well-known antiwar activists in the Los Angeles area, were sentenced to 10 days in jail, three years' probation, and fined \$625 each. Convicted of "blocking a public street," they had originally been sentenced to serve six months in jail.

A number of others still face trial on charges arising from the same demonstration. Contributions to help defray the expense of appealing Ridenour's conviction can be sent to: Antiwar Defense Committee, c/o *L.A. Free Press*, 6013 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood, Calif. 90028.

**HE SHOULD KNOW:** Lawrence F. O'Brien, former Democratic Party national chairman, said on Sept. 24 that the attempted bugging of his party's headquarters had failed to spark public interest "because people think that politicians engage in political espionage all the time."

**IT MAY COME TO THAT:** Buried in the Sept. 14 *New York Times* was a report that Nixon's daughter Julie was asked at a Kiwanis women's gathering in Columbus, Ohio, if she would be "willing to die for the Thieu regime" in South Vietnam. "Yes, I would," she said.

**GROWING PRESSURE AGAINST RESTRICTIVE MARIJUANA LAWS:** One reflection of the growing opposition to laws against the use of marijuana is the California Marijuana Initiative. Militant reporter Marty Rothman writes that 380,000 signatures were collected to place this initiative on the November ballot. If passed, the proposal would eliminate penalties for private use and cultivation of marijuana.

Some of those working on the initiative in California are former McGovern campaign workers. While McGovern has publicly dissociated himself from the marijuana initiative, the Socialist Workers Party candidates in California have endorsed it.

Another example of the changes in this area is the new Ann Arbor, Mich., law, which makes the use of marijuana a misdemeanor, punishable by a \$5 fine. However, state law in Michigan provides for penalties of up to one year in prison for possession of marijuana, and state police have threatened to enforce the state law within Ann Arbor.

**REEVALUATION:** A very favorable review of Leon Trotsky's *The Young Lenin* appears in the Sept. 23 issue of *The New Republic*. The review is written by George Charney, a former New York State chairman of the Communist Party and a member of its national committee prior to his leaving the CP in 1958.

**INDIAN LEADER KILLED IN CALIFORNIA:** Richard Oakes, Mohawk Indian leader of the 19-month occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay from 1969 to 1971, was shot and killed Sept. 20 on a YMCA ranch in Sonoma County, Calif.

The Sonoma County district attorney said the shooting followed a dispute over a charge by YMCA camp manager Michael Morgan that an Indian youth had tried to steal a horse. The district attorney said that Oakes had been shot when he confronted Morgan on a road in the woods and demanded to know why the youth had been taken to Juvenile Court. Morgan has been charged with manslaughter.

Ronald Hodge, attorney for California Indian Legal Services, said at a news conference that the charge against Morgan should be premeditated murder.

**A CASUALTY OF THE VIETNAM WAR:** A Sept. 13 Associated Press dispatch reports that enrollment in the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) dropped from 177,422 to 50,234 during the period of 1966 to 1972. In 1966 a total of 106 schools required ROTC training. Now only 14 schools not already associated with the military make the training mandatory.

—DAVE FRANKEL

## Headquarters ripped by shotgun blasts

# Jenness denounces attack on Wash. SWP

SEATTLE, Sept. 27—At a packed news conference held here this morning Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness denounced a shotgun attack on the Seattle SWP campaign office.

On the morning of Sept. 26, SWP campaign supporters discovered that shotgun blasts had ripped through their headquarters sometime the night before or in the early morning. TV and radio reports of the attack yesterday noted that the incident occurred only hours after the SWP had filed to place seven of its candidates on the state ballot and on the eve of Jenness's arrival in town on a speaking tour.

Jenness, who was here a week ago for the SWP's state nominating convention, stated today: "I am perfectly

aware that the program Andrew Pulley and I are running on upsets some people, and that the ideas we are presenting are unpopular in certain circles. We are unpopular among racists and sexists and fanatical anticommunists, to mention a few.

"These people, however, are not going to shut us up. We will continue to support and work for the liberation of Black Americans and Chicanos. We will continue to fight discrimination against women. We will continue to demand that the Vietnamese be left in peace, and we will continue to call for no U.S. aid to Zionist Israel.

"These attacks on us are political attacks. They are aimed at our ideas and our program."

SWP candidate for Washington gov-

ernor, Robin David, also spoke at the news conference. "Had this been McGovern's campaign headquarters," he pointed out, "police, secret service men, and FBI agents would have been falling all over themselves to find the attackers. But since it was the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters, one lone cop showed up two hours after they were called.

"Although shotgun pellets were found embedded in hardcover books some 10 yards from the blast," David continued, "the officer said that anyone standing behind the door would not have been seriously hurt."

David said that the cop insisted nothing could be done without an eyewitness since the shooting was only a "misdemeanor." The cop told SWP campaign supporters that the detective bureau "might get on the case tomorrow."

Shortly after the news conference, a young man brought in a spent shotgun cartridge he had found half a block from the SWP campaign office. The cartridge was turned over to the police as possible evidence.

Prominent individuals and groups have already begun to express their outrage at the attack on the SWP campaign office. Among those denouncing the shooting are Democratic State Representative Jeff Douthwaite; Dr. William Burke, University of Washington Law School; Barbara Zepeda, chairwoman, Washington Democratic Council; Roger Yockey, chairman, Seattle Catholic Interracial Council; Grant Abbot, director of U of W YMCA; Michael Arnall, Committee for Democratic Election Laws; Craig Beethan, U of W Youth for McGovern; and the U of W Youth for McGovern chapter as a whole.

Before arriving in Seattle, Jenness

toured Portland, Ore., where she spoke at a news conference Sept. 26. She attacked Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird's and Vice-President Spiro Agnew's statements accusing North Vietnam of "using" the three POWs that have just been released.

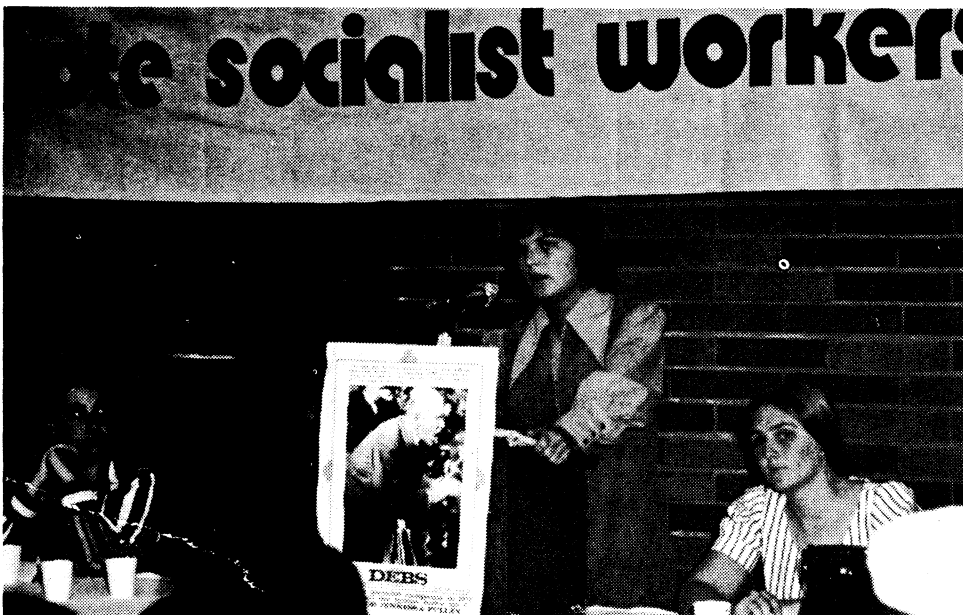
"If the United States is not using the POWs in the cruelest sense of the word, then I don't know who is," she declared. "The U.S. government has used the POWs as an excuse for continuing the war and maintaining troops in Vietnam. . . . ending the war is the way to get the POWs released."

On Sept. 25 Jenness testified at an Oregon board of health hearing on the establishment of abortion clinics in the state. Representatives of the Portland Women's Abortion Action Coalition, the Oregon chapter of the National Organization for Women, and the Portland Abortion Referral Service also spoke at the hearing, in addition to members of several anti-abortion groups. The hearing concerned a proposal to build clinics that would perform abortions for women up through the tenth week of pregnancy. The state law allows abortions up through the first 150 days of pregnancy.

"... women around the country are struggling for the right to decide for themselves whether or not to have children," Jenness said in a statement, which was later quoted on local radio and TV. She called the clinic proposal "a step in the right direction," although she criticized the fact that it placed severe limitations on when and where a woman could get an abortion.

The previous Friday, Sept. 22, Jenness appeared at a news conference

*Continued on page 14*



Militant/Len Goodman

On Sept. 19, just a week before shotgun was fired into Washington Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters, Linda Jenness addressed the party's statewide nominating convention in Seattle.

## Pulley, Spock turned away at Fort Dix

# Plan suit for right to campaign among GIs

By LARRY SEIGLE

FORT DIX, N.J., Sept. 23—Andrew Pulley and Dr. Benjamin Spock plan to take the U.S. Army to court to win the right to campaign among GIs at Fort Dix, N.J. This legal move follows a confrontation at the entrance to the base here today when Pulley and Spock were refused admittance.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) is bringing this lawsuit, which will have far-reaching implications for GIs and the antiwar movement in general.

In a letter to Pulley and Spock, warning them that they would be barred from the base, Commanding General Bert David lightly dismissed the rights of GIs. He falsely stated that regulations prohibit GIs from "participating in any partisan political campaign." In fact, GIs do have the right to support candidates, and GIs in New Jersey just last month won the right to register and vote in their base towns, regardless of their home residence.

David further claimed that GIs at Fort Dix, most of whom are in basic training, do not have time for politics. Their rigorous schedules, he said, occupy "virtually all of their time. I am not in a position to dilute the quality of this training by expanding these schedules to include time to attend political campaigns and speeches."

At the base, Dr. Spock told the Army representatives and news media that

since many GIs were off-duty on the day of the attempted visit, there would be no need to interrupt their training schedules.

"The Constitution does not say that the soldier loses his rights when he puts on a uniform," Spock argued. "GIs can't vote intelligently if they can't hear all points of view."

Pulley accused the Army of trying to prevent GIs from exercising their constitutional rights, and to prevent him as a candidate from exercising his rights to speak to his constituents.

Pulley is an ex-GI and a veteran of the GI antiwar movement. He has made the concerns of GIs, especially Black GIs, a central issue in his campaign and has repeatedly attempted to visit military bases. The only place he was not barred from campaigning on post was in West Germany, where he visited several U.S. installations and met with Black GIs in the fall of 1971.

"When I entered the Army," Pulley told reporters at Fort Dix, "I took an oath to uphold the Constitution, as I was required to do. But what is happening here is that the Constitution is being violated by the Army brass."

The law suit will be filed in U.S. District Court in Camden, N.J., by David Kairys, attorney for NECLC. A number of individuals and groups who have been barred from Ft. Dix are joining Pulley and Spock as plaintiffs.



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

People's Party presidential candidate Benjamin Spock (l), SWP vice-presidential candidate, and National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee attorney David Kairys (r) confront the brass at Fort Dix.

The suit will argue that two previous federal court rulings should be applied to Fort Dix. A recent U.S. Supreme Court decision overturned the conviction of an antiwar activist who had been arrested after distributing flyers on a public highway running through Fort Sam Houston in Texas.

The second case, brought by Linda Jenness and Dr. Spock against the

Quonset Point Naval Installation, produced a U.S. district court ruling that any part of a military base normally open to civilians without restriction is subject to First Amendment guarantees as much as any public street or park. The court ordered the commander of Quonset Point to allow Jenness, Spock, and others to engage in political activity on the open part of Quonset Point.



## Despite threat of fines, jail

# Striking D.C. teachers union stands firm

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 26 — The Washington Federation of Teachers is continuing its strike into the second week in the face of court injunctions and the threat of fines and imprisonment. The strike has been characterized by strong community support and a determination to hold out until an equitable settlement is won.

The major demands are reduction of class size, restoration of the 1,500 teaching positions eliminated in the past three years, adequate supplies and equipment, and a 17 percent pay raise. (D. C. police and firemen recently received a 17 percent increase; a 7 percent teacher pay raise bill is pending in Congress.)

Inflation has risen by more than 12 percent since the teachers got their last increase in 1969. Beginning teachers earn \$7,800 yearly.

The first court injunction, a temporary restraining order forbidding the strike, was obtained hours before the strike began Sept. 19. School board President Marion Barry, who sought the injunction on behalf of the board, was elected last November in a well-financed campaign "to save the children." Before the strike Barry said that although he "supports" the teachers'

demands, he would use his position to block any form of direct action by teachers to win them.

Barry's refusal to use his influence to help solidify community support behind the teachers has eroded his reputation for militancy in the Black community. His role in D. C. Congressional Delegate Walter Fauntroy's Democratic machine politics is becoming increasingly apparent.

As it becomes evident that the vast majority in the Black community support the strike, the school board members, including Barry, have softened their line toward the walkout. Some have even said court sanctions should not be carried out.

But only one board member, Charles Cassell, Statehood Party candidate for D. C. delegate, has consistently backed the union. More than 90 percent of the students in D. C.'s public schools are Black, as are well over half the teachers.

Less than 4,500 of the city's 7,500 teachers belong to the union.

On the first day of the strike, more than 5,000 teachers participated. Picket lines, set up at nearly all schools, were honored by cafeteria and custodial workers.

Early on the morning of Sept. 20, the union and school board negotiating teams reached an agreement, and Washington Teachers Union President William Simons asked teachers by radio to return to school. Most went back to work that morning.

That evening, however, a membership meeting attended by about 1,500 teachers, angry at being ordered back without rank-and-file approval, overwhelmingly rejected the agreement. The provisions called for rehiring only 132 teachers and for initiating a joint union-board lobbying effort in Congress for a 17 percent pay bill.

The teachers resumed their strike Sept. 21, and the school board officially closed the schools the following day. That afternoon, about 3,000 teachers and strike supporters rallied at the Washington Monument and marched to the mayor's office, where they staged a spirited demonstration.



Members of Washington Teachers Union picket outside D.C. school

The union held a Sunday evening rally of more than 1,500 Sept. 24. The following morning, most teachers and students respected the picket lines, although the schools were officially reopened.

On Monday, Sept. 25, Superior Court Judge Robert Campbell found the union in contempt of court. He set fines for the WTU at \$50,000 a day beginning Sept. 27 if the strike continues. He declared that an additional \$10,000 fine would be levied each day the strike goes on.

In addition, union officers face fines of \$300 and possible jail terms. The national American Federation of Teachers has said it will raise the money to pay any fines.

Unmoved by these sanctions, the teachers maintained their picket lines this morning and staged a mass rally this afternoon. Following an executive board meeting today, Simons said, "The strike will continue until our de-

mands are met."

Community support has held firm, and many parents and students have joined teachers on the picket lines. The Greater Washington Central Labor Council has endorsed the strike and notified area unions to honor the picket lines.

Arthur Haynes, a member of the WTU executive board, spoke to the Sept. 22 Washington Militant Forum. Also speaking at the forum was Erich Martel, a socialist and antiwar activist who is also a member of the WTU.

Since the District of Columbia is without home rule, Congress holds the city's purse strings. The District's mayor, a Nixon appointee, opposes the 17 percent raise. And the elected school board agreed to lobby for this and the other teacher demands only after the strike began. Thus the strike has been directed against the school board, the mayor, and Congress.

## Socialist candidate supports teachers

Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D. C. nonvoting delegate to Congress, issued a statement supporting the teachers' strike Sept. 19.

Fagg said in part: "The SWP backs the teachers' demands for a strong pay raise. . . .

"I denounce the board of education, led by Marion Barry, for obtaining a court injunction against the strike. The board of education's responsibility is to the D. C. teachers and community. . . . The power to administer and supervise all aspects of school functioning must lie in the hands of the community."

# U.S. bombs prevent Saigon gov't collapse

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 26 — What is the military situation in South Vietnam? *New York Times* Saigon bureau chief Craig Whitney addresses this question in the Sunday magazine section Sept. 24.

Whitney's conclusion is that the Saigon army—even with the massive U. S. air support it is receiving—is incapable of defeating the Vietnamese revolutionaries. Whitney puts it this way:

"The lesson of their [Hanoi's] most spectacular offensives—the first during Tet in 1968, and now again in 1972—has been directed at the Americans, and both times it has gone over their heads. In 1968 the lesson was that if we did not withdraw our support for Saigon's cause—withdraw our ground troops and air forces from Indochina—then we would still find ourselves here in 1972. This year, the lesson seems to be that, if we do not withdraw now, in 1976 we will still be committed to holding up the flagging will of our South Vietnamese allies with money, bombs and air crews."

Whitney states that such a viewpoint would not be admitted publicly by high U. S. officials. However, he writes, "The Administration's representatives in Saigon—if they can speak quietly and off the record—are rather

candid about the legacy of the spring offensive. 'It would take at least three more years before the South Vietnamese would be able to resist another offensive like this on their own,' one senior official said in an interview last June. . . ."

Whitney calculates the loss of Saigon army troops in the first two months of the offensive at "a quarter of its regular forces."

These were the main battles: "In April and May, the South Vietnamese lost one entire province—Quangtri, just south of the Demilitarized Zone—and suddenly found themselves faced with the real possibility of losing the old Imperial center of Hue, just below, after the collapse of the Third Infantry Division. They lost control of most of Kontum Province, in the western Central Highlands, and of five northern districts of Binh Dinh Province, east of Kontum on the Central Coast—both losses due to the collapse of another entire division, the 22d Infantry. They held on a third front, at the besieged town of Anloc in Binhlong Province just 60 miles north of Saigon; but in the pounding by thousands of rounds of enemy artillery each day for more than two months, the Fifth Infantry Division took such terrible casualties that it,

too, ceased to exist as an effective fighting unit."

Whitney strongly hints that the failure of the revolutionary forces to seize Hue had more to do with President Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam than the military situation in South Vietnam. "There seemed to be little reason why the North Vietnamese could not push ARVN all the way back past Hue if they wanted to," he states.

Saigon's forces have been unable to retake the ground they were driven out of in the first two months of the offensive. "Although the South Vietnamese Army (ARVN) has held on—survived, in other words—it has been unable to recover any significant part of the territory it lost in April and May." Whitney dismisses as a "meaningless contest" the bloody battle for the recapture of the Quangtri Citadel. "Most of the province remains under Communist control. . . ."

The military standoff takes place at great cost to the Saigon army, with untold damage to South Vietnamese civilians, and despite the momentous U. S. air and artillery attack. "In all, it is estimated, the South Vietnamese forces have suffered 20,000 killed and 50,000 wounded since the

offensive began.

"Some 945,000 civilians have been driven from their homes by the fighting and by the massive American bombardment that South Vietnamese soldiers have been trained to rely on instead of artillery. This is the largest forced migration in Vietnam since the partition of 1954, and it represents a massive failure by the Americans and the South Vietnamese Government to guarantee a safe and secure life to these people. . . . Recognizing the failure, the Americans junked the Vietnamization of the air war, and sent hundreds of jet fighter-bombers back to Indochina—the largest naval striking forces assembled since World War II—and fleets of B-52's, capable of dropping up to 30 tons of bombs apiece. . . . the moves were made, in April and May, out of fear that the Saigon regime might collapse. President Nixon acknowledged this possibility in a press conference June 30, when he said that the bombing and mining had staved off the spectre of defeat, that the situation had 'been turned around.'"

The situation has been turned from the imminent collapse of the hated military-landlord clique in Saigon into a bloody military standoff based on the heaviest bombing of a country in the history of warfare.



# Lebanese regime pressures Palestinians

By TONY THOMAS

SEPT. 25 — Following the Israeli raids against Syria and Lebanon earlier this month, *New York Times* correspondent Tad Szulc reported that "Israel is also serving notice that she plans, in the coming months, a 'major military effort' in the Middle East to destroy the terrorist organizations. . . ."

In his Sept. 22 dispatch Szulc also reported that "Israel was advising friendly governments that she would refuse to participate in further diplomatic negotiations for a Middle East peace settlement until all Arab terrorism was eradicated."

These announcements make clear that Israel will continue her acts of military aggression against the Arab peoples until the Palestinian resistance and other organizations of the Arab revolution (for whom the word "terrorists" has become an Israeli code word) have been completely smashed by the Arab capitalist states themselves.

So far the scene of the sharpest confrontations between the Israelis and the Arab peoples—and between the Palestinians and the Arab capitalist rulers—has been in Lebanon, where there are more than 350,000 Palestinian refugees and an estimated 3,000 full-time Palestinian freedom fighters.

Israeli air attacks on Lebanon Sept. 8 left more than 120 killed, wounded, or missing. An Israeli invasion of Lebanon Sept. 16 killed at least 76. The clear and announced aim of these raids was to force the Lebanese government to repress the Palestinians.

An ominous side of the Israeli attack was made public by Lebanese Health Minister Dr. Nazih al-Bizri on Sept. 24. Dr. Bizri announced that three brothers from the village of Qabrikha—Ali Hijazi, 23, Hussein, 12, and Mohammed, 4—had been victims of Israeli gas warfare. On the evening of Sept. 24 Ali Hijazi died from the gas fumes and one brother remained in critical condition.

*The total number of Palestinians being held for political reasons in about a dozen prisons in Israel is 3,117, according to the Aug. 11 Le Monde. They are charged with, or suspected of, being members or sympathizers of fedayeen organizations.*

*Among them, 1,949 have been sentenced by military tribunals, 331 have been interned for "administrative reasons," and 837 are awaiting trial.*

As a result of Israeli pressure, the Lebanese government has stepped up its repression against the Palestinians. As Eric Pace wrote from Beirut in the Sept. 24 *New York Times*, "The Lebanese army has long wanted to curtail the guerrillas' activity, because it does not like the idea of another independent military power in Lebanon. . . ."

The Lebanese rulers fear that the growth of the Palestinian resistance could link this "military power" with the Lebanese workers and peasants in a social revolution that could sweep away capitalism in that country. In 1969 large-scale confrontations with the Lebanese masses and the Pales-

mando and a soldier were killed today near the village of Damur, 15 miles south of Beirut." The killing took place at one of the dozens of army checkpoints set up in southern Lebanon to maintain the crackdown on Palestinians. Pace reports that one Palestinian was involved in the gun fight with a number of troops guarding the checkpoint.

On Sept. 20, Pace wrote, "The Palestine Liberation Organization, under pressure from the Lebanese Army, has acquiesced to new restrictions on Arab commando activity on Lebanese soil. . . ." The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is a coalition of the main commando organi-

of movement and to carry arms, as well as freedom to operate in southern Lebanon near the Israeli border."

Both of these freedoms have been limited, if not abolished, by the Lebanese army's rules. It is yet to be seen whether the PLO will accept them on a permanent basis or as only a "temporary" agreement to "forestall" Israeli attacks.

The relationship of forces in Lebanon may be such that the Palestinian resistance will be unable to stop the Lebanese "rules" from being enforced. However, the entire experience of the Palestinian resistance in Jordan between 1967 and July 1971 and in Lebanon this year has shown that



During the recent invasion of Lebanon an Israeli tank ran over this car, crushing a family of seven

Beirut Daily Star

tinian resistance on one side and the Lebanese rulers on the other won extensive rights for Palestinian operations in Lebanon. During the past year, the Lebanese rulers have been on a counteroffensive to take back these rights, using the periodic Israeli raids as a provocation.

On Sept. 20 Pace wrote from Beirut that "Many commandos fled the advancing Israeli tanks during the [Sept. 16] raid and then found themselves prevented by the Lebanese Army from returning to their bases after the Israelis withdrew."

"The Lebanese Army high command . . . also laid down new rules governing the movements of fedayeen."

In a dispatch sent to the *Times* Sept. 20, Pace mentioned some of the "rules." The Palestinians were banned from a whole series of villages in the areas bordering Israel. In most cases, the Palestinian commandos were forbidden to come within a mile and a half of these areas.

Pace reported Sept. 21 that "a com-

mando group, Al Fateh, head of the largest commando group, Al Fateh."

Pace's "Arab informants said the commando chiefs had apparently given in because they did not want to risk direct conflict with the Lebanese Army, whose morale is high after the relatively good showing it made in the face of the recent Israeli attack."

"For the commandos to have taken the gamble would have been to risk complete suppression by the army—and after the defeat they took in Jordan in 1970, the commandos want to maintain their position in Lebanon. . . ."

In a Sept. 24 dispatch Pace wrote, "Some army officers have let it be known that they are determined to curtail the influence and activities" of the Palestinians. Likewise Pace reported that Zoheir Mohsen, "a high official" of the PLO, "told the Arab press that the fedayeen in Lebanon would never give up certain freedoms."

"These are said to include freedom

such temporary agreements and concessions have led to increased attacks on Palestinian rights. Likewise, increased crackdowns by the Lebanese government this past year in response to Israeli attacks have resulted in more, not fewer, Israeli attacks."

Another sign of the dangers the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese people face was Pace's report that 40 American "military experts" arrived in Beirut from Greece Sept. 20 and were met by a representative of the Lebanese Defense Ministry. Pace stated that ". . . some Lebanese were convinced that the men had come to advise the Lebanese Army on how to crack down on the commandos."

The Israeli threats of new attacks on the Arab countries, Lebanon's attempts to cut down the rights of the Palestinian resistance fighters, and the U.S. military involvement heighten the need for worldwide defense of the Palestinian resistance and the Arab peoples in their struggle against Zionist and imperialist aggression.

## U.S. calls for crackdown on 'terrorism'

By MARCEL BLACK

SEPT. 26 — In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on Sept. 25, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers called for an international conference early next year to ratify a treaty drafted by the U.S. on "international terrorism." According to the Sept. 26 *New York Times*, Rogers included in this category all "persons who kill, seriously injure or kidnap innocent civilians in a foreign state for the purpose of harming or obtaining concessions from another state or from an international organization."

The real targets of this campaign are fighters for national and social liberation. This was made clear by the opposition to attempts by the U.S. and UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to place "terrorism" on the UN agenda. Not only did the Arab states except for Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon oppose this measure but the bulk of the

African states represented in the UN also opposed it.

African freedom fighters who are fighting for the independence of Portuguese and South African-held territories maintain bases in countries such as Zambia and Tanzania. These countries have already suffered South African and Portuguese attacks. Under the provisions of Rogers's treaty, they as well as other countries that have given aid to these liberation forces would be subject to sanctions or even military attack. Recent anti-Palestinian actions by Israel and the U.S. underscore this threat.

The Sept. 22 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon had "indicated that Israel in its war against terror might take military action not only against her neighboring states but also against distant countries that help terror organizations."

Not only were "terrorists" in the

Mideast or Africa to be the targets, but the Sept. 21 *Monitor* reported that "Israeli agents . . . might take the law into their own hands in Europe."

This is clearly aimed not only at Palestinian militants but at anyone who supports the goals of the Palestinian national liberation movement, regardless of their views on terrorist tactics. This process has already started with *Newsweek's* attempt in its Sept. 18 issue to link the world Trotskyist movement with "terrorism."

Along the same lines, the Sept. 22 *New York Times* reported that the Jewish Defense League (JDL) had announced in Tel Aviv the formation of an "antiterrorist organization" to "carry the fight to Europe and America." In the past, the JDL has carried out right-wing terrorist attacks on Soviet citizens, Black activists, and radical organizations in the U.S.

The *Times* reported that Amihai Paglin, a key leader of Zionist terrorism in the late 1940s, had been involved in an attempt to smuggle machine guns, grenades, and other weapons from Israel for use abroad. The JDL publicly took credit for Paglin's actions.

Meanwhile, on Sept. 18, a West German parliamentary committee commended German federal and Bavarian state police for their conduct in the Munich affair. John Goshko writing in the Sept. 19 *Washington Post* stated the report "conflicts with the worldwide press demand for clarification of what happened during the attack. . . ."

Goshko wrote that the committee's findings would be used to hush up demands for a deeper investigation of the incident. Many observers believe that the German police and not the Palestinian terrorists were responsible for the death of the Israeli athletes.

## No right to negotiate

As we go to press there are rumors in the media that private talks between Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese representatives have resulted in some sort of agreement regarding the Vietnam war. Any such agreement—whatever the conditions—constitutes a violation of the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination.

The U.S. has no right to negotiate anything whatsoever about the future of Vietnam. Any concessions the Vietnamese might agree to will have been wrung from them by U.S. military blackmail, by nearly a decade of bombing, napalming, and torturing the Vietnamese people. The only right the U.S. has in Vietnam is to get out, immediately and unconditionally!

The course of the war since the April offensive of the Vietnamese liberation forces has again confirmed that the Saigon regime and its army are creatures of the U.S. with no significant backing among the Vietnamese people. Without U.S. military backing the Thieu regime and army would crumble in a matter of days.

This fact was stressed in a Sept. 24 analysis by Craig Whitney, the *New York Times'* top correspondent in Saigon. (See article on page 4.) Whitney noted that since April the Saigon army has suffered 20,000 deaths, 50,000 wounded, and the collapse of one quarter of its regular fighting force but has failed to crush the rebel advance or to regain the territory won by the rebels during April and May.

This is despite the fact that the Saigon army was backed up by the military might of 800 U.S. fighter bombers, seven aircraft carriers, 35 destroyers and cruisers, and more than 150 B-52 strategic bombers. Whitney concluded that the Saigon army is incapable of defeating the liberation forces even when backed by the heaviest bombing in history.

Regardless of talk of a negotiated agreement, the horrendous U.S. air war continues over North and South Vietnam. The war aims of the U.S. rulers remain the same: to continue massive military pressure to force the Vietnamese to accept some sort of proimperialist government in Saigon.

Forceful, visible actions by antiwar forces this fall can help draw public attention to the slaughter that continues in Vietnam and repudiate the U.S. rulers' attempts to negotiate the future of Vietnam. The continuing air war calls for all antiwar forces to redouble their efforts and to unite in common action on Oct. 26 and Nov. 18, the next dates for national antiwar protest.

## Great grain robbery

Practically every few weeks now the American people are treated to exposes of some new scandal involving the Nixon administration, followed by daily denials of any wrongdoing by administration spokesmen and calls for investigations. The latest scandal concerns the \$1-billion sale of U.S. wheat to the Soviet Union in which machinations by federal officials enabled the largest grain dealers to enrich themselves at the expense of the American public.

One aspect of the scandal is the action of the two Department of Agriculture officials who, along with Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz, conducted the grain-sale negotiations in Moscow. After they got wind of the coming grain-sale agreement, the two officials promptly resigned their posts in the Agriculture Department and became top executives in two of the export companies that later reaped windfall profits from the huge sale.

In addition, the Department of Agriculture granted a special subsidy of 47 cents per bushel for a week covering the Soviet wheat transactions—a subsidy the *New York Times* estimates cost taxpayers more than \$90-million.

But that's not all. Then it came out at a hearing of the House Subcommittee on Livestock and Grains that an Agriculture Department official called the largest grain export companies to tip them off about the new subsidy before it was publicly announced. This enabled the big exporters to buy up a lot of wheat and reap huge profits from the subsidy.

George McGovern has been trying to make hay over this grain scandal to discredit the Nixon administration. What he leaves out is the fact that the Democrats operate in exactly the same way. They just don't have as many opportunities right now because they are not in office.

The wheat scandal and the ITT scandal are only the tip of the iceberg of government service to big business. What is obscured by these big scandals is the fact that most of the ways in which government is used to enrich big business are perfectly legal.

### Israel

I read with interest the article on the Munich killings in the Sept. 15 *Militant*. I have two questions that I thought could be answered by you.

Does the Socialist Workers Party recognize the right of the Israelis to maintain their existence as an autonomous state in the Middle East? Do the Palestinian Arab liberation fighters recognize the right of the Israelis to maintain their existence as an autonomous state?

It is unfortunate that more people are not aware of the misfortune of the Palestinian Arabs and the misdoings of the Israeli state.

Richard Loyd  
Kansas City, Mo.

*In reply*—The SWP does not support the right of Israeli Jews to a Middle East state exclusively for Jews. Such a state would necessarily be formed at the expense of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, who are in no way oppressors of the Jewish people.

The present state of Israel, for example, was established by driving almost a million Palestinians from their homeland. Thus, Israel is a settler-colonialist state that is used as an instrument of the imperialist powers against the Arab revolution.

The SWP supports full civil, cultural, and religious rights for both Arabs and Jews in the Middle East, as do the main organizations of the Palestinian liberation movement.

The most widely expressed goal of the Palestinian liberation movement at the present time is for a democratic, secular Palestine—a nonreligious state in which Jews and Arabs would have equal rights. The SWP also supports this goal because it supports the right of the Palestinian people—an oppressed nation—to self-determination.

For a fuller explanation of this view, see the pamphlet *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis* by Peter Buch (distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014; 40 cents). For a sampling of the views of the Palestinian organizations, see the pamphlet *Documents of the Palestinian Resistance Movement*, which can be ordered for 40 cents from the same address.

### Guerrilla warfare

I am writing you about an article in the Sept. 22 issue of *The Militant*, which I feel is among the leading international socialist revolutionary papers in the world. My question is on the article "Israel terrorizes Arab villages—Lebanon, Syria bombed," where it is put into mind "the complete rejection of terrorist acts by small groups and the adoption of a strategy of mass action against the Israeli-Zionist government."

I completely and wholeheartedly support mass action against the fascist government of Israel, but my question is, when you say "the complete rejection of terrorist acts by small groups," does that mean complete rejection of armed revolutionary guerrilla forces to serve as a defensive vanguard of the people?

Gary Yost  
Allentown, Pa.

*In reply*—No. Armed guerrilla struggle can be an effective and necessary tactic in the struggle against capitalist injustice and imperialist domination—as we see in Vietnam, for example. But to be successful, armed struggle must have mass support and must be part of a general political perspec-

tive of mobilizing the masses of workers and peasants in anticapitalist struggle.

While it can be a useful tactic, guerrilla warfare is not sufficient as an overall strategy to achieve socialist revolution. The task before a revolutionary party is not simply a military one of defeating the oppressor class in armed confrontation. First and foremost the task is a political one—winning over the masses of people to a revolutionary perspective and constructing a revolutionary party in the course of leading increasingly powerful mobilizations of the masses in struggle.

To build a mass, revolutionary socialist party that can lead the revolution to victory, it is necessary to employ all methods of struggle—demonstrations, strikes, participation in elections, workers defense guards, guerrilla warfare, etc., depending upon what tactics are dictated by the political situation.

### Terrorist tactics

The Sept. 29 *Militant* was great. Especially your explaining the Trotskyist position on terrorism. It's such a clear, logical explanation of why terrorist tactics do more damage than good.

It was also interesting to note that more people are aware of us Trotskyists. We could and should have a great impact on masses of people. *The Militant* is doing a great job in reporting and explaining how to organize a humanitarian revolution.

S. C.  
D. C.  
Catskill, N. Y.

### 'Labor's Giant Step'

In the Aug. 11 *Militant* you published a very good review of Art Preis's book, *Labor's Giant Step: The Rise of the CIO*. However, this book, now reissued in paperback, repeats an error in fact that appeared in the original hardback edition. I had hoped that it would be corrected, as I wrote a letter to the publisher in 1968 stating the facts. It appears once again and spoils an otherwise very fine book for us in longshore, and especially in Seattle, who lived through that period.

On page 31 the book states, "Ryan—a consort of shipowners, stevedore bosses, gangsters and Tammany politicians, who 20 years later was to be dumped by these elements when he was no longer useful to them—tried to split the strike by making separate settlements in each port. He succeeded only in Seattle."

This is just not true. I played an active role in Seattle as picket captain through the '34 strike. Many of the men active in that strike had come from the woods, where they had fought for and won the eight-hour day, the free speech fights, and the Seattle general strike of 1919. Those men understood well the role of a *piecard* such as Ryan.

As I remember that meeting in an old garage, Ryan reported he had settled the strike for us. One fellow shouted from the floor, "Go to hell!" and we all joined in. Ryan fled from the hall, and we went ahead with the strike to eventual victory. We won our own hiring hall staffed by elected union men and paid by the employers. There was no blacklisting, and the men were dispatched to jobs on the basis of earnings.

Tacoma, a smaller port 30 miles south of Seattle, and one other small Puget Sound port (I have forgotten



# The American Way of Life

Caroline Lund

which) stayed in the AFL until the CIO-AFL merger.

Tacoma should be the port named in that paragraph, and not Seattle. I urge you to have this corrected.

L. E. Windoffer

Retired, Local 1-19

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union  
Seattle, Wash.

In reply An article in the June 23, 1934 *Militant* on the 1934 West Coast longshore strike confirms your statement that Thomas Ryan, president of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association, failed in his attempt to impose a strike settlement on the Seattle longshoremen. Pathfinder Press informs us that this error will be corrected in the next printing of *Labor's Giant Step*.

## McGovern Six

Thanks very much for your coverage of the McGovern Six, the gay activists arrested at the McGovern headquarters in New York (*Militant*, Sept. 8). I haven't seen much about the case anywhere else.

I wish you would run some in-depth analysis of the gay movement and theoretical material on gay liberation.

S. C.

Chicago, Ill.

## 'Revolutionary myopia'

George Breitman's "Who is better for the ruling class: Nixon or McGovern?" (*The Militant*, Sept. 8) is more an election-year campaign propaganda piece than perceptive political analysis.

If the Vietnamese revolution is indeed "the focal point of world revolution today," if "it's our [America's] ruling class that plays the role of world policeman for capitalism ('Theme of socialist conference: international revolutionary struggle,' *The Militant*, Sept. 8)," then it would seem that McGovern's program of withdrawal from Indochina and a \$30-billion reduction in military spending are more relevant criteria for determining the relative significance of these two candidates to America's capitalistic, imperialistic system than either's ability to quench the fire of radicalization — Breitman's sole criteria for his analysis.

Important as it is, the political radicalization America is experiencing is not capitalism's "Achilles' heel." Revolutionary myopia tends to exaggerate the significance of developments in one's own locus operandi.

In 1972, America's ruling class, rather than George Breitman, has objectively and rightly determined who best represents their interests — Richard Nixon.

I missed *The Militant* in August and am glad you're back at your desks.

Sandy Sloop  
Decatur, Ga.

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

## Don't have an accident

What happens if you are among the 52 million Americans who are injured each year and need medical treatment? Don't think about it too long; your chances of getting adequate treatment are slim.

First of all, if you can get an ambulance (there are only 25,000 in the country), you will probably get one of the eight out of 10 that are actually not ambulances at all. Eighty percent of ambulances, according to the National Academy of Sciences, are actually hearses, limousines, or station wagons, and "inadequate in space and equipment."

Second, your ambulance driver will probably be one of the two out of three who have not gone through training in emergency medical treatment. You'll have to wait until you get to the hospital for any medical help.

If you were in an auto accident, you may even find yourself among the 18 percent of auto fatalities that could have been averted if you had received adequate emergency treatment.

These harrowing facts were revealed in a report released in September by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences. It says emergency treatment is "one of the weakest links in the delivery of health care in the nation." And it happens that this "weakest link" is in an area where the need is greatest. Accidental injuries are the leading killer of Americans between one and 38 years of age.

According to the Jan. 9 *New York Times*, health expenditures in this country amounted to 7 percent of the gross national product in 1970 — almost as high as the 7.5 percent spent on the military. But although Americans are believed to pay the highest per capita price for medical care, the quality of care in capitalist America is disgraceful — as evidenced by such indicators as infant mortality, where the

U. S. is far behind other countries.

The terrible state of medical care in the U. S. — the richest country in the world — is one of the clearest indictments of the capitalist system. The general rule under capitalism is that only the rich are assured good medical care.

The relatively higher quality medical care available to all in the Soviet Union, China, and other countries that have abolished capitalism is a constant embarrassment to the capitalist rulers of the U. S.

The Sept. 17 *New York Times*, in its report on the findings of the Academy of Science, contrasts emergency care in this country with that existing in Eastern Europe, "where such training and care are regarded as the most sophisticated in the world."

In July, a delegation from the Medical Committee for Human Rights returned from a three-week tour of China. On returning to the U. S. they stated: "in contrast to the situation in the U. S., health care in China is a human right. . . . By the end of the tour it was clear that China's new society has developed a health-care system that is unsurpassed by any nonindustrial nation, (and) which excels the U. S. in the delivery of primary health care. . . ."

No, this country is not so good at healing people. But when it comes to developing new and efficient instruments for killing and injuring human beings, the U. S. capitalists are tops in the world. Syndicated columnist Jack Anderson revealed their latest development in his Aug. 5 column: giant pulse laser weapons that would be used to blind "enemy" soldiers. The weapons have been tried on animals, and the effect is "to bring rabbit and monkey eyes to the boiling point, causing bleeding and an actual explosion in the eye."



## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

## Juggling those figures

Working-class opinion reflects the general condition of life in a nation and is not easily distorted by professional opinion molders. A recent Harris poll (one of the opinion molders), published Sept. 5, found that 69 percent of union members consider economic questions most important in the election this year.

Seventy-one percent said they are not influenced in their choice of political candidates by the opinions of AFL-CIO President George Meany. The big majority, 81 percent, know that "tax laws are written more to help the rich, rather than the average working man."

The poll also found "union members still think the nation is in a recession by a 48-39 percent margin."

While corporate profits rise but unemployment lines grow longer, it is no wonder many workers think there is a recession.

Unemployment figures are juggled in every possible way, but no matter how the Labor Department tries it cannot hide the fact that more workers are without jobs from month to month. The figure for those now unemployed three months or longer is growing.

Those officially listed as unemployed remain about 5 million, 5.6 percent of the work force. This does not include that other category of probably 2 million "discouraged workers" who are unemployed but no longer registered with the state employment agencies because their unemployment benefits have run out. Nor does it include the 5 million part-time workers, half of them earning \$34 a week or less.

By conveniently not accounting for those who are without regular jobs and who must therefore live below the poverty level, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) was able to report a decline in unemployment last June. According to their figures it remained constant for July.

The BLS report for August shows unemployment climbing again. Of these new unemployed, 195,000 are teen-agers. The unemployment rate for this cat-

egory rose from 14.8 percent in July to 16.9 percent in August.

Workers know these facts without reading the statistics. Plants are closing in all the major industrial cities, relocating in the suburbs or moving farther away. Cleveland, once a city of many factories, has changed in the past decade. None of the old factories were modernized. They closed their gates. The White Motors Corporation is preparing to join the exodus, the latest of several this year.

The same thing is happening in Detroit. It is still called the "motor city," but the name no longer fits. The giant auto corporations still have headquarters there, but production and assembly plants for the most part are elsewhere. The feeder plants that once were common in Detroit are disappearing. Tool and die shops are phasing out, asking workers to take a cut in wages "to keep the business alive" where there is no business.

This reorganization of industry, merging of enterprises, decentralization of production, abandonment of old installations, establishing automated units in new locations, has occurred during the past decade.

Not only manufacturing industries are affected in this way. It is a general reorganization of all industry, made possible by technological advances and dictated by the competitive quest for profits. The printing industry has been hit by the closure of major newspapers in every large city. The demise of the *Newark Evening News* at the end of August was only the most recent of a long list that will grow larger.

These changes have all brought greater productivity. More cars are manufactured than ever before, more books published, more copies of fewer newspapers printed. But the total number of workers in several major industries has declined sharply.

Wages have not kept up with increased productivity, nor with rising prices. Average hourly earnings of factory workers in August were \$3.79. Their weekly gross earnings averaged \$154.25, up from \$153.12 in July because of a slight increase in overtime work.



# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Ticklish problem**—The Ku Klux Klan is buying lie detector machines and will test all members to weed out FBI plants. This struck us as not very efficacious since the lie detector might also eliminate many loyal members. We thought it might be better to give the bedsheet boys IQ tests and reject anyone who passes. But FBI agents might do well on that too.

**Ethics dep't**—NASA has cleared the air about the latest revelation that 15 astronauts were paid \$37,500 for autographing more than 30,000 stamps and postcards. A representative assured they did the autographing on their own time and without government equipment.

**Catch 22?**—A Florida judge voided

the marriage of Sherrie Cramer, 14, and John Manzione, 18, on the grounds that state law forbids a woman under 16 marrying, even with parental consent, unless she is pregnant. "It's ridiculous that Sherrie should have to go to such an extreme," commented her mother.

**Participatory Republican?**—According to a **Pittsburgh Press** headline, Nixon is running as an "activist" president.

**Nuclear beer**—The Center for Science in the Public Interest wants additives to be listed on labels of alcoholic beverages. A report by the researchers said that from 1964 to 1966, 47 people died because brewers were adding a pinch of cobalt to beer to make

the head thicker. Since the cobalt wasn't on the label, doctors couldn't figure out why normally healthy beer drinkers were having heart attacks.

**Sense of humor**—Senator Edward Kennedy, whose family is among the richest in the nation, urged organized labor to support McGovern to "end this present era of special privilege and giant wealth."

**The deal's still on**—A Cadillac spokesman assured that the \$9,000 Eldorado Nixon laid on Brezhnev was not among those recalled for defective axles.

**That should reassure them**—"WILDE, Argentina (AP)—Plans for a rally to

protest an alleged scarcity of policemen were thwarted by scores of riot police, armored cars and patrolmen with attack dogs."

THE ALUMNAE By Mary Gauerke



"—per ounce."

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### Busing in Augusta, Ga.

The opening of public schools has brought a renewal of the controversy over the busing issue. A case in point is Augusta, Ga.

Busing was recently upheld there in a ruling by Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell. Powell's ruling sharply restricted what had been considered a "tough" antibusing law, named after its author, Representative William Broomfield (R-Mich.).

The Broomfield amendment calls for eliminating the busing of schoolchildren "for the purpose of achieving a balance among students with respect to race . . . or socio-economic station."

Powell turned down a request to delay an order for school busing in Augusta on the grounds that the amendment was invalid in that particular case.

While many Black civil rights leaders praised Powell for his decisions, the Black community cannot rely upon the decisions of the capitalist courts regarding our right to a quality education. For it is our right to determine when and if Black children will be bused. The gains we have already won and those we will win in the future

will be a result of our own independent power in mass actions and organizations, and not through the "beneficent" proclamations of the courts and rulers who created the problem to begin with.

● One of the more popular, yet highly controversial Black-oriented films to appear recently is *Super Fly*. The film portrays a drug pusher who devises a plan to get out of the business. Some critics claim the film is disgusting because it glorifies the drug pusher. Others claim it is not because it is about a dude who is trapped in the dead end of dealing and who struggles to get out.

*Super Fly* star Ron O'Neal, in presenting some of his views on the role that Black films should play, says, "I know certain middle-class Blacks who live in \$50,000 homes are complaining that Black movies shouldn't be about hustlers and the like. But . . . they have no connection with the man on the street. The hustler is a fact of life in the ghetto and no one will go to see, say a picture about the life of Ralph Bunche."

● *Presence Africaine*, a quarterly review of the African world that prints articles in French and English, has just published its latest issue. It contains several very good articles, including one by Basil Davidson, the British historian. The article, "Cabora Bassa," documents the Portuguese- and South African-backed hydroelectric dam project in Mozambique. Leopold Sedar Senghor, a founder of the philosophy of negritude, has contributed an article on this philosophy.

A third very interesting article reviews the work of three contemporary African women writers. The reviewer, Maryse Conde, is rather disturbed by the approach of these writers and concludes that they have fallen under the influence of the "alien European women's lib. [sic] movement." Obviously, Conde doesn't understand that the oppression and protests of women not only affect "alien European women" but African women as well.

Copies of *Presence Africaine* may be obtained by writing to them at: 25 bis, rue des Ecoles, Paris 5, France.

## Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



### The Pope vs. women's liberation

Pope Paul VI delivered another slap in the face to women when he decreed Sept. 14 that the Catholic Church ministry will remain closed to females "in accordance with the venerable tradition of the church."

Reporting from Rome in the Sept. 15 *New York Times*, Paul Hoffman wrote: "Ecclesiastics here said that the reconfirmed papal veto against women in . . . church offices reflected the opinion of the overwhelming majority in the world hierarchy . . ." That may well be, but does this latest pronouncement from the Pope reflect the opinion of the majority of lay Catholics?

It's not too likely. All the evidence points in the direction of deepening opposition to official Church doctrine—on such issues as women's rights within the Church, the Church's position on marriage and divorce, and of course, the stand it takes on abortion and contraception.

The recent Gallup poll on abortion revealed the growing rift between the Catholic Church hierarchy and the Church membership. The results of the

poll, made public in August, showed that 56 percent of Catholics agree that the decision to have an abortion should be made solely by a woman and her doctor.

The Catholic Church hierarchy felt forced to protest this poll through a statement issued by the Family Life Bureau of the United States Catholic Conference. Bureau director Monsignor James McHugh complained Aug. 30 that the Gallup survey was one-sided. He said it failed to draw attention to "the unborn child's right to life," and instead focused "exclusively on the woman's health."

Undoubtedly the Church hierarchy is also not too pleased about groups such as Catholic Women for the Right to Choose. This pro-abortion organization is based in Connecticut, and the idea will surely spread to Catholic women in other states.

Such developments are embarrassing to the Church hierarchy's efforts to build a powerful anti-abortion campaign. The success of such a campaign rests in part on the ability of the hier-

archy to mobilize Catholics against the pro-abortion movement. Instead, growing numbers of Catholic women are solidarizing themselves with the struggle for repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

In addition, the Church hierarchy is being challenged not only by women angered by its sexist teachings but also by antiwar activists, including priests and nuns, and by militants in the Black and Chicano communities.

A lot more is at stake for the Church in terms of women's issues than simply whether women can become priests. As Pope Paul himself said in a letter in May 1971, he is opposed to "false equality . . . which would be in contradiction with women's proper role, at the heart of the family as well as within society."

In other words, the Pope sees very clearly the threat the women's liberation movement poses to the present family system. And as head of one of the institutions that has played a major role in perpetuating the reactionary myths about women and the family, he has every reason to fear the radicalization of Catholic women.

# Behind invasion of Uganda

By TONY THOMAS

SEPT. 23—A force of 1,000 troops that invaded the East African country of Uganda Sept. 17 has apparently been routed by forces supporting Uganda's president, Major General Idi Amin. A "peace settlement" appears to be under discussion between Uganda and neighboring Tanzania, which Amin charged supported the invasion.

In a dispatch from Nairobi, Kenya, dated Sept. 17, *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr reported: "The Uganda radio said this morning that a force of 1,000 Tanzanian troops had invaded Uganda at dawn, crossing at the little border village of Mutukala and striking for the town of Masaka, an administrative center about 80 miles southwest of the [Uganda] capital of Kampala."

Mohr reported that the Tanzanian Ministry of Information claimed the invasion had been carried out by Ugandan "people's army forces." According to Mohr, the commander of the Tanzanian army said there were absolutely no Tanzanian soldiers involved.

Most observers believe that these forces were not Tanzanian but supporters of deposed Ugandan president Milton Obote. Obote was the head of the Ugandan government from the time the country won independence from Great Britain in 1962 until January 1971. He had begun to move in the direction of a "one-party state" in the mid-1960s.

In May 1970, Obote announced a major economic and social program supposedly oriented at bringing the Ugandan people to "African socialism." Foreign trade, with the exception of oil and petroleum products, was to be nationalized. The government would acquire a 60 percent share of all industry and plantations, banks, oil companies, public transport companies, and the Kilembe copper mine. In addition, all strikes would be outlawed.

These steps—similar to those taken by Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, and Sekou Toure in the Republic of Guinea—were not aimed at bringing the workers and poor farmers to power in Uganda. Instead, they were designed to provide an economic and political base for the development of sections of the local Ugandan capitalists.

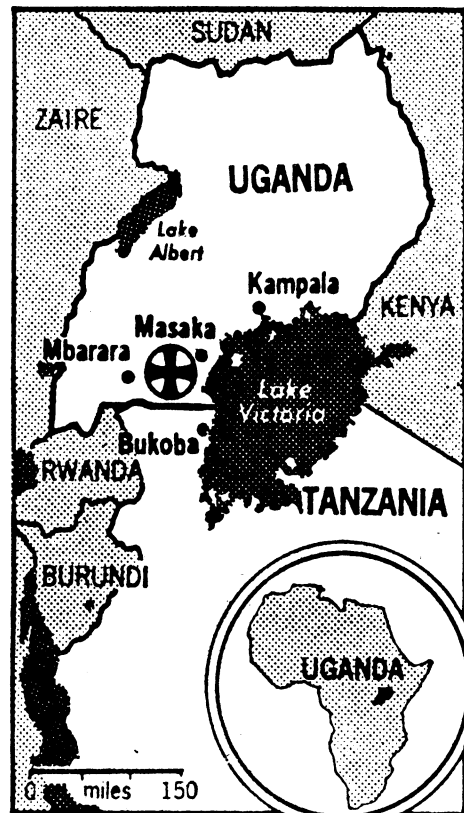
Because he rejected mobilizing the workers and peasants to protect these measures against imperialism and its tools in Uganda, Obote was overthrown Jan. 25, 1971, by Amin, at that time the commander of the Ugandan armed forces. Obote and several thousand supporters fled Uganda for Tanzania, where they received the open support of the Tanzanian government. Meanwhile, Amin was initially welcomed by British and U.S. imperialism because he halted the nationalizations Obote had initiated.

After the first attacks on Sept. 17, Amin claimed that Tanzanian troops, along with Israeli and British mercenaries, had carried out the invasion and that Britain was preparing to attack Uganda. Neighboring countries of Zaire, Rwanda, Sudan, and Zambia, which had had poor relations with the Amin regime, closed their borders with Uganda, apparently expecting the hostilities to be expanded in their direction.

However, by Sept. 18 General Amin admitted, according to the Sept. 19 *Washington Post*, that "the invaders came from among the thousands of Ugandan exiles who took refuge in Tanzania," and "no longer referred to the invaders as Tanzanian troops."

But it is clear that Tanzania provided Obote and his supporters with arms and training sites. It is equally clear that Obote's supporters could not have carried out such an invasion without Tanzanian approval.

On Sept. 20, Mohr reported to the *Times* that "forces loyal to President Idi Amin appeared today to have decisively defeated" the Obote forces. Mohr said that the invaders had captured six villages but had been repulsed from each, suffering over 30 percent casualties before fleeing back to Tanzania. He also reported that the Tanzanian army had moved 1,000 troops up to its borders with Uganda after Amin threatened to pur-



sue the invaders into Tanzania.

All of this comes in the wake of an international imperialist propaganda and diplomatic offensive designed to make Amin appear as a "buffoon," "crazy," or "a Nazi." This offensive has been considerably aided by Amin's conduct in the past year.

The most spectacular event was the statement Amin sent to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim after the death of 11 Israelis at the Olympics in Munich Sept. 5. Amin solidarized himself with Black September—the organization that kidnapped the Israelis—by praising Hitler's extermination of six million Jews and by calling for the complete repatriation of Israeli Jews to Britain. These are reactionary positions rejected by the Palestinian resistance, including Black September.

Amin's real aim in these statements was to whip up a xenophobic frenzy in Uganda to bolster his tottering regime, which has come into conflict with Uganda's nationalities.

From the start Amin faced conflicts with the Acholi and Lango peoples, who had been Obote's base of support. In these conflicts thousands were massacred and a mutiny broke out in the armed forces.

Later Amin lost the support of Uganda's largest nationality, the Bagandas, who make up roughly 16 percent of Uganda's population of 9.5 million. At first the Bagandas welcomed Amin, but they turned against him when he refused to give back autonomous rights taken away by Obote in the mid-1960s. Colin Legum claims in an article in the Sept. 20 *Washington Post* that the once pro-Amin Bagandas "are now anti-Amin,

[although] they do not necessarily favor Obote's return."

To strengthen his position, Amin has been claiming for more than a year that Uganda was endangered by invasion not only from Tanzania but also from other neighboring countries. At the same time, Amin announced his willingness to establish a "dialogue" with the government of South Africa.

However, Amin took other actions that proved "embarrassing" to British and U.S. imperialism. First, he expelled hundreds of Israeli advisers he himself had invited after he took power. He also launched an "anti-Zionist" campaign, aligning himself with Libya and other Arab states.

This summer, Amin decreed the expulsion of 50,000 Asian (mostly Indian and Pakistani) traders from Uganda, almost all of whom are citizens of Great Britain. This set off a furor in Great Britain. The British government attempted to defend the right of these Asians to remain in Uganda because it feared their expulsion might threaten the rights of foreign capitalism in East Africa. At the same time, the racist British government was alarmed that Amin's action would increase the non-white population of Britain, already more than one million.

These Asians dominated retail and small trading in Uganda, as they do in several other East African countries. According to press reports, most Ugandans approved of their expulsion. Undoubtedly this approval was particularly warm among Ugandan capitalists competing with the Asian merchants.

However, the expulsion of the Asians was attacked by the imperialist powers and other African countries, including Zambia and Tanzania, as "racism."

The imperialists became fearful that the instability of Amin's regime and its use of anti-British and anti-Israeli rhetoric might get out of Amin's control and lead to his overthrow by the Ugandan masses.

Expressing these sentiments, an editorial in the Sept. 19 *New York Times* called for "a change in policies or a change of government" in Uganda to stop the weakening of the Ugandan army, civil service, and economy as a result of "General Amin's bizarre behavior."

In reality, Amin's behavior is a reflection of the complete bankruptcy of capitalism in Africa—its inability to bring economic development, improvement in living standards, or national freedom to the peoples of Africa.

The answer to this "behavior" is not replacing Amin with more "responsible" African pro-capitalist politicians such as Obote, but a socialist revolution that would place power in the hands of the workers and poor farmers of Uganda and break with the most "bizarre" creatures the world has ever produced, the imperialist powers.



Major General Idi Amin

## Steinem, Lindsay, speak for abortion actions

By CAROL LIPMAN

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—The New York Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) outlined its fall schedule of activities at a well-attended news conference here today. Participants in the news conference included Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; Mary Lindsay, a political figure in New York City; and Lucinda Cisler of the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The schedule of actions, announced by Barbara Mutnick of New York WONAAC, included:

- The call for a picket line on Oct. 2 to counter "Respect for the Unborn Day," organized by the anti-abortion forces in New York. The picket will declare the day "Women's Right to Choose Day."

- Organizing New York women to travel to Washington, D.C., on Oct. 11 to demand that the Supreme Court rule the Texas and Georgia abortion laws unconstitutional. On that day the Supreme Court will rehear the class-action suits challenging the two states' abortion laws. In an unusual move, the court decided not to rule on the cases after hearing evidence on them last December and to rehear them this fall, when Nixon's two new appointees will be sitting on the court.

Women will also be coming from other East Coast and Midwest cities to participate in this picket line and rally. WONAAC is urging women to be present in the courtroom when the cases are being heard.

- Plans for New York Abortion Hearings, scheduled for Oct. 21 at the New York University Law School.

Speaking in support of the Oct. 2 picket line to counter the anti-abortion forces, Gloria Steinem stated at the news conference, "I don't think we understood the force and strength of the 'Right-to-Lifers' until last year. The abortion issue is one which the majority of Americans agree on. Both presidential candidates have now bowed to the 'Right to Life' in fear, and seem willing to go against majority opinion. It is a long struggle. We can't relax. I support the work that WONAAC is doing."

As in New York, local abortion hearings are being organized in scores of cities across the country. These local hearings will build up toward, and develop testimony for, an International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization planned for New York City March 9-11, 1973. The tribunal was originally called by WONAAC but is now being organized by a broader International Tribunal Committee.

Mary Lindsay and Gloria Steinem have added their names to the initial list of sponsors of the International Tribunal.

Plans are well under way for the local abortion hearings in many cities. In Houston, for example, initial endorsers of the hearing already include the Houston American Civil Liberties Union; Helen Cassidy, president of Harris County NOW; and Gloria Ramirez, chairwoman of the Houston Raza Unida Party.

# California's Proposition 22

## Attack on farm wor

### Background

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—California's giant, ultrareactionary agricultural interests pulled all the stops when they drew up Proposition 22, the farm labor relations initiative they petitioned to put on the Nov. 7 state ballot.

Proposition 22 is designed to destroy the United Farm Workers (UFW), AFL-CIO. If it becomes law, it would for all practical purposes nullify the right of farm workers to organize, to negotiate a contract, or to strike.

Under the proposition, secondary boycotts of those who handle scab merchandise would be illegal and primary boycotts of the products of struck firms would be all but impossible to conduct.

There are a quarter of a million farm workers in California, and it is estimated that one job out of three in the state depends on agriculture. The agricultural industry is dominated by large corporations and the banking interests to which they are tied. California farm workers—mainly Chicano, Asian, and other minorities—are among the most exploited in the country.

Until César Chávez and the United Farm Workers began organizing in 1965, the agricultural industry was almost completely unorganized. The effective boycott of nonunion table grapes gave the UFW a toehold.

About 80 percent of table grape production is now unionized. Some 10 percent of wine grape pickers are organized, as well as about 15 percent of the lettuce workers, now the focus of a United Farm Workers organizing drive.

The UFW has a base membership of about 20,000, with the number going as high as 50,000 during harvest periods. The union has brought gains for its members and for workers in the industry generally. Nonunion employers have granted some wage increases and fringe benefits as part of their effort to keep out the union.

In taking on the lettuce industry, which is substantial in the state, the Farm Workers have run into more formidable opposition than in organizing the employees of table grape growers.

Operators of the vineyards are a relatively weak sector of California's agribusiness and without significant political ties in the state or nationally.

Lettuce, on the other hand, provides a lucrative income for the principal agricultural interests in the state, and they are as politically influential as they are wealthy. The lettuce growers are now spearheading a united campaign by the agricultural interests to take on and destroy farm unionism.

Initially, the growers resisted unionization with the time-tested tactics of refusing to negotiate, importing scabs, using company cops and dogs, jailing unionists by cooperative local and state police, etc. The grape boycott proved effective enough to surmount that kind of opposition, so agribusiness decided to escalate its antiunion warfare.

The major new ingredient in the employers' strategy is legislative action. Arizona, Kansas, and Idaho have already adopted antiunion farm

labor relations bills. The Oregon legislature voted a similar measure last year, but pressure from the UFW forced the governor to veto it.

An antiunion farm labor bill was also introduced in the California legislature last year, with the backing of union-hating Governor Ronald Reagan. But a march of 10,000 farm workers July 7, 1971, on the state capitol in Sacramento persuaded the legislators to shelve the measure.

It was then that the agribusiness tycoons decided to take the initiative route. The measure drawn up by sharp-shooting agricultural labor relations lawyers is far worse than those approved by legislators in other states.

To qualify for the ballot, it was necessary to obtain 325,000 signatures of registered voters. About a quarter of a million dollars was allocated for this. A professional petition-gathering company was hired, which obtained the necessary signatures by any means necessary.

Revelations of the misrepresentation and fraud used in obtaining the signatures are now so extensive that the secretary of state, who had already certified the proposition for the ballot,

Conference has been able to contribute \$93,825 to the sponsors of Proposition 22 and to lend them an added \$63,000.

The registered, part-time lobbyist for the California Agricultural Conference is one Robert Hanley. Hanley is also treasurer of the Fair Labor Practices Committee. And, by sheer coincidence, until a couple of years ago he was a lobbyist for the very powerful California Farm Bureau Federation.

Support comes from all sectors of agribusiness. Those officially disclosed as contributing to put Proposition 22 on the ballot include Hunt, Wesson Foods, \$3,000 (they're concerned, of course, with lower prices for the consumer); Allied Grape Growers of Fresno and Madera, \$15,000; Diamond Walnut Growers, \$10,000; California Canners & Growers, \$5,000; and Improved Beef Feeders, Nevada, \$1,000.

Before being hauled into court for fraud, the growers planned to limit their campaign for Proposition 22 to a massive media blitz in the last two weeks before the Nov. 7 election, with a projected budget for this of "upwards of \$600,000."

According to *The Packer*, a major

As a consequence, the state AFL-CIO has taken a strong stand in opposition to Proposition 22. Jack Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO, is serving along with César Chávez as cochairman of the United Labor Committee Against Proposition 22. The recent state AFL-CIO convention voted a \$10,000 contribution to the committee.

Leaflets with educational material about Proposition 22 issued by the UFW bear the imprint, "Printing donated by Los Angeles Allied Printing Trades Council."

According to UFW staff member Marc Grossman, who has done major research on Proposition 22, many local unions are actively supporting the drive to defeat the union-busting measure.

Even the California Teamsters union, which signed a sweetheart contract with lettuce growers to keep out the UFW, is now concerned about Proposition 22. The Teamster's legal staff has made an exhaustive analysis of the measure, characterizing it as a "drastic, far-reaching and punitive measure."

Literature on Proposition 22, as well as bumper stickers and other material, is available from the UFW at 1411 W. Olympic Blvd., Room 510, Los Angeles, Calif. 90015.

### Prop. 22

LOS ANGELES—Proposition 22 would declare California policy to be that "the uninterrupted production, packing, processing, transporting and marketing of agricultural products is vital to the public interest."

Substitute "agribusiness interest" for "public interest" and you have an accurate statement. The measure is so loaded with provisions designed to prevent California's exploited agricultural workers from obtaining the benefits of union organization that it can only be characterized as over-kill.

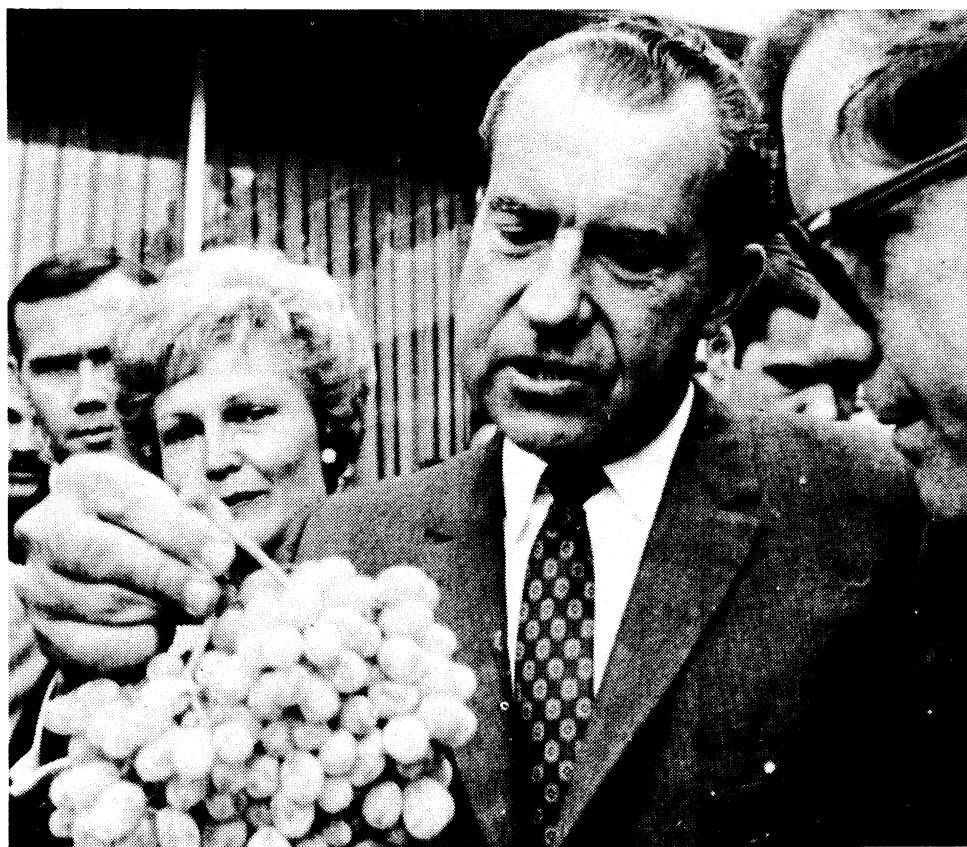
The law would be administered by a five-member board—two from the employers, two from labor, one from the "public"—all to be appointed by the governor.

The lengthy bill includes 121 lines of fine print detailing "unfair" labor practices by the workers. Some 36 lines are devoted to such practices by the employers. Employer violations are, at most, the basis for civil suits. Those by the union or its supporters would be violations of the law, with violators subject to a \$5,000 fine and one year in prison.

Union organizers would be barred from visiting workers in company-owned homes.

A union-recognition election could be held only when there are no more temporary workers than permanent ones. This would bar elections during the key harvest season since most farms employ only 10 or 20 permanent employees and add several hundred "temporary" ones during the harvesting. The permanent employees, who are mainly Anglos, are relatively favored workers.

Furthermore, a worker cannot vote on choosing a union unless he or she was employed in California agriculture for at least 100 days during the previous year and at least 14 of the past 30 days by the present employer. Workers are also barred from voting



Nixon holds bunch of grapes in Fresno, Calif., during 1968 campaign. Farm workers booed him for his opposition to boycott.

has now taken court action to have it disqualified.

Proposition 22 is sponsored by a group that, with a straight face, calls itself the Fair Labor Practices Committee. The committee is a front for the enormously powerful California Farm Bureau Federation.

This is an association of the biggest growers in the state. It is so right-wing that its speaker's bureau includes open members of the John Birch Society.

Principal funding for the Fair Labor Practices Committee flows from a nebulous but suddenly well-heeled outfit calling itself the California Agricultural Conference. For several years this was a semidormant lobbying outfit that apparently did not even have the funds for a full-time lobbyist.

Now, from sources it declines to divulge, the California Agricultural

voice of agribusiness, "the committees expect to restrict campaigning to a short-term concentrated effort, thus making it difficult for UFW members to refute them."

In opposing the measure, the UFW clearly cannot match the financial resources or media connections of the growers. A key part of the UFW strategy is a major voter registration drive among Chicanos, Blacks, and poor whites to help turn out a maximum "no" vote on election day. The UFW leadership also seems to be banking on help from the Democratic Party machine, which is hard-pressed this election year.

Not surprisingly, the measure is aimed at other unions as well, since it covers all of a grower's employees. This would include agribusiness employees in canning, freezing, trucking, etc.



# kers union

if they voted in another union election in the same geographic area in the past year.

To be certified as the workers' bargaining agent, a union must win a clear majority in the vote, even if there are three or more choices on the ballot. A "no union" choice must be included on each ballot. There would be no proviso for runoff elections.

If, by some miracle, a union won an election under such conditions and decided to strike, the employer could simply obtain a 60-day "cooling off" injunction. Few crops require more than 60 days to harvest.

The proposition carefully ensures "management rights."

Under such "rights," the union would be barred from negotiating around issues of "operating procedures." That means use of poisonous pesticides, introduction and use of labor-eliminating and speedup devices, etc. It would also bar negotiations on the use of the hated labor contractors instead of the union hiring hall.

It would be "unfair" for the union to seek pay for work not done. This would eliminate the four hours show-up time now paid unionized workers called to the field when there is no work.

And if all that wasn't enough, Proposition 22 would make illegal what has proven to be the Farm Workers' most important weapon, the boycott of nonunion products.

Secondary boycotts by the union or any supporters would be illegal. That is, a market could not be picketed for selling scab grapes, lettuce, etc.

In addition, primary boycotts would, in effect, be made illegal. It would be illegal to ask people not to buy non-union lettuce in general. Particular brands of struck companies would have to be specified.

Struck growers using labels also used by others still operating could not have their product boycotted. For example, it would be illegal to tell people not to buy Sunkist lemons unless all producers of Sunkist lemons were the target.

If Proposition 22 isn't ruled off the ballot, maybe at least the name could be changed. Catch 22.

## Petition fraud

LOS ANGELES—California growers, united behind the Fair Labor Practices Committee, apparently believe

anything is fair when it comes to union-busting. According to evidence gathered by Secretary of State Edmund Brown, more than 63,000 of the 385,000 signatures obtained by the committee to qualify Proposition 22 for the ballot "were obtained as a result of fraudulent and misleading representations made to signers."

He said it was "the worst case of election fraud to ever be uncovered in California." And that's saying something.

Brown asked the California Superior Court to remove the proposition from the ballot, and a hearing on the suit has been set for Oct. 12.

In obtaining signatures, professional solicitors, who were paid 18 cents for each name, told people the measure was to "help the farm workers" and that it had the support of United Farm Workers leader César Chávez. In Watts and other poor areas, the people were told it was a measure to lower food prices.

In addition, the state-provided official summary of the proposition was illegally covered over with a pink card that stated the initiative would bring "peaceful settlement" of farm labor disputes and thereby prevent "inflated food prices."

A reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* who applied for a job as a petition solicitor said he was told to avoid Chicanos because "They can get very emotional because they identify strongly with César Chávez."

Also to be avoided, he was advised, were college-student types. "They ask too many questions."

Above all, he was cautioned, "Don't let them read anything if you can avoid it. . . . If you give them too much information you'll only get into an argument, and that won't help you and it won't help us. Just refer them to information on the pink card. It has everything they need to know."

Los Angeles District Attorney Joseph Busch confirmed there had been widespread misrepresentation and fraud in gaining the signatures.

In Kern County, the district attorney reported that 1,000 of 7,329 signatures gathered there may be fraudulent. He said a handwriting analyst had found signatures that did not match those on voter registration affidavits.

While the outcome of the move to have the proposition removed from the ballot cannot be predicted, the publicity and revelations developing around the suit will help inform the voters about the real nature of Proposition 22 and its sponsors.



Guard tower overlooks housing for farm workers near grape fields in California.

# Old Man River gags on filth and poisons

By LEE SMITH

The Mississippi River of Mark Twain's boyhood has changed a lot in the last century. The river today looks and smells different than it did then. An article in the Sept. 18 *Los Angeles Times* by the paper's associate editor James Bassett explains why.

Pesticides, petroleum wastes, raw sewage, and other effluents are being dumped in staggering quantities into the "Father of the Waters" daily. Beginning in Monticello, Minn., a short distance from the river's headwaters, and continuing downstream all the way to New Orleans, industries and municipal governments use the Mississippi as a giant natural sewer.

But the sewer is backing up. Despite its immense flow of more than 300 billion gallons a day where it passes New Orleans, the amount of toxic waste in the river at this point has been termed "hazardous" by the federal Environmental Protection Agency. An EPA survey of the 288 miles of the Mississippi above the delta, made at Louisiana's request, found the level of arsenic, cyanide, lead mercury, and other poisons to be dangerously high.

Bassett's article cites some of the major sources of the Mississippi's pollution.

- The New Orleans sewer system pumps 65 million gallons of raw sewage a day into the river; it discharges another 25.5 million gallons that have only been treated to the point of breaking down and removing solids.

- Along the 258 miles of river below Baton Rouge, La., 60 plants built during the last 15 years discharge highly toxic wastes, some of them even potentially capable of causing cancer.

- Together with the city's sewage, Memphis, Tenn., dumps largely untreated industrial wastes into the river. Chemical and other plants tie into the public sewers to escape an 1899 law that prevents direct dumping by industries without a federal license. Eight years ago, one plant spilled a pesticide into the river through Memphis sewers that killed 5 million fish.

- In Monticello, Minn., a nuclear-powered electricity-generating plant is waging an ongoing battle against the

Minnesota Pollution Control Agency over emission standards. A spill of radioactive wastes from the plant in November 1971 caused cities all along the river to close their watergates until the contamination had passed.

Bassett attempts to point to some beginning efforts at control as grounds for cautious optimism. But he is forced to admit that "while the legal wheels grind slowly, pesticides, nonbiodegradable solids, and other materials are flushing into the Mississippi. . . ."

The *Los Angeles Times* editor, for instance, indicates the new federal water pollution control bill now before Nixon as one source of potential relief. But as *The Militant* pointed out last week, even if Nixon doesn't veto the bill, the new law lets polluting industries off the hook until 1985.

Bassett also cites the accomplishments of St. Louis's Metropolitan Sanitation District, which has been operating for 11 years on money from a \$95-million bond issue passed in 1961.

St. Louis has built two primary treatment plants in the past 11 years and expects to be ready for secondary treatment by 1975. It monitors emissions from factories in the district and charges extra for treating wastes from those with the largest discharges. This practice has motivated some businesses to recycle metallic wastes that can be sold profitably.

But recycling for profit has only reduced toxic emissions by 50 percent in St. Louis, and even the secondary treatment the city plans to give these toxicants within the next three years falls far short of what technology makes possible. Available systems that extract rather than merely treat pollutants are not in St. Louis's projections for the future.

Thus, Bassett quotes a chemist from the Army Corps of Engineers who says: "To a practiced eye, the river looks cleaner than it did 10 years ago." (Emphasis added.) In other words, to most people it still looks dirty.

Another example mentioned favorably by Bassett is the practice Chi-

*Continued on page 22*

# Minn. socialist files suit against pollution

MINNEAPOLIS—Mary Hillery, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from Minnesota, was turned down by a federal judge Sept. 25 in her bid to obtain a temporary restraining order to halt the dumping of 3,180 gallons of radioactive water into the Mississippi River.

Governor Wendell Anderson's office was also pressed by Hillery, but the governor decided not to take action against the dumping.

The radioactive water was released into the Mississippi River Sept. 25 and Sept. 26 from the Elk River nuclear reactor, which is being dismantled by the United Power Association.

Hillery charged that the dumping would cause "irreparable damage." She pointed to the fact that St. Paul closed its watergates, which take water into the city's reservoirs, while the dumping was in process.

Hillery termed the inaction by state and federal authorities "an atrocity."

An appeal by Hillery's campaign to close the Minneapolis watergates while the dumping was in process was rejected by Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig's office.

Hillery said that if possible, further court action would be taken. Her attorney is John Broker, an activist in local environmental groups.

In a statement to the news media, Hillery pointed to earlier promises by the Atomic Energy Commission that no radioactive material would be released into the environment during the dismantling of the Elk River plant.

Hillery observed that the International Commission on Radiological Protection said in its most recent report that there is no safe level of radiation as far as genetic effects or the introduction of certain forms of cancer are concerned.

# 'Neutral' Meany sides with winning camp

By FRANK LOVELL

The "neutrality" of the AFL-CIO executive council in the presidential campaign really boils down to those who are "neutral in favor of Nixon" and others who are "neutral" in favor of McGovern."

The Sept. 18 performance of AFL-CIO President George Meany at the national convention of the United Steelworkers in Las Vegas was a crude exhibition in support of Nixon and various corrupt and degenerate aspects of capitalist society.

Meany ridiculed McGovern as a supporter of homosexuality and denounced him as a defender of abortion, a deliberate distortion of McGovern's stated views on these questions.

Meany falsely implied that McGovern is for "destroying the system," a charge belied by McGovern's record as a senator and his program as a presidential candidate. He also said McGovern is no good for the union movement and that working men and women should not vote for him.

Meany's only criticism of Nixon was couched in a further denunciation of McGovern's position on wage controls. While McGovern and Nixon "may differ here and there on details," Meany said, "they agree on controls and compulsion for workers but they leave the fat-cat coupon-cutters alone."

These efforts to discredit McGovern can only be designed to boost Nixon because they take place in the framework of choosing between Republican or Democratic candidates, all defenders of the capitalist system. Meany urges the election of a "prolabor congress," made up mostly of "progressive" Democrats.

Meany's remarks take on Nixon's reactionary coloration. His snide jibes at homosexuals—"people who look like jacks, act like jills, and have the odor of johns about them"—accommodates to the Nixon administration's urge to deny civil liberties, including those of strikers and their unions.

Meany's opposition to the right of women to abortions is a throwback to the medieval precepts of the Catholic Church. He clings to the authoritarian view that women have no right to privacy or to personal choice in matters of sex and family life—a view repudiated by many prominent Catholics, the vast majority of women, and most union members.

On these issues Meany echoes the prejudices of the ignorant and backward voters to whom Nixon appeals.

The references to government wage controls are valid but apply equally to Meany and McGovern. The truth is that McGovern's position on wage controls is the same as that adopted by the AFL-CIO hierarchy under Meany's leadership.

Behind Meany's "neutrality" subterfuge is the hope of craft-minded bureaucrats to make a business deal with Nixon. The whole gang of them think Nixon will let them stay in business—maybe even help them—if they don't do anything to shake up present social relations.

The principle reason Meany shuns McGovern has nothing to do with how the "labor delegates" were treated at the Democratic Party convention, as Meany claims. They got better treatment than they deserved and more considerate attention from McGovern than from any other candidate who has ever run for president on the Democratic ticket, including Roosevelt.

Meany is against McGovern and for Nixon primarily because he thinks McGovern has no chance of winning. He thinks that if he can crawl into the winner's circle with

Nixon, he stands a chance of reaping the stable boy's rewards.

That section of the union bureaucracy that is anxious to support McGovern because it hopes in this way to reconstitute the old vote-catching coalition around the Democratic Party that worked so well in the past, thoroughly understands the pro-Nixon game Meany plays today. Those bureaucrats make no pretense of "neutrality" and are unashamed in their mobilization behind McGovern.

There are others who play the game like Meany. They do not openly endorse either of the capitalist candidates, but nonetheless are ardent McGovern supporters. They are the candidates and publicists of the Communist Party. Unlike Meany, they pretend to offer an alternative to the two-party system. But their presidential ticket is centered on promoting McGovern.

The propaganda method of such a campaign is to fire away at Nixon and excuse McGovern. Those in the unions who openly endorse McGovern are portrayed as heroes in the pages of the *Daily World*, the newspaper reflecting the Communist Party's views.

*Daily World* labor reporter George Morris devoted the bulk of his account of the Steelworkers convention to the campaign to get an endorsement for McGovern. The Sept. 19 issue of the *World* headlined the hope, "Steeler Delegates Oppose 'Neutral' Politics." As matters turned out, Steelworkers President I. W. Abel held firm control of the convention, and his "neutral" position in favor of Nixon was adopted.

A Sept. 20 *World* editorial denounced Meany's pro-Nixon talk at the convention and praised the antiwar invocation of the Reverend Daniel Cantwell and the welcoming speech of Nevada's Democratic Governor Mike O'Callaghan.

It concluded: "It is necessary above all to establish the workers' political independence, programatically and organizationally, from the professional political machines. The Meany road is the road to disaster. For the sake of organized labor, for the sake of the nation, it should be rejected uncompromisingly."

Under the circumstances the only way the convention delegates could have "rejected uncompromisingly" Meany's "neutrality" was to endorse McGovern. That is the way it was understood by the delegates. That is the way the CP intended that it should be understood.

This preoccupation with the politics of the ruling class parties detracts from the most important tasks at hand for the union movement—support of the mass antiwar movement, the fight for escalator clauses in all union contracts to protect wages against the ravages of inflation, the struggle against racism and sexism, and the reduction of the hours of work to provide jobs for all.

These goals cannot be won so long as the union movement is tied to the two-party system. Even to begin such a struggle to defend the basic social and economic interest of the working class requires political independence.

If political independence has any meaning for the unions, it means the organization of a mass working-class political party independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

The effect of the Communist Party campaign is to keep the workers tied to the two-party system. That is also Meany's purpose.

# Denver Chicano march draws 5,000

By AL BALDIVIA and ROY GONZALES

DENVER, Sept. 16—On this day 162 years ago in Dolores, Mexico, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla gave the cry of revolt initiating the Mexican independence struggle: "Long live the Virgin of Guadalupe! Death to the Gachupines [Spanish]!" Independence from Spain was won 11 years later in 1821.

This date is now celebrated in the Chicano movement and Chicanos in Denver today honored it for the fourth year in a row with a demonstration and parade. Participants from nearly every Chicano organization in the area assembled at the City & County Building. A Raza Unida Party (RUP) float led the parade through the downtown district.

Behind the RUP float came a float from the Crusade for Justice Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco [School and College of Tlatelolco]. Other participating groups included Incorporated Mexican-American Government Employees (IMAGE), United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), Congress of Hispanic Educators, Black Berets, and contingents from high school and neighborhood organizations.

The parade concluded with a rally at the state capitol. The combined participation in the parade and rally was about 5,000.

All along the parade route there were militant and spirited shouts of "Chicano Power!" "Que Viva La Raza!" and "Viva Ricardo Falcón!" (Falcón was the Colorado RUP delegate to the recent El Paso conference who was murdered in New Mexico on his way there.)

The connection of the Chicano self-determination struggle to the struggles of the oppressed from Puerto Rico to Southeast Asia was stressed in the rally speech by Crusade for Justice leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. He emphasized the need for the Chicano movement to support all such struggles.

José Gonzales, RUP candidate for state legislature, ended the rally with a speech blasting the Democratic Party. The Chicano movement, Gonzales said, would be betrayed if it relied on the parties of the rich. These parties and politicians such as McGovern cannot help end racism and discrimination, he said.



Militant/Al Baldivia

Float in Denver march

# New Young Socialist

An interview with a young Argentine revolutionary on the radicalization of youth in his country; the 1972 elections; the Nixon-Brezhnev talks; a review of Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*; statements by Nixon translated into English—the October 1972 issue of the *Young Socialist* covers a lot of ground, and it does it well.

The *Young Socialist* originated 15 years ago, in October 1957, as a newspaper put out by young people who were part of a regroupment of socialist forces following the 1956 Hungarian revolution, the revelations of Khrushchev about the crimes of Stalin, and the beginning of the civil rights struggle among Blacks in the South.

After the founding of the Young Socialist Alliance in 1960, the *Young Socialist* became the YSA's public voice. As the YSA grew, the *Young Socialist* underwent a number of changes in format. It became a magazine in 1964 and in 1970 changed to a newspaper,

called the *Young Socialist Organizer*, which was of interest mainly to YSA members. With its October issue the *Young Socialist* begins publication as a monthly, 16-page newspaper.

One of the things the new *Young Socialist* does best is to convey the scope and seriousness of the youth radicalization. For example, an interview with two young high school activists from New York is complemented by the discussion of high school struggles in Argentina and by the text of the program adopted by the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec (the Québec teachers union).

Articles dealing with the social protest movements in the U.S. do so from the point of view of young participants. They reflect the activities of these movements and the debates actually going on in them. The articles are well written, in keeping with the professional layout and format of the *Young Socialist*.

— DAVE FRANKEL

## Young Socialist

The October YOUNG SOCIALIST features "Socialism and Alienation"—a speech by Linda Jenness, an analysis of the 1972 elections, and articles discussing the key questions facing activists in the antiwar, women's liberation, Black, and Chicano movements. Don't miss a single issue. Subscribe today.

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# World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 6, 1972

## Sri Lanka

### Growing protest against political trials

By Fred Feldman

The trial of forty-one of Sri Lanka's 11,000 political prisoners is now in its fourth month. Sobitha Thera, a young Buddhist monk who claims to have participated in the activities of the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna — People's Liberation Front, the radical youth group accused of fomenting the April 1971 revolt), has emerged as a key witness for the government.

He has been pardoned by Attorney-General Victor Tennekoon because of his willingness to aid the prosecution.

His knowledge of the insurrection has proved to be rather scanty, since he claims that he broke off contact with the JVP and went into hiding on March 24 (or March 25), almost two weeks before the outbreak.

Under cross-examination by defense counsel Bala Tampoe, Sobitha shed some light on his reasons for "co-operating" with the police. The September 8 Colombo *Sun* summarized his testimony up to that date as follows:

"He was arrested on May 2 [1971] and taken to what was called a dreadful place in the fourth floor.

"He was somewhat frightened but he had no fear of the fourth floor as being a dreadful place. He was apprehensive after the very thing he feared had taken place.

"He had heard stories of what happened to persons taken to the fourth floor, before he actually went there.

"He was not terrified but he had some fear. Before he was taken there he had an opportunity of seeing a priest with burns caused by cigarette butts, at the fourth floor.

"This was at the meeting on February 21. He had admitted that the reason for the dreadful treatment meted out to the priest was for only pasting posters announcing that meeting. He himself had pasted posters and he thought that he might be caused physical harm by the police. He knew he could not escape from the police. He did not think it was safer to assist the CID [Criminal Investigation Department] in its investigations. He thought it best to save himself. . . .

"He believed that several persons of the Bhikkhu Peramuna [a group of radical Buddhist monks] had laid down their lives, and sacrificed themselves and that several had been killed by police after being taken into custody."

At the September 5 session, according to the September 14 *Ceylon News*, Sobitha "denied . . . that he claimed

to be a member of the JVP because he was thrashed at the CID headquarters."

Under questioning by Bala Tampoe, he further "denied he fell at the feet of Bhareti Thera of Kaduganawa at the CID headquarters."

Sobitha's involvement in the JVP consisted, according to his own admissions, of little more than attending meetings, Marxist study classes, and group discussions of the JVP's perspectives, and engaging in private conversations with JVP leaders. He has tried to give these completely legal political activities an aura of conspiracy and subversiveness.

Sobitha further discredited himself as a witness when he admitted falsifying the date of an alleged conversation with Rohana Wijeweera, a leader of the JVP and one of the defendants in the trial. He now asserts that this discussion—in which Wijeweera supposedly confided his plans for assaults on police stations—took place in February 1970, more than a year before the revolt, and not in July 1970 as he had previously claimed.

Sobitha said he had lied in order to "help" Wijeweera, an explanation that strained the credulity of H. N. G. Fernando, chairman of the Criminal Justice Commission.

The poor performance of the government's star witness has been reported in detail in the bourgeois press.

In practice, however, the government's witch-hunt has continued. The prisons and detention camps are still jammed, and arrests continue to be made for alleged participation in the April 1971 events.

#### Colombo

More than 1,000,000 persons are expected to participate in a hunger strike that has been set for October 18 to protest the continuing repression in this country.

The action is sponsored by the Human and Democratic Rights Organisation, the Ceylon Mercantile Union, the Ceylon Tea Estates Staff Union, the Central Council of the Ceylon Trade Union, the Ceylon Workers Congress, and the Joint Front of Trade Unions in the Ceylon Electricity Board.

Many other individuals and organizations have also pledged to take part. Several public meetings have been scheduled, specifically at places where the April 1971 youth revolt occurred and where actual mass repression was carried out. Some of the sites being considered for public rallies are Colombo, Kandy, Galle, Matara, Hambantota, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Kurunegala, Kegalle, Badulla, Hatton, Nuwara, Eliya, and Jaffna. It is not yet certain whether the government will attempt to prevent the rallies from occurring.

The hunger strike is being organised

for the following reasons:

The regime has indicated no intention to end the state of emergency that was proclaimed March 16, 1971, under which 11,000 persons are still being held in prisons and concentration camps.

The suppression of democratic rights and civil liberties under the emergency has been accompanied by a series of financial measures resulting in increased economic hardships for the people.

The government is expanding the police and the armed forces, supplying them all types of arms and equipment, as well as accepting military aid from imperialist powers.

The Bandaranaike regime has made strikes illegal under the emergency, thus seriously handicapping trade unions in bargaining with the employers on matters affecting the workers' wages and conditions of employment.

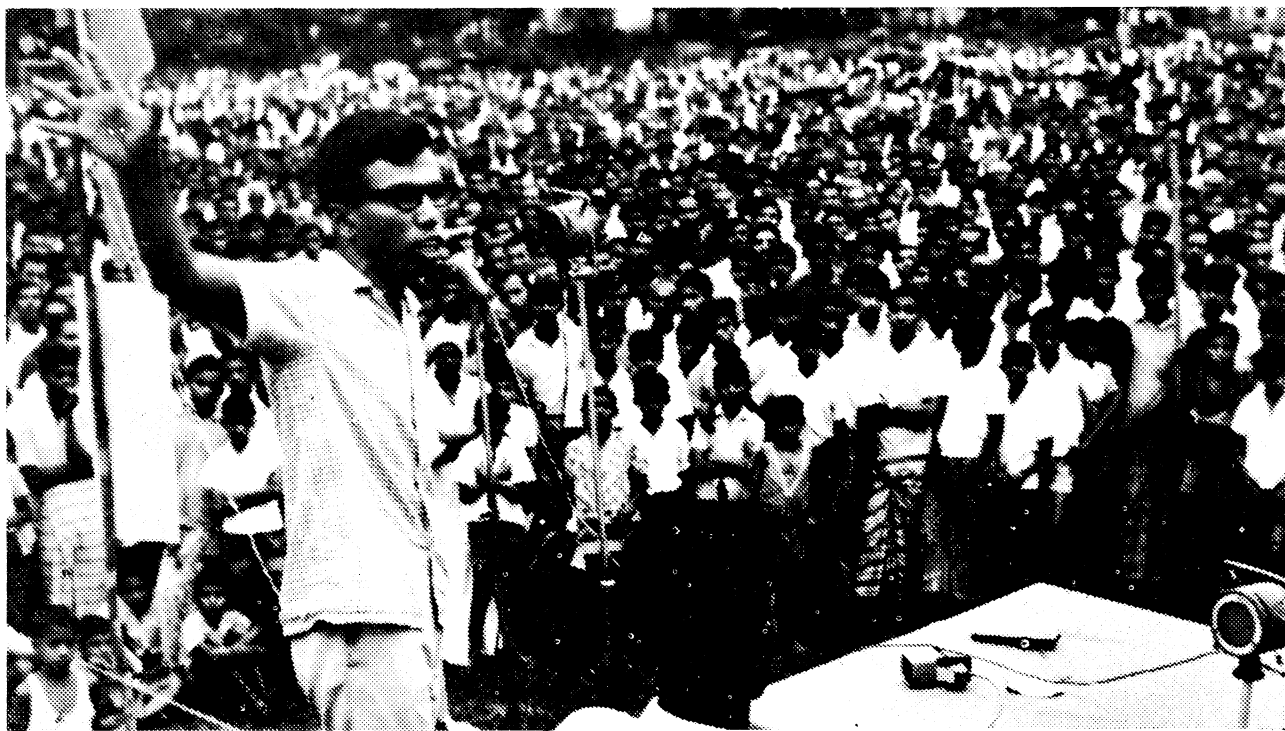
The cost of living has continued to rise.

The enactment of the Criminal Justice Commissions Act has given the government powers to keep thousands of persons in custody indefinitely without trial, even should the state of emergency be ended.

The government has proposed totalitarian measures to suppress freedom of the press.

The form of protest scheduled for October 18 is one that can be implemented on a nationwide basis under present conditions. It can help to initiate a serious political discussion of and movement against the repressive measures taken by the regime.

The Ceylon Solidarity Committee in Great Britain has decided to organise some sort of solidarity action on October 18. Supporting actions may take place in other countries as well. □



JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera, now on trial for his life, speaks at one of the mass rallies held in spring of 1971 before the repression.



## Working-class front formed in Venezuela

By Miguel Fuente

Caracas

For the first time, an electoral front along working-class lines is being formed in Venezuela. Its aim is to intervene in the presidential elections scheduled for December 1973. The campaign is being launched by the MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism) around the candidacy of the independent Marxist José Vicente Rangel, who is being presented as the socialist candidate for president.

The MAS is a centrist formation that grew out of a split in the PCV (Partido Comunista Venezolano—Venezuelan Communist party), and includes most of what was then the PCV youth [see *Intercontinental Press*, April 12, 1971, p. 335].

José Vicente Rangel has an excellent reputation throughout the entire left for his untiring and audacious efforts in denouncing the tortures and murders committed by the repressive forces and for his defense of political prisoners. His book *Expediente Negro* documenting the assassination of Alberto Llorera, a PCV leader, by the Acción Democrática [Democratic Action] government of Rómulo Betancourt was widely read.

The two major bourgeois parties, Acción Democrática and COPEI (Comité Organizado por Elecciones Independientes—Committee for Independent Political Action, the Christian Democratic party), have selected their candidates—Secretary General Carlos Andrés Pérez and ex-Minister of the Interior Lorenzo Fernández respectively—and launched their campaigns.

Two other bourgeois parties, the MEP (Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo—People's Electoral Movement, an Acción Democrática split-off that occurred during the 1968 election campaign) and the URD (Unión Republicana Democrática—Democratic Republican Union), have joined with the PCV to launch a popular front under the designation "Nueva Fuerza" (New Force).

The Stalinist leadership of the PCV has publicly supported bourgeois candidates in the past, but this is the first time that a formal, open "alliance" of this kind has been put together here.

At a recent national conference of the three participating parties, MEP leader José Paz Galarraga was chosen as the Nueva Fuerza candidate.

The formation of this popular front was, of course, clearly inspired by the Unidad Popular victory in Chile. The liberal opportunist politicians of the MEP and the URD assumed leftist poses and are mouthing "socialist" slogans. The PCV, in keeping with its class-collaborationist policy, eagerly merged with these "progressive" bourgeois parties. For all its leftist ver-

biage, the program of the Nueva Fuerza is nothing but a rehash of old reformist formulas.

The crucial difference between the candidacy of José Vicente Rangel and the popular front campaign hinges on the question of independent working-class action versus class collaboration. This is the first time that this basic question relating to Marxist principles is being posed in a national context in Venezuela.

It must be pointed out, however, that neither the MAS, nor José Vicente Rangel, nor various other groups that have publicly endorsed his campaign, have explicitly stated that they are opposed to making electoral alliances with bourgeois formations. Nevertheless, in practice Rangel has been adamant about maintaining alliances only with forces standing on this side of the barricades.

The MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), badly weakened as a result of the past period of guerrilla armed struggle, has evolved into a centrist group like the MAS, although with different traits. Unlike the MAS, the MIR contains a clearly discernible left tendency reaching into the leadership. True to its centrist nature, the MIR has not as a group stated its position on the elections and the working-class candidacy of Rangel. A tendency in the MIR appears to favor supporting Nueva Fuerza.

The forces that still identify with

the strategy of guerrilla warfare as the road to socialist revolution in Venezuela—the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional—Armed Forces of National Liberation) and Bandera Roja—have failed to appreciate the opening presented to the revolutionary forces by the present political situation. They have called for a "front of all those struggling arms in hand." Except for a Maoist formation, which has come out in support of the Nueva Fuerza candidate, these groups have announced no position on supporting candidates or participating in the elections.

In a statement published in the August-September issue of *Voz Marxista*, the GTV (Grupo Trotskista Venezolano—Venezuelan Trotskyist Group) explains its position on the election campaign.

The statement begins by placing the Venezuelan situation in the present international context. Following a brief analysis of the country's economy and where it stands, the statement appraises the class struggle and the contending political forces.

The final section of the statement explains why the GTV decided to give critical support to Rangel's campaign as long as he makes no alliances with bourgeois organizations and maintains his present independent programmatic platform. The document also calls for the construction of a "frente revolucionario socialista" (revolutionary socialist front) as an outcome of the campaign.

If Rangel remains firm in his independent working-class stance, and runs a militant campaign by forming a united front with other revolutionary and proletarian groups, the working-class and revolutionary vanguard could take significant strides forward. This would create very favorable conditions for the construction of a revolutionary workers' party and would have positive repercussions in the class struggle on a continental scale. □

## Perspectives Venezuelan on the 1973

[The following statement by the Grupo Trotskista Venezolano (Venezuelan Trotskyist Group) on the elections scheduled for December 1973 is the concluding portion of a lengthy document published in the August-September issue of *Voz Marxista*. The translation of the statement, which is dated August 11, 1972, is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

We did not adopt our position on the elections by referring to some immutable principle as a guide but by basing our approach on a concrete assessment of the Venezuelan situation. There is deep discontent among the people here, who realize that their living conditions are getting worse and worse. Today, more so than in the three previous elections, there is a mistaken and illusory collective desire to seek a way out in the electoral arena. We sincerely believe that to call for casting a blank ballot would only be observed in limited student circles. And it would be insane to call for a boycott when the forces necessary to organize it do not exist, considering the fact that the only way to implement it is to resort to armed violence as would be the case in a prerevolutionary situation.

Our task, like that of all the rev-



Children in a Venezuelan slum. Venezuelan Trotskyists seek to use election campaign to link up with mass discontent over deteriorating conditions of life.

# of the Trotskyist Group elections

olutionists, consists of showing the discontented masses that the change they desire can only be brought about through mobilizing their own forces for action. This change will never be brought about by elections but by the violent emergence of the exploited people onto the stage of history. The projected election provides us with a favorable opportunity because people become interested in political discussion. So let's go to the masses. To one degree or another, they are indicating their dissatisfaction. But there is a sector of the masses that has arrived at an approach to the election campaign that is similar, though not identical, to that of the Trotskyists. This is the sector that we want to address first of all, and thereby begin to extend our influence to increasingly greater numbers of the population.

A solid movement of disinherited masses who are challenging the existing regime has rallied to the candidacy of José Vicente Rangel. This is a movement that has picked up the banner of socialism and heeded Rangel's call to struggle now and after 1973. It is a movement that in many ways objectively goes way beyond the centrist positions of the MAS [Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism]. It is a movement composed mainly of young workers and students, and we know that the Venezuelan revolution will be above all the work of the youth; they must be spoken to clearly so that they can begin to prepare themselves.

*We have decided to associate ourselves with this movement and, as a result, to support the candidacy of José Vicente Rangel for the presidency of the republic. Ours is critical support, and it is not irreversible. What do we mean by this? Simply that we are supporting this candidacy on the following condition: that it resolutely refuse to form electoral alliances with the parties of the bourgeoisie or those that have compromised with the system—the URD [Unión Republicana Democrática—Democratic Republican Union], the FDP [Fuerza Democrática Popular—Popular Democratic Force], the MEP [Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo—People's Electoral Movement], the movement of Pérez Jiménez, etc. It is impossible to advance a revolutionary program and carry out revolutionary agitation as long as ties, pacts, or agreements are maintained with the groups or parties that in one way or another have served or are serving the capitalist system.*

We are announcing our support on the basis of conclusions that follow from the analysis developed in this document. These conclusions can be

summed up in the following points:

1. *For a revolutionary socialist front!* Once a line of demarcation is drawn with the bourgeoisie and its parties, or the inchoate mixture of parties that claim to represent several classes, the Trotskyists call on all parties, groups, and individuals of the socialist and revolutionary left who stand for the class struggle to unite around a minimal program for struggle and jointly back the socialist candidate; so that this candidacy may serve as a rallying point and voice for the Venezuelan revolutionary organizations and as a stepping-stone to a revolutionary socialist front, whose goal is nothing less than the revolution.

2. *Toward the building of the revolutionary workers' party!* The social class whose labor sustains the entire structure of capitalism and without whose leadership any socialist perspective is illusory must break politically with the bourgeoisie and form its own party. All the revolutionary tendencies must use the electoral process toward this end. José Vicente Rangel, who has made no deal with any bourgeois party, will be the candidate of the working class.

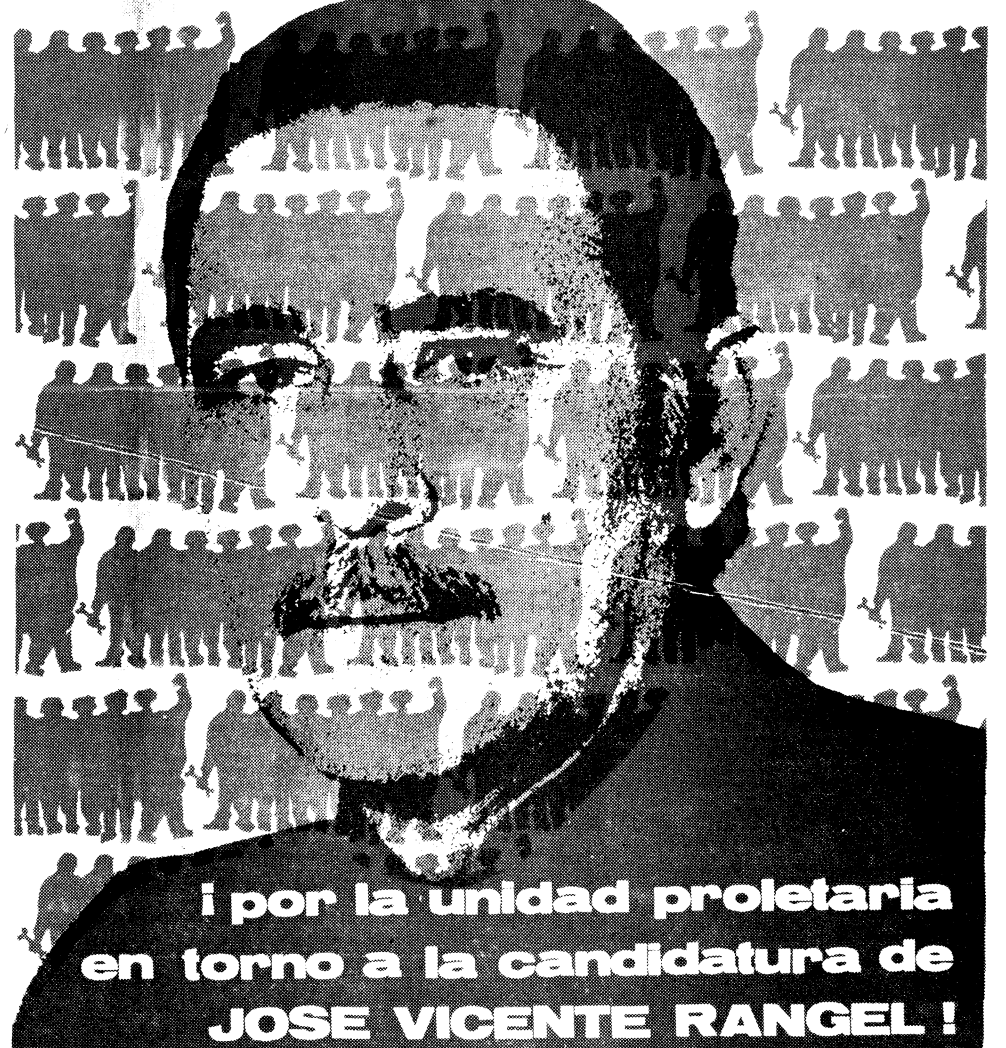
3. *For a plan of action to mobilize the proletariat, the students, the poverty-stricken layers in the towns and the countryside, and for a revolutionary governmental program!* Propagandistic speeches and articles are not enough. It is true that television, the radio, and the press are in the hands of the bourgeoisie; but we revolutionists have our own methods for bringing our ideas to the masses. The main one is through correct revolutionary action.

The socialist candidate and the movement that supports him must participate directly in the daily struggles in the factories, neighborhoods, schools, etc. The MIR's *Plan of Action* is a good point of departure. The slogans intended to mobilize the working class must be posed in progression, starting from the struggle for a minimum wage level up to the arming of the proletariat (in the event we enter a prerevolutionary period), a direct struggle for power, and the installation of a workers and peasants' government. All of this taken together means that it is necessary to link up the mobilization of the masses with a revolutionary governmental program that projects, fundamentally, the expropriation *without indemnification* of the imperialists and the indigenous bourgeoisie, as well as the nationalization of their holdings.

We are aware that this program will not be realized via the electoral road, no matter what the results of an elec-

## VOZ marxista

agosto—septiembre 1972



The front cover of *Voz Marxista*, a monthly newspaper published by supporters of the Venezuelan Trotskyist Group. This issue contains the group's statement explaining its decision to give critical support to the election campaign of Rangel. *Voz Marxista* is having an increasingly wide impact in the revolutionary vanguard in Venezuela despite the relatively small size of the Trotskyist movement there. A run of 5,000 of the previous issue sold out quickly, so 6,000 copies of this issue were printed. For information about subscription rates, write: *Voz Marxista*, c/o Alfonso Ramirez, Apartado 4125, Caracas 101, Venezuela.

tion. But the opportunities for propaganda offered by the electoral process can be utilized in a most effective way to popularize socialist ideas and the *form* in which our revolutionary aims can be won.

4. *For proletarian internationalism!* The working class in its struggle for socialism requires a worldwide organization and strategy. Against capitalism, which recognizes no frontiers, the workers construct their own internationalism. This principle is converted in practice into unconditional support to the Vietnamese revolution, to the Chilean workers, and to the proletariat of the entire world. The application of this internationalism during the electoral campaign and after is not a consequence of any noble altruistic sentiment. It derives from the fact that no country in the world can achieve socialism solely through its own efforts, inasmuch as the international division of labor bars this. Consequently our consistent support of the revolutionary process developing in other countries follows from

understanding that Venezuela can achieve socialism only within the framework of the Socialist United States of Latin America as a part of the world socialist revolution.

José Vicente Rangel and we who support him must call for international proletarian solidarity. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky understood socialism as a united effort of the proletariat cutting through national frontiers.

The Venezuelan Trotskyist Group is interested only in achieving revolutionary objectives. We reject running as members of the bourgeois slates. Campaigning in the election and calling for votes for the socialist candidate will help measure the political level of the Venezuelan people and will contribute to the ideological, revolutionary, and socialist education of the masses.

For proletarian unity around the candidacy of José Vicente Rangel!

For a revolutionary socialist front! For the construction of a revolutionary workers party!

Long live the socialist revolution! □

## New Zealand

# Labour Party officials hit the roof over socialist speaker

By Keith Locke

[The following article is reprinted from the September 15 issue of *Socialist Action*, which is published by supporters of the Socialist Action League (SAL) in New Zealand. It tells of further activities of the Social-

ists for Labour campaign, which was described in more detail in the September 22 *World Outlook*.

[Socialists for Labour is a group that is campaigning for the Labour Party candidates in the coming New Zealand elections but at the same time fighting for the Labour Party to adopt a socialist perspective and a perspective of relating to the struggles of women, students, and the oppressed Maori Polynesian people in New Zealand.

[Members of the Socialist Action League were among the initiators of Socialists for Labour, and because of this the right-wing Labour leadership has attempted to bar members of the SAL from the Labour Party.]

[Labour Party head] Norman Kirk is ready to go to almost any lengths to stop Socialists for Labour campaign supporters from appearing on official party platforms. He hit the roof when he discovered that the Party's Wellington regional body (the Labour Representation Committee) had invited Kay Goodger, a leading Socialists for Labour activist, to speak on "Women and Political Action" at its "People, Politics and Participation" seminar, September 1-3. Goodger had been

elected as the Wellington Women's Liberation Movement's speaker at the meeting.

Eventually, the organizers gave in to pressure from the parliamentarians and dropped Goodger from the programme. But invited speakers still included activists from protest groups such as Nga Tamatoa and the Secondary School Students Association, plus ecology activists and women's liberationists, and Kirk would have none of it.

All parliamentarians were forbidden from attending the weekend, and the party's national president, Bill Rowling (who was scheduled to open the proceedings), and Gerald O'Brien MP, withdrew from the programme. The right wing Labour leaders, in their own way, joined hands with Muldoon [Robert Muldoon, New Zealand prime minister and member of the ruling National Party, the Tory party], who on August 31 attacked the seminar, saying that for the party to organise a meeting for "protesters" showed that it was totally out of touch with the electorate.

The fact that every single MP went along with the ban underlines the necessity of the Socialists for Labour

campaign. Supporting the election of a Labour government, socialists will do what the party leadership categorically refuses to do: bring into the election the real issues people are concerned about and acting on today.

"It seems that the Labour Party leaders are afraid that key feminist demands such as the repeal of the abortion laws will be raised by Ms Goodger," said the Wellington Women's Liberation Movement protesting the ban on Goodger in an August 31 press statement that was carried in newspapers across the country.

Besides bringing feminist issues into the elections, Young Socialists for a Labour Government activists like Goodger will be campaigning on the demands of the antiwar, high school, trade union and Polynesian movements.

The fact that about 300 people enrolled at one or more of the seminar sessions showed that many Labour Party supporters are looking for an alternative to the Kirk leadership's status quo politics. Socialists for Labour leaflets were distributed among seminar participants, and 14 people signed the socialist campaign endorser cards. □

## Soviet Union

# Ukrainians denounce Stalinist practices

[Issue No. 25 (May 20) of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, which is circulated clandestinely in the Soviet Union, carried excerpts from a letter dated May 1972 and addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, the Russian newspaper *Izvestia* and the Ukrainian newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina*. The letter, signed "Group of Soviet Citizens, May 1972, the Ukraine," appears below. The Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners has provided the translation.]

The decades of Stalinist arbitrary rule, later modestly called the "personality cult," are a phenomenon that

has as yet been little studied. This was much more complex than the cult of personality of any other individual, and in its consequences comparable to the devastation brought to the USSR by the world war. This was a terrible social plague, giving birth to terror, suspicion, denunciations, a whole country of concentration camps for millions of innocent people. It led to profound corruption, psychological shock, which tormented the people like a serious spiritual illness. In the 1930s this illness began with the extraordinary growth of the role of state security organs, which exceeded their authority and were no longer under the control of the government. The NKVD became "a state within a state"; it created an entire industry of killing and in principle could discredit and destroy any person in the country. . . .

The change in climate in public life in the USSR in this direction is an extremely dangerous symptom. A number of events—the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet forces, a secret veto passed against the exposure of Stalinist arbitrary rule and even against revealing the materials of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the hounding of Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, endless reminders to intensify the ideological struggle—all these evoke pro-

found anxiety, for they indicate a tendency which is capable of leading to a new 1937 . . . The suppression of national consciousness, multiple arrests of leading representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, threats, blackmail, persecution, and countless mass searches serve as a dangerous reminder of the fact that the year 1937 began in 1933; it began with repressions against national cultural activists. Herein the reason for our warning . . .

In particular we wish to explain the circumstance that forced us to sign ourselves simply as the Committee for Human Rights in the USSR. . . . We guarantee the authenticity of the information reported in this appeal. Anonymity sickens us. But the situation is such that the organs of the KGB respond to every display of social activity with immediate repressions. At the present time we, therefore, do not consider it advisable to have anything to do with the faceless and irresponsible Committee for State Security [the KGB—Trans.], which is steadily becoming a real threat to society. We would be prepared to openly sign our names and take part in a public discussion of the essence of our letter, if there were the slightest hope that it would be published in full. □

letter was dated "July 1972" and signed "a Group of Soviet Citizens." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Pyotr Yakir has been jailed. . . .

This opens up one more stage—possibly the culminating one—in the tactics of a creeping, but systematic, repression which the regime has been pursuing for several years now in an attempt to stifle the democratic movement.

We can and we must protest against this action. It is more important, however, to understand the essence of the new situation and to seriously, deliberately, but without hysteria (whether it be the hysteria of flinging oneself at the oppressor's bayonets or the

hysteria of totally capitulating) adjust the life and struggle of every democrat—and that means the entire movement as well—to the present reality.

The arrest of Yakir, a man who consciously placed himself at the point of sharpest conflict, does not mean that "all is lost," that the policy of the authorities has resulted in victory for them. . . .

The arrest of Yakir is neither the beginning nor the end, but an important landmark. . . .

To keep our people safe and to keep *samizdat* going, to preserve and strengthen the democratic movement—that is the main goal of today. That is the best response to the arrest of Yakir. . . . □



Hugo Blanco G.

In 1963 Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco was arrested by the government for leading the peasant unionization movement in the countryside of Peru. He was tried by a military court and sentenced to death. *Intercontinental Press* played a leading role in the international campaign to save Hugo Blanco's life.

Later, when his sentence was commuted to 25 years in prison, *Intercontinental Press* campaigned for his release.

After seven years in jail, Blanco was amnestied. Eight months later, he was exiled to Mexico.

Since then, Blanco has moved to Argentina, where in less than a month he was arrested without charges. He is now threatened with expulsion from that country. Again, *Intercontinental Press* is providing the necessary background information and documents to help Blanco win his freedom.

The case of Hugo Blanco is only one among many reported by *Intercontinental Press*. As a prime source of information on struggles like this, subscribe to *Intercontinental Press*.

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# Yakir arrest: a new stage of repression

[The following excerpts from an open letter assessing the significance of the arrest of Pyotr Yakir appeared in issue No. 26 of the *samizdat* journal *Chronicle of Current Events*. The



## Viewpoint on '72 elections

# Whether Nixon or McGov wins social problems will deepen

The following is in response to an article by George Breitman entitled "Who is better for the ruling class: Nixon or McGovern?". Breitman's article appeared in our Sept. 8 issue. The views expressed in both articles are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of *The Militant*.

By DON GUREWITZ

I tend to disagree with George Breitman's estimation that in the contest between Nixon and McGovern it is more in the interests of the ruling class that McGovern win the election.

It is obvious that the bulk of the ruling class also disagrees with Breitman. Breitman himself acknowledges this. But I don't think his explanation

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*Don Gurewitz is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. senator in Massachusetts.*

---

that the ruling class is just "making a mistake" is very convincing. I think he would have done well to speculate a bit about what reasons might be leading the ruling class to back Nixon.

To say it is in the ruling class's interest to have someone like McGovern *running* is quite a bit different than saying it is in their interest to back him and have him *win*. Breitman's article seemed to pose the question as if the only really significant factor from the point of view of the ruling class is which candidate is best at coopting the mass movements during the preelection period.

He seemed to leave out entirely the fact that behind these movements are deep social problems that will not go away no matter what the particular candidate's rhetoric. It is almost as if he completely divorces the mass movements from the social conflicts that gave rise to them.

A candidate's ability to co-opt during a preelection period is due primarily to the masses' electoral illusions. No one questions that McGovern has done quite a job in manipulating these illusions to the detriment of the mass movements. But that is only the short run. In the long run, the ability to co-opt or quiet the mass movements depends on being able to solve the social problems (preferably, from the capitalist viewpoint, in their favor, not the masses') that have created these movements—or at least put on a good show to buy time.

From this point of view, Nixon really hasn't done so badly. In fact, given the aims of the ruling class and the limiting objective factors they have to contend with, I'd say there is probably not much more that Nixon or anyone else could do.

Take the war. McGovern has done well at co-opting the antiwar movement. But Nixon had *already* done quite well in quieting the movement.

It is important to remember, as *The Militant* has stressed over and over again, that imperialism cannot withdraw from Southeast Asia without suffering drastic consequences. Or, to put it another way, they *must* find some way to hang on.

Given the antiwar sentiment at home and the collapse of the Saigon regime, practically the only option left was, and remains, a drastic escalation of the air war and blockade. The trick was to carry out this escalation (and the future escalations that could well become necessary) without provoking a social explosion at home.

Nixon did this, primarily through

his ability to force the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies to do his bidding. He has escalated the war to a point the Pentagon papers reveal the ruling class believed it could not get away with just a few short years ago—and he did it in the context of even deeper antiwar sentiment and without provoking the much-feared social explosion among the American masses.

This was no small accomplishment from the point of view of the ruling class. Whether or not the escalation will succeed in its purpose of bringing the Vietnamese to their knees is, of course, another question. But the point of concern here is that given its strategic objectives, the ruling class had no choice but to take this gamble; and Richard Nixon succeeded in pulling it off for them rather neatly.

It would seem to me that McGovern's election would only undercut Nixon's "achievement" by buoying up the masses' expectations for a real and immediate end to the war. This is something I think the ruling class would like to avoid, especially since Nixon's gamble, while it hasn't succeeded in "winning the war," also hasn't failed. It remains the ruling class's only hope for averting a defeat in Indochina.

A similar argument can be made about Nixon's handling of other issues. The wage controls are a good

To me, to say that the ruling class would be better off with McGovern is to say that the ruling class is in a position where it has no choice but to make substantial concessions to the masses. This may be the case in Chile, but I don't think it is the case in the U. S. today.

The war is again the best example. One would be foolish to say that the U. S. absolutely cannot win in Vietnam—that it is absolutely precluded that the Vietnamese can be forced to make the substantial concessions U. S. imperialism requires.

Given the fact that there is still some hope (from its point of view) for imperialism to win in Southeast Asia, it would seem to me that they *must* support a Nixon who has proved his ability to put maximum pressure on the Vietnamese while at the same time avoiding a social explosion at home.

They are all the more obliged to support such a man when the alternative is a McGovern who bases his campaign on the promise to the masses that he will totally pull out within three months (even though the "promise" is a lie).

In short, it seems to me that in divorcing the "co-optability" of the mass movements from the social conflicts that have created them, Breitman has forgotten to ask a very important question: What happens *after* a



**While McGovern seeks to co-opt the antiwar movement with his peace rhetoric, Nixon has undermined it through his Moscow and Peking summits. Soviet bureaucrats helped him fool many antiwar Americans into believing that he is seeking peace.**

example. McGovern's demagoguery about tax relief, unfairness of the controls, etc., is all well and good for getting votes, but the ruling class *needs* those controls.

Here, again, Nixon has not done a bad job from their point of view (he certainly at least averted a labor rebellion) even though the problem is far from being "solved."

The ruling class has grave problems to solve beyond quieting the mass movements down for a few months just prior to the presidential elections every four years. To solve these problems in a way that is favorable to them, the ruling class must take certain risks. Nixon has shown himself to be quite adept at taking some of these risks and getting away with it, at least to the extent of averting major social explosions in response to even his most drastic measures.

Given the objective limitations the ruling class must deal with (the radicalization, the dollar crisis, the weakness of Thieu, etc.), Nixon has performed about as well as the ruling class could expect.

candidate like McGovern wins an election on a program of reformist demagoguery and then cannot deliver on his promises? Isn't that a tremendous *spur* to the radicalization?

One last point: I think *The Militant* would do better printing an article that shows how *both* McGovern and Nixon are serving the interests of the ruling class. The ruling class needs to get all the mileage it can out of McGovern's ability to co-opt during the relatively brief preelection period. And they also need a president who can continue to make their gambles for them without provoking a social explosion at home. (Of course, the fact that Nixon has been able to do this so far does not mean he can continue to do it indefinitely.)

Most important: *The Militant's* article should place its emphasis on the *limited ability* of *both* alternatives to solve the fundamental problems of the ruling class. Whether McGovern wins or Nixon wins, the ruling class's problems aren't going to go away. The prospects in either case are for the radicalization to continue to deepen and broaden.

## SMC to meet; will plan fall activities

By DAN ROSENSHINE

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia (SMC) will hold an expanded national steering committee meeting on Saturday, Oct. 7 to intensify preparations for student antiwar activity across the country this fall.

The day-long meeting at Boston University will include workshops on campus complicity with the war, high school organizing, fund raising, and educating the American public about the air war over Indochina.

"This will be a very important meeting of the national student antiwar movement, and we want to urge maximum attendance by college and high school antiwar activists from around the country," said Jack Lieberman, a national SMC staff member. Lieberman said the meeting would be open to all antiwar activists and would discuss "building the fall antiwar actions on Oct. 26 and Nov. 18, informing the American people about Nixon's newest escalations of the war."

The Oct. 7 SMC meeting will be held in Room 522 of the Boston University College of Liberal Arts Auditorium, beginning at 10 a.m. On Oct. 8 the National Peace Action Coalition will also hold a national steering committee meeting at the same location, starting at noon.

With the opening of campuses this fall, SMC meetings have been held at the University of Texas in Austin, the University of Houston, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Indiana, and George Washington University. A Sept. 25 student antiwar meeting at Brooklyn College in New York was cosponsored by the SMC, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Youth for McGovern, Medical Aid for Indochina, Hoa Binh, and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

The first city-wide SMC meeting in New York drew 100 high school and college activists who endorsed the Oct. 26 picket lines and Nov. 18 mass actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition. The New York SMC also scheduled a day of antiwar protests in New York city schools for Nov. 14, called "stop the bombing day," which will lead up to the Nov. 18 demonstration.

Fred Lovgren, national SMC coordinator, has now completed five-day tours of the Boston and Minneapolis areas as part of a 17-city national speaking tour to build the fall actions. Lovgren is speaking to campus meetings on "The Air War in Indochina." He is also meeting with student government heads and leaders of student organizations.

Thousands of copies of a "wall poster" issue of *The Student Mobilizer* building the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 actions are being distributed by the SMC around the country. This, and other materials, are available from SMC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 439, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 741-1960.

# Judge upholds age restriction on Jenness

## Ohio ballot ruling appealed

The Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee released the following statement upon learning of the Sept. 27 court decision denying presidential candidate Linda Jenness a place on the Ohio ballot in November.

The decision was in response to an SWP suit asking a federal district court to overturn the ruling of Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown that Jenness's name could not appear on the Ohio ballot because she is "too young."

Today a federal judge in Ohio decided to curtail the right of America's youth to participate fully in the presidential elections. By refusing to order my name placed on the Ohio ballot, the court violated my rights as a young candidate and disenfranchised the 10,000 Ohio voters who nominated me, and many additional citizens who want the right to vote for me.

I have instructed my attorneys to file an immediate appeal in the Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati.

I am confident that our legal arguments will prevail in the higher court.

We will respond to this injustice with a stepped-up nationwide campaign to galvanize support for my constitutional right to run for president. Already, four members of Congress—Representatives Abzug, Clay, Rangel, and Conyers—have joined with me in this fight. I expect that this ruling will be met with a growing outcry for justice in this case from the elected officials, civil libertarians, and all supporters of open and fair elections.

# Pulley speaks on how to defend liberation struggles in Africa

By DERRICK MORRISON

BOSTON, Sept. 26—"We have learned from the struggle against the war in Vietnam that the role of the oppressed in America, specifically Black people, can have a tremendous effect on hampering the ability of the U.S. government to wage war against other oppressed peoples around the world," remarked Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, at a panel discussion of "Third World Liberation" at Harvard University today.

Pulley cited the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations in which more than 20,000 Black people marched in Washington, D.C., and thousands more marched elsewhere. He said these are the type of actions needed to defend the liberation struggle on the African continent.

Other panelists were Kevin Mercadel of the Pan-African Liberation Committee (PALC) and Harvard Afro, and Naomi Vega of Puerto Ricans for Jenness and Pulley.

Mercadel gave a history of Portugal's colonization of Angola and pointed to the growth of investments there by the Gulf Oil Corporation. Harvard, which holds shares of Gulf stock worth millions of dollars, has become the target of protests led by PALC.

The protests, which culminated in the seizure of a building last spring, will continue, said Mercadel. PALC is demanding that Harvard sell its shares. The organization is also preparing a boycott of Gulf Oil products.

Vega called attention to the Raza Unida parties, the independent Chicano political parties emerging in Texas, Colorado, California, and elsewhere. About 40 students attended the meeting.

Last week, campaign supporters here passed out thousands of leaflets for a Sept. 23 campaign rally at Boston University. More than 200 students turned out for the rally and heard Pulley blast Nixon and McGovern for their support of the Zionist settler-state of Israel.

The night before, at a campaign rally in Philadelphia, Pulley extended solidarity to the strike of Philadelphia teachers. The financial crisis facing school systems across the country, he said, is a product of the "bankrupt rule of the Democratic and Republican parties."

"The school board in Philadelphia has a \$52-million deficit, which means that if the schools had opened in September, they would have closed next March instead of June. To remedy this, the board has forced the teachers into a strike, which according to statements from board members, they hope will go on until December."

"That is," Pulley said, "they are planning to lock out the teachers until December so that school will end in June instead of in March." This "plan" to solve the fiscal crisis of the school system is backed to the hilt by the city administration of Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo.

Pulley cited the fiscal crisis of school systems in New York, Detroit, and

other cities and said that this poses more severely than ever the shortcomings of the strike strategy followed by the American Federation of Teachers.

"Until now the teachers unions have displayed a hostile attitude to the Black community and to the demands of women and other oppressed groups. The unions have struck against the Black community in some cases and have never tried to champion Black people's demand for control of Black education."

The reason the schools are in a financial crisis, Pulley continued, is "because the government is spending billions on... fighting a war in Southeast Asia."

"At the same time, the corporations and banks are getting rich off the war and preparations for the war. The teachers should demand that the corporations and banks be taxed, that the tax money for schools should come from these institutions and not from working people."

Pulley also called for a break with the "racist, sexist, and antilabor Democratic and Republican parties."

The rally audience of about 70 donated more than \$700 to the Socialist Workers campaign.

Pulley's tour through Philadelphia included campaign meetings at Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania, as well as extensive coverage on two campus radio stations.

Pulley also spoke to more than 400 students Sept. 20 at Pfeiffer College, near Charlotte, N.C.

# ...Jenness tour

Continued from page 3

in Denver after filing more than 1,800 signatures for seven local SWP candidates with the Colorado secretary of state.

Three of the candidates—Fern Gopin, 1st Congressional District; Joel Houtman, 2nd Congressional District; and Jon Hillson, University of Colorado regent candidate—were certified for the ballot.

Joan Fulks, candidate for U.S. Senate; Barbara Thornton, candidate for the 11th Legislative District; Nora Danielson, candidate for the 53rd Legislative District; and Barbara Hennigan, University of Colorado regent candidate, were all declared ineligible

for ballot status because they do not meet the discriminatory age requirements.

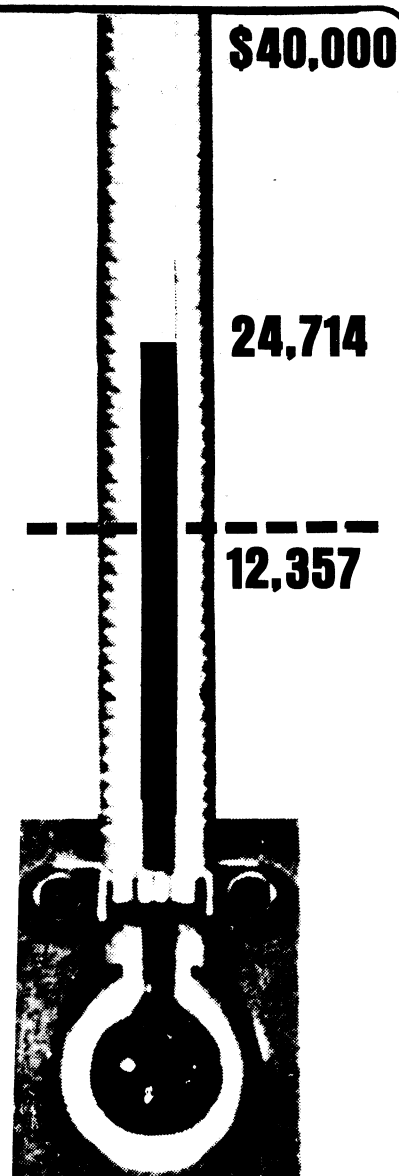
The Rocky Mountain Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is consulting with its attorneys to decide which of these cases it will challenge.

At the same news conference, Jenness blasted George McGovern for his demagogic statements concerning the killing of Colorado Raza Unida Party leader Ricardo Falcon. Falcon was killed by a gas station owner in New Mexico while on his way to the national convention of Raza Unida parties in El Paso, Texas.

McGovern initially condemned the killing as "an act of insanity" in an

attempt to win endorsement from the RUP convention, Jenness said. "But when he saw that the Chicano movement was not going to jump into his back pocket, he retracted everything he had said."

During her tours of Colorado and Oregon, the SWP presidential candidate addressed a meeting of 300 at the University of Colorado in Boulder, a gathering of 125 at the University of Oregon in Eugene, and several other campus meetings. Seventy people in Denver attended a campaign banquet in her honor, where more than \$400 was raised. In Portland, 35 campaign supporters contributed more than \$200 to the Jenness-Pulley campaign effort at a rally on Sept. 26.



## Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund

## GI in Korea pledges \$20 a month

This week the national office of the Jenness-Pulley campaign received a letter from Korea with a \$20 contribution to the Matching Fund enclosed.

The letter read, "GIs in Korea are following the Jenness-Pulley campaign with interest. Neither McGovern nor Nixon are arousing much enthusiasm this year, and we're fed up with the continuing war. Good luck, and help Bring Us All Home Now! I'll pledge \$20 a month for September, October and November."

This week the Matching Fund made some encouraging progress. Twenty-one individual donations totaling \$670 were received, and 40 percent of a \$1,400 collection at the Washington State SWP convention will go toward the Matching Fund.

When matched, the \$1,224 received this week brings us \$2,448 closer to the \$40,000 goal.

( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the \$40,000 Matching Fund.

( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ in two monthly installments (Oct. and Nov.).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

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

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Socialist Workers alternative to Boss Daley & Co.

## Hanrahan's 'law and order' record

by Norman Oliver

Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan has become such a hated symbol to Chicago's Black community that even Mayor Richard Daley was afraid to openly back him in the primaries earlier this year. Nevertheless, Hanrahan won the primary and is on the Democratic Party ticket in 1972. This is despite the fact that he is currently on trial for conspiracy to "obstruct justice" in the 1969 police murders of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Chicago, like all American cities with a Black population, has had its share

**Norman Oliver is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cook County state's attorney.**

in the history of racial oppression of Afro-Americans. After World War I, Black soldiers returning home to Chicago after "fighting for their country" found that they still could not get good jobs with good wages, decent housing, or decent education. They found that the policeman's club was just as hard, his bullet just as fatal.

It was out of such injustice that the "Chicago Riot of 1919" arose, in which 15 whites and 33 Blacks were killed within shouting distance of what is now Mayor Daley's home.

Daley became famous in 1968 for his "shoot to kill" order during the Black rebellion in Chicago that followed the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. As Afro-Americans began to organize against their oppression, City Hall answered with screams of "Lawlessness in the Black community!" and "Crime in the streets is increasing!"

Outspoken in his "crusades" against Black street gangs and judges he considers to "lenient" with Black "hoodlums," Hanrahan has been treated well by the Chicago Democratic machine. Before becoming state's attorney for Cook County in 1968, he was a party precinct captain and a U. S. attorney for northern Illinois.

### Hanrahan vs. Black Panthers

While in 1968 Daley and Hanrahan took little public notice of the Black Panther Party, a change took place in 1969.

The Black P. Stone Nation, the largest of Chicago's street gangs, had been a bitter rival of the Eastside Disciples. In May 1969 the Eastside Disciples became members of the Panther Party. At the same time, the Panthers concluded a truce agreement with the Black P. Stone Nation.

Just a few days later, Mayor Daley announced a "declaration of war on gangs"—a war to be headed by State's Attorney Hanrahan. As the prime targets in his campaign Hanrahan listed the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party and gang violence. (This was despite a study conducted at that time by the *Chicago Journalism Re-*

*view* showing that "gang-related" crime had declined that year.)

Then on June 4, 1969, the Chicago police and Federal Bureau of Investigation agents made a predawn raid on the Black Panther Party headquarters, supposedly looking for a "fugitive." Six Panthers were arrested. Three days later 11 Panthers were arrested for "traffic violation." From June to December Chicago cops continually harassed members of the Black Panther Party.

At 4:44 a.m., Dec. 4, 1969, Hanrahan's cops raided the apartment of

in the face of this Panther attack, as should every decent member of our community."

Hanrahan's office produced a special 28-minute TV show reenacting the police version of the raid. In this film, one policeman described three shots being fired at him by Panthers as he entered the kitchen door. The show had been taped before the three "bullet holes" were proved to be nailheads. An FBI ballistics report showed that only one of the 99 shots fired in the apartment could possibly have come from a Panther gun.

sonnel car, and a "jet ax," used by the fire department to cut through the roofs of burning buildings. Amazingly, no Panthers were killed this time.

The outburst of protest from Chicago's Black community at the Hampton/Clark murders finally forced the authorities to indict Hanrahan and 13 policemen. But instead of putting them on trial for murder, the charge has been reduced to "conspiracy to obstruct justice."

What is Hanrahan's stand on other important issues before Illinois voters?

### Drugs

Seventy-five percent of all crimes in the Black community are drug-related. While Hanrahan has been more than willing to arrest drug addicts and to harass and raid the headquarters of the Black Panthers, he has been unable and unwilling to stop the traffic of hard drugs flowing into the Black community.

### Abortion

On Jan. 29, 1971, the U. S. Court of Appeals invalidated Illinois' anti-abortion law. Hanrahan appealed this decision and won a temporary stay, which has lasted to the present day. Because of this, abortions are still illegal in Illinois. Black women, Latinas, and women of other oppressed nationalities are most often the victims of back-alley abortions.

### Housing

Hanrahan evicted from their homes members of the Contract Buyers League, a predominantly Black group of low-income home buyers. These people had paid for their houses one and a half times over in interest alone and refused to pay more. But Hanrahan refuses to arrest and prosecute the racist slumlords and businessmen who criminally exploit the Black community.

Black people cannot rely on the Democrats and Republicans to solve the problems of the Black community. None of the few gains made by Afro-Americans were won without militant struggle independent of the two capitalist parties.

In October 1968, thousands of Chicago Black high school students went on strike and won their demand for Black studies courses. It is this type of mass action that is necessary to win Black control of Black education and Black control of all the institutions in the Black community.

### Need for Black party

"None of the Democratic candidates and none of the Republican candidates—regardless of their promises to us and to their constituencies—can solve the problems of this country without radically changing the system by which it operates." This statement is from the preamble to the Black Agenda, adopted at the Gary, Ind.,

*Continued on following page*



**MAYOR RICHARD DALEY and STATE'S ATTORNEY EDWARD HANRAHAN have worked hand in glove to deprive Chicago's Black population of decent living conditions and political rights.**

Illinois Black Panther Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton. When the raid was over, Hampton and Panther leader Mark Clark were dead. Several other Panthers were wounded.

Later that day Hanrahan called a news conference to give his version of what had occurred. "The immediate violent criminal reaction of the occupants in shooting at announced police officers emphasizes the extreme viciousness of the Black Panther Party," he said. "So does their refusal to cease firing at the police when urged to do so several times."

"We wholeheartedly commend the police officers for their bravery and remarkable restraint, and their discipline

The January 1970 grand jury investigation of the shootings revealed that the FBI was involved in wiretapping and trailing the Panthers before the raid. It also disclosed that the U. S. Justice Department had set up a special task force on the Panthers in August 1969, purportedly to counter a "threat to national security."

Four days after the Hampton/Clark murders, the Los Angeles police department staged a predawn raid on the Black Panther offices in that city. This time the raiding officers were equipped with shotguns, AR-15 rifles, satchel charges, tear-gas grenades, a helicopter, six-foot steel battering rams, a National Guard armored per-





**Norman Oliver**

Militant/Bruce Bloy

*Continued from preceding page*

National Black Political Convention, March 10-12, 1972.

The National Black Political Convention was an important step toward codifying a program for the struggle against the miserable conditions we face. The convention was a highly significant gathering of Black people. It drew 8,000 delegates and observers, including representatives of community organizations, student groups, nationalist organizations, welfare-rights activists, union officials, the Socialist Workers Party, and Democratic and Republican party officials.

The Black Agenda passed at the convention charts a course aimed at Black control of the major economic, social, and political institutions in the Black community. As the Agenda points out, the demands of Black people run directly counter to the interests of the big industrialists and bankers who control the two-party system. Thus, it will take a mass, independent

movement of Black people to win these demands.

The next logical step is to organize an independent Black political party. Such a party would do more than run candidates for office. It would be a new type of party, totally unlike the Democratic and Republican parties. It would participate in and help lead struggles in the Black community for decent schools, housing, and jobs. It would organize campaigns against police brutality and help defend Black victims of government frame-ups. Such a party could provide a broad framework for unifying various Black groups in struggle.

In my campaign for state's attorney on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, I am urging Blacks to break from the Democratic and Republican parties. What choice is there for Blacks between Democrat Hanrahan and his Republican opponent, Bernard Carey, an ex-FBI agent? Do either the Democrats or the Republicans address themselves to the problems of the Black community? Would there be a choice if there was a different Democratic candidate or a different Republican candidate? No! The Democratic and Republican parties are the parties of our oppressors, the parties of the businessmen and bankers.

I believe that the state's attorney's office should be run in the interests of working people, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and students.

If elected I would throw the entire resources of this office into obtaining the conviction of my incumbent opponent, Edward Hanrahan, for the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

## How to vote for Norman Oliver

Illinois' restrictive election laws prevent Norman Oliver's name from appearing on the November ballot. To vote for him, use the following procedure:

**Machine ballot:** Above the levers for the other candidates, there is a "window" with a pencil hanging from it. Open window and write: "Norman Oliver—Cook County State's Attorney." If there is no pencil, ask for one from the election officials.

**Paper ballot:** Get a write-in ballot from election officials before entering voting booth. Ballot lists the

different offices. Make a box next to Cook County State's Attorney. Put an "X" inside box, then write "Norman Oliver" in the box. Drop ballot in box outside booth.

To ensure an accurate count of the write-in votes for Oliver, after voting please stop by the SWP campaign headquarters at 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, to sign an affidavit that you cast a vote for Oliver. Contact the campaign office immediately if you have any trouble writing in a vote for Oliver. Telephone: (312) 643-0147.

## Poll shows few Blacks back Hanrahan reelection

In the 1968 elections, State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan received almost 90 percent of the vote in Chicago's six Black Westside wards. According to a survey released in August, only 3.9 percent of the voters in these wards would support him again in 1972.

The study, directed by the Malcolm X Educational Foundation and Power, Inc., involved some 260 college students who interviewed 12,202 potential voters in the six wards. The research directors noted that the study was unique because most probings of the Black community are done by white universities. Such studies are consequently distorted "through the veil of his [the researcher's] own values and orientation."

The results of the Malcolm X College survey showed that 3.9 percent would vote for Hanrahan and 30 percent would support Bernard Carey, Hanrahan's Republican opponent and

an ex-FBI agent. More than 47 percent of those polled were undecided and 18.9 percent answered that they would not vote at all.

The survey directors concluded: "The black voters for four decades have been unswervingly loyal to the Democratic Party. The black wards and districts of our city have turned out huge majorities for Democratic candidates. . . .

"Thirteen months after his election, Hanrahan planned and authorized the infamous raid on the local Black Panther Party's Westside headquarters. The raid . . . and his indictment and current trial for obstructing justice have served to provoke a deep and pervasive hostility among black people."

The researchers attributed the lack of enthusiasm for Carey to his unfamiliarity with Blacks, but also to the "perception that he (Carey) does not represent a meaningful alternative to the current state's attorney."

# Unfair election laws challenged by SWP

Election boards across the country are feeling the impact of the campaign by Socialist Workers Party state, local, and national candidates against undemocratic election laws.

As of Sept. 26 the SWP was still awaiting a decision from U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist regarding the SWP's right to ballot status in Illinois this November. Rehnquist will rule on a petition from the SWP asking the Supreme Court to stay the printing of the Illinois ballots until it hears an appeal concerning the right of the SWP candidates to ballot status.

On Sept. 21, a three-judge federal panel refused to overturn a state ruling denying ballot status to the en-

jamin Spock against Fort Dix in New Jersey after military officials refused to allow them to campaign on the base.

Seven of these suits have already been won or partially won, thus making it easier for candidates from all independent parties to get on the ballot.

Linda Jenness sees the Illinois ballot fight as one of the most important because of the issue of the age requirement. The state of Ohio has also attempted to deny the SWP candidates a place on the ballot on the same grounds.

Jenness has contended that anyone old enough to vote should be old enough to run for office. Otherwise



Militant/Bruce Bloy

**Patricia Grogan, SWP candidate for governor of Illinois.**



Militant/Bruce Bloy

**Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.**

tire SWP slate in Illinois because Jenness and Pulley do not meet the constitutional age requirement of 35. Illinois officials barred the SWP from a ballot spot despite the fact that it filed 40,300 signatures to satisfy the ballot requirements. It is this decision that will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

At the same time the federal court ruled favorably on suits brought by both the SWP and the Communist Party challenging the constitutionality of the loyalty oath Illinois law required of all candidates. In addition, the court ruled that the Illinois signature distribution requirement was unconstitutional. These challenges were also supported by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

The ruling on the loyalty oath represents a major victory for democratic rights in Illinois and a precedent for knocking down similar anticommunist laws in other states.

The SWP's fight for ballot status in Illinois is part of a nationwide challenge to the traditional monopoly the Democratic and Republican parties hold over the elections in this country.

This year the SWP has collected nearly half a million signatures on independent nominating petitions and held state conventions to satisfy requirements for ballot status in a total of 30 states. In addition, it has lent its support to the work of CoDEL, which is spearheading a legal battle to challenge the constitutionality of restrictive election laws.

The SWP has initiated suits against stringent ballot requirements in 14 states and is planning suits against three more states. In addition, SWP candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley filed a joint suit with Dr. Ben-

jamin Spock against Fort Dix in New Jersey after military officials refused to allow them to campaign on the base.

The vigorous fight the SWP and CoDEL have carried out against the Ohio and Illinois age requirement is an example of the kind of campaign taking place across the country. SWP candidates and supporters of democratic election laws have been holding news conferences and picket lines, organizing letter-writing campaigns to election board officials, and in general, scandalizing government officials who are attempting to restrict the ballot to Democrats and Republicans.

An example of the protest that has been generated around this issue is a letter Congressional Black Caucus member John Conyers (D-Mich.) sent to Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown. Conyers said: "Since you have ruled that the petitions submitted by [Jenness] are valid, I would urge you to reconsider the arbitrary decision that she is 'too young' to run and allow the presidential electors pledged to the candidate their lawful right to run for office."

Congressional Black Caucus member William Clay (D-Mo.) told Brown in a letter that "this action is a direct violation of the rights of these candidates to run for public offices and the rights of the citizens of Ohio to a free expression of political opinion."

Illinois CoDEL is organizing a campaign to have similar letters and telegrams sent to Illinois Secretary of State John Lewis. Protests should be mailed to: John Lewis, Secretary of State, State House, Springfield, Ill. 62706. Copies should be sent to Illinois CoDEL, c/o Professor Richard Rubenstein, Roosevelt University, 430 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605.



## by Patricia Grogan

Democratic Party presidential nominee George McGovern, speaking at a campaign rally Sept. 12 in the Chicago Loop, said he hoped to win in November "partly because we have the support of a great mayor . . . Richard Daley." McGovern said that if elected, "I will seek the counsels of Mayor Daley on the problems of urban America."

The senator went on to tell the rally: "I endorse the entire Democratic ticket from top to bottom and hope you will all join with me." McGovern made it clear he endorsed the Democratic candidate for Cook County state's attorney, Edward V. Hanrahan, who ordered the infamous 1969 raid against Black Panther Party leaders.

McGovern's open courting of Daley and Hanrahan is one more indication of the Democratic presidential nominee's shift to the right as the elections get closer. At the 1968 Democratic Party convention it was Daley's police who arrested and beat hundreds of young antiwar activists. It was Hanrahan who was responsible for the murder of Black Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. Thus, those who started out supporting McGovern as an apparently refreshing change from the old Democratic machine now find their support being used in behalf of that machine.

At a recent meeting of Daley's Cook County Democratic Party central committee, McGovern outlined his strategy: "I ask your help, counsel, and support in this all-important state. We can't win without Illinois and we can't win Illinois without the people in this room."

The Daley machine is a bit behind the times. Elsewhere, by and large, the old coalitions have been replaced by new ones reflecting the changing composition of U.S. cities. The Daley machine, however, still retains a basic structure reflecting post-World War I Chicago. Then the city was divided into a number of European ethnic communities, each with its own gangs that fought each other for territory.

Some of these gangs became the nucleus for powerful patronage machines, some for the crime syndicate. In his book *Boss*, Mike Royko states that the syndicate is still partly in control of the First Ward, which includes the Loop. In either case, the gangs were the social base for the political machine that Daley inherited. (Daley himself was part of the Hambergers, whose official title

was the Hamberg Social and Athletic Club. The Hambergers were involved in the anti-Black riots of 1919.)

In the same party with McGovern, Daley, and Hanrahan is Dan Walker, the Democratic candidate for governor of Illinois. Walker defeated the Daley machine's candidate in the primaries and represents those elements within the Democratic Party who are trying to create a "clean machine" to replace Daley's.

It's not that Daley's machine is a little too tawdry for their refined tastes. Walker and his cronies see that the old machine is not in the best position to capture and tame the new, young radical forces in the Black and Chicano communities, among women, antiwar activists, and others.

The Daley machine is well known for its corruption. The electoral process in Illinois, particularly in Chicago and in Cook County, is a good example of this. The machine's henchmen have even written the corruption into law.

Daley, for example, needs about 4,000 signatures on nominating petitions to get on the ballot for mayor. The figure is based on one-half of one percent of his party's vote in the last election.

An independent candidate, however, which means someone who is not a Democrat or a Republican, needs five percent of the previous total vote, or about 70,000 signatures. And these signatures must be from voters who did not vote in the primaries.

For Cook County it's even worse. Hanrahan got on the ballot with only 5,000 signatures. And a good part of these were forged, according to exposés in *Chicago Today* and other newspapers (exposés that were total-

ly ignored by the election board).

But an independent candidate, such as Norman Oliver, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for state's attorney, would need 100,000 signatures to get on the ballot. Even if he could collect that many, he'd have to get past the Chicago election board, which rules on the petitions. Sidney Holtzman, former head of the election board, once summed up its attitude toward independent's petitions. According to *Boss*, he said, "We throw their petitions up to the ceiling, and those that stick are good."

That's why Norman Oliver is a write-in candidate.

Independent candidates, especially radical candidates, have systematically been denied ballot status in Illinois and have usually had to fight expensive court battles to get on the ballot. Both the Democrats and Republicans have at best remained silent, refusing to condemn the unfair, undemocratic, downright rigged, nature of the election laws in this state.

In general, when the antimachine Democrats and Republicans talk about reform, they are not talking about fair elections for all parties, including the Socialist Workers Party. They're talking about ensuring their own ability to take advantage of the plunder system run in the interests of big business.

For the majority of Illinois citizens—those who are oppressed by the machine—the solution is not to replace that machine with one that is polished up a bit but still operates in the interests of the oppressors. The solution is to rely on our own power, independent of the Democrats and Republicans. That is what the Socialist Workers campaign is all about.



'I will seek the counsels of Mayor Daley on the problems of urban America,' George McGovern told a Chicago campaign rally Sept. 12.

## Socialists run for U. of Illinois Board of Trustees

The following statement is by Patricia Reedy, Bill Rayson, and Robert Lewis, the Socialist Workers candidates for University of Illinois Board of Trustees.

The University of Illinois exemplifies the problems and contradictions associated with a big university in capitalist society.

U of I controls three modern campuses, including some of the most advanced facilities in the country. But instead of using its facilities for the benefit of the majority of people, it uses them to make millions of dollars conducting scientific and technological research for the war machine and the big corporations.

At a time when the demand for university-level education is greater than ever, such an education is becoming less and less accessible because the U of I keeps raising tuition and the state keeps cutting back on scholarships.

While students are fighting to maintain and extend their rights to use campus facilities, the U of I administration is creating more and more obstacles to the use of these facilities.

During the student strike against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in May 1970, the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle became the center of antiwar activity in Chicago. With the Black community directly to the west, the Loop not far east, factories to the north and south, and several high schools within walking distance, Circle served as a base for reaching thousands of people with information about the war and for involving them in the antiwar movement.

Following the May strike, the administration decided to rid Circle of the radical organizations that led and participated in the strike. In an attempt to intimidate all students, the administration began to enforce a set of bureaucratic rules designed to limit student use of university facilities.

Shortly afterward the administration began a series of attacks on left-wing groups. The Student Mobilization Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, and Alternate University all came under attack on a variety of trivial, undemocratic charges.

Over the past two years, the U of I administration has developed an elaborate set of rules designed to immobilize campus dissent by denying students their basic rights of free speech and freedom to organize.

As the Socialist Workers Party candidates for U of I Board of Trustees we call for full rights for students:

For student-faculty control of the universities.

End all war-related campus research; abolish ROTC.

For Black studies departments, controlled by Black students.

For free access to birth control devices and abortion information from the campus health service.

For free education through the university level; for a guaranteed job for every student once he or she leaves school.

For an alternative to the policies of the present Board of Trustees, vote for the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

# What Socialist Workers candidates are fighting for

Very few Americans have read or will ever read the 1972 platforms of the Democratic or Republican parties. Most people correctly suspect that these platforms are largely hot air and are not carried out anyway.

The platform of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party, is different. It does not promise something for everybody; the programs it espouses are designed to benefit the oppressed and exploited—not the big capitalists, the bankers, and the landlords. And rather than telling people to trust in an individual candidate to bring about change in this country, the SWP platform calls for the masses of Americans to rise up and fight for their own freedom.

The Democratic and Republican platforms contain no fundamental solutions to the deep problems facing this country because they both are based on defense of the capitalist system—a system that cannot exist without war, unemployment, poverty, racism, and the oppression of women. The SWP platform, on the other hand, supports whatever steps are necessary for justice and for the welfare of the majority of Americans.

Here is what the Socialist Workers Party candidates stand for:

- Immediate and unconditional halt to the bombing, cease-fire, and withdrawal of U. S. troops and war materiel from all of Indochina. Dismantle all U. S. bases around the world.
- An end to wage controls. Cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts so that wages

ing police, schools, and other institutions. Community control of federal funds for development of new housing, schools, and hospitals in the ghettos and barrios. Support for an independent Black political party, so that Black people's interests are no longer subordinated to the procapitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Support for La Raza Unida parties around the country.

- For the right of women to control their own bodies and lives. End all restrictions on abortion and contraception. No forced sterilization. Equal pay for equal work and an end to all discrimination against women. Free 24-hour child-care centers available to all children.

- Confiscate all profits of companies that pollute or destroy the environment.
- No taxes on incomes under \$10,000 per year.

One hundred percent tax on any income in excess of \$25,000. Roll back rents to a maximum of 10 percent of family income. Free medical and dental care for all through socialized medicine. Free education for all through the university level.

- End all wiretapping, government surveillance of citizens, use of agents provocateurs, and other police-state measures. Protect and extend the Bill of Rights.

- Full civil and human rights for gay people.
- End inhuman treatment of prisoners. End censorship of mail and books. Union wages for prisoners' labor. Prisons will be abolished under socialism.

- Schools are increasingly irrelevant to young



SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness is greeted by supporters at Buenos Aires airport last spring during her speaking tour of Latin America (left); (right) Andrew Pulley, her running mate, interviews antiwar GIs on 1971 fact-finding trip to U. S. bases in West Germany.



Militant/Joe Miles

automatically rise with inflation. End all laws restricting the right to strike and undermining union independence from the government. Preferential hiring of women, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos to make up for years of discrimination. An independent labor party based on the unions, to fight for the interests of working people on all levels.

- Guaranteed jobs for all. Create jobs by shortening the workweek and by launching a federal crash program to build needed housing, schools, hospitals, child-care centers, and mass public transportation facilities.

- The right of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans to control their own communities, includ-

people. Student-faculty control over education. Make school facilities available to the antiwar movement, the women's movement, the labor movement, the Black movement, and others fighting for social progress.

- Expropriation and public ownership of the major industries, to be operated in the interests of the majority.

- A workers government to reorganize this country on a democratic, socialist basis. Self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities to determine the form of government they think best suited to abolish their oppression.

Fill out coupon on this page to order the full SWP platform.

## Campaign speakers tour Illinois

**CAMPAIGN RALLY FOR ANDREW PULLEY**, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Sat., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. IWW Hall, 2440 N. Lincoln, Chicago. **Norman Oliver**, SWP candidate for Cook County state's attorney, and **Patricia Grogan**, SWP candidate for governor, will also speak.

**LINDA JENNESS**, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, will be on tour in Illinois Nov. 12-14. For more information, or to arrange speaking engagements for Jenness, contact the Illinois SWP Campaign Committee at 180 N. Wacker Dr., Chicago. (312) 641-0147.

**EVELYN REED**, member of the SWP National Campaign Committee and well-known feminist author and anthropologist, will be on tour in Illinois Oct. 30-Nov. 4. Contact the Illinois SWP Campaign Committee to arrange meetings for Reed.

## Campaign Literature

**BROCHURES, \$1/100:** SWP 1972 Platform; Out Now; Women's Liberation and the Socialist Workers Campaign; Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; The fight against wage controls and inflation; An open letter to McGovern supporters from Linda Jenness. **\$2/100:** The Black Community and the '72 Elections.

**TRUTH KITS, 25c each; 15c each on orders of 50 or more:** "Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern"—his votes in the Senate on the war, the draft, civil liberties, and labor; his real objectives in the Democratic Party.

"Making Richard Nixon Perfectly Clear"—Nixon's political biography, from the witch-hunting congressman from California to the "Mad Bomber" in the White House.

**BUTTONS, 30c each:** Linda Jenness picture; Andrew Pulley picture; Vote Socialist Workers in '72; Capitalism Fouls Things Up; Raza Si, Guerra No.

**POSTERS, 10c each:** Linda Jenness for President; Andrew Pulley for Vice-President; Stop the Bombing Now; Black Control of the Black Community; Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano; Repeal All Anti-Abortion Laws; Eugene V. Debs; Vote Socialist Workers in '72.

**STICKERS, \$1.50/1,000:** Vote Socialist Workers in '72; Stop the Bombing; Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano; Repeal All Anti-Abortion Laws.

(Reduced rates for bulk orders.)

( ) Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ for the socialist campaign. I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ per month through November.

( ) I would like more information.

( ) I endorse the Jenness-Pulley ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.

( ) I would like to help organize a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley group.

( ) Enclosed is \$1 for a 20-week subscription to The Militant.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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City \_\_\_\_\_

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

SWP '72 Campaign, 706 Broadway, 8th fl., New York, N.Y. 10003; Illinois SWP Campaign, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Chicago, Ill. 60606. Telephone: (312) 641-0147.

## Socialist candidates in Illinois

Fred Halstead—U. S. Senate

Patricia Grogan—Governor

Norman Oliver—Cook County State's Attorney

Antonio DeLeon—Lieutenant Governor

Ed Jurenas—Secretary of State

Suzanne Haig—Attorney General

David Saperstan—Comptroller

Bill Rayson—University of Ill. Trustee

Patricia Reedy—University of Ill. Trustee

Robert Lewis—University of Ill. Trustee



# The Militant Gets Around

Nancy Cole



For the last few weeks we've reported on the progress of efforts to increase *The Militant's* circulation through sales of single copies. The final figure for bundles of the Sept. 29 issue indicates a 60 percent increase from bundles last spring.

During the week beginning Sept. 18, three areas increased their standing bundle orders—Boston, from 350 to 600; San Francisco, from 450 to 600; and the Oakland/Berkeley area, from 420 to 500. According to the Oakland/Berkeley area sales director John Naubert, this is just the beginning. They hope to continue increasing their bundle every week for the next four weeks.

● Letters continue to come in verifying *The Militant's* value as a campaigner for the socialist candidates. Nina Knapp, SWP candidate for the Idaho State Senate, writes, "I would like to begin taking *The Militant* for sales purposes. I have

found that the best way to build my campaign and the national Jenness and Pulley campaign is sales of *The Militant*."

And with an order for 15 *Militants*, a campaign supporter in Celina, Ohio, writes, "So far as I know, one woman and I are the only visible SWP-ers in Celina, but we've talked with several friends and fellow workers who have shown great disillusionment with meaningless 'traditional' politics and great interest in the SWP platform."

"We look forward to *The Militant* every week and find it is about the only source of accurate and complete news reporting available. It helps to energize us to do more in an area where apathy and political ignorance prevail."

● While selling subscriptions during this fall's drive for 33,000 new readers, supporters should

find it easy to sell single copies to those people not yet ready to buy subscriptions. A member of the Young Socialist Alliance in Corvallis, Ore., writes of his success at this: "We have gone door to door in our apartment complex, which is made up of a mixture of welfare recipients, working class people, and students. So far we are averaging 48 percent sales of single *Militants* and 15 percent subscription sales."

● Areas ordering new weekly bundles of *The Militant* last week included Huntington, West Va.; Buffalo, N.Y.; Bowling Green, Ohio; Fairport, N.Y.; and Burlington, Vt.

If other readers want to order a bundle, they can send in the coupon on this page. The cost for bundle copies is 12.5 cents each, and we will bill you once a month.

## 13 regional sub-selling teams now on road

By NANCY COLE

SEPT. 26—During the past week subscription sellers brought in 1,756 new subscriptions to *The Militant*. This brings the total so far to 3,805, just three short of where we should be. Twenty-five areas are now on time or ahead of schedule, but all should put an emphasis on getting the bulk of their subs during the first part of the campaign.

Portland, the Twin Cities, and Brooklyn continue to lead among those areas with large quotas, and Cleveland, Lower Manhattan, and Denver are not far behind. San Francisco jumped from 89 subscriptions last week to a total of 305.

The drive for 3,300 subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review* is still behind. A total of 278 subscriptions have been received, but to be on schedule it should be 381. While 14 areas are on time with *ISR* subscriptions, only four are on schedule for both *The Militant* and the *ISR*—Lexington, Ky.; St. Louis, Mo.; the Oakland/Berkeley area; and Austin, Texas.

Five new areas were added to the

scoreboard since last week. They are Lexington, Ky.; Corvallis, Ore.; Oxford, Ohio; Knoxville, Tenn.; and Celina, Ohio. While not an addition to the scoreboard, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance has been selling subscriptions from a hospital bed in Memphis, Tenn. She writes to ask that they be credited to her YSA local in Houston, Texas.

Thirteen of the 17 regional teams are now on the road campaigning for the socialist candidates and selling subscriptions. These Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams are scheduled to visit 250 cities and hundreds of campuses this fall. Part of their efforts will be directed toward helping establish YSJP groups and talking to young people about the Young Socialist national convention to be held in Cleveland Nov. 23-26.

In two days of setting up tables at campuses around Livingston, N.J., the first New York regional team sold 110 *Militants*, 45 copies of the pamphlet "Everything you always wanted to know about George

McGovern," and 17 *Militant* subscriptions.

The Afro-American team spent their first evening canvassing the dormitories at Howard University in Washington, D.C., netting 14 *Militant* subscriptions. On Sept. 28 they are scheduled to arrive in Greensboro, N.C.

Kingston, R.I., was the first stop on the Boston regional team's tour. On Sept. 25, they sold 10 subscriptions from a table set up at the University of Rhode Island and signed up six endorsers of the SWP campaign. The endorsers then volunteered to help canvass the dorms that night.

The Cleveland regional team spent the first 10 days of their tour in Pittsburgh, Pa., where they sold 100 *Militant* and three *ISR* subscriptions. During a McGovern rally in downtown Pittsburgh they also sold 48 McGovern truth kits. They are now scheduled to move on to Columbus, Ohio.

The Denver regional team visits Kansas this week after leaving Albuquerque, N.M., where they obtained

69 *Militant* and four *ISR* subscriptions.

Three other Midwest teams and four from the West Coast also left this week. In addition to the boost these 17 teams will give to the subscription drive (they have pledged to get a total of 12,000 subscriptions), they have the exciting and ambitious goal of reaching thousands of youth throughout 48 states with the socialist alternative. Good luck to the 17 teams!

Please set for me a subscription quota of \_\_\_\_\_.

( ) List the above quota in *The Militant's* scoreboard.

Please send me a weekly bundle of *Militants* (circle one):

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## SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%	AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%	AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%	AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Pittsburgh, Pa.	5	11	220.0	Denver, Colo.	1,250	192	15.4	Seattle, Wash.	950	71	7.5	Worcester, Mass.	175	3	1.7
Oxford, Ohio	10	17	170.0	San Francisco, Calif.	2,050	305	14.9	Cincinnati, Ohio	100	7	7.0	Gary, Ind.	100	1	1.0
Boulder, Colo.	175	87	49.7	Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	303	13.8	Boston, Mass.	2,500	157	6.3	Amherst, Mass.	150	1	.7
Madison, Wis.	200	94	47.0	Austin, Texas	550	75	13.6	College Park, Md.	175	11	6.3	Kansas City, Mo.	150	1	.7
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	6	40.0	Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	26	13.0	Durham, N.H.	50	3	6.0	Alfred, N.Y.	10	0	0
Nashville, Tenn.	20	7	35.0	Corvallis, Ore.	33	4	12.1	Washington, D.C.	900	50	5.6	Bethlehem, Pa.	10	0	0
Bloomington, Ind.	350	111	31.7	Burlington, Vt.	25	3	12.0	Youngstown, Ohio	20	1	5.0	Celina, Ohio	10	0	0
Portland, Ore.	700	213	30.4	Sarasota, Fla.	25	3	12.0	San Diego, Calif.	400	18	4.5	Knoxville, Tenn.	30	0	0
Lexington, Ky.	25	6	24.0					Atlanta, Ga.	1,250	54	4.3	Red Bank, N.J.	50	0	0
Edinboro, Pa.	60	13	21.7	Chicago, Ill.	2,500	254	10.2	Allentown, Pa.	50	2	4.0	Saranac Lake, N.Y.	30	0	0
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,700	369	21.7	Champaign, Ill.	10	1	10.0	Long Island, N.Y.	100	4	4.0	General	500	64	12.8
Hartford, Conn.	125	26	20.8	Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050	104	9.9	Phoenix, Ariz.	50	2	4.0	National Teams	1,400	4	.3
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	223	17.8	Los Angeles, Calif.	1,900	181	9.5	Providence, R.I.	200	7	3.5				
Cleveland, Ohio	1,300	224	17.2	Binghamton, N.Y.	200	18	9.0	Tallahassee, Fla.	150	5	3.3				
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	206	16.5	Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	113	9.0	Santa Barbara, Calif.	75	2	2.7	TOTAL TO DATE		3,805	11.5
Storrs, Conn.	25	4	16.0	Houston, Texas	1,050	84	8.0	Detroit, Mich.	1,500	32	2.1	SHOULD BE		3,808	11.5
St. Louis, Mo.	120	19	15.8	New Haven, Conn.	25	2	8.0	San Antonio, Texas	50	1	2.0	GOAL		33,000	100.0

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# In Review

## Books

# The Young Lenin

*The Young Lenin* by Leon Trotsky. Translation and introduction by Max Eastman. Doubleday & Co., Inc. New York, 1972. \$7.95 cloth.

Little is known about the details of Lenin's youth. The sparseness of factual material and contradictory reminiscences and memoirs, many of them colored by later experience, all tend to encourage subjectivism on the part of biographers.

Even without these factors, it is hardly surprising that Lenin, as the preeminent leader of the first socialist revolution in world history, has been the subject of a host of tendentious biographies. Procapitalist biographers approach Lenin with little sympathy and less understanding. The political ideas that were central to his life are seen as dogmatic and authoritarian, and his single-minded devotion to the cause of socialism, as sinister and fanatical.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union have done little better. In keeping with the display of Lenin's embalmed corpse in its tomb in Red Square, they have attempted to convert him into an icon.

Trotsky's book *The Young Lenin* is in a different class than other works on Lenin's life. Even if this were not the case, it would be of tremendous interest as the work of Lenin's chief collaborator during and after the Russian revolution. But its worth as biography is well substantiated.

Edmund Wilson relies heavily on *The Young Lenin* in his book *To the Finland Station*. Bertram Wolfe, a writer who cannot be accused of harboring the slightest sympathy for Trotsky's political views, wrote in *Three Who Made a Revolution*, "Special acknowledgment is due to Leon Trotsky for his careful analysis of the available sources in 'The Youth of Lenin,' pathetic fragment of what gave promise of being a truly great biography."

While covering the first 23 years of Lenin's life, from 1870 to 1893, Trotsky is able to link Lenin's development with the general evolution of political life in Russia during the nineteenth century, and show how the young Vladimir Ulyanov responded to ideas and events that affected a whole generation. It is the constant concern with the objective development of Russian society and the consciousness of the different classes composing it that enables us to judge the youthful Lenin within a specific context, and that enables Trotsky to avoid the subjectivism of others. Trotsky applies the Marxist method to understanding and presenting the life of an individual.

Lenin came from that stratum in Russian society known as the intelligentsia; his father was a teacher who became a director of public schools for a whole province. The Russian intelligentsia—lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers, students, writers, etc.—was equivalent in function to intellectuals in the West. However, its origin and the context in which it existed reflected Russia's backwardness.

The Russian intelligentsia arose not from the development of urban centers and new urban classes but from the needs of the czarist autocracy. Its development was fostered by the state, just as earlier czars had subsidized the training of skilled artisans.

The result was that the intelligentsia was isolated. On one side stood the mass of the peasantry, illiterate and priest-ridden, liberated from serfdom only in 1861, less than 10 years before the birth of Lenin. On the other side was the barbaric czarist autocracy, stifling all forms of intellectual and social progress, using ignorance as a means of social control.

Unable to influence the political decisions of the autocracy, and without any adequate outlet for its skills in the Russian economy, it is not surprising that as Trotsky says, "The intelligentsia, having need of a reformed regime, became an enemy of the state. The political life of the country

thus for a long time assumed the form of a duel between the intelligentsia and the police, with the fundamental classes of society almost entirely passive."

The natural place for the revolutionary intelligentsia to turn was toward the peasantry, which had periodically rebelled against the grinding oppression it suffered. In the 1860s, and on a wider scale during the 1870s, the revolutionary intellectuals attempted to prepare a popular up-



Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) in 1887

rising of the peasantry. But the peasantry was just entering a long period of quiescence.

The indifference of the peasantry, coupled with the savage repression by the czar's political police led to the increased use of terrorism as a method of political struggle. Propaganda in the villages gave way to the assassination of czarist officials, and on March 1, 1881, of the czar himself.

The resort to terrorism stemmed from the weakness of the revolutionary intelligentsia, its inability to link its ideas for social transformation with any class in Russian society capable of implementing them. Trotsky estimates the entire student population of Russia during this period was about 15,000. It was primarily from this human material that the revolutionary activists were drawn.

The populists of the 1870s who went throughout the country carrying socialist and anarchist propaganda to the peasantry numbered about 1,000. Up to the time of the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, the height of the terrorist campaign, the People's Will (the group that carried out the campaign) had 37 members. They operated in a country of about 100 million people.

Although the terrorists paid lip service to the necessity of conducting propaganda work among the masses, Trotsky points out that "Terror as the central problem inevitably reduced all other

questions to secondary importance."

"In fact," says Trotsky, "the renunciation of the mass struggle converted socialist aims into a subjective illusion. The only reality remaining was the tactic of frightening the monarchy by bombs, with the sole prospect of winning constitutional liberties. In their objective role, yesterday's anarchist rebels, who would not hear of bourgeois democracy, had become today's armed squadron in the service of liberalism."

Immediately following the assassination of Alexander II, the executive committee of the People's Will offered to cease the terrorist struggle if the new czar would summon the representatives of the people. But what followed was not a national constituent assembly but the reaction of the 1880s, in which the People's Will was destroyed. The most uncompromising revolutionaries were killed, jailed, or sent into exile, and the intelligentsia as a whole was intimidated and quelled.

It was in this atmosphere, on March 1, 1887, that the 20-year-old Alexander Ulyanov, Lenin's older brother and a student in St. Petersburg, was arrested with five other young men. They had with them dynamite, bullets poisoned with strychnine, and bombs. Two months later Alexander was hanged.

Alexander Ulyanov's participation in the conspiracy to assassinate the czar was preceded by only a year of political activity—the first recorded instance of anyone in Lenin's family engaging in oppositional activity.

Alexander apparently had never discussed his political ideas with his family, and his arrest came as a shock. Lenin at this time was still Vladimir Ulyanov, a high school student of 17 who had rejected religion less than a year earlier. It was only after his entry into the University at Kazan that autumn that Lenin became involved in political activity. He was expelled after four months for his participation in a student demonstration—and also because of his relation to Alexander.

During the next six years, living under police surveillance, Lenin assimilated the previous experience of the revolutionary movement in Russia. In Samara, where he lived from the fall of 1889 until the fall of 1893, he met and had long conversations with many of the participants in the earlier populist movement. He read the populist writers and he also began to read the works of Marx and Plekhanov, as did others of his generation.

It was during this period of study that Lenin first rejected the ideas of populism, and finally of terrorism, and came to adhere to those of Marx and Engels. By the end of 1891, according to Trotsky, Lenin had become a revolutionary Marxist.

The uniqueness of Lenin as an individual stems above all from his ability to merge his life with the objective processes of Russian history. During the reaction of the 1880s, an upturn in combativity and growth of the Russian working class began to take place. At the first congress of the Second International in 1889, Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism, declared, "The Russian revolution will conquer only as a workers' revolution—there can be no other outcome." Lenin's activities throughout his life and his particular traits of personality become meaningful only within this context.

Of the heroic revolutionaries who participated in the terrorist struggles of the late 1870s, Trotsky says, "They knew how, and taught others how, to subordinate themselves completely to a freely chosen goal." Certainly Lenin had this ability in abundance. But he went one step further. He not only subordinated his life to an idea but through his assimilation of Marxism he was able to actualize that idea.

—DAVE FRANKEL

# Hucksterism, 'The Young Lenin' and Doubleday & Co., Inc.

By GEORGE BREITMAN

Four of the five books by Leon Trotsky that American commercial publishers bought from him during his last exile (1929-40) are no longer available from those publishers. *My Life* (originally Scribner's) and *The Revolution Betrayed* (Doubleday) are now published by Pathfinder Press, while *The History of the Russian Revolution* (Simon & Schuster) was sold to the University of Michigan Press, and *Stalin* (Harper's) was sold to Stein & Day.

The publishers' decision to sell or discontinue these titles was undoubtedly based on dissatisfaction with their profit-making capacity at the time, although it should be noted that at least three of the four are selling better now than they ever did through their original publishers.

Since the fifth book, *The Young Lenin*, has just been printed by Doubleday (July 1972), it is too early to predict the fate it will meet at the hands of its publisher. But the signs are not promising.

*The Young Lenin* is a serious book — the first volume of a biography of the greatest revolutionary of the century written by another great revolutionary, who was also a literary giant. Several writers about Lenin acknowledge having drawn heavily on it. But Doubleday seems bent on trivializing it, smothering it in piffle, perhaps gimmicking it to death.

The Doubleday advertisement in the *New York Times* reproduced (free) on this page is an example of this approach. The history of the nonpublication of the book ("this forty-year publishing story") is given greater prominence and more space than what the book is about or why it is worth reading. An even greater disproportion between trivia and content will be found in the introductory material at the front of the book itself.

And while Doubleday seeks to center attention on the nonpublication of the book, it hasn't got all the facts straight even about those matters.

First, on the "lostness" of *The Young Lenin*:

It is "the long-lost account of Lenin's childhood, boyhood, and youth." So we are told by Maurice Friedberg, an Indiana University professor who was chosen by Doubleday to edit, annotate, and complete the translation after the original translator, Max Eastman, died in 1969. On the very next page, however, the same Friedberg refers to the book as "long presumed lost." The blurb on the front flap of the book says it "was written in 1933 and long believed lost." The *Times* ad says Eastman "had finished translating twelve of its fifteen chapters when all copies of both Russian and English manuscripts disappeared."

None of these statements is correct. Trotsky began to work on the book in 1933 and finished it in 1935. He sent it to his French translator, Maurice Parjanine, and to Eastman around the time he moved from France to Norway in 1935. Parjanine's translation was published in Paris by Rieder in 1936, and the book has been available in French ever since. How then can anybody with a respect for words call it "long lost?"

There is no reason to doubt Eastman's statement that he lost his copy of the Russian along with this translation of the first 12 chapters; whether it occurred by theft, as he thought, is immaterial here. But Eastman could not misplace the copy Parjanine had. Nor the copy Trotsky had.

Eastman does not explain, in the introduction written shortly before his death, whether he made an effort to get another copy of the Russian text from Trotsky in the years between 1935 and Trotsky's death in 1940, or why he didn't if he didn't. Nor does Eastman repeat here, where they would have been relevant, the anecdotes about Trotsky he told in two of his books, in which Trotsky became furious at Eastman because of what he considered Eastman's irresponsibility with documents, letters, etc.

When Eastman recovered the translation and the untranslated portions of the Russian manuscript many years later, he had forgotten that Doubleday had bought the book. By coincidence his agent sent the book to Doubleday first, where "its filing system rose to the occasion and yielded the original contract."

"Sign on the dotted line, Mr. Trotsky." Doubleday now makes it seem like a big deal to have Trotsky under contract for a book, something that redounds to Doubleday's credit somehow. But if it's such a big deal, how come Doubleday forgot all about the book it owned?

Why during the last five years of Trotsky's life, didn't Doubleday write him a simple letter asking if he had another copy of the book whose history they are making so much of now? Maybe if they had done something as simple as that, the book might have been published, say, by 1937. And in recent months Doubleday's staff could have exerted itself at discovering remarkable "angles" about some book other than *The Young Lenin*.

Furthermore, although this is not mentioned in any of the ads or blurbs, or in the introduction or foreword, in

## "Sign on the dotted line, Mr. Trotsky."

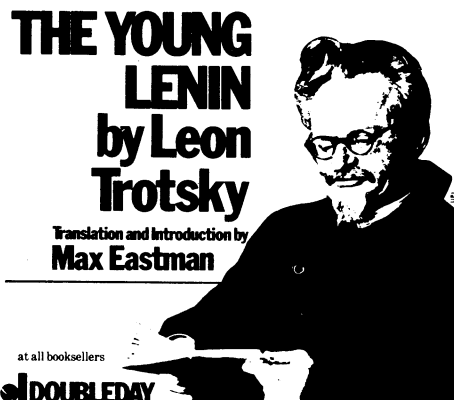
In December of 1933, Leon Trotsky signed a contract with Doubleday (then Doubleday Doran), authorizing the company to publish an English edition of his biography of Lenin. Max Eastman was engaged to do the translation. Trotsky, Lenin's chief lieutenant during the Russian Revolution, had finished only the first volume of his project, and Eastman had finished translating twelve of its fifteen chapters when all copies of both Russian and English manuscripts disappeared. Since there had been raids and rumors of raids on Trotsky's files during that time, Eastman ascribed the disappearance to Stalinist agents and abandoned the project.

Many years later, Eastman mentioned the Lenin biography during a television interview. As a result, he got a phone call informing him that his unfinished translation was in the Houghton Library at Harvard. Mysteriously enough, the library had no record of how it had acquired it.

By that time, Eastman had forgotten about the Doubleday contract. He asked his literary agent to

find a publisher for the long-lost work. She sent it to Doubleday. At that point, our filing system rose to the occasion and yielded the original contract. Sadly, Eastman died in 1969, while translating the last three chapters. The work was completed and annotated by Maurice Friedberg. The climax of this forty-year publishing story is a fascinating book. *THE YOUNG LENIN* portrays Lenin as a bright, impulsive, energetic youth, much influenced by the execution of his older brother for taking part in an assassination attempt. In tracing Lenin's development, Trotsky also gives us a memorable portrait of late 19th century Russia, capturing the mood of a nation hurtling toward political upheaval.

In his own way, *The Young Lenin* is as extraordinary an event in 1972 as would be a just-discovered biography of George Washington written by Thomas Jefferson. It will take its place as one of the key documents in understanding the men and events that led to the history-changing Revolution of 1917.



Doubleday ad stresses trivia, not truth.

1938 Doubleday arranged to sell its contract for the Lenin biography to another publisher. Through no fault of Doubleday, this deal fell through, and it retained the by then unwanted contract of which we hear so much today.

This occurred around a year after



Leon Trotsky

Doubleday had published Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, which at the time of the Moscow trials, was not a best-seller, and seven years before Doubleday said, "Sign on the dotted line, Mr. Ferguson," and sold it to Pioneer Publishers.

### Hostile editor selected

As strange as the way in which Doubleday is presenting *The Young Lenin* to the public was its selection of editor for this book. Maurice Friedberg, director of the Russian and East European Institute at Indiana University, is quite severe with Trotsky's actual or alleged factual errors. He has gone through the book very carefully to locate them and has found a total of three. On the first he says in his notes that Trotsky is "mistaken"; of the second, "imprecise"; of the third, "misleading." But it does not take a Russian expert to see that Friedberg himself is wrong about the third case. Which reduces his list to a maximum of two.

But if Trotsky is disqualified as a scholar because of two mistakes of relatively unimportant fact, what should be said about Friedberg's work as a scholar in editing this book? In the front of the book he has a list of other Trotsky books in English; one of these is given as *Struggle for a Proletarian Party*. A book with that name is published by Pathfinder Press, but its author is named James P. Cannon, not Trotsky.

And going no farther than page 3 of Trotsky's text, we find an expression attributed to him—"the October coup d'état"—which Trotsky never would have used to designate the insurrection that overthrew the Russian capitalist state in October 1917. Any editor reasonably well acquainted with Trotsky's political views, and especially his polemics against the idea that a mere coup d'état took place in 1917, would have altered the expression to conform to what Trotsky meant.

In extenuation of Trotsky's errors, it might be pointed out that he finished the book under particularly trying circumstances: at the time he and his wife were living incognito, without secretaries or access to libraries, in a remote Alpine village.

No doubt Friedberg's equally numerous errors can be extenuated too. In any case, we are not question-

ing his competence as institute director or teacher. What we are questioning is why, since he dislikes Trotsky's book, Doubleday chose him of all people to edit it and write its foreword. That he dislikes it very much is made evident by this paragraph from his foreword:

"Trotsky's biography is not the work of a scholar; indeed, many pages of it are frankly nothing but conjecture and read like an old-fashioned *vie romanisée* [biographical novel]. In relating his story, Trotsky is unswerving in his admiration for Lenin. Adulation for his hero is coupled with scorn and venom for his idol's critics. [Does Friedberg mean that a work cannot be scholarly if its author speculates or has antipathies?] The book is often dogmatic and bristles with hatred for Lenin's ideological opponents, particularly those who seemed to doubt any of the premises of Marxism. Trotsky seems to me in places to despise objectivity and to ridicule those whose Marxist faith is so weak that it must be reinforced by reason. [It would be hard to find a more loaded sentence by anyone wearing the mantle of objectivity.] He is equally disdainful, in his own words, of 'self-satisfied ignoramus and well-read mediocrities.' [Why does that upset Friedberg?] He has not patience for democratic 'frills,' which are to him a sham and an excuse for an unwillingness to serve the Communist cause honestly. None of this detracts at all from the value of the book. [It doesn't? It doesn't detract at all?] And, as if to compensate for what his biography fails to reveal about Lenin, Trotsky reveals much about himself and about the spirit of the movement they both created."

You come along, in the market for a biography about Lenin, and the editor of this book tells you it's not scholarly, parts are almost fictional, the author is biased, dogmatic, subjective, etc.—but don't worry, "None of this detracts at all from the value of the book," because in compensation for the book you want you'll get one

Continued on page 22

## Trotsky on authenticity

"Critics in the service of the Kremlin will declare this time, even as they declared with reference to my *History of the Russian Revolution*, that the absence of bibliographical references renders a verification of the author's assertions impossible. As a matter of fact, bibliographical references to hundreds and thousands of Russian newspapers, magazines, memoirs, anthologies and the like would give the foreign critical reader very little and would only burden the text. As for Russian critics, they have at their disposal whatever is available of the Soviet archives and libraries. Had there been factual errors, misquotations, or any other improper use of material in any of my works, that would have been pointed out long ago. As a matter of fact, I do not know of a single instance of any anti-Trotskyist writings that contain a single reference to incorrect use of source material by me. I venture to think that this fact alone is sufficient guarantee of authenticity for the foreign reader."

From the author's introduction to *Stalin* by Leon Trotsky, 1941.



# Calendar

## BOSTON

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS.** Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**UKRAINIAN OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET UNION.** Speakers: Tom Bilko, Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners; Marilyn Vagt, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CHICAGO

**VIOLENCE IN THE MIDEAST: WHO'S TERRORIZING WHOM?** Speakers: Sami Musa, former president of the Organization of Arab Students; Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for Cook County state's attorney; a representative of the Arab-American University Graduates. Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 75c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

## CLEVELAND

**THE LETTUCE BOYCOTT.** Speaker: Lily Sprintz, coordinator, Cleveland Lettuce Boycott. Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## DETROIT

**WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY?** Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, spokeswoman, Socialist Workers Party National Campaign. Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

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**THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM** presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the anti-war movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

## NATIONAL

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will appear on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" along with other candidates from the smaller parties on Sun., Oct. 8, 1 p.m. (New York time).

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**PERSPECTIVES ON THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.** Speakers: Yousif Hamdan, Palestinian poet who lived in Israel until 1970; Peter Buch, Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee; Robert Van Lierop, African Information Service. Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 982-5940.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST—WHAT SOLUTION? A DEBATE.** Speakers: member of the Radical Zionist Alliance; Dave Frankel, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. Columbia University. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by the Militant Forum and the Radical Zionist Alliance. For room number and more information call (212) 663-3000.

## ANDREW PULLEY NEW YORK TOUR SCHEDULE

Oct. 3-Oct. 4

TUES., Oct. 3, 12 noon: Andrew Pulley will speak at Queens College. For more information call 982-6051.

7:30 p.m.: Andrew Pulley; B.R. Washington, SWP congressional candidate from Harlem; and others will speak at Columbia University, 204 Ferris Booth Hall. For more information call 663-3000.

WED., Oct. 4, 12 noon: Andrew Pulley will speak at Brooklyn College. Other speakers are John Hawkins, SWP congressional candidate from 12th C.D.; and James Mendieta, SWP congressional candidate from 14th C.D. Outdoor rally on the Quad.

7:30 p.m.: Andrew Pulley and B.R. Washington will speak at Abraham Lincoln Community Center, 133 St. and Madison Avenue. For more information call 663-3000.

## NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

**TRIBUNAL ON ABORTION, CONTRACEPTION, AND FORCED STERILIZATION.** Oct. 27-28. Booth Auditorium, Boalt Hall Law School, University of California at Berkeley. For more information, or if you wish to testify, contact: Women's Abortion Coalition, 620 Sutter, Room 314, San Francisco 94102. Telephone: (415) 771-3403; or in East Bay area, contact: WAC, c/o Female Liberation, Eshleman Hall, U.C. Berkeley. Telephone: (415) 642-6673.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**DANCE AND OMELET SUPPER.** Featuring Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Sat., Oct. 7, 7 p.m. Sequoia Lodge, 2666 Mountain Blvd., Oakland. Donation: \$3. For more information call (415) 655-5230.

## SAN FRANCISCO

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, speaks at University of San Francisco, Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. For more information call (415) 626-9958.

## SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

**MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY.** Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

## TWIN CITIES

**RALLY AND BANQUET WITH ANDREW PULLEY,** Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Also speaking: Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Oct. 7. Refreshments, 6 p.m.; dinner, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m.; party follows. 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Second Floor, Mpls. Donation: \$3. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

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# ...river

Continued from page 11

cago recently instituted of barging sewer sludge 200 miles down the Illinois River and spraying it over the ground by some exhausted coal mines. While this is better than the old practice of dumping the sludge directly into the Illinois River (which empties into the Mississippi), it has not ended Chicago's pollution of the Mississippi. As Bassett himself points out elsewhere in his article, less than an inch of rain can cause raw effluent from Cook County's sewer-storm drain conduits to overflow into the Illinois River.

And in the case of Memphis, already mentioned as one of the worst polluters, the federal courts last year upheld the city's right to channel untreated wastes from industry into the Mississippi through its sewer system. The EPA is still fighting to overturn this decision.

# ...Trotsky

Continued from page 21

that "reveals much" about Trotsky and the spirit of Bolshevism!

Sense can be made of all this not by questioning the validity of the editor's opinions, or his right to hold them, but by asking: Why did the publisher pick *this* editor for the book? And if the book is as bad as the editor picked by the publisher says, then why is the publisher selling it?

I leave the answers to Doubleday, but I think it points to divided motives: On the one hand they want to make money out of the book; on the other they really don't like the author's politics. I am quite sure it explains the publisher's way of promoting the book. If you think the wine is poor, praise the shape of the bottle. If you dislike the book you're publishing because the author's politics rub against you the wrong way, talk about something else—like its "forty-year publishing history."

And so, a long time after his death, Trotsky continues to get a hard time from America's commercial publishers.

# Witness changes story in 'fragging' case

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—A witness for the prosecution who maintained he saw a man running from the scene of the fragging (killing by hand grenade) in Bien Hoa, Vietnam, dramatically changed his testimony in the court-martial of the Black antiwar GI, Billy Dean Smith.

On Sept. 20, Bradley W. Curtis, formerly a private in Smith's artillery company, told the court that he was "doing smack" (using heroin) on March 15, 1971, when he heard an explosion in the Army barracks nearby. "I sat there for a couple of minutes," Curtis continued. "Then I went outside and saw a lot of people milling around and a colored man running."

Curtis told the obviously irritated prosecutor, "The man I saw running was not Billy Dean Smith." Assistant prosecutor Captain Richard W. Wright barked to the witness, "Are you telling us that you lied to us outside the court?"

During the pretrial investigation, Curtis had told Army investigators he could not determine if the man he saw running from the explosion was the defendant. "I didn't exactly lie," Curtis hedged, adding that he had been afraid that if he told the entire truth, he would be prosecuted for using heroin.

The witness said he decided to change his testimony because he was "hostile to the government in this case" and believed Billy Dean Smith to be innocent.

Earlier on Sept. 20, former GI Robert S. Miller testified that he had heard Billy Dean Smith express his dislike for their commanding officer, but that such attitudes were common among the men in their artillery company.

The court-martial has been recessed until Oct. 3 to give federal marshals time to search for several missing witnesses who have been subpoenaed by the prosecution.

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IN THE OCTOBER INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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by Mary-Alice Waters

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# THE MILITANT

## Atlanta cops arrest 70 Mead pickets



Left: 300 Mead strikers and supporters rallied outside plant Sept. 18. Right: Keith Jones, SWP candidate for Congress, was one of more than 70 pickets arrested Sept. 21.

Militant/George Basley

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—More than 70 people were arrested here Sept. 21 while picketing the Mead Packaging Plant as the strike by 700 Black workers at the giant paper box factory ended its sixth week.

Among those arrested were Keith Jones, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress; and Meg Rose, SWP candidate for Fulton County sheriff. The Reverend Hosea Williams and Betty Bryant, leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); and the Reverend W.J. Stafford of the Free for All Baptist Church were also arrested.

For the second time in four days (see *The Militant*, Sept. 29), demonstrators assembled Sept. 21 at the Black Atlanta University Complex and marched four miles to Mead, led by an SCLC mule train.

About 400 people marched this time, with the largest number coming from Clark, Morehouse and Spelman colleges of Atlanta University. Again

there were contingents from SCLC and from the Socialist Workers Party and its campaign supporters.

The rally at Mead began with the dramatic arrest of its first speaker. Sherman Miller, a leader of the Rank and File Caucus of Mead Workers, stepped up on the mule wagon and began leading the chant, "Soul Power!"

Brown-shirted deputy sheriffs then pushed through the crowd to the speaker and carried him off as he continued to chant. Miller and four others rounded up by the sheriff's men were all jailed for 10 days for contempt of court. Fulton Superior Court Judge Elmo Holt had enjoined them from picketing Mead.

Following the rally, the demonstrators moved to block the gates to Mead at the 7 p.m. shift change, as they had done three days earlier. On Sept. 18, the pickets had successfully stopped trucks and prevented the night shift from entering the plant. This time, however, the police had

different instructions. They intended to get the scabs into the plant by force.

Helmeted Atlanta riot police formed a flying wedge and moved in to arrest all the pickets blocking the Marietta Street gate. They arrested 66 people, charging each with "criminal trespass." Each was held on the maximum permissible bond — \$1,000.

Earlier in the day, Jones's Democratic opponent in Georgia's 5th Congressional District, the Reverend Andrew Young, a former SCLC leader, happened to come out of a building at Atlanta University as the march passed by. Jones approached Young and asked him to join the march. Young refused.

After spending the night in jail, Jones released a statement again challenging Young to support the Mead workers. "Which side are you on, Andrew Young?" Jones demanded. "You've got to make a choice. Either you're willing to stand up for the

Mead workers or you're on the side of the Mead Corporation and the city administration which threw us in jail."

Interviewed by the media at her arraignment, Meg Rose blasted Fulton County Sheriff Leroy Stynchcombe. "If I am elected sheriff," she said, "my deputies won't be enforcing illegal injunctions and arresting workers in Fulton County."

*The article on the Mead strike in last week's issue of The Militant failed to mention that the October League was a sponsor of the Sept. 18 demonstration and a major supporter of the strike.*

"I intend to use the office of sheriff to defend the right of workers to strike and defend the right of Black people to protest racial injustice. I demand the immediate release of Sherman Miller from the county jail."

## Marcos decrees martial law in Philippines

By DAVE FRANKEL

SEPT. 25—On Sept. 23 martial law was imposed throughout the Philippines by decree of President Ferdinand Marcos. Newspapers, radio stations, television broadcasts, and dispatches filed by foreign correspondents were placed under strict government control; rallies and demonstrations were banned; travel abroad by Filipinos was prohibited; and mass arrests of "Communist conspirators plotting to overthrow the government" were announced.

"We are falling back and have fallen back to our last line of defense," Marcos declared. "The limit has been reached because we have been placed against the wall." The next day Marcos ordered the military to take over three Philippine airlines and all major utilities.

This is the first time martial law has been proclaimed in the Philippines since it obtained its formal independence from the U.S. in 1946. While it is certainly true that both the government and people of the Philippines "have been placed against the wall," the real culprit is the Marcos government and the social system it sup-

ports, not any "Communist conspiracy."

In fact, in a Sept. 4 dispatch to the *New York Times*, Tillman Durdin wrote from Manila that there was "a revitalized Communist movement that is plainly gaining ground but does not yet appear to threaten large-scale revolutionary upheaval."

"President Ferdinand Marcos characterizes the movement as serious but under control," he said.

However, in a dispatch filed the next day, on Sept. 5, but not printed by the *Times* until after the declaration of martial law on Sept. 23, Durdin explains that although the organized revolutionary forces are small, "Conditions in general are dismal and the outlook for the next few years is not bright. A desire for drastic innovation, a feeling that things cannot go on much longer the way they are, is in the air, and the possibility of radical, possibly violent, change is there."

Massive dissatisfaction with government corruption was brought to a head this summer by the worst floods in Philippine history. Illegal timber-cutting and the failure of large land-

owners to maintain dikes on their property, both ignored by corrupt officials, greatly aggravated the damage caused by the floods.

It is estimated that 400 families dominate the economy and politics in this nation of 38 million. Per capita income is about \$158 a year, and last year the rate of inflation hit 24.7 percent. About 45 percent of the population suffers from malnutrition, and unemployment and underemployment affect millions.

The Philippines has a long history of rural guerrilla groups, but Durdin reports that the Marcos regime sees as its chief danger "the increasing disillusion of the urban population, particularly the unemployed educated youth." Out of one million young people with diplomas in higher education, 400,000 are unemployed.

Given these conditions, the declaration of martial law came as no surprise. There was widespread speculation among many of Marcos's political opponents that he would use the mounting number of terrorist incidents — some of which may have been the work of agents provocateurs — as a

pretext to declare martial law. Some of Marcos's political supporters openly supported this course: Durdin quotes one prominent Filipino senator as saying, "We need a bloodbath; no country has become great without a civil war."

The U.S. government is worried about that possibility, and for the last two years it has been sending "civic action" teams of Green Berets into the Philippines. The U.S. hopes to establish friendly relations with certain elements of the population in the event that a more substantial intervention is called for.

The possibility of such an intervention cannot be ruled out. As Durdin points out, "The importance for the United States in what happens in the Philippines is great. Aside from the billion-dollar private American economic stake, the Subic naval base and Clark Air Force Base are the most important American military stations in the Western Pacific."

"They are vital to the war in Vietnam, and if and when that conflict is settled, they are essential for a continued United States military presence in East Asia. . . ."