

# THE MILITANT

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

## Black students organize protests Eyewitness reports of Baton Rouge killings

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## Nat'l campaign needed to defend N.Y. abortion rights

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### Militant sub drive tops 33,000 goal!

By NANCY COLE

NOV. 21—One day before the finishing date of the fall subscription drive for 33,000 new readers, we can report that we made it! As of this morning's mail we have received 31,544 subs, but phone reports indicate that the subscriptions on their way put us over the 33,000 mark. This surpasses the number collected in any previous *Militant* subscription drive, and represents a significant achievement for the paper. Since the beginning of the drive on Sept. 15, the number

of areas with subscription quotas has grown to 78, and 24 report having gone over 100 percent as of today. The bulk of the subscriptions have been sold by members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party and by 18 Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams, which toured campuses from one end of the country to the other.

The final scoreboard will be published in next week's *Militant* to allow time for the last-minute subscriptions to be received in the business office.

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## THE MILITANT

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**'PRISONS MAY ERUPT':** That was the fear voiced in a story in the New York Times on Nov. 5. But the Times failed to mention why this might happen. Other stories printed that same week in the Times fill the gap.

On Nov. 3 the New York State Court of Appeals ruled 5 to 2 that prisoners who are awaiting trial or serving sentences for misdemeanors do not have the right to vote. This ruling automatically favors the rich, who can afford bail, and thus await trial in their homes rather than in jail. It automatically adds an additional penalty to imprisonment for misdemeanors, which is not supposed to disqualify one from voting.

On Nov. 10 it was reported that 50 Attica prisoners, mostly Blacks, "caused a brief disturbance . . . when they joined hands and shouted slogans in an exercise yard. . . ." The prison superintendent told reporters that 25 or 30 guards armed with gas, shotguns, and clubs "persuaded" the prisoners to go inside the prison. The participants in the action were separated from the rest of the prison population—presumably for special punishment.

## New York protest hits French abortion trial

Demanding a 'not guilty' verdict in the abortion trial of Michelle Chevalier, women picketed the French Consulate in New York City Nov. 21. Chevalier, a French subway worker, is awaiting a verdict in her trial for 'complicity' in helping her daughter Marie-Claire obtain an abortion. Last month the French abortion rights movement organized a protest campaign that resulted in the acquittal of Marie-Claire. The New York picket line was called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).



Marie-Claire Chevalier (l) and her mother, Michelle

**LEGAL AID SOCIETY SUES TO CLOSE TOMBS:** A suit demanding that the Manhattan House of Detention for Men, better known as the Tombs, be closed down "until such time as it can be made safe, sanitary and decent for its inmates," is being heard by U.S. District Judge Morris Lasker.

The Nov. 15 New York Post reported on the testimony of Dr. Augustus Kinzel, a psychiatrist, who said, "They (the inmates) are like anyone else packed into the subway at 5:30 p.m. . . . You can stand it for a while but eventually you become irritable. . . ."

There are about 1,300 prisoners now in the Tombs, which was built to hold 932. "It's amazing they get along as well as they do," Kinzel said.

**'HANDS ACROSS THE BORDER':** Edwin Hogan is not like others who have appealed deportation orders issued by Canadian immigration authorities. They have been allowed to remain in Canada while they appealed or until the 15 days allowed for filing an appeal expired.

But not Edwin Hogan. Before he had a chance to appeal, before his lawyer even knew that an order for Hogan's deportation had been issued, he was hustled off to Buffalo, N.Y., by Canadian immigration officials, in violation of Canadian law. Hogan was a member of the Black Panther Party who was framed up on murder and robbery charges in the U.S.

**GARMENT WORKERS' UNION CONTINUES RACIST CAMPAIGN:** On Nov. 16 the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union organized actions across the country around the theme of "Stop Exporting Jobs—Limit Imports." In New York some 50,000 marched up Fifth Avenue bearing red, white, and blue signs with that slogan.

The union has drawn the fire of Asian-American groups for its superpatriotic campaign aimed at turning the resentment of U.S. workers against workers in other countries instead of against the corporations responsible for unemployment.

**WOMEN DEMAND EQUAL TREATMENT:** Between January 1971 and last June the New York City Commission on Human Rights received 150 complaints from women charging that they have been discriminated against because of their sex. This represented a 700 percent increase over the number of complaints filed in the previous 18-month period. Eleanor Holmes Norton, who heads the commission, attributed the rise to "the rapid development of the women's rights movement," and to the commission's increased attention to this area of discrimination.

**ST. LOUIS TEACHERS SET STRIKE VOTE:** On Nov. 15 members of the St. Louis Teachers union unanimously authorized the union's executive board to call for a strike vote in their fight for a \$1,000-a-year wage increase. The present salary for newly employed teachers there is \$7,200.

**SIGNS OF A GOOD ECONOMY:** On Nov. 14 the Dow-Jones industrial average closed above 1,000, a new record. This event was marked by confetti and champagne in brokerage houses across the country. The next day the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that unemployment among teen-age male Puerto Ricans in New York City stands at 40 percent.

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL BACK IN U.S.:** After spending three and a half years in Guinea, Stokely Carmichael is back in the U.S. The former SNCC leader says he plans to stay here and organize an All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party. Carmichael has spoken at a number of schools, including Syracuse University in New York State and Howard University in Washington, D.C. He says that a Black political party would first have to seek to unify Blacks, but that other oppressed nationalities in the U.S. would be "our natural allies."

**BRITISH CENSUS PROBLEMS:** John Allen May, writing in the Nov. 18 Christian Science Monitor, reports that "For the first time the British took the results of a national census and gave them to a computer to analyze. The result is mystifying to many."

"The computer appears to underestimate the numbers of colored people now living here. At the same time it seems to exaggerate the numbers out of work."

Perhaps the computer was made in the USA.

**INSPIRING THE MASSES:** According to the Wall Street Journal, the president's two-year-old National Commission on Productivity is mapping a national advertising campaign urging Americans to work harder. Among the proposed slogans is one that goes: "America didn't get great by goofing off." Another one says: "Our real problem is that a lot of people with jobs are out of work."

Many workers, according to the commission, "have difficulty determining what direct benefits they receive from harder work and increased productivity."

**AND NIXON FEELS THE SAME WAY ABOUT HER:** "There's no big deal in having an Israel-American friendship society," said Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel, "when you have friends like Nixon in the White House and Wally in Israel." The occasion was a dinner honoring the U.S. ambassador to Israel, Walworth Barbour, as he prepared to leave after 10 years there under Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon.

**ANOTHER TROTSKY BOOK:** Last week we reported that there were eight new books by and about Leon Trotsky published this year. Actually, there were nine. The one omitted from our list was *Leon Trotsky: A Bibliography* by Louis Sinclair (Hoover Institution Press).

**GEORGE NOVACK ON RADIO:** George Novack, Marxist author and a member of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 National Campaign Committee, will be speaking on American Trotskyism in a series of radio programs beginning Nov. 27. The programs will be broadcast on WRVR, 107.6 FM, in New York at 7:45 a.m. The station has 250,000 listeners, primarily in the Harlem and Columbia University areas.

—DAVE FRANKEL

## Spirited actions in 21 cities

# Nov. 18 demonstrators demand 'Out Now!'

By LEE SMITH

NOV. 19 — Antiwar activists turned out in 21 cities across the country yesterday for demonstrations demanding that the U.S. get completely and immediately out of Southeast Asia. Although they were not massive in size, reports from 16 of the cities indicate that the actions were well publicized and highly spirited.

In the atmosphere of confusion fostered by Nixon's "peace" maneuvers, the fact that the Nov. 18 actions were organized around the clear demand, Out Now!, marks them as among the most important in the history of the antiwar movement.

Speaking to the approximately 2,000 protesters who marched to the Central Park bandshell from Times Square in New York, National Peace Action Coalition coordinator Katherine Sojourner explained why NPAC rejects the idea of calling on Nixon to sign the nine-point treaty. If a ceasefire were indeed signed, she said, "the American people, and the world, would certainly welcome an end to the bombing and the pledge to withdraw U.S. troops."

"However," Sojourner continued, "it will be our responsibility to continue to demand the kind of peace . . . that will insure that people stop dying from U.S. aggression *permanently*, not just for a few days, weeks, or months." The only way to insure such a peace, she said, citing Nixon's past duplicity, "is for the U.S. to get *totally and completely out* with no conditions attached."

To help illustrate her point, Sojourner drew what she called "a parallel perhaps not too far from reality." She said suppose government troops occupied Harlem, and soldiers were killing people. If the victims of the attack felt forced to reach a compromise to stop "the slaughter, Sojourner pointed out, the most effective help people outside of Harlem could give would be to do "the same as what we in the American antiwar movement must do now. Build massive support among the American people demanding that the U.S. government get totally and completely out!"

Most demonstrators favored the demand of immediate withdrawal, although in some cities a minority spoke or carried banners calling on Nixon to sign the treaty.

In addition to the Out Now! theme, speakers at rallies around the country stressed the racism of the war and the military, linking it to the murder of two Black students in Baton Rouge and calling attention to the victimization of Black sailors from the U.S.S. *Constellation*. Larry McCann of the Black Servicemen's Caucus in San Diego spoke to the crowd of 200 at the Los Angeles demonstration about the case of the sailors.

Many of the actions took on the character of regional mobilizations, with people taking part from the areas surrounding the cities where there were demonstrations. This was true, for example, in San Francisco, where there was a spirited turnout of 600. A measure of the spirit at that action is that the collection taken amounted to \$332, well over the norm for a crowd of that size.

Two days before the San Francisco demonstration, 400 people heard Bobby Seale come out strongly for demanding Out Now! at a buildup rally on the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

Julius Hobson of the People's Party, Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party, and NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon spoke to 325 activists in Washington, D.C. The Nov. 19 *Washington Post* carried a photo of Hobson



Front of New York march of 2,000

Militant/Mark Satinoff

speaking from the wheelchair to which he has been confined by serious illness and quoted him as saying, "Nixon's a damned liar." Gordon went over the aggression carried out by the U.S. since Kissinger said "Peace is at hand," speaking, the *Post* reported, "through a sound system that car-

ried the Detroit demonstration of 200 carried a banner demanding Nixon sign "on the dotted line." But NPAC coordinator James Lafferty received an enthusiastic response from most of the demonstrators when he called for immediate withdrawal.

Another speaker at the Detroit ac-



Chicago

Militant/Jeanne Percesepe

ried his voice across Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House grounds."

The 800 who demonstrated in Chicago heard NPAC coordinator Ruth Gage-Colby denounce Nixon's talk of peace as an "electoral hoax." The veteran peace fighter stressed the need to continue demanding immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

Among the speakers who addressed a spirited crowd of 500 in Boston was Alnita Bond of Hospital Workers union 1199. The Selective Service is attempting to victimize conscientious objectors assigned to work in a hospital being struck by 1199 because the C.O.s have honored union picket lines. Bond led the crowd in chanting "Out Now!" repeatedly.

A Black strike leader was also among the speakers at the Atlanta demonstration, attended by 200 people, some of whom came from other parts of Georgia and from Florida. The rally heard Sherman Miller of the October League, a leader of the Atlanta Mead packaging strike, relate the war to workers' economic problems. One of the speakers at the Atlanta action, Eileen Klehr of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, called for signing the treaty.

A Communist Party contingent in

tion was Ernest Mazey of the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU helped the Detroit Peace Action Coalition get a permit for the demonstration, and Mazey read an ACLU statement opposing the war on civil liberties grounds.

Antiwar activists in Portland, Ore., were joined by others from Eugene

and Corvallis in their march and rally of 200. The speakers at the action included Democratic state legislator Howard Willits, who called Nixon's "peace" maneuvers "phony," and George Nicola from the Portland State University Gay People's Alliance. Nicola urged people not to be discouraged by "four more years" of Nixon, saying, "That comes from looking to 'leaders.' The real force to look to is independent mass action."

Despite rain in the morning, 300 turned out in Houston, Texas, for a two-mile march led by a Chicano contingent. Marshals from the Houston Peace Action Coalition had been prepared for a sidewalk march because of an unconstitutional ordinance requiring an insurance bond for a street march. But at the last minute cops showed up to stop traffic and permitted the demonstrators to take the street, setting an important precedent.

A spirited march and rally of 175 in St. Louis, Mo., was addressed by Barbara Bowman, a building representative of the American Federation of Teachers, and Bill Hirzy of the People's Party, who both called for immediate withdrawal. Susan Davis, speaking for the Young Workers Liberation League, called on Nixon to sign the treaty.

The NPAC office reports that demonstrations of 400 occurred in Minneapolis and Denver, 300 turned out in Philadelphia, and 120 in Cleveland and Tucson, Ariz. Actions were also held in Cincinnati; Salt Lake City; Seattle; Pittsburgh, and Austin, Texas.

Demonstrations demanding that President Nixon sign the nine-point treaty were held in eight cities the weekend of Nov. 4.

Originally slated as actions in support of the Provisional Revolutionary Government's seven-point peace plan, sponsoring groups changed their demands after Hanoi's Oct. 26 announcement of the new nine-point treaty.

Organizers of the marches included: the Revolutionary Union, New American Movement, Black Workers Congress, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and the Puerto Rican Student Union.

Estimates of the size of the New York action ranged from 3,000 to 5,000. Several hundred participated in Los Angeles; Milwaukee; Chicago; Detroit; Cleveland and Dayton, Ohio; and San Jose, Calif.

NPAC and the SMC were excluded from buildup meetings for the Nov. 4 events.



Seattle

Militant/Len Goodman



# EYEWITNESSES DESCRIBE HOW POLICE KILLED TWO BATON ROUGE STUDENTS

By BAXTER SMITH

BATON ROUGE, La., Nov. 20 — "There would have been no violence if the students had not fired the first shot or whatever."

Incredible as it may sound, this is one of the first public statements Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards made concerning the death of two Black youths on the Baton Rouge campus of Southern University the morning of Nov. 16.

woman, who is reported to have been fatally wounded during the police attack.

Lies and fabrications about the tragedy pour constantly from Edwards, the Southern University President G. Leon Netterville, and the East Baton Rouge Parish sheriff, Al Amiss.

But according to the students this reporter talked to, sheriff's deputies produced warrants at 4 a.m., Nov. 16, dating back to Nov. 8, and ar-

about their usual business, and Howard was even invited into the comptroller's office to look over some audit. Nevertheless, minutes later, sheriff's deputies and state police entered the campus and marched on the administration building.

## Like Vietnam

Having brought along an armored personnel carrier and a tank-like armored vehicle equipped with flame-

near the administration building about 10:30 Thursday morning. Sheriff's deputies acted as interpreters and told me that a three-minute warning was being issued to the 100 or so students gathered at the top of the building's front steps.

After this "warning" sheriff's deputies and the state police waded into the crowd of students outside the building, pushing and striking them with their guns. Then, according to Fred Prejean, a deputy rolled a tear gas canister into the crowd. It was picked up and thrown back.

After that, according to most reports, deputies hurled a barrage of tear-gas canisters at the crowd and began to fire tear gas into the building. While this was occurring in front of the administration building, other police officers were behind the building. They had their guns drawn, and as the students and some office staff also caught inside ran out, they opened fire.

Sheriff Amiss claims his men fired only tear-gas shells from their weapons. But according to one student who observed the incident, "I saw one dude over behind a tree with an M-16 just popping away." Other Black witnesses claimed that each time the police fired a round they would pick it up from the ground and put it in their pockets.

When Nathaniel Howard ran out of the building he overheard one cop, who recognized him, yell, "There's that nigger! Get him, get him!" Almost immediately, other students who saw that Howard was about to be attacked formed a circle around him in an attempt to save his life. Howard was arrested but luckily was not harmed. He later told me that the police who came toward him had their guns cocked and were ready to fire.

During this time in the front of the building two students were shot by the police. Brother Sababu Taibika, another leader of Students United, was directing people out of the area for their safety. He was running with his back toward the police when he



Public relations aide at New Orleans campus of Southern University reads statement announcing Dr. E. W. Bashful's resignation, Nov. 9. Students had occupied campus building to demand his ouster and resolution of other grievances.

Through this statement and others like it Edwards tried to shift the blame for the deaths—which students have described as an attempted assassination of student leaders—from the police onto the backs of the students themselves.

But it is the police who have murdered two Black students and, according to students here, wounded 24 others. And there are unconfirmed reports that authorities are withholding information about a third person, a

rested four leaders of Students United at their homes. Students United is the ad hoc formation of individuals and campus groups that has been spearheading the month-old movement on the Baton Rouge campus.

Around 8 a.m. on Nov. 16, students gathered outside the student union building to discuss what should be done to strengthen the movement. At that time they were told that student leaders Charlene Hardenett, Lewis Anthony, Paul Shivers, and Fred Prejean had been arrested by the sheriff's deputies.

Upon hearing this the students decided to go to President Netterville's office in the administration building to inquire about the release of the students. When the students arrived, campus security guards, who were stationed near the entrance, opened the doors and about 50 students went inside. Others remained outside.

Several students then spoke to Netterville in his office. He told them, "Wait right here. I'm going downtown to see about it now." Netterville, an Afro-American, spoke with a forked tongue. He didn't go see about the arrested students but to a state board of education meeting that was scheduled to begin at 10 a.m.

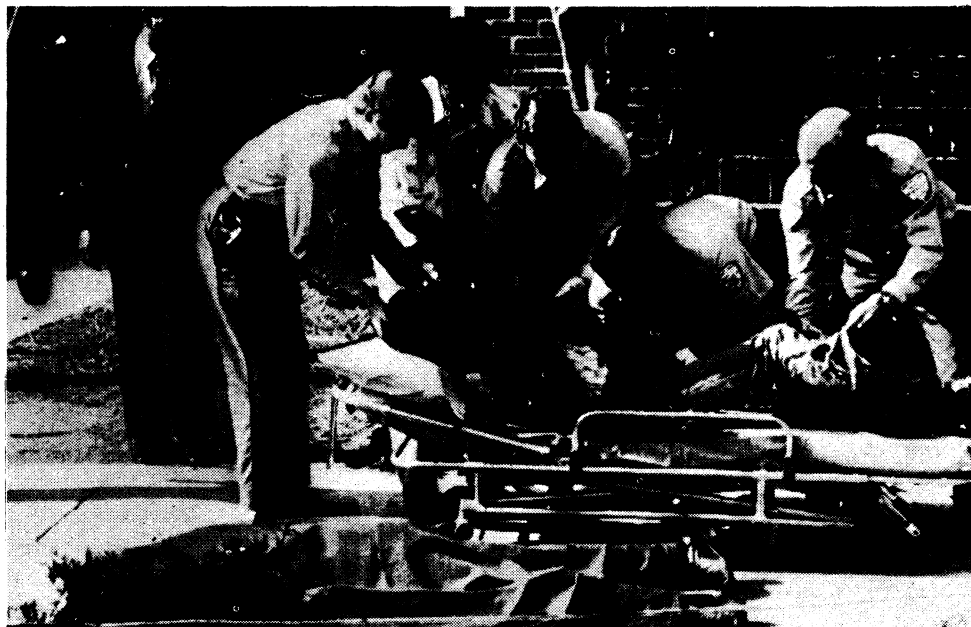
The board of education is an all-white body in charge of the elementary and secondary public schools. It runs Southern, which with close to 9,000 students is the biggest Black university in the country. The students are challenging the board of education's control over Southern and are demanding representation and control of the various councils through which the board runs the university.

After Netterville left, Nathaniel Howard, another leader of Students United, went through the building and informed the building staff that the students were not attempting a building take-over. He then went outside and told the people gathered there the same thing.

The people in the building went

throwers and bazookas, they were prepared to wage war. The officers themselves, one student remarked, were equipped for battle in Vietnam, bearing tear-gas grenades, Thompson sub-machine guns, M-16s, riot-20 shot-guns, M-79 grenade launchers, and M-1 carbines—complete with bayonets.

Reports vary on exactly how the police attack began. Sheriff's deputies claimed they issued a warning to the



Fatally wounded Southern U student being put on stretcher.

students to evacuate the building and the area outside. Students claimed they heard no such warning. One student said, "They didn't tell us anything. They didn't tell us any kind of warning because we had telephones in there and nobody called to tell us that we had warnings or anything."

Robert Collins, a radio newsman for WJBO, a local station, was standing outside at the time. He reported that he did hear a feeble voice through the deafening sound of helicopters overhead. "I arrived as an exploitive voice honked from speakers in an armored truck drawn up in the streets

reached over to pick up a tear-gas canister. As he bent over, shots rang out and the two brothers who were standing beside him fell.

One apparently died instantly from multiple wounds to his head and left rear side. The other, who received similar wounds, was left by the cops to die. Collins reported, "He lay there in a pool of blood. He was breathing, but he bled from his mouth and hands. I learned later that he too had died."

The two victims were Denver A. Smith, 20, of New Roads, La., and

Continued on page 22

## YSA STATEMENT

The following are excerpts from a statement by the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Young Socialist Alliance condemns the racist killings of two Black students at Southern University in Baton Rouge.

These killings represent another attempt to intimidate students and all those fighting for democratic rights. This calculated brutality comes from the same circle of reactionaries who ordered the murders of civil rights activists at Orangeburg in 1968 and antiwar students at Kent and Jackson State Universities in 1970. These racists hail law and order as they gun down those fighting for social change.

These vicious attacks cannot go unanswered! The entire student movement and all youth must rally to the defense of the Southern University students.

The proposed investigations by the FBI and Governor Edwards are merely a sham like Governor Rockefeller's "official investigation" of the slaughter at Attica. The only way the police can be brought to justice is through an investigation conducted by Black students and the Black community.



# STUDENTS PROTEST KILLINGS

Black and other students in many areas have reacted to the Baton Rouge killings with protest meetings and actions. The following is a description of some of these activities.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Two-hour rally held at Howard University on Nov. 20. More than 1,500 Black students attended the action, sponsored by Washington Area Black College Coalition (BCC)—a coalition of Black student governments from Howard, Federal City College, Washington Technical Institute, and the Black student organization at George Washington University.

The Howard U administration dismissed classes from 12 to 4 p.m. Speakers included representatives from the BBC, GUARD (Government Workers United Against Racial Discrimination), and YOB (Youth Organization for Black Unity). CLEVELAND: Teach-in scheduled for Nov. 21 at Cuyahoga Community College, where area Black students will gather. The Black Student Union at CCC is sponsoring the event.

PHILADELPHIA: On Friday, Nov. 17, 200 students attended a rally at Temple University sponsored by student senate and Black United Front. Students demanded and obtained money from administration to send 4 representatives from Black and Puerto Rican student organizations and two student senators to Baton Rouge on fact-finding mission.

BOSTON: At Brandeis University Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian students held candlelight march late Thursday night, Nov. 16. One hundred students participated. Three hundred students attended another rally on Friday, Nov. 17, where administration announced cancellation of classes on Monday, Nov. 20. About 400 attended a Monday memorial where president of the university spoke. Builders of action were GRITO, Afro, and BASA (Brandeis Asian Student Association).

Two hundred students attended a memorial meeting Monday, Nov. 20, at Boston University. Umoja at BU raised \$150 for Southern University students. On Sunday evening, Nov. 19, at MIT, Southern women students addressed a rally of 450 and called for a boycott of classes on Monday, Nov. 27, in solidarity with Southern U students.

At Harvard University \$1,800 was raised for Southern U students.

NEW YORK CITY: At Queens College 700 to 1,000 attended a memorial rally, Monday, Nov. 20. Carload of students who went down to Baton Rouge over weekend returned to speak and play taped interviews at rally. BSU, SEEK program (special program for students of oppressed nationalities), and La Union Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos were principal builders and organizers of the action. The Young Socialist Alliance and other organizations played supporting role.

More than 200 Black and Puerto Rican students from area colleges met at Hunter College to plan activity for a Monday, Nov. 27, day of solidarity with Southern University students.

At Columbia University, Ama Saaran, a Southern University student, addressed more than 300 students Nov. 20. She is touring a number of campuses and giving a firsthand account of the struggle in Baton Rouge. The Columbia meeting was sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society.

# Black sailors speak out against racism in Navy



Guardian

By LESLIE DORK

SAN DIEGO—Four of the Black sailors involved in the antiracist protest on the U.S.S. *Constellation* met with reporters here Nov. 18. They said they are being subjected to victimization and intimidation since being put ashore following unsuccessful efforts to have the ship's captain discuss their grievances with them.

Some 120 Blacks and 10 white supporters were put off the ship Nov. 4 after they had waited on deck for 10 hours for the captain to meet with them. Ordered to return to the ship Nov. 9, they reported to the dock but said they would board the ship only if they received meaningful assurances that their grievances would be dealt with.

They were tricked into going to a shore-side barracks after the *Constellation's* captain, J.D. Ward, told them he would meet with them there to discuss their complaints.

Instead, they were dispersed to three Naval stations in the area. Six have already been discharged from the Navy; others have received penalties at administrative hearings for allegedly being AWOL while on the pier in front of the ship.

The four men who told what has been happening since they were put ashore were Sheldon Ruffin, Leroy Templeton, Michael Leroy Dawson, and Herman Weeks.

They talked with reporters at the Black Servicemen's Caucus Center. Organized to combat racism in the military, the BSC offers counseling and other services to sailors and marines in the area.

The four charged that their dispersal ashore has made it very difficult to maintain communication with each other and has facilitated the Navy's efforts to intimidate those involved.

They said they had been assured that they would meet with "human relations counselors" only as a group. But instead they were being subjected to individual interviews in which they were told to consider themselves fortunate they weren't facing mutiny charges.

They said they were also promised they would not be reassigned to sea. But the previous day Captain Ward had told reporters that those not discharged from the Navy would be reassigned to sea or would be assigned to other ships.

Ward also confirmed indirectly the charge that the individual "counseling" was intended to intimidate his former crew members.

The purpose of the interviews, he explained, was "to learn whether they have genuine grievances or none at all." At the same time he tried to in-

sinuate that the dissident crew members were involved in shipboard "sabotage."

The four seamen said Blacks on the *Constellation* have long felt the whiplash of Navy discrimination. They said that the final blow came when it was decided that the *Constellation* was overstaffed and Captain Ward began issuing summary discharges—almost all to Blacks and based on the allegation of low scores on aptitude tests at the time they entered the Navy.

They said the major problems aboard ship were racially discriminatory punishment standards and the denial of opportunities to Blacks to be assigned to skilled departments or win advancement. Although Blacks make up 5.8 percent of the enlisted personnel in the Navy, only 0.7 percent of the officers are Black. The seamen estimated that 25 percent of Black naval recruits are assigned below deck as firemen.

Blacks receive stiffer punishment than whites for the same offense, they said, and cannot get a fair hearing at "captain's mast" disciplinary hearings. Herman Weeks said that the word of the petty officer will always be taken against that of an enlisted man—particularly against Blacks. When Black sailors are called up for a hearing, he said, they just know they aren't going to be believed, no matter what they say.

Whenever there is a fight between whites and Blacks, they said, it is immediately assumed it was "provoked" by the Blacks. One such "unprovoked" fight occurred, they said, when a white sailor walked by and said, "Move, Nigger! You're blocking my way!"

"Then they wonder why a fight resulted," one of the men observed.

They said the protesting sailors had formulated a number of demands. They are insisting that administrative discharges issued by the captain be subject to review by higher authorities. They want a review of the "captain's mast" proceedings against Blacks, which they said will establish the discriminatory nature of these hearings.

They also want to be informed of the rating marks entered into their records quarterly. Black seamen are discharged on the basis of alleged low quarterly marks after having previously been told their work is satisfactory.

The four sailors said they had joined the Navy rather than be drafted into the Army for fighting in Vietnam. "I wasn't going to be one of the Black men fighting yellow men," Leroy Templeton said. The others indicated they too were opposed to the war against the Vietnamese people.

Just prior to the press conference, a solidarity demonstration by civilians was held in front of the District Naval Headquarters. Despite a heavy rain that morning and continuing drizzle, 50 people joined the action, which had been organized on two days' notice by the Student Mobilization Committee. The action was also endorsed by the Black Servicemen's Caucus and had the support of the San Diego State College Black Student Council, MECHA (a Chicano student group), and others.

The Black Servicemen's Caucus is now circulating petitions demanding that *Constellation* Captain J.D. Ward face court-martial for dereliction of duty in violation of the military code. Copies of the petition may be obtained from the Black Servicemen's Caucus, 3101 Imperial Ave., San Diego, Calif. 92102. Telephone: (714) 233-1823.

## 'Agitators' and 'sabotage'

SAN DIEGO—J.D. Ward, captain of the U.S.S. *Constellation*, has apparently backed off on his attempt to smear the antiracist protest of Black crew members as being related to "sabotage." On Nov. 14, Ward told reporters, "We had problems which could be construed as sabotage. We were never able to pin down who was responsible. We were never able to locate witnesses."

He told of three "agitators" removed from the ship because it was "believed" they might be connected with sabotage efforts.

Closer to reality was Ward's

statement, "I became aware of agitators trying to convince others of the crew that conditions were bad aboard the *Constellation*."

From the response of Black crew members to shipboard conditions, it didn't take any "agitators" to convince them conditions were bad.

Ward was later asked about the "sabotage" charge by a reporter for the *Washington Post*. At the press conference held by the four *Constellation* seamen, the *Post* reporter said that when pressed on the question of sabotage, the captain had backed off.

## A fair settlement?

The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice refused to endorse the nationwide antiwar demonstrations on Nov. 18 called by the National Peace Action Coalition. They opposed the central slogan of the actions, "U. S. Out Now—No U. S. Conditions," because it counters the proposed nine-point settlement they are promoting.

The *Guardian* editors, on the other hand, backed the Nov. 18 actions. However, they too sharply criticized the actions' central demand. In an editorial in their Nov. 22 issue they argue that "the correct slogan should be, 'U. S. out of Vietnam now; Nixon sign the agreements.'"

They believe the demand "No U. S. conditions" is "mistaken and unrealistic at this point."

We submit that the *Guardian's* view is inconsistent. They say they support "Out Now," i.e., immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces. This demand is a specific expression of the right of the Vietnamese to determine their own affairs without interference from any other countries. To be consistent, this means that no country, including the U. S., has the right to impose any conditions on the Vietnamese.

Why then do the *Guardian* editors oppose the demand "No conditions" and attack the Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant* as "sectarian" for supporting it? Why are they campaigning for a settlement that will impose conditions on the Vietnamese?

The answer is that the *Guardian* does not think the nine-point proposal is unfair to the Vietnamese. On the contrary, they argue "that to the extent that concessions have been made [by Hanoi] it is from a position of strength; that the U. S. is on the defensive and its puppets on the verge of collapse. It is Nixon who has made the decisive concessions in the agreement and we must force him to follow through."

The *Guardian* has the facts turned inside out. The Vietnamese are negotiating from a position of weakness compared to the U. S. It's true that last spring when North Vietnam launched its major offensive against the Saigon regime, it scored impressive victories. Thieu's regime began to crumble as his armies literally turned tail and ran from the battlefield. But this offensive was stopped short of overturning the Saigon regime. Why?

The U. S. launched the heaviest bombing of the war and imposed a blockade on North Vietnam's ports. And it was able to get away with these major moves without any counter response from the USSR and China. Moscow's attitude was most apparent in its refusal to cancel Nixon's trip to the USSR, which took place only two weeks after the blockade began.

This served to demobilize the international antiwar movement and signaled to the Vietnamese fighters that Moscow and Peking were clearly more concerned with establishing a detente with Washington than providing the assistance necessary to continue the offensive. This was a very heavy political and military blow to the Vietnamese struggle.

It was from a position of isolation and severe destruction that the Vietnamese were impelled to agree to the nine-point proposal. This doesn't mean the proposed agreement signifies that the Vietnamese revolution has been defeated, but it does represent a setback.

The *Guardian* editors, however, have another argument for pushing Nixon to sign the treaty—the Vietnamese leadership has "called upon all the peoples of the world to press this demand on the Nixon administration at this important juncture."

According to the *Guardian*, "the U. S. movement must not advance slogans and demands that contradict those advanced by the Vietnamese liberation forces." This argument is designed to make it appear that those who are opposed to the nine-point proposal don't support the Vietnamese struggle. This is false.

If the Vietnamese feel the pressures on them are such that they have to agree to this proposed settlement, that is their right. Nobody can fault courageous fighters for making concessions if it is necessary.

However, we think the Vietnamese leaders are mistaken to ask the antiwar movement to press Nixon to sign these unjust terms. We do not think that this is the most effective way for us to help the Vietnamese struggle. Rather, we think that the task of the antiwar movement in the United States is the same as it has been since the beginning of the war—mobilize as many people in the streets as possible to demand that Washington pull out all of its forces immediately and impose no conditions on the Vietnamese.

We think that telling the truth about the unjust nature of the proposed terms and why they won't bring peace to Vietnam does not hurt the Vietnamese struggle. Rather, it helps convince more people to join the struggle to relieve the pressure on the Vietnamese and prevent the U. S. imperialists from wresting more concessions from them.

## SWP and Virginia ballot

In '64 I voted for Johnson because Goldwater threatened to defoliate Vietnam. In '68 I voted for whoever it was on the Socialist Labor Party ticket because the Socialist Workers Party was not on the ballot. In '72 I must once again vote SLP because you are *still* not on the ballot in Virginia. You didn't even try. You didn't even say why you weren't trying. I am disappointed.

K. N.

Richmond, Va.

*In reply*—July Uhl, national ballot coordinator for the SWP campaign, reports: "While Virginia requires approximately 9,000 signatures on petitions, double that number must be submitted to assure a ballot spot. The SWP planned to secure these signatures, but unexpected litigation in defense of our right to be on the Ohio, Illinois, and D. C. ballots prevented us from petitioning in Virginia.

"SWP campaign supporters collected half a million signatures to be placed on 23 state ballots and the District of Columbia this year. In states where restrictive requirements kept us off the ballot, we urged supporters to write in the names of the SWP candidates."

## Interested in SWP

As a student at the University of Brussels, Political Science section, and making my dissertation about the third parties of the United States, I am very interested in your party.

I read *The Militant* of Sept. 29, which I bought here at the university, and I found it really surprising that a party like the Socialist Workers Party seemed to be very important.

We here in Europe have a wrong idea about the American political parties. The media mentions only the Republicans and Democrats; not a single sign about third parties.

I am asking you whether you have some background information about the Socialist Workers Party: history, origins, party affiliation, organization, affiliation with other third parties. I am willing to pay the costs because I think that financially you depend on your members. Perhaps you can also send me a list of interesting books so that I could eventually order some here in a shop.

D. V.

Hakendover, Belgium

## Indiana prison strike

[The following letter was not processed by prison authorities until Nov. 9, 32 days after it was written.] As of today, Oct. 8, your brothers are into the third day of a work strike at the federal penitentiary in Terre Haute, Ind. The strike is in response to and in protest of statements made last week by the warden here, Noah Alldredge, who said to the press that this institution is "one of the best in the federal penal system."

This is a lie. The federal penitentiary here is without a doubt the most viciously dehumanizing, physically and psychologically abusive, racist, and reactionary institution within the federal system.

Our grievances are human, they are just, and nothing more for the most part than a reflection of the cries of all oppressed people throughout the world.

We demand the right to earn minimum wages so that we might remove our families from the welfare rolls. We demand the right to form a prisoners union so that we might fairly arbitrate our grievances, present and future. We demand paroles for all prisoners after one-third of time served. We demand productive educational and job training programs. We demand an end to overcrowding. We demand better food. We demand an end to physical and psychological harassment and brutality.

At this moment many of us who support this strike are in isolation or segregated confinement (the hole). We are threatened with punitive transfers to other institutions, loss of good time and paroles, and possible new charges in addition to those we are currently incarcerated for.

We ask your readers not only to support us in our efforts here but to also demand a federal investigation into the events and circumstances preceding and following the strike. Letters demanding an investigation should be sent to Norman Carlson, Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C. 20537.

A prisoner

Terre Haute, Ind.

## New GI paper

United Front, a new GI movement center here in northern Okinawa, has put out the first issue of *Han-Sen Free Press*, a bimonthly newspaper. Any group that would like to exchange newspapers would be most appreciated as we are new and in need of materials (movement papers, books, etc.).

*Han-Sen Free Press*

358 Kin, Kin Son

Okinawa-Ken, Japan

## Anti-Semitism?

I have just received a copy of the Nov. 3 *Militant* and was talking with the man who was selling the paper. I had to question the seemingly anti-Israeli stance taken by some writers. While looking into your paper it may seem that there is anti-Semitism for this very reason.

The stances you take are against aggression; in domestic issues I cite Puerto Rico, Black and Chicano problems. However, in oppression of people in other countries, examples are cited in West Germany, Ceylon, and South Vietnam, but how about the oppression of Jews in the USSR? Do you fight against that oppression? You have attacked Israel but do not cite examples that Jews are suffering under oppression, as are other groups. Is this anti-Semitism?

P. E.

Geneva, N. Y.

*In reply*—*The Militant* is opposed to the oppression of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union, just as we are against all forms of anti-Semitism.

We are also unalterably opposed to Israel's oppression of the Palestinian people. The Israeli settler-state had no right whatsoever to drive the Palestinians from their homeland. Nor does it have any right to terrorize the Palestinian minority within its borders or to attack refugee settlements in neighboring states.



# By Any Means Necessary

Derrick Morrison

The *Militant's* position is one of anti-Zionism, not anti-Semitism, and it is wrong to confuse the two. Such a confusion raises the mistaken concept that the Palestinian liberation movement and its supporters are the source of anti-Semitism. This is false. Capitalism is the real source of anti-Semitism, just as it is the source of all other forms of racial oppression.

Those who state otherwise miseducate Israeli Jews as to who their real enemy is—the rulers of the imperialist countries—and who their real allies are—the oppressed masses, including the Palestinians, who are struggling for freedom and social justice throughout the world.

## Long wait for Militant

I am a prisoner here in Kansas, and my reason for writing is to order a subscription to *The Militant*. There are many receptive ears here, but there aren't enough people who receive your paper. Consequently the "passing line" is very long.

I would also like to take this opportunity to ask you to support the release of the Puerto Rican nationalists, who happen to be the longest U.S. political prisoners to be "inside" these walls. Someday they will be outside.

Puerto Rico Libre!

A prisoner  
Kansas

## Fat Cats and Democrats

The Nov. 10 *Militant's* review of *Fat Cats and Democrats* sharply contrasted with one that appeared in the Oct. 15 *New York Times Book Review* in which William V. Shannon, a member of the *Times* editorial board, wrote:

"G. William Domhoff's 'Fat Cats and Democrats' . . . is written in a hyped-up style and goes in for far-reaching generalizations the evidence does not support. . . . Unfortunately, Professor Domhoff . . . is much less interested in the nuances and complexities of this topic than in advancing a simple-minded conspiracy theory about American politics. But if the two-party system is a snare and a fraud, who cares about the details of how it is financed?"

The *New York Times* reflects the politics of an important section of the American ruling class. It has vigorously endorsed McGovern's campaign as an alternative to what Shannon calls "the most frankly plutocratic regime this nation has known since the days of McKinley and Mark Hanna." The word "frankly" is the key to Shannon's opposition to Nixon.

The *New York Times* would have people believe that only economic cranks will see any value in Domhoff's book. And I am sure they would like nothing more than for political researchers to restrict their investigations to "nuances and complexities." How, after all, could a nuance blow anyone's cover?

Cliff Conner  
New York, N. Y.

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

# Is Black party 'all-class unity'?

The September 1972 issue of *The Black Scholar*—devoted to the theme of Black Politics—contains two very important articles by Earl Ofari and Tony Thomas.

Ofari, author of the book *The Myth of Black Capitalism* and a frequent contributor to the *Los Angeles Free Press*, develops his piece under the title "Marxism-Leninism—The Key to Black Liberation." Thomas, a staff writer for *The Militant*, a member of the editorial board of the *International Socialist Review*, and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, titles his piece "Black Nationalism and Confused Marxists."

The two debate a topic of considerable interest to the Black liberation movement in particular and the radical movement in general: whether the class and national struggles contradict or complement each other, whether Black nationalism can be reconciled to Marxism.

While Ofari makes some telling and obviously correct criticisms of the opportunist (Black capitalism, pro-Democratic Party) and utopian (counter-institutionalist) tendencies among Black nationalists, he goes overboard to reject Black nationalism altogether. In the concrete, this view blinds him to the significance of the Black party concept, which he dismisses as something that "would lead to further splits in the working class" and "promote the false notion of black 'all-class' unity."

Thomas, on the contrary, sees the national struggle

as part of the class struggle. "Ofari," writes Thomas, "claims that black nationalism is 'all-class' unity and claims that it will 'lead to alliances with some of the most backward elements of the black community.'"

He continues, "The fact that many who pose as nationalists advocate black capitalism and work in the Democratic party, does not prove black nationalism to be reactionary any more than the fact that there are a number of African-American unionists who have reconciled themselves with the racist class-collaborationist policies of the top union bureaucrats, proves that black workers' organizing is reactionary. Just as the policies of these bureaucrats are against the needs and interests of black workers, so these phony 'porkchops' carry out strategies that are against the grain of black nationalism."

Thomas points out that Black revolutionary socialists must wage class struggle within the Black nationalist movement by "projecting a consistent program for mass nationalist action" and by building Black financed, Black controlled organizations "which will fight for freedom from all of the institutions of this system. . . ."

The above only delineates some of the basic points of the authors. To get the full sense of how these points are developed and expanded you have to read the full texts in *The Black Scholar*. It can be gotten on the newsstand or by sending \$1.25 to: The Black Scholar, P. O. Box 908, Sausalito, Calif. 94965.



# National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

# Steel mills 'revitalized' by layoffs

Workers at the Jones & Laughlin steel mills in Pittsburgh are in what must seem an almost hopeless situation to many. The mills are being drastically reorganized, laying off thousands out of line of seniority.

The top officials of the United Steelworkers of America have shown little interest in the plight of the USWA members thrown out of work. A no-strike clause in the union contract prevents local walkouts. Under these conditions, an unemployed steel worker in Pittsburgh today must think that trying to get his job back is like they used to say, "trying to fight city hall."

What workers at J&L are bucking is bigger than any city hall ever was, and in many ways harder to get at. After piling up millions of dollars in profits for 30 years, J&L announced losses for the first time in 1970.

In April 1971 J&L's Pittsburgh management met with representatives of the Steelworkers union. They announced plans to consolidate steel-making and finishing operations. Five of the 11 outmoded open-hearth furnaces have since been closed, and "improvements in productivity" have been made in steel-finishing operations. Management says these changes have "helped the plant's profitability."

There have been other results. Two years ago J&L was the largest industrial employer in Pittsburgh, with a work force of 10,000. It now has only 5,100 mill workers. Almost half the former employees have been laid off since "revitalization" of the old mills began, and more expect to be let go.

These workers are members of two separate USWA locals, and one of them—Local 1843—has started a fight that may gain back some lost jobs. On Nov. 10, union pickets demonstrated in front of J&L's downtown Pittsburgh headquarters, demanding that the corporation settle a backlog of grievances and comply with the seniority provisions of the union contract.

Robert Backstrom, chairman of the local's grievance committee, told reporters there are "many hundreds" of contract violations. He said mill management tells the workers to "go file a grievance," knowing that the grievance procedure may drag on for more than a year.

An unnamed management spokesman was quoted by the Nov. 13 *Wall Street Journal* as saying, "all

changes have been made within the provisions of the labor contracts."

Local 1843 President John DeFazio claims the company has changed the mills and cut the workforce in violation of the union-management "productivity clause" in the 1971 contract.

International USWA President I.W. Abel told delegates at the union convention in Las Vegas last September that no jobs would be lost under the "productivity clause" he signed with the Steel Trust.

The demonstration attracted attention to the plight of the steel workers, and top USWA officials promised meetings in Pittsburgh.

What these officials are saying is in one of their policy resolutions adopted at the union's convention. "Our weapons include coordinated bargaining, union mergers, expanded organizing, and a massive legislative campaign to secure passage of stringent laws covering taxes, corporate merger, import and pension protection. . . . in dealing with the multinational monster, we should give long-range consideration to the problem of increasing cooperation and joint bargaining with unions in other countries."

Few steel workers have figured out exactly what this means, but most who have read such resolutions and are familiar with the record of I.W. Abel know that it doesn't mean much. One thing they all understand is that it isn't creating any jobs.

The demonstration by Local 1843 was a change from the usual union tactics and may mark the beginning of what can become meaningful union action. Eventually the picket lines will have to move from the business offices back to the mills, but the steel workers are in a position now where they must first explain their case and rally their allies for a fight against the big corporations.

This is not the kind of fight that can be successfully waged by one local, or even by the powerful United Steelworkers. It must be supported by the entire union movement. In addition it will have to win the support of the unemployed and the still unorganized workers.

The fight for more jobs can be won when the unions again raise the demand for shorter hours with no loss in take-home pay. The 30-hour work week was one of the demands Abel and other Steelworkers officials talked about before the 1971 contract settlement, but dropped in negotiations.



# The Great Society

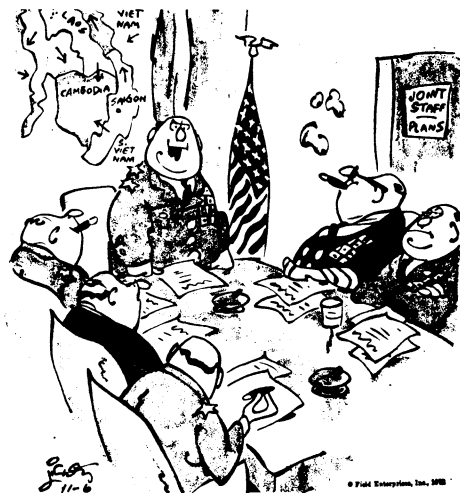
Harry Ring



**City planning**—Pro- and anti-dog feces forces are hurling heavy charges in New York. Environmental Protection Administrator Jerome Kretchmer, who favors requiring owners to scoop up after the pooch, was assailed by the Pet Owners Protective Association as having joined hands with "professional dog haters." Kretchmer pleaded: "I consider myself a centrist on the dog feces question." Councilman Michael DeMarco joined the fray, suggesting that dogs be restricted to different sides of the street on alternate days.

**Thought for the week**—"Other bad effects of smoking, which are less publicized, but in my opinion are just as important, are that . . . smokers are less able to fight off colds, the flu and other infections. . . . another side effect of smoking is that such persons tend to get gum disorders and consequently lose their teeth at an early age."—Dr. Walter Alvarez in the *Los Angeles Times*.

**St. Nick ousted**—Declaring against cultural dependency, the Peruvian junta said Santa Claus, Xmas trees, and other Nordic Christmas trappings will not be welcome in Peru this year. Now if they only took the same approach to jolly old Uncle Sam.



"The country doesn't give us credit for running Vietnam more efficiently. . . . There's just as much war with fewer employees!"

**Sounds consistent**—The U.S. voted with the minority against a UN resolution condemning colonialism and expressing recognition of the "legitimacy of anticolonial armed struggle." A spokesman explained that while the U.S., of course, supports independence for colonial peoples, it felt that support to liberation armies was contrary to the UN Charter.

**Civil rights victory**—Resisting efforts at regimentation, Wilson, Armour, and Hormel won a court order enabling them to sell hot pups in Michigan under federal rather than state statutes. Michigan law permits only frankfurters made with skeletal meat; by-products, filler, and water are banned. The more liberal federal statute permits such varied animal parts as snouts, lips, ears, stomachs, spleens, lungs, glands, and other goodies. Water and filler cereals are fine too. The judge said states rights must yield to federal statutes.

**It works slowly anyway**—The U.S. Health Department says that evaporated milk sold in cans may have lead levels above the permissible level for small children, but they see no "immediate danger" in its use. They plan to confer with manufacturers about maybe changing their canning methods. Meanwhile, they assured, most mothers can continue using the stuff.

**Coexistence cocktail**—A U.S. firm will be marketing mao-tai, China's 112 proof vodka-like drink with which Nixon and Chou toasted each other. Sounds better than the lil ol' red book.

**Minimizes the witness problem**—"Nixon Prefers Solitude In Deciding Issues"—Headline in the *Los Angeles Times*.

## Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



### Women unionists want bigger role

A lot of people, including some radical groups, have been telling the feminist movement for years that its ideas will never catch on with working-class women.

But *U.S. News & World Report*—a magazine not known as an ardent supporter of feminism—recently alerted its readers to the fact that the women's liberation movement is having an influence in the trade unions.

" . . . the campaign for a bigger female role appears even more pronounced than in the early days of U.S. labor, when 'union maids' rose up against exploitation and sweatshop conditions," reports an article in the magazine's Nov. 13 issue.

The article says that of the roughly 32 million women workers in this country, one in seven, or 4.3 million, belongs to a union. The number of women unionists has grown by 342,000 in the last two years.

While comprising only 21 percent of the total number of unionists in the country, women are making themselves heard. In the last year, unions that have held women's conferences include the state AFL-CIOs in Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, California, and Iowa; the United Auto Workers;

the Teamsters; the Communications Workers; the Union of Electrical Workers; the American Federation of Teachers; and the American Newspaper Guild.

At these gatherings participants have discussed how to win equal pay, better job conditions, and maternity benefits; the need for repeal of anti-abortion laws; child care; and the Equal Rights Amendment.

How do the women attending these conferences and participating in union affairs for the first time look at the feminist movement?

"We don't go along with the bra-burning, parading feminist radicals. . . . We want to work in cooperation with men. We believe in educating men to our problems so they will be more willing to cooperate with us." This comment to *U.S. News* came from Kaye Pietzak, president of the United Union Women's Caucus of Chicago.

"I think when union women disassociate themselves from 'women's liberation' it is caused by misunderstanding," Mary Lou Hennessy told *U.S. News* reporters. Hennessy is the assistant director of research for the American Federation of State,

County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

"I do think changes are beginning to come about in organized labor as a result of the women's rights movement. Their concerns and those of trade-union women are the same in the workplace: child care, equal pay, hiring practices, promotional opportunities," Hennessy added.

Whether or not women unionists are prepared to identify with the feminist movement, they do want to play a greater role in union affairs. This has brought displeasure from some quarters.

UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, for example, complains that "Women in labor unions . . . who claim they have been frustrated in their quest for political office within the union have only members of their own sex to blame."

Women have been told for a long time that they're too divided to unite. As more and more trade-union women gain confidence in their ability to organize and to win demands, they will be unwilling to take the back seat and let bureaucrats like Mazey run the show.

## The American Way of Life

Judy Uhl



### Wonder where your vote went?

Elections are as American as apple pie, or so they say. Yet in this election one ingredient seems to have been left out.

The vote count.

Even before the polls closed, the TV stations reported that President Nixon was reelected by a landslide. The day after the election the newspapers confirmed Nixon the winner, with McGovern second, the American Independent Party third, and Benjamin Spock of the People's Party fourth.

That last one interested us. As Socialist Workers Party supporters, we wondered how our party had fared compared to Spock. So we called our local election board to see how many votes the presidential candidates got in New York.

"I'm sorry, we don't have any results," came the reply.

We were incredulous. "You mean the biggest city in the country doesn't know yet how many votes the presidential candidates got here?" we asked.

"You'll have to rely on the news media," the official said.

So we called our local paper.

"We don't have any results for the SWP," the reporter told us. "We get our information from News Election Service. And they only tallied votes for Nixon, McGovern, Schmitz, and Spock."

The reporter explained that NES has the computers that count the votes all over the country, and these figures are then fed to NBC, CBS, ABC, and other media nationwide.

We wondered why the NES computers had tallied the votes for Spock's ticket, which had appeared on 11 state ballots, but not those of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, who were on 24 ballots.

We called Bob Flaherty of News Election Service, but he didn't have any answers. Finally he told us NES reports what its subscribers ask it to report.

After we hung up, we decided to try another election board, to see if the votes had been counted elsewhere. We dialed Boston.

"We won't begin counting votes until Nov. 27," the clerk told us. Perhaps he detected our disappointment at wasting a long-distance call. "Would you like to know the winners?" he volunteered.

We were amazed. "How do you know the winners if the votes haven't been counted?" we asked.

"We rely on the media."

Some newspapers, apparently, did keep track of the SWP vote. We received a letter from a friend informing us that the New Orleans papers listed 16,614 votes for Jenness's electors in their early returns, and that Franklin Parish (County) recorded 1,175 votes for the socialist electors. We decided to verify this with the Franklin Parish registrar of voters.

"Are you finished with the vote count?" we asked.

The clerk told us that all votes had been tallied, and that the Socialist Workers candidates polled 106 votes.

"The newspapers gave us 1,175 votes," we told her. "How do you account for the discrepancy?"

The clerk was firm. "We do our own count," she told us. "We don't rely on the newspapers and we don't know how they get their information. You'll have to go by our figures."

We were beginning to understand. After all, elections are as American as apple pie, we reminded ourselves.

# ABORTION RIGHTS IN DANGER URGE NAT'L RESPONSE TO N.Y. CRISIS

BY LINDA JENNESS

Anti-abortion forces in New York and around the country are preparing a major assault on the liberalized New York abortion law for the January legislative session. Their offensive represents the most serious challenge the women's and abortion rights movements have yet faced.

In its latest *Newsletter*, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) urges supporters of women's rights to organize emergency protests around the country in response to this new attack. New York WONAAC has decided to call a statewide meeting for Dec. 10 to prepare activities for the opening of the state legislature in January.

The opposition—the Catholic

favored the reform.

These events show that the enemies of women's right to abortion are mobilizing on a national scale. The anti-abortion campaign is in direct response to the gains women have achieved since the rise of the women's movement in the late 1960s.

The New York abortion law, the most important of these gains, is now becoming the chief target for the opponents of women's liberation. This is the most liberal abortion law in the country. It allows legal abortions through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy and places no other conditions on women's right to choose.

Because of this law, many women's lives have been saved—the maternal death rate in New York City, for ex-

Terence Cooke a pat on the back with a public letter in support of repealing the law. And George McGovern helped the anti-abortion forces by backing down on his previous position of support to abortion rights.

Many women did not recognize the seriousness of the threat to the law until right before the legislature passed the anti-abortion bill. If that bill had not then been vetoed by Rockefeller, abortions would have become illegal except to save the life of a pregnant woman.

The abortion rights forces did not unite in response to this attack. One thing that was allowed to stand in the way of united actions was the elections. Groups such as the National Organization for Women and the Women's Political Caucus were oriented toward the primary campaigns and away from organizing a massive, visible answer to the right wing.

One important exception was the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, which urged that the most aggressive campaign possible be waged. WONAAC activists helped build a May 6 demonstration in New York City of nearly 2,000 people and marched on picket lines and other actions in New York and Albany.

But the abortion rights movement as a whole did not present a united response to the anti-abortion forces.

We must not let what happened last spring happen again. What is needed is a massive, visible defense effort involving all the groups and individuals who support women's right to choose. It would be a tragedy if differences on other issues were to stand in the way of carrying out joint activities around the New York abortion crisis.

## Organize protests

WONAAC is calling for protest actions around the country—demonstrations, public meetings, picket lines, and news conferences. In New York, State Assemblyman Franz Leichter is arranging for legislative hearings to be held in Albany so that women can testify in public about the abortion laws.

Women's liberation groups, abortion organizations, student governments, unions, and other organizations around the country should be urged to pass resolutions in support of abortion rights in New York. These groups should telegram Governor Rockefeller, expressing indignation at the challenge to the New York law.

The International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization, called for March 9-11, can become one of the major focuses of this fight. Since the Tribunal will take place in New York City, this

*The statewide meeting on the New York abortion fight will take place in New York City on Saturday, Dec. 10, beginning at 12:30 p.m. The location of the meeting is Meyer Hall, Room 510, at New York University (4 Washington Square). For more information, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 315, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.*

gathering presents an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the breadth of national and international support for women's right to choose.

Last spring's experience shows that the opposition is backed by powerful, wealthy forces who are deadly serious in their determination to roll back the New York law. They have already staked huge amounts of money and other resources in their campaign, and they are escalating their offensive.

But we have tremendous resources on our side, too. We know that abortion is not murder, as the anti-abortion forces say, but is a basic democratic right. We know that millions of women and men agree with us; they too are concerned about the threat to the New York law. It is our responsibility to organize these supporters of the right to abortion in the most powerful, united campaign possible in answer to the right wing.

## A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ABORTION DEFEND THE RIGHT TO ABORTION IN NY



Militant/Lora Eckert

May 6 demonstration in New York initiated by Women's National Abortion Coalition.

Church hierarchy, the anti-abortion groups, and politicians—have their campaign well underway.

Sign-waving anti-abortion demonstrators have been confronting New York Governor Rockefeller all over upstate New York at "town meetings" he has called. These same abortion opponents have been at work in Albany, pressuring state legislators to repeal the current law.

According to a survey done by the Coalition for a Free Choice, a New York group that supports the right to abortion, right now there are more than enough votes in both the State Assembly and the State Senate to throw out the liberalized law.

What is happening in New York is not unique. On Nov. 15 the Pennsylvania State Senate passed a bill that prohibits all abortions except those to save the life of a pregnant woman. The House had already passed the bill, and it now needs only agreement on an amendment before going to Governor Milton Shapp.

In Michigan, the Catholic Church hierarchy and anti-abortion groups organized such a powerful campaign of lies and distortions that a Nov. 7 referendum to reform the state's abortion law was defeated. This occurred despite early polls indicating that the majority of Michigan voters

ample, has actually dropped by 28 percent in the last two years. More than 400,000 women—two-thirds of them from other states—have been able to get legal abortions.

The New York law has shown in practice that abortions can be performed safely. This has been a big factor in dispelling deeply entrenched myths and in legitimizing abortion as a medical procedure. It has helped relieve women from the fear of an unwanted pregnancy and the guilt traditionally associated with having an abortion.

It is no wonder then that a recent survey reported by NBC-TV showed that 70 percent of New York residents support the legalization of abortion. Why then have the anti-abortion forces been so successful in their campaign? How can the movement in favor of abortion rights mount an effective counter-campaign?

Last spring the abortion movement was suddenly confronted with a well-financed attack on the New York law that reached its high point in a demonstration of 10,000 calling for repeal. The Catholic Church hierarchy made no secret of its support to this campaign and even housed the Right to Life Committee, the main anti-abortion group, in the offices of the New York City archdiocese.

President Nixon gave Cardinal



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Brandishing photos of fetuses and charging that abortion is murder, anti-abortion forces seek to make women look like the criminals, rather than the victims, in New York fight.

# U.S. speeds arms to Thieu, keeps bombing

By DICK ROBERTS

NOV. 20—The talks between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, once described as "final," are opening again in Paris Nov. 20. But Washington is predicting that there may be some weeks between these talks and the final signing of a cease-fire agreement.

Further talks in Saigon have been frequently mentioned as a follow-up to the present Kissinger-Tho meetings.

Washington is seizing the intervening period to rush arms to Saigon and press its heavy air attack on Vietnam.

"American Air Force and Navy are

agreement to complete the pullout of the remaining American forces here, many of whom are still in key advisory jobs with the South Vietnamese military."

Getler was told that the buildup of the Saigon air force is already completed. This included "roughly 30 C-130 transports, 90 A-37 light attack jets, 120 F-5 fighters plus older A-1 attack planes and scores of helicopters. . . . Tons of ammunition, spare parts and communications equipment were also airlifted here."

Further details on the arms rush to Saigon were provided by U.S.

need arises. That would be almost at the level of U.S. air support in the past."

*U.S. News*, a magazine that is closely associated with the military brass, also revealed that plans are under way to keep U.S. military personnel in Saigon after the 60-day withdrawal period: ". . . some American civilians—employed either by private U.S. firms or by the South Vietnamese Government—may be needed at least temporarily to train pilots and maintenance personnel."

## Pacification

The reluctance of the Thieu regime to sign a cease-fire, coupled with Washington's haste to build up the Saigon army, emphasizes the tremendous hatred for this government among the South Vietnamese people. Another sign of this came from an unexpected source, the Nov. 15 resignation of Willard Chambers, a senior U.S. official in the U.S. "pacification" program in South Vietnam. Chambers is the highest U.S. official to quit the U.S. military effort under such circumstances.

Chambers supports the U.S. policy of attempting to crush the Communist movement in South Vietnam. "But we just don't know how to do it," he stated in an Associated Press interview Nov. 15.

He said, "The only thing that we offer the soldier out there in his outpost is, 'If you'll fight hard enough and aggressively enough, someday, somehow, the other guy is going to get tired and go home.'"

"The soldier is not dumb, and he knows that what that really says to him is that if he keeps on fighting, sooner or later he's going to get his."

Chambers seemed to feel that Washington lacks the military ability to crush the National Liberation Front. According to the AP dispatch from Danang, "Mr. Chambers said he had spent years, both in the Army and out, trying to convince the United States Government of the need not just for firepower but for increased mobility if Americans were going to become involved in counterinsurgency warfare. . . ."

"Although the helicopter has 'kept us alive in Vietnam,' Mr. Chambers said, the helicopter alone is inadequate and does not increase the mobility of the troops after they have reached the battlefield." The dispatch did not say what weapon Chambers had in mind.

Meanwhile an indication of possible differences between Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government appeared in a *New York Times* report of the Nov. 16 meeting of the semipublic Paris talks.

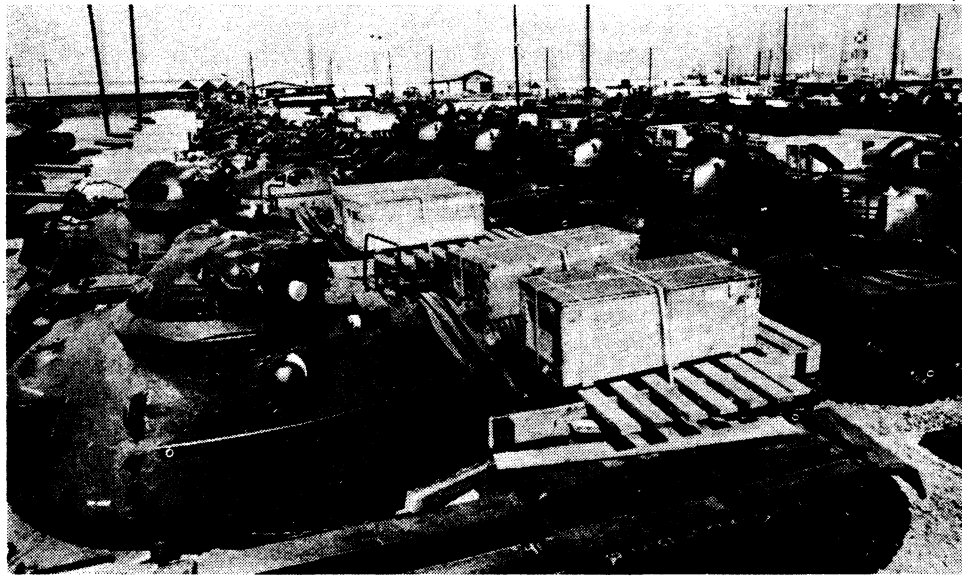
According to the *Times*, Hanoi delegate Xuan Thuy "bitterly denounced the recent intensification of American bombing in North Vietnam."

"The Vietcong delegate, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, also urged prompt signature of the agreement. . . . She also appeared to insist on two conditions that do not figure in the accord—that the United States stop all military aid to President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam before a cease-fire and that Mr. Thieu step down—both earlier Vietcong conditions."

An editorial dated Oct. 29 and published in the Nov. 5 issue of *Granma*, newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba, announced that: "The Communist Party, the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba, firmly determined to give everything for Vietnam, express their all-out support and limitless confidence in the policy of principles of the Government of the DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] and the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government] of South Vietnam and call for the greatest solidarity with the statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

Attacking as an "untenable excuse" the U.S. argument that the Thieu regime—"a 100-percent creation of the Yankee imperialists—had posed difficulties that made it impossible to put into effect the commitments agreed to," the Cubans vigorously supported "the call issued by the DRV to the governments and peoples of socialist countries, other peace-loving nations, international organizations, the people

*Continued on page 22*



U.S. tanks lined up on docks in Saigon are part of arsenal being rushed to Thieu regime by Washington.

pounding North Vietnamese supply lines as rarely before," the Nov. 16 *Christian Science Monitor* reports. "B-52 bombers are making 100 individual flights a day over North Vietnamese targets while the United States and South Vietnamese fighter-bombers are flying as many as 600 a day."

Pentagon plans for bolstering the Saigon military were described by *Washington Post* reporter Michael Getler in a dispatch from Saigon, Nov. 14. High U.S. military officials told Getler that "once an agreement is signed, the United States will probably take the full 60-day withdrawal period allowed under the tentative

*News & World Report*, Nov. 27. "In some instances, officers say, the U.S. even turned over to the South Vietnamese matériel that still was on the docks in the U.S. awaiting shipment. This was done, they explain, so that it could be argued that Saigon had taken legal possession of the equipment before a cease-fire. . . ."

"By the time the 300-million-dollar air build-up is completed, South Vietnam's Air Force will have more than 1,800 planes and helicopters. Says a U.S. Air Force officer:

"The South Vietnamese will have the capability of flying as many as 300 tactical air sorties daily if the

## Sept. Hanoi statement on Nixon 'blackmail'

The following article was printed in the September 1972 issue of *Vietnam Courier*, published in Hanoi.

The will for peace is so legitimate and so universal an aspiration that all words, all proposals of peace always find an echo: the worst warmongers know this and for 25 years successive American presidents have misused the word. Nixon is no exception. He proposes a cease fire under international control, the withdrawal of US troops in the four months that follow, and the release of captured American militarymen. Political settlement must be dissociated from military settlement, he says, for it is too complex and should be reached through an agreement between the Vietnamese parties.

The proposal is an attractive one for a tired and anguished US opinion, for those who want peace "at any cost": Let the bombs stop falling, we'll see to the rest later. Let's take a closer look at things and see what will be the practical results. First, Mr Nixon will be able to present himself to the US electorate as having made peace,

and, what is no less important, the Saigon regime can appear as the legal government of the country, all attempt to overthrow it being now a violation of the agreements signed, which might set in motion a terrible mechanism of reprisals. Mr Nixon will have won on both scores: to get himself re-elected and to consolidate the power of his placemen in Saigon, not to mention the recovery of captured US militarymen.

Washington wants to make people believe that the US is not responsible for the rigging up of the Saigon power apparatus, that the end of all direct military intervention would mean complete US disentanglement from Viet Nam and total respect of her independence. Even for those who have not read the Pentagon papers, the trick is a rather clumsy one. What is the use of the billions of dollars which since 1954 have poured into South Viet Nam at the same time as huge shipments of arms, various American military and civilian missions and thousands of American advisers, if not to impose on the Vietnamese people an anti-national, anti-demo-

cratic government? Who has financed, equipped and commanded the Saigon army and police, all that apparatus for repression war, and "pacification," those "tiger cages"? Why did Washington unleash its "special war" from 1961 to 1965, land half a million GI's, pour 14 million tons of bombs and shells on Viet Nam? Why has Mr Nixon used such massive air and naval forces against both zones of Viet Nam, if not to save from disaster the regime installed by the US in Saigon?

After many months of massive bombing and blockade of the DRVN and of diplomatic manoeuvring, Mr Nixon has not been able to obtain the results he expected on the battlefield. Without the massive military protection of the US, the Saigon regime would have collapsed. Washington wants to obtain at the conference table what it cannot get by military means, as always by resorting to blackmail: accept the present government, don't lay a finger on it, or I will destroy the country. Mr Nixon wants to keep in hand that puppet army and police which will enable him to impose his will on the Vietnamese people. If he

can just get a few months' respite, in order to get himself re-elected and prop up that apparatus so badly shaken by the offensive of the patriotic forces, Mr Nixon will be in a favourable position to invoke all kinds of pretexts and do what his predecessors had done, that is, to send in US military power each time that apparatus is again threatened.

Nixon's proposal will not therefore lead to peace, but to an indefinite prolongation of the conflict. US armed aggression against Viet Nam has definite political aims: to impose US neo-colonialist domination on the country. So long as there is no political settlement, so long as Washington does not give up its will to force on the Vietnamese people a government at the Americans' beck and call, there will be no genuine peace. The Vietnamese people have already repeatedly refused to yield to the blackmail of destruction. This time, they will not give way. Peace will come only if the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights are respected and consecrated by an adequate political solution.



# Lanusse army in show of force as Peron returns to Argentina

By DAN ROSENSHINE

The Nov. 17 return of Argentina's ex-president Juan Perón after a 17-year enforced exile has further heightened the ferment gripping Latin America's most industrialized nation. The current Argentine military dictatorship, headed by General Alejandro Lanusse, arranged for Perón's return as part of a well-designed effort to head off mounting social discontent,



Juan Peron

an effort all indications show has the collaboration of Perón himself.

The 77-year-old Perón was president of Argentina from 1946 until he was overthrown by a U.S.-backed military coup in 1955. His dictatorial regime, while carefully defending capitalism, failed to establish a secure national base for Argentine capital and often clashed with the growing domination of the country's economy by U.S. capitalism.

To gain popular support, Perón permitted the growth of a large and powerful trade-union movement. Many Argentine workers were attracted to his populist style and the demagogic, nationalist attacks he directed against American imperialism and those Argentine generals and businessmen who were in its service.

Since 1966, the Argentine people have suffered under a series of pro-U.S. military dictatorships that have carried out political repression, and repeated assaults on the standard of living. The last three years have seen a rising tide of mass mobilizations by workers and students as well as military coups that replaced two heads of state, each of whom had come to power by the same method.

The Lanusse regime has been faced with two nationwide general strikes since September 1971. In an attempt to restore social stability, Lanusse has promised a return to parliamentary rule and has scheduled elections for next spring. But this directly raised the question of Perón's role, since he is the only capitalist politician with a mass following in Argentina. So Lanusse began to negotiate with Perón.

Perón's return did not lack drama. Public demonstrations were banned, and a force of 30,000 soldiers was mobilized to maintain security in Buenos Aires, while the airport where Perón's plane landed was surrounded by elite tank units. Perón himself was at first placed in seclusion under heavy guard. After a day, he was

allowed to proceed to a \$93,000 mansion purchased for him by his followers, where he was greeted by a mass demonstration of enthusiastic supporters.

The Peronist movement is a diverse array of forces that have used Perón as a symbol of opposition to U.S. influence in Argentina and to the present regime. It includes traditional capitalist politicians, urban guerrillas involved in terrorist actions, and dissident sections of the military.

But the most important base of Peronist support lies in the powerful CGT trade union federation (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor). The CGT leadership, and much of its rank and file, identify themselves as Peronists. For his part, Perón has promised everything to everyone, not even hesitating to link himself with the memory of Che Guevara.

A crowd of more than 100,000 people gave Perón a tumultuous welcome during his first night in Buenos Aires. While many of these were militant workers ready for a showdown with the Lanusse dictatorship, the real game being played by both Perón and Lanusse has been described by a number of commentators.

"There is, however, general agreement that the divisions that have rent this nation for the 17 years since Mr. Peron's ouster cannot be ended without Mr. Peron's presence," James Nel-

visers, sounded the same theme in an interview published in the Nov. 9 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama*. "It is evident to me," he said, "that General Perón's aspiration is to achieve spiritual unity between the people and the armed forces, whose prestige, unfortunately, has been suffering a great decline in the minds of the people."

The Nov. 8 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the Argentine Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Argentino), carries a lengthy analysis of the meaning of Perón's return, which has been reprinted in the Nov. 27 *Intercontinental Press*.

"The question that must be asked," *Avanzada Socialista* says in part, "is whether he is coming back to help the workers or to make a deal with the exploiters and offer the military government a political way out. . . .

"Innumerable workers, Peronist compañeros fighting against the regime, have hoped for many years for General Perón's return. They thought that the day he came back would be a day of struggle and triumph for the working class, as well as the day of the collapse of this system of poverty and the iron fist that oppresses all workers—Peronist or not. But the hard reality is that Perón is not coming back to fight. Perón is coming back to put the finishing touches on a deal with the regime, with the worst



Part of crowd greeting Peron in Buenos Aires. Sign at right reads, 'Peron to power.'

son Goodsell wrote in the Nov. 15 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"Whether they can be ended with his presence is something else again—but the military government of Lt. Gen. Alejandro Agustin Lanusse argues that it is worth a try. And it would seem that the majority of the anti-Peronists, albeit concerned over Mr. Peron's presence, tend to agree with the Lanusse government."

In its Nov. 14 issue, the *Monitor* editorially approved of Perón's return. "And hopefully," the *Monitor* said, if Perón "will agree to the military's playing a continued supervisory role in any postelection government, his presence could be a settling and unifying force in a country for too long torn apart by dissent."

Robert Ares, one of Perón's top ad-

enemies of the working class."

*Avanzada Socialista* cites numerous indications of an already-worked-out electoral deal between the Peronists, the government, and the middle-class, liberal Radical Party. But, the statement continues, "Nor can we discount the possibility that settling the final provisions of the accord will give rise to a new tug-of-war between Perón and the government."

Today, Argentina, along with Chile, has the highest level of class struggle and mass radicalization in all of Latin America. Whatever understandings exist on both sides—Perón's and the army's—Perón's return is a very dangerous experiment for the Argentine ruling class. It could touch off massive actions against the dictatorship that could go far beyond the control of Perón and his lieutenants.

## Argentine activist speaks in California

NOV. 20—After completing a successful tour of the Pacific Northwest, Daniel Zadunaisky arrived in the Oakland-San Francisco area Nov. 13 for three days of speaking engagements organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). Zadunaisky, a former Argentine medical student, is speaking on political repression in Argentina and the fight against it.

In six meetings attended by 50 to 100 people each, Zadunaisky outlined the present situation in Argentina and the origins of the military dictatorship currently ruling the country. The two questions Zadunaisky encountered most were: what can people in the U.S. do to help, and what does the return of Perón mean for the condition of political prisoners.

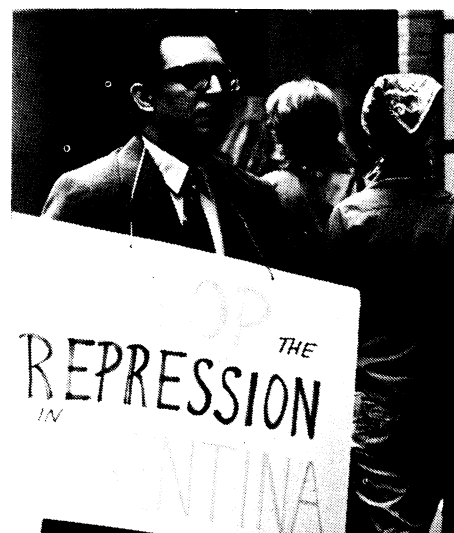
Zadunaisky urged that the political repression in Argentina be publicized in the U.S. He gave as an example of the effectiveness of this type of activity the campaign that saved the life of Hugo Blanco in Peru in the 1960s and ultimately won his release from prison.

As to the state of political prisoners with the return of Perón, Zadunaisky expressed a word of caution. Although many leftists in Argentina have hailed the return of Perón, he doubted that any fundamental change in the condition of the political prisoners would occur. He said that this could only come as a result of the actions of the masses of people inside and outside Argentina.

Meetings during the three-day tour were sponsored by student governments, Chicano student organizations and Chicano studies departments, various radical organizations, international students groups, and individual professors. Meetings were held at Laney College, Stanford University, Merritt College, the University of California at Berkeley, San Jose State College, and San Francisco State College.

Following his tour in the San Francisco Bay area Zadunaisky spoke in Southern California. At California State College in Los Angeles his appearance was sponsored by the student government convocations commission. At California State College in Northridge the United Group for Latin American Solidarity organized a meeting for him. Public meetings were held at the Militant Labor Forum and the First Unitarian Church, the latter sponsored by the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity.

In San Diego Zadunaisky spoke at the University of California campus, and at San Diego State College, where he received front-page coverage in the *Daily Aztec*, the school paper, and also spoke to a prison literature class.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

# Raza Unida candidate in San Antonio gets 35 percent of vote

By HARRY RING

In the Texas elections, La Raza Unida Party conducted several effective campaigns for the State House of Representatives. Among these was the campaign by Alberto Peña III from District 57-J, which covers San Antonio's West Side, the city's principal Chicano barrio.

Peña ran against Joe Hernández, a Mexican-American attorney nominated by the Democratic Party. Although the Democrats have been long entrenched in the area, Peña won more than 3,000 votes, nearly 35 percent of the total.

During a tour of Texas in October, I visited Peña's campaign headquarters and obtained an interview with him.

The West Side is 85 to 90 percent Chicano, and the community suffers all the forms of abuse and discrimination that come down on an oppressed people in this country.

"You can run the gamut of social ills," Peña said, "and you'll find them in an acute stage here in the barrio."

"Even their own surveys—and I'm talking about the Republicans and Democrats—will attest we have the highest unemployment rate, the lowest level of educational attainment, the worst health facilities. We don't even have a hospital, or a clinic of any kind, in this district."

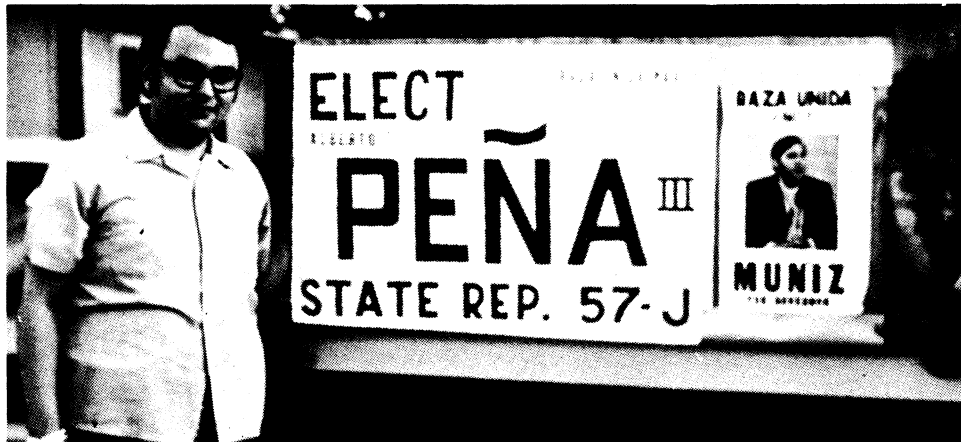
An attorney, Peña scaled his regular workday down to four hours and was out on the street at noon campaigning. The three other partners in his firm were also running for office on the Raza Unida ticket, including Ramsey Muñoz, the gubernatorial candidate.

"Even our law clerk is a candidate," Peña said. "There's not very much law being practiced right now."

Talking to people on the street, in stores and bars, Peña worked to correct the false image of La Raza Unida Party conjured up by the mass media

Also active in support of Peña and other Raza Unida Party candidates was a group of Chicano students at four campuses in the city. They organized themselves as Raza Jovenes, the counterparts of Young Democrats and Young Republicans. Particularly active were two dozen students who come from Crystal City, the party's birthplace.

At the outset of the campaign, Peña's supporters concentrated on voter registration, focusing particularly on new



Alberto Peña III

Militant/Harry Ring

voters. But in addition to the newly qualified, they were able to register a good number of people who had not bothered to vote before.

"These were the so-called apathetic people," Peña said. "Hell, they weren't apathetic. They were just smarter than the rest of us."

The observation was, in a way, a reference to Peña's own political evolution. He had grown up in the Democratic Party. His father, Alberto Peña Jr., is a prominent Chicano Democrat and Bexar County commissioner. Something of a maverick, he declares himself a member of the national Democratic Party, not the Texas organization. A McGovern supporter, he has endorsed local Raza Unida candidates

go into what is wrong with this country, what is wrong with politics in this country," he said. "I always had the intellectual comprehension that the Democrats and the Republicans were not the answer for the *mexicano* here in the state of Texas."

"This led to thinking of Raza Unida. I guess it's been a process of growing up with Raza Unida."

In 1967, he said, there was the first Texas Chicano demonstration that he knew of, a San Antonio demonstration

in support of striking Chicano sanitation workers. Then in 1968 came the Crystal City high school walkout, which laid the basis for the founding of La Raza Unida Party.

Along with members of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), Peña had participated in the San Antonio demonstration. And along with them he went to Crystal City to support the struggle there. He has been a Raza Unida Party adherent since.

Recalling the San Antonio demonstration, he said, "At that time people thought it was terrible, very militant, very radical to be out marching for better wages."

"This was one development," he continued. "And such things as calling ourselves Chicano, this was another gradual development that I feel I've grown with. Now the political effort is another step in becoming aware politically. Raza Unida is not just a political party. It's a vehicle by which we can make our people become aware of what some of the problems are and what we have to do to resolve them."

All efforts by Chicanos to work within the Democratic Party have proved futile, Peña said.

Occasionally he will be asked why he is taking a different course than his father. At an election symposium, a reporter asked him: "What are you doing to your daddy's party?"

"The question in itself is ridiculous. Here he's asking a 29-year-old man what he's doing to his 'daddy's' party. But the point of the matter is that it's *not* my daddy's party. It belongs to people like John Connally and Ben Barnes. It's never belonged to people like my daddy!"

Unlike his father, Peña is convinced that this is as true of the national Democratic Party as it is of its Texas unit. "We can see a very clear example of that with McGovern," he said. "They took the old McGovern and put him in the closet. They brought out a new McGovern and he won the primaries and then they took out the old McGovern again."

Peña was confident that his campaign was helping to develop the political understanding of his supporters. "Not only them," he said. "Myself too. I'm still growing, I'm still learning, and I'm becoming more aware every day."

## 400 attend Calif. Raza student conference

By WOODY DIAZ

NORTHRIDGE, Calif.—On Nov. 11, almost 400 Raza students and faculty participated in a statewide conference at the California State University at Northridge. It was called by La Raza Council on Higher Education to determine student opinion on issues confronting La Raza.

The conference, which was hosted by the Northridge MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), began with the showing of a film on the Puerto Rican movement in New York City and the Young Lords.

This was followed by three presentations on the role of students in the *movimiento* and the community. One of the speakers stated that the San Diego State University administration is unconstitutionally making students seeking financial aid sign oaths stating they will not be politically active.

The conference then broke up into five workshops to draft resolutions relating to La Mesa Directiva (the executive branch of MECHA and the Chicano studies department); goals and objectives of MECHA; La Chicana; concepts of La Raza; and organizing methods.

The workshop on La Mesa Directiva emphasized the students' need for more decision-making power.

The workshops on the goals and objectives of MECHA and organizing methods agreed that MECHA should seek student control of all Chicano programs on campus. In addition, it was decided that MECHA should help organize the Chicano community by supporting and building an independent Raza Unida Party and Raza Contra La Guerra Committees that call for an immediate end to the war in Southeast Asia.

La Chicana workshop drew up the following resolutions: (1) that MECHA women have equal representation in all bodies of MECHA, and that a post be created for a cochairwoman, (2) that Chicana studies be created within the Chicano studies department, (3) that a Chicana organization be created within MECHA and that it be able to meet separately.

The workshop on the concept of La Raza called for support to the Native American struggle and the extension of the concept of La Raza to include all Latin Americans.

All the workshop resolutions were approved by a closing general assembly, which also demanded that faculty representatives in MECHA become actively involved in MECHA activities and conferences.

After an extensive discussion on the role that César Chávez played by campaigning for McGovern and leading La Raza toward the Democratic Party, the assembly also called for support to the United Farm Workers Union. Chávez was criticized extensively, but a distinction was made between the union and its leadership.

Los Tres del Barrio—three Los Angeles Chicanos who were jailed last year in connection with the shooting of an undercover agent who was pushing drugs to lure Chicano activists into illegal acts—were supported and a demand for their freedom was drafted and passed.

The conference went on record in support of a number of consumer boycotts being conducted in support of striking workers.



Peña was nominated at this Raza Unida Party convention last June. Militant/Antonio Camejo

and brought into the community by the Mexican-American hirelings of the Democratic Party. They tried to portray the new party both as violence-prone "militants" and, at the same time, in the pay of the Republicans.

But Peña found that when people heard the facts, they related in a positive way to what La Raza Unida Party actually stands for.

A significant number of young people were involved in the campaign. In the heart of the district, a group of young people—mainly high school dropouts—took an area of several blocks and devoted themselves to canvassing it with Raza Unida literature door-by-door. They organized a neighborhood rally in a local dance hall where nearly 400 people came to hear Peña speak.

while continuing to support the Democrats nationally.

This has been an added reason, Peña explained, why he has focused his efforts on publicizing La Raza Unida Party in the campaign. "We have to sell the party," he said. "It's a brand new idea. And for me, my name has been an added hindrance. People recognize it and think I must be a Democrat. I'm afraid that on election day some will be looking for me in the Democratic column."

When Peña first became interested in politics he tended to share his father's outlook. But the development of the Chicano movement changed that.

Prior to becoming a lawyer, he had obtained an M.A. in economics and taught at St. Phillips College in San Antonio. "My classes would always

# World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 1, 1972

## Israeli socialist describes the changing political conditions under Zionism

[The following interview with Michael Warschawski, one of the leaders of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist), was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* early in October. The ISO-Marxist is commonly known as Matzpen (the Hebrew word for "compass"), which is the name of its newspaper.

[We are publishing below the first part of the interview.]

*Question: How would you characterize the general political mood in Israel today?*

*Answer:* After the 1967 war there was a very sharp turn to the right on the part of the whole population of Israel. The national unity created by the war is still a factor even today.

But the last two years have seen the beginning of real struggles in Israel, mostly strikes by workers, very militant strikes, and a certain amount of criticism—I would not call it a radicalization, but there is more serious criticism of the government's policies. The fact that the Black Panthers [an organization of Oriental Jews] appeared, for example, is very interesting.

You have to understand that these strikes, the Black Panther struggle, and a certain radicalization in some strata of the youth are the exception in a very nationalist and rightist situation in society as a whole.

To this day there is no real movement of political opposition to the Israeli state and government. There are economic struggles, struggles relating to certain specific problems of certain specific strata or classes. But there is no substantial group with a real critique of the Zionist ideology and program.

A consequence of this situation is the lack of any independent mass organizations—of workers, for example, or of Oriental Jews. Everyone in Israel is organized in Zionist parties, in Zionist organizations, in a Zionist so-called union, and any criticism is always within the framework of these kinds of organizations.

The 1967 war was the beginning of a new period in Israel. The war not only added very great territory to the Israeli economy and administration; it also—and this is very important—marked the beginning of industrializa-

tion of Israel. The need for weapons and other war-related requirements is bringing about the industrialization.

This industrialization has some common characteristics with industrialization in fascist countries, like Germany, Italy, and Japan. First of all, it is an industrialization around weapons and war. Second, it is directed by the state. And third, it is being carried out in a period in which there is a strong working class, but in which there is no need to destroy working-class organizations because the working class has no independent organizations.

The whole industrialization is being carried out by the government, by the Histadrut, by the whole Zionist system, at a time when the working class has no real possibility of uniting and fighting back. The workers are paying a very high price for this industrialization and for this new economic boom. Real wages are going down, and this is the reason for the struggles and strikes that are taking place today.

But these struggles have gone no further than attempting to defend the workers' social and economic position.

On the other hand, the fact that today there is what we could call "peace"—there is no war, there are no internal problems—makes it appear more and more to the Israeli masses that the problem is not with Zionism but with "better government." This government has proved itself with regard to the problem of "security" and war against the Arabs.

In addition you must understand that the work of revolutionary political organizations is very difficult. We understand that our struggle has to be against the Israeli Zionist state, and not against this or that government within the framework of that state. We have to make clear to the Israeli masses what the Zionist state is and what price the Israeli masses have to pay for Zionist policies.

The Zionist policy itself, however, produces questions that can potentially radicalize the society. For example, the question of immigration is a very hot issue today in Israel. On the one hand we have a great mass of people, mostly Oriental Jews, who are paying a very high price for Israeli policies, even today in a "peace" situation.

Fully half of the budget is for military expenditures, directly or indirectly, while more than 30 percent of the population lives below the officially set minimum standard of living for

a family.

On top of this, we have a large new immigration from the developed capitalist countries, and from the Soviet Union. These immigrants have many rights and also make many demands. So Israeli-born Jews feel that these immigrants are taking from them what is rightfully theirs.

Thus the Black Panthers have published a petition against Jewish immigration and in support of the tax Soviet Jews must pay in order to emigrate to Israel. Such a petition can have great popularity because this is a real and concrete problem and preoccupation of the Israeli masses.

Of course this issue of immigration is one that the anti-Zionist revolutionary organizations have to include in their agitation. This is an issue that makes clear the contradictions not only between Zionism and the rights of the Arab Palestinians and the Arab people as a whole, but also the contradiction between Zionism and the rights of the Jews in Israel.

Our entire program revolves around such points—to make it clear that Zionist policies can not solve the problems of Jews not only outside Israel but even inside Israel. And if an Israeli Jew is not ready to pay a very, very high price in terms of standard of living and in rights, then it is in *his* interests to break with Zionism.

But we have to understand that the situation today is not one of radicalization. It's a situation of national unity and of strict domination by the

Zionist parties over the whole population. And the struggles that are occurring in some sectors of the society do not go beyond concrete, economic demands and do not express any perspective of changing society from a Zionist to a socialist society.

Of course I have only been speaking here about Jews in Israel.

*Q: You said there have been some signs among certain sectors of young people of a change in this monolithic support by Jews in Israel for the status quo. Could you describe what you meant by this?*

*A:* The '67 war caused the beginnings of a radicalization among certain strata of Israeli youth, mostly those in the high schools who have to go into the army. They are beginning to ask what will happen when we have war, and war, and more war. The fact that to a certain extent they see that Zionism and war are linked together makes them begin to break in a certain measure with the Zionist commitment.

However, the great majority of them have not gone beyond criticism and skepticism to break with Zionism. And on the other hand, the great majority of the young Jews in Israel have moved significantly to the right. Organizations like the JDL (Jewish Defense League) are stronger today than they ever were.

However, the past three years have been characterized, within this rightward shift, by a severe repression: first against Arabs but then against left organizations, against Black Panthers, against workers on strike—laws against strikes, etc. And this repression provoked some young people (I would say even thousands—in the universities mostly but also to a certain extent in the high schools) to begin to fight against the repression.

For example there developed what is known here as the May 2 Movement, a movement that began in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem after the arrest of the leftists and Black Panthers in a May Day demonstration.

This movement can mobilize a demonstration of 4,000 people in Jerusalem—a very significant development. There have never been demonstrations of this size in Israel of people struggling against the government, against police brutality, against the arrests.

This movement exists, there is no doubt of that. In Haifa University, for example, although quite by accident, the left Zionists received a majority and are today leading the Haifa student union.

Thus there are possibilities of radicalizing the youth around such problems as repression and discrimination between Oriental and non-Oriental  
*Continued on following page*



Areas marked with horizontal lines were occupied by Israel in the 1967 war.



## ... Interview with Israeli revolutionist

Continued from preceding page

Jews and between Jews and Arabs. But the great majority of them are not now revolutionary or anti-Zionist.

**Q:** You mentioned that the Jewish Defense League now exists here in Israel. Is this a new phenomenon, and could you describe it further?

**A:** To a certain degree it is a new phenomenon. The right wing of Zionism has never had a very great influence in Israel. The core of the Zionist parties, of the Zionist establishment, was the so-called workers' Zionism. They were always the majority, and they did the work. Many people understand very well that the right Zionists are perhaps the most Zionist in word, but in fact the "left" Zionists did the work very well.

The present immigration from the United States, from Europe, and from the Soviet Union is a new factor; it's an ideological immigration—of people who are not coming to Israel because of oppression but because of a generally rightist or fascist ideology. And they are coming at a time when Israel is strong; when people are not so sure about the slogan that the Arabs want to kill all Jews and that we are in danger. Now people don't believe this so much.

In this situation the ideology and mobilization have to be in another direction—in a very rightist and nationalist, even anti-labor direction. So there is no doubt that the JDL has an influence today because all of the classical Zionist organizations have failed to organize young Jews. They failed to give them an ideology to fight for. They were the government; they were the establishment. The left opponents of Zionism asked the youth to break with Zionism. But then the youth saw the right opposition to Zionism—an opposition that criticizes the government for its "cowardice," for its "communist" tendencies, for its "weakness" in relation to the Black Panther struggles and workers' struggles.

For the young the JDL is an alternative, and events like the Lod incident or the Munich incident make them more and more popular. They demand that the government be stronger against Arabs, against what they call terrorism. And if you are not strong enough, they say, we will be strong. This attracts many, many young people to the JDL.

**Q:** In Europe and America there has been a process occurring on the left of a growing alienation from Israel and opposition to Israel and to Zionism. What has been the effect of this within Israel, and what has been the attitude of the Zionists towards it?

**A:** The first effect was the change in immigration from Europe and the U.S. Before the '67 war and one or two years after the war, the immigration was of young liberals—people who didn't know exactly what Zionism was—and "left" Zionists. Generally when these people arrived in Israel they were astonished to see what Zionism really is in practice. The anti-Zionist propaganda of the Palestinian organizations, of revolutionary organizations outside Israel, and of Matzpen, to a certain extent, made more and more clear to them what Zionism was.

But then the immigration began to come from the right—young people who know what Zionism is and agree with it.

Another factor has been the loss of credibility of Zionist propaganda. Generally before the 1967 war, a great majority of liberals—and even radicals—outside Israel supported Israel against the Arabs, who supposedly wanted to kill the Jews in Israel. But after the war many, many people understand that the problem was the opposite—that of a colonial state and an oppressed people. And that the oppressed people today is not the Jewish people but the Arab Palestinian people.

There is no doubt that today the "friends" of Israel abroad are more rightist than before '67. Many liberals support Israel—but with some criti-

that it strengthened national unity—as happens after every such incident—but that no one in Israel really criticized the Israeli government for consciously deciding to sacrifice the Israeli athletes.

Only a small minority asked, "But why didn't we give them what they wanted?"

So on the one hand, the Munich incident deepened the feeling of insecurity among the Israeli masses, but on the other hand, it strengthened the feeling that we have to fight together against the Arabs, who want to kill us.

I think that activities such as those carried out by Black September in

is still under discussion amongst the tendencies inside the Zionist parties. But in fact such an integration exists. It can be deepened, but it exists.

There is a certain amount of development—the standard of living is improving and there are jobs. The economic relations with the Arab world are better than they ever were before the occupation. So Arabs in the occupied territories have the feeling on one level that "O.K., we are in Israel, we are in Jordan; the difference is not so great."

But national feeling, the sentiment of national honor, is still very strong and will continue to be strong.

The Israeli Arabs—Arabs who were



ירושלים יוני — 1971

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בהוצאת הפנתרים השחורים

### תורת הפנתרים השחורים

בגליון זה :

● תורת הפנתרים השחורים

יש בכך התבטאות לא קטנה שאנו נא- כעכברים מאוניה טובעת, בהשאינם בו לצים ל- לעצמנו פנתרים שחורים, רק אי-לדי העניי "הפנתרים" הוא בל

This publication of the Israeli Black Panthers, protesting discrimination against Oriental Jews, is an example of the beginnings of dissent within Israel.

cism. Only the rightist, bourgeois, and even fascist parties outside Israel—in South Africa, for example—are solid supporters of Israel.

Inside Israel there is a great hatred of the left. And because there is the concept here that the left outside Israel is largely made up of Jews, the general view here is that leftists are self-hating people, Jews who are ashamed of their Jewishness. There is also the concept that the left and the right—fascism and communism—are the same thing.

It can be said today that every Zionist—even the most left—has to break with the real revolutionary left and even with radicals in Europe and in the United States.

**Q:** What was the impact of the Munich kidnapping incident in Israel?

**A:** A great hysteria, for many reasons. First, the Israeli Jews have never felt so deeply that the problem of the Arab resistance still remains, despite the tremendous strength of the Israeli army and state and despite the defeats suffered by the Palestinian resistance organizations. There has been no solution to the problem, and the struggle, the terrorism, will continue.

Second, there was a great feeling of impotence. A feeling that Israel can bomb and bomb Syria and Lebanon and Jordan, killing many, many people, but that the Palestinian resistance will continue to fight, if necessary with such tactics as at Munich.

What is interesting about the effect of the Munich incident is not only

Munich have a bad effect in Israel, from a revolutionary point of view. A bad effect because they deepen the nationalist and chauvinist reactions in Israeli society.

But also it had a great importance in making clear to all Israeli-Jews that as long as the Zionist state exists there will be struggle and resistance against it—resistance from Arab countries, or resistance in Europe, but that the Palestinian organizations will never cease their struggle against Zionism.

**Q:** What has been the political mood and evolution of political thinking among the Arab people within the occupied territories and the Arabs who had lived within the prewar boundaries?

**A:** The Israeli repression inside the occupied territories was very great. Today there is no real struggle against the occupation. Even in the Gaza Strip, where the repression was greater and the struggle longer than on the West Bank, it can be said that today there is no mass struggle.

That is one point; the second point is that, from an economic point of view, the Arabs in the occupied territories are making some money. Not only the petty-bourgeois sectors, but even the workers, even the refugees.

Today between 50,000 and 100,000 Arabs are working in Israel. The Israeli government has not formally decided whether or not to integrate the Arab economy of the occupied territories into the Israeli economy; this

inside the boundary of Israel before the war—are even today hostile and have the feeling of being Palestinians and not Israelis—even if they vote for Zionist parties.

Incidents such as the Munich incident have both a good and a bad effect on Israeli Arabs. The good effect is that such incidents give them their honor; they have the feeling that they are fighting and that at least some among them are not ready to say O.K. to the occupying Zionist regime.

But they have a bad effect because it is only a feeling; it is only a sentiment for saving their honor. They are not fighting; they are not organizing politically or militarily against the occupation. They respect the comandos, and respect the Black September organization for their actions, and they have the feeling that "this is our struggle." But they are making money today.

My estimation is that the integration of the Palestinian Arabs of the occupied territories will be deeper and deeper. The hope of returning to the sovereignty of the Arab countries (Egypt, Jordan), the hope of escaping the domination of the Jewish Zionist state—perhaps to have a certain kind of Palestinian state—is less strong than it was before. But the feeling of being Palestinian, of having rights, and the feeling that some day they will regain their rights, this feeling is still strong and will remain strong.

[To be continued.]

## Struggles emerging in Greece

Recently there has been a revival of independent mass resistance movements in Greece, according to Theologos Psaradelles, a leader of the Internationalist Communist party of Greece (Kommounistiko Diethnistoko Komma tes Ellados—KDKE), the Greek section of the Fourth International.

In a lengthy interview printed in the November 13 *Intercontinental Press*, Psaradelles cites an important strike of bakery workers as one of the first "hesitating steps" of mass struggle. "But the major activity up till now has been among the students," he states.

"The student actions started with protests around the latest anniversary of the military coup d'etat. At first the protesters raised purely student demands. They protested the abolition of the independent student councils and their replacement by puppet bodies manipulated by the junta. The students conducted long strikes, the longest occurring in the vocational colleges and in the law schools in Athens and Salonika."

Greek Trotskyists played an important role in these struggles, says Psaradelles.

One of the results of the revival of mass struggles has been "a sharp decline in the popularity of spontanéism and terrorism among the young left groups." Following the military coup by George Papadopoulos in April 1967, many young leftists turned to spontanéism and terrorism.

This development even had its effect on the KDKE, says Psaradelles. "In the wake of the coup the Greek section of the Fourth International suffered a major split, with the majority of its members following the spontanéist-bomber line, which was expressed in the Democratic Resistance Committees. These groups included all political tendencies, Stalinists, rightist groups, and monarchists. . . .

"But because of the type of organization they adopted, the young leaders who had left the Greek section soon found themselves in prison and a new beginning had to be made from scratch.

"There is a certain logic. When you base your line on planting bombs and nothing else, you are obviously ready to collaborate with anybody. All sorts of groups are carrying out bombings—monarchists, bourgeois liberals, etc. Papandreou [an exiled liberal oppositionist], for example, is calling for planting as many bombs as possible no matter where and no matter how. But he would be very upset if this type of action were condemned and the spontanéist groups undertook systematic work among the masses."

Today, says Psaradelles, the situation is changing. "In the current situation when the mass movement is reviving, especially among the students,

these [spontanéist] organizations are beginning to realize that they are in an impasse and to seek more effective modes of action than those they have resorted to in the past."

Another factor leading to the rethinking process that is going on in the left is the attempt of the Greek junta to appear more "democratic," in order "to avoid being too much of an embarrassment to the Western capitalist countries." For example, notes Psaradelles, "these regimes wanted to bring Greece into the Common Market, but the dictatorship still represented an obstacle in the eyes of public opinion in their respective countries."

The KDKE has attempted to take advantage of the very limited new freedoms granted by the Greek regime in order to bring revolutionary Marxist literature to young students and workers. Publishers have recently

issued some thirty-six books of interest to revolutionaries, including basic works of Marx, Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* and *State and Revolution*, as well as works by Leon Trotsky such as *The Revolution Betrayed* and *History of the Russian Revolution*. Ernest Mandel's *Treatise on Marxist Economy* is also being published.

"Besides these books, a magazine has been coming out every month and a half," Psaradelles explains. "It, as well as the publishing work in general, has served as a center of regroupment for a whole series of groups that arose in the previous period. Groups of youth, but also workers, have come in personally to the bookstore and taken a whole series of books and reprints of parts of books as well as magazines to distribute to their friends and fellow workers."

"The problem that the comrades who have begun this work are facing today is how to organize all these potential activists."

The interview concludes with information on the situation of revolutionary socialists who are in Greek prisons. About fifteen Trotskyists are now imprisoned, most of them for long terms. Conditions are harsh, and the prisoners' families face material hardship. Inside the prisons they continue their political work, "carrying on discussions with anyone who is ready to talk to them not just about the situation in Greece but about the problems on a world scale."

To receive a copy of the complete interview, send 50 cents to *Intercontinental Press*, Box 116 Village Station, New York, N. Y. 10014. □



Greek Premier Papadopoulos, who took power in a coup in 1967.

## Argentina

## Basis for unification of the PSA-PRT

[At the end of 1971 a unification took place between the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (La Verdad) and the Partido Socialista Argentino (Coral). The PSA was one of the groupings that emerged from the Argentine Social Democracy when it split up under the impact of the Cuban revolution. Under the leadership of Juan Carlos Coral, the PSA moved to the left as the economic and social crisis deepened in Argentina.

[The PRT (Revolutionary Workers party), organized around the weekly journal *La Verdad* (the Truth) was headed by Nahuel Moreno, a well-known Argentine Trotskyist leader.

[The two organizations merged under the name of the Partido Socialista Argentino. The PSA publishes a weekly journal *Avanzada Socialista* (Socialist Vanguard). This replaces *La Verdad*.

[This merger of Argentine Trotskyists and left socialists has been attacked as unprincipled by the Workers League in this country and by the British Socialist Labour

League led by Gerry Healy, two sectarian groups claiming to be Trotskyist. For example, the October 16 issue of *The Bulletin*, newspaper of the Workers League, says "The fusion with the PSA was based on repudiation of Trotskyism covered up by some general statements on the need for a socialist revolution."

[The basis of the unification of the PSA (Coral) and the PRT (La Verdad) was set forth in a declaration of principles unanimously approved by the executive committees of the two organizations. The text of the statement—printed in full in the November 13, 1972, issue of *Intercontinental Press*—demonstrates the falseness of the Healyite charges. It is available for 50 cents from *IP* at Box 116 Village Station, New York, N. Y. 10014.

[We are reprinting here only part of the final section of the statement. This part is preceded by a summary of the PSA's "demands for immediate struggle." These include: demands for democratic rights and against repressive bodies and laws; demands in defense of the jobs and living conditions of the working class, including the demand for a sliding scale of wages adjusted every six months to keep up with the rising cost of living; demands for democracy within the trade unions; women's liberation demands, including free and legal abortion and contraception and child-care centers; demands for making the education system serve the interests of the working class; democratization of the armed forces; and for socialized medicine.]

### I. For a socialist economy in Argentina.

For immediate nationalization with-

out compensation of all national and foreign banks, insurance companies, foreign trade, the big meat-packing plants, and monopolistic national and imperialist-owned industries.

Repudiate the debts and concessions to imperialism contracted by the dictatorial and reactionary governments.

For workers' control in the big plants, in nationalized industries, and in foreign trade.

For an agrarian reform based on the expropriation without compensation of the big estates, and for their being handed over to the wage workers and small rural producers to be developed into collective forms of production.

For the return of occupied lands to the indigenous communities.

For the drawing up of an economic plan by a rank-and-file congress of the CGT that can get the national economy rolling and raise the working class's standard of living.

### II. For an international policy aiming toward the unification of Latin America within a Federation of Socialist Republics.

For breaking the pacts that bind us to imperialism (bilateral Rio de Janeiro agreements, OAS [Organization of American States], IMF [International Monetary Fund], etc.

For the immediate recognition of Socialist Cuba.

For economic and diplomatic support to the steps taken by the governments of Chile and Peru to nationalize imperialist companies and to all other anti-imperialist measures taken by any other Latin American country economically blockaded or attacked by Yankee imperialism.

Unconditional defense of Socialist Cuba against any external attack, especially by Yankee imperialism, aimed at interfering with the construction of socialism.

For proletarian internationalism.

For the unconditional defense of any workers state attacked by the United States or any other imperialist power.

For solidarity with the people of Vietnam and all peoples struggling for national liberation and socialism.

### III. Build a workers and socialist united front to:

Fight, on all fronts, against "La Hora del Pueblo," the ENA, the Frente Cívico, and any similar coalition that the bourgeoisie and imperialism have cooked up to divert our heroic working class from the revolutionary mobilization that began with the Cordobazo.\*

Present a class-struggle and socialist program in the coming elections.

Denounce these elections as merely a diversionary maneuver of the exploiters.

Struggle resolutely for the only solution for the country and the workers—a workers and people's government; for the convocation of a free and sovereign constituent assembly on the basis of a genuinely democratic ballot; and to lay the basis for building a *Socialist Argentina*.

*Long Live the Future Socialist Argentina!* □

\*The Cordobazo was a popular uprising in the city of Cordoba in 1969. The formations mentioned earlier are various coalitions of capitalist and workers organizations designed to promote the elections scheduled for 1973.

## Yury Galanskov, leading Soviet dissident, dies in labor camp

By Marilyn Vogt

Yury Galanskov, one of the most prominent activists in the Soviet opposition movement, is dead. According to the November 9 *New York Times*, he died in a Mordovian labor camp on November 4 while undergoing an ulcer operation. He had been serving a seven-year sentence in strict-regime camp number 17, which is reserved for political prisoners convicted of "especially dangerous crimes against the state."

The charges against Galanskov involve his allegedly having edited two samizdat literary magazines, *Syntax* in 1958 and *Phoenix* 1966 (the latter included a poem by the writer and critic Andrei Sinyavsky that the prosecution declared to be "of a criminal nature"), and having composed poetry that was clandestinely circulated in samizdat.

In January 1968 Galanskov, along with Aleksandr Ginzburg, Vera Lashkova, and Aleksei Dobrovolsky, was tried and convicted under Article 70 of the Russian criminal code, which deals with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Ginzburg had compiled a *White Book* which exposed and documented the injustices surrounding the 1966 trial of Sinyavsky and Yuly Daniel, the first show-trial of the post-Stalin era.

Like the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, the Galanskov-Ginzburg trial was a blatant attempt by the Soviet bureaucracy to intimidate the growing democratic opposition movement. But the trials provoked widespread protest within the Soviet Union and served to mobilize and unite the antibureaucratic sentiment they had been designed to stifle.

Regarding the trial and conviction of Galanskov and Ginzburg, Bertrand Russell stated: "So intolerably unjust were the procedures of the court that even the official journal of the British Communist party, normally a faithful spokesman for the Soviet Union, felt compelled to publish its criticism."

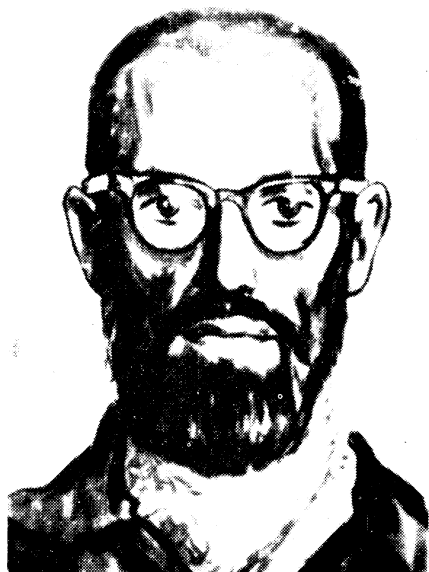
The absurdity of the Kremlin's case, the violations of Soviet law throughout the proceedings, and the severity of the sentences (Ginzburg got five years) prompted letters of protest from Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Latvia, the Ukraine, and other parts of the Soviet Union. There were nearly 700 signers—scientists, students, workers, intellectuals, and local Communist party activists. One hundred friends, relatives, and supporters of the defendants gathered at the courtroom on the last day to hear the verdict announced.

Despite the bureaucratic reprisals against nearly 100 of those who spoke out for the defendants, the democratic opposition emerged from the trial stronger and better organized. Inform-

mal contacts established during these events were to spur the emergence of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the first issue of which, dated April, 1968, was devoted almost exclusively to the Galanskov-Ginzburg trial.

The *Chronicle* has appeared every two months since then (at least until July 1972) as a clandestinely compiled and distributed collection of information on the activities of the anti-bureaucratic movement, with special attention to the trials of dissidents and the fate of those sentenced. Our information on Galanskov's life comes from the *Chronicle*.

A determined activist, Galanskov in 1965 had conducted a one-man demonstration outside the U.S. embassy in Moscow to protest the invasion of the Dominican Republic. He continued his political activity in the labor camp. Although he suffered from se-



This drawing of Yury Galanskov was made by Yury Ivanov, another dissident who did drawings of many of his fellow political prisoners while serving sentences in various camps and prisons.

vere stomach ulcers, which caused him to be hospitalized during his first days in the Mordovian camp (May 1968) and periodically thereafter, Galanskov joined other prisoners in hunger strikes against the harsh prison conditions throughout 1969-70.

In October 1970 he was sentenced to two months in a special isolation-regime prison, called BURs, where prisoners are kept in cells on especially low food rations. This sentence was a reprisal for his protests against the poor food rations in the labor camp. The harsh conditions in the prison resulted in his hospitalization for twenty days in December 1970. The hospital authorities patched him up so that he could finish serving the special two-month sentence.

Along with other prisoners, Galanskov directed letters to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

and to leading cultural figures protesting the penal policies "worked out by experts and presented by them in special handbooks with a cynicism worthy of the concentration camp experts of the Third Reich."

In a statement from the Mordovian camp dated Autumn 1969 Galanskov, Ginzburg, and "five friends" indicted the forced labor camps to which members of the democratic opposition are condemned by Soviet bureaucratic "justice," camps where "... forced labor and cruel exploitation are the norm, where people are systematically kept hungry and constantly humiliated, where their human dignity is debased. Through these camps passes an uninterrupted human flow, millions strong, which gives back to society physically and morally crippled people."

But the Soviet bureaucracy did not choose to give Galanskov back to society. Four years and five months in the harsh Mordovian labor camp killed him. His hunger strikes, one of the few avenues of protest open to the prisoners, and the written protests did not result in improved living conditions in the camp. Instead, he was sentenced to even harsher conditions, which further compromised his already failing health.

Through his political and literary work, his trial statements, and his protests from prison, Galanskov helped spur the growth of the democratic opposition in the Soviet Union on a scale unanticipated by the Soviet government.

For example, in February 1968 in the aftermath of his trial, a group of prominent activists in the opposition movement came together to issue a statement to the Presidium of the Consultative Conference of the Communist parties being held in Budapest. They pointed to the revival of political trials and harsh sentences dealt to people who had merely expressed their views, to the inhuman conditions in the forced labor camps, and to the violation of the rights of small nationalities. They appealed to the "many communists abroad and in our country" to "fully consider the peril caused by the trampling on the rights of man in our country." Among the twelve signers were Aleksei Kosterin, Pyotr Yakir, Pavel Litvinov, Pyotr Grigorenko, Victor Krasin, and Ilya Gabai.

In his own appeal for support in reforming Soviet penal colonies, directed to the Communist parties in the West and to the Western world in general, Galanskov stated:

"Fortunately such events as the hunger strike in February 1968 ... sooner or later become known both in our country and abroad. ... [Publicity abroad about the] arbitrariness and acts of crude coercion by Soviet official personnel ... force the state bodies and officials to take quick action. In this way the Western press and radio are fulfilling the tasks of what is at present lacking in Russia, an organized opposition. ... [Unfortunately] the West often devalues itself by a concern for sensation or for temporary ideological compromise, and does not show the necessary persistence in its approach to matters which for us are of critical importance."

This, then, was the courageous and internationalist-minded young militant whose blood is on the hands of Brezhnev and company. His life stands as a model of revolutionary devotion despite whatever weaknesses there were in his political understanding of what the "Western radio" represents. □

## Brazilian women hold first congress

Brazil's first National Women's Congress attracted several hundred men and women to Rio de Janeiro during the week of October 31 to discuss women's liberation in Latin societies.

Romy Madeiros da Fonseca, president of the National Council of Brazilian Women, explained some of the issues in a Copacabana interview. "Planned parenthood and more day-care centers—that is what the Brazilian woman wants today and this is what we will fight for."

In 1962 she led the campaign for reform of the Civil Code, gaining the right for married women to exercise a profession, travel abroad, hold a bank account, and handle inheritance matters without their husband's permission.

"Everything was done to destroy the congress; it was said we were lesbians, prostitutes, Communists, subversive, but we showed them we're a serious organization," Dona 'Romy' said. The November 4 *New York Times* article also reported that there was significant press coverage.



- FOR GRYNZSPAN: Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels.
- Interview with the Copenhagen Social-Demokraten, 1932.
- Letter to the Communist League of China (section of the International Left Opposition).
- How the Workers in Austria Should Fight Hitler.
- Polish Fascism and the Mistakes of the Communist party.

These are just a few of the articles and letters by Leon Trotsky that *Intercontinental Press* has published. Most were translated from the original Russian and appeared in the pages of *Intercontinental Press* for the first time in English.

For any of those listed above, send 50c for each article desired. Or, if you want to follow the important news of the world each week and get features like these, send in a check for \$7.50 for six months or \$15 for a year to:

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# Why socialist campaign was 'biggest since Debs'

By LARRY SEIGLE

What would you name as the high point of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign? This question came up in a discussion among the campaign staff as we were compiling the statistics, sorting out the files, and preparing the "archives" of the '72 campaign.

Was it the rally held at Fort Dix, just three days before the election, culminating a successful legal fight for the right to campaign on an Army post—the event that finally won network television news coverage (on CBS and NBC) for the Jenness-Pulley campaign?

Or would the high point be Jenness's trip to Latin America, where she spoke to meetings attended by 8,000 people in four countries and demonstrated in action what socialists mean by internationalism? Or perhaps it was Pulley's trip to West Germany, where he met with Black GIs leading the struggle against racism in the military.

Maybe it was Linda Jenness's speech to the Los Angeles antiwar rally last April 22, where 30,000 gave her an ovation and where she was greeted

Larry Seigle was the national campaign manager of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign.

with special enthusiasm by the Chicano contingent when she gave part of her speech in Spanish.

Or it might be Andrew Pulley's speech to the demonstration on the same day in New York City, attended by 100,000, the largest audience either of the socialist candidates addressed.

For many, the most inspiring event of the campaign was Linda Jenness's appearance on the nationally televised "Issues and Answers" TV show. Millions of people had a chance to see the contrast in program, in style, and in enthusiasm between Jenness and the other radical presidential candidates.

Other highlights that come to mind are the successful completion of the two "matching fund" campaigns, which raised nearly \$65,000 to help finance the campaign, and the 15,000 signed cards from people who endorsed the campaign.

Undoubtedly, for many the high point of enthusiasm came with the historic attempt to get on the ballot in Massachusetts, where more than 117,000 signatures were collected on nominating petitions.

Perhaps it was the national mobilization of support for the SWP's right to be on the ballot in Ohio in which hundreds of people, including five members of Congress, protested the state's ruling that kept Jenness and Pulley off the ballot because they are "too young" to take office if elected.

Or the debate between Jenness and Representative Paul McCloskey—the first debate ever held between a capitalist candidate for president and his socialist opponent.

Maybe it was the sale of more than 50,000 copies of the 25-cent pamphlet exposing McGovern's attempt to co-opt the radical movement.

Or it might have been the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) activities outside the Democratic Party convention in Miami Beach, or the "Choice '72" student



Militant/Joe Miles

A special feature of Andrew Pulley's campaign was trip to West Germany, where he met with antiwar GIs.

preference polls last winter, or the winning of a spot on the ballot in Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi—for the first time in the history of the SWP.

For hundreds of campaign activists, no doubt, the most memorable event was the election night party where Jenness and Pulley (from opposite ends of the continent) spoke by tele-

In addition to the 53,000 "truth kits" on McGovern, 75,000 copies of Linda Jenness's "Open Letter to McGovern Supporters" were distributed. Pamphlets were also published analyzing the campaigns of Nixon; Humphrey; and the candidates of the Communist Party, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

The extent of the literature put out



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Speech by Linda Jenness to 30,000 at April 22 antiwar rally in Los Angeles was a high point of her campaign.

phone hook-up to gatherings in 17 cities, summing up the gains of the campaign and pledging to continue the struggle.

But regardless of your opinion about these particular events, one thing is indisputable: the Jenness-Pulley campaign and the nearly 100 local and statewide socialist campaigns constituted the most important, most successful, and most extensive socialist election campaign since the time of Eugene Debs. The scope of its activities, the degree to which it struck a responsive chord among all of the radicalizing sectors of society, and the extent to which it was able to intervene in and relate to the most pressing political debates and developments—all of these factors point to a most successful campaign.

The extent to which socialist ideas and answers to the problems confronting people today were circulated can be seen from some of the statistics.

2,900,000 pieces of literature were prepared and distributed by the national campaign office. This contrasts with 1,300,000 pieces in the 1968 SWP campaign.

This literature included 350,000 copies of the SWP 1972 platform and almost 900,000 copies of the five special brochures dealing with Blacks, youth, women, working people, and the antiwar movement. In addition to these figures, hundreds of thousands of local campaign leaflets and brochures were printed and distributed.

was matched only by the speaking schedules of the candidates. Linda Jenness visited 99 cities, speaking to 332 meetings with audiences totaling 37,000. Andrew Pulley campaigned in 75 cities, talking to 11,000 people who came to the 297 meetings held for him.

The cutting edge of the socialist campaign was its position of wholehearted support to mass actions in the streets, independent of the capitalist political parties. It gave active support to the African Liberation Day demonstrations, and to antiwar and pro-abortion rights marches. Socialist candidates expressed support for strikers by joining picket lines. They met with prisoners, visited welfare centers, and they spoke at factory gates and some union meetings.

Jenness and Pulley spoke directly to more than a quarter of a million people at antiwar rallies held during the campaign. Jenness also spoke to the 3,000 who marched on Nov. 20, 1971, to demand the repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

One of the major accomplishments of the SWP campaign was its success in reviving the tradition, which stems from the days of the early Socialist Party organizers and the Wobblies, of the footloose radical activists. This tradition was carried forward by the teams of young activists who drove around the country, visiting hundreds of towns and campuses.

There were six such YSJP teams last

spring, and their number was increased to 17 this fall. The fall teams visited every one of the 48 continental states, recruiting individuals and even whole chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance, and selling more than 12,000 introductory subscriptions to *The Militant*.

Of course, it is impossible to reach the masses of the American people except through the broadcast media and the major bourgeois newspapers. And it is in this area that the SWP registered its most dramatic gains. Although the networks systematically excluded the socialist campaign from their news coverage and denied the socialist candidates "equal time," there were several breakthroughs toward the end of the campaign, including some brief national TV and radio news coverage.

However, Jenness and Pulley were able to get on almost 250 local radio and TV shows in the course of the campaign, *not counting* the numerous local news shows that covered the activities of the candidates. In addition, there were hundreds of appearances on local shows by other SWP candidates.

According to the scrapbooks maintained by the national campaign staff (which, unfortunately, are lacking many of the articles that appeared in local newspapers), stories on Jenness and Pulley appeared in nearly 600 different newspapers published in 473 cities and towns. The total circulation of these papers, which do not include campus or underground press, adds up to almost 53 million!

The coverage ranged from the largest of the big-city dailies to the small town weeklies. For example, 25 articles on the Jenness and Pulley campaign were carried by the *New York Times*. Every one of the top 20 papers, based on circulation, covered the socialist campaign.

The wire services sent out 129 articles on the SWP national campaign, of which 73 went nationwide. Greatest press interest was in the activities and statements made by Jenness and Pulley while on tour across the country, and in the ballot fights and petitioning work done by the SWP.

(None of these figures include the publicity local SWP candidates received, which was extensive in several states.)

The 1972 campaign brought the Socialist Workers Party a giant step closer to its goal of becoming the biggest and most influential of the socialist organizations in this country.

One of the most illuminating facts of the 1972 race is the contrast between the Jenness-Pulley campaign and the effort mounted by the Communist Party on behalf of Hall and Tyner. In the contest between the two, the SWP campaign emerged victorious by every conceivable measure. The SWP

Continued on page 22



Militant/Della Rossa

# Calif. referendums: Voters defeat anti-union proposition but approve new death penalty

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—In most respects the California election results paralleled national returns.

Ticket-splitting was exceptionally heavy. Nixon won a solid majority over McGovern, but the Democrats increased their representation in the California legislature and retained their majority in Congress.

As in the country generally, voter turnout was lower than predicted. In Los Angeles County, for example, the county registrar predicted a record 3.1 million voters. Only 2.8 million turned out. This represented an increase of only 100,000 over 1968, despite intensive voter registration

of this society.

On other social issues, however, the vote reflected a progressive outlook. The main exception to this was the proposition to decriminalize the use of marijuana. This was defeated—67 percent to 33 percent.

The propositions where the result represented a gain for racism were one to reinstate the death penalty and another to bar school busing and the keeping of any records indicating the racial or ethnic balance of the school.

The vote on restoring the death penalty—which cannot be immediately put into effect because of a U.S. Supreme Court decision barring capital punishment—was 68 percent in favor and only 32 percent opposed. As everywhere, the unspoken argument in favor of the death penalty is that Blacks are responsible for crime and that the threat of execution will prove a deterrent.

The proposition to curb school desegregation won a 63 percent majority with 37 percent opposed.

The most significant victory for working people in the state was the defeat of Proposition 22. Drawn up by the powerful Farm Bureau, the measure was intended to outlaw the United Farm Workers Union and to make unionization of California's highly exploited farm laborers virtually impossible.

Despite a heavily financed growers campaign, marked by flagrant efforts to deceive the voters, the union-busting proposition was defeated by 58 percent to 42 percent.

Real estate operators spent a large amount of money—also on crooked propaganda—to defeat a measure that would establish some environmental control of the California coastline, yet the voters approved the measure 55 percent to 45 percent.

A proposition that would have given the state authorities censorship rights in the guise of combating pornography was rejected by a solid 68 to 32 percent.

Similarly, a proposition to bolster the rights of individual privacy, and dealing with such matters as wiretapping and secret dossiers, was approved 63 to 37 percent.

A crookedly worded proposition that would have increased the taxes of the low-income bracket in the guise of

aiding the "small homeowner" was rejected by the voters 66 percent to 34 percent.

While voting for the environmental control measure, the voters rejected 73 percent to 27 percent a proposition that would have allowed "pollution control" tax deductions to industry for such efforts as installing new executive air conditioners.

And a measure to increase the salary of the state highway patrol was rejected by 61 percent to 39 percent.

A proposal that would apparently increase benefits to disabled veterans was approved 90 percent to 10, and a similar measure relating to blind veterans won an 89 percent endorsement.

Taken aback by their defeat at the polls, the agribusiness interests have announced they will seek union-busting laws from the state legislature here and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, the California Civil Liberties Union has petitioned the State Supreme Court to strike down the anti-desegregation proposition.

In Colorado, Oregon, and Michigan voters overwhelmingly defeated proposals to prohibit the use of property taxes in funding schools. The Colorado and Michigan referendums on this issue included proposals for alternative funding of education through general taxation. The Oregon initiative presumably left the question

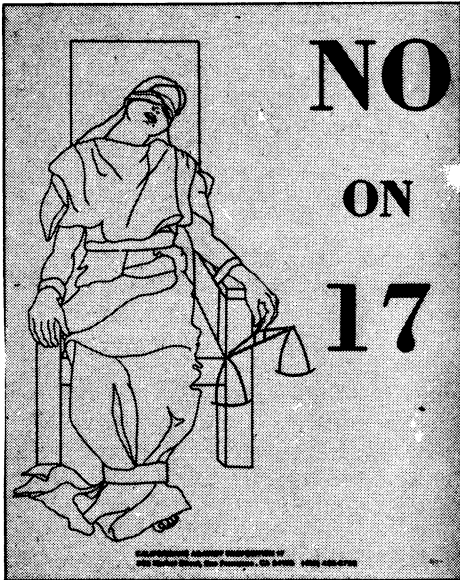
of alternative funding up to the state legislature.

The financing of education through property taxes discriminates against children from poor districts, where tax revenue is much lower. Because of this, federal and state courts have recently overturned property taxes when applied to education. The defeat of the ballot proposals to end this discriminatory method of funding reflects the same racist attitudes shown by the anti-busing vote in California.

On the other hand, voters in several states demonstrated a strong concern for protection of the environment. In Colorado, voters turned down a referendum calling for the state to help finance the 1976 Winter Olympics. A similar proposal for additional financing by the city of Denver was also defeated, and thus the Olympics will not be held in Colorado.

Organizers of the campaign to defeat the proposal pointed out that having the Olympics in Colorado threatened the state with environmental destruction and that the money allocated could be better spent on more pressing social needs.

Florida voters by a 3-to-1 margin, approved a referendum for the state to purchase and preserve land endangered by developers. A similar proposal, which included an "environmental bill of rights" for citizens, passed in North Carolina by more than 2 to 1.



Posters urging a vote against restoring death penalty and for decriminalizing use of marijuana.

drives, the lower voting age, and an increased population.

Perhaps the best indication of the mood of the California electorate is found in the results of the voting on 22 propositions that were on the state ballot.

On those issues where racial bigotry was a factor, the results confirm that racism is woven deep in the fabric



Militant/Dave Warren

Sept. 30 action in San Francisco called for 'No on Proposition 22,' the anti-farm-workers measure.

## Marion prisoners sue gov't. for \$7-million

By PETER SEIDMAN

Proceedings in a class-action suit seeking \$7-million in damages and an injunction to halt violation of due process by officials of the federal penitentiary in Marion, Ill., began in U.S. district court in Benton, Ill., Nov. 2.

The four plaintiffs, all inmates, are Edward Adams, 32, of Chicago; Dillard Morrison, 51, of New York City; Vernon Thogmartin, 36, of Kansas City, Mo.; and Raul Salinas, 38, of Austin. They are acting on behalf of themselves and 136 other prisoners at Marion.

Their suit, filed Sept. 11, charges that prison officials violated their rights in a series of brutal attacks on inmates and a massive confinement of prisoners to solitary confinement following an eight-day work stoppage at Marion that began July 17, 1972. Defendants in the case are: Norman Carlson, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons; G.W. Pickett, warden at Marion; Charles Fenton, associate

warden; and Captain Earl Buzzard, a Marion correctional officer.

Marion is a new, maximum-security prison used by federal authorities to replace Alcatraz.

Judge James Foreman heard two days of testimony from the plaintiffs and the defendants on the request for an injunction against prison officials. Foreman will rule by the end of November on the injunction as well as on whether to hold a jury trial in the matter of the \$7-million damage suit.

At the hearings, inmates explained how the work stoppage, which involved 285 of the 525 prisoners at Marion, was a protest against a July 15 blackjack beating of inmate Jesse Lopez by a guard.

The suit charges that six days later, in violation of Prison Bureau procedures, Warden G.W. Pickett placed 103 of the protesters in solitary confinement, bringing the total number there to 139.

The suit further states that on Aug.

17, when a fire broke out in solitary, prison authorities failed to quench the flames or to turn on ventilation after the fire was out. Guards later entered the cells and stripped the prisoners of their clothing, legal papers, medication, glasses, and mattresses. This material, the suit charges, was illegally confiscated and destroyed.

The next day, Associate Warden Charles Fenton and Captain Earl Buzzard entered the solitary unit and ordered the prisoners to strip their newly issued clothing and allow themselves to be handcuffed. The inmates were then tear gassed. Prisoners have testified that they were not permitted to wash off the tear gas for five days.

Plaintiff Edward Adams was brutally beaten Oct. 15 after a separate protest against prison food was organized by the 139 men confined to solitary. Further, prison officials interfered with the confidentiality of his discussions with Carbondale People's Law Office attorney Arnold Jochums,

who is handling the class-action suit.

Adams, who testified from a wheel chair, wore leg irons in court—as did all the inmates who testified. He described how prison officials had offered to transfer him to the Atlanta Penitentiary if he would withdraw from the suit, and how they threatened to confine him to solitary for the remaining eight and a half years of his sentence if he would not.

Other prisoners testified on the brutality of the guards, improper censorship of their letters, and religious discrimination against a Jewish inmate in solitary. Rafael Miranda, a Puerto Rican nationalist imprisoned since 1954 on charges of conspiracy in an attack on President Truman, said his wife had been allowed to visit him only once every 18 months. Prison authorities only permitted her one hour on her last visit.

For more information on the case of the Marion prisoners, contact the People's Law Office, 101 W. Walnut, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.



# Behind Atlanta's 'racial harmony'

## How Andrew Young won Congress seat

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA — Democrat Andrew Young has become the first Black congressman elected in the Southeast since Reconstruction. Reverend Young boasts that he will be the only Black congressman representing a majority-white district. He attributes his election to "Atlanta's racial harmony."

Young will represent the 5th C.D., which encompasses most of urban Atlanta as well as some rural areas and wealthy suburbs. Although Atlanta itself is 53 percent Black, gerrymandering by the state legislature produced a 5th C.D. that is only 42 percent Black.

Atlanta, of course, does not have any magical "racial harmony." Afro-



Andrew Young

Americans suffer the same racial oppression here as in any other American city. What is somewhat exceptional about Atlanta is the fact that its rich, white city fathers have been more farsighted than some of their brethren in other Southern cities.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, the white establishment here realized that an independent Black liberation movement represented a threat to its rule. Men like Ivan Allen, who was mayor of the city from 1962 to 1969, saw co-opting the Black struggle as an essential task. Allen, a former president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, is a member of the board of the Mead Corporation, one of the world's largest producers of paper boxes, and president of the Ivan Allen Company, the largest office-supply

firm in the South.

Black churches were being bombed in Birmingham, and civil rights workers were being shot. Ivan Allen and Atlanta's business leaders recognized that it would not serve their interests to have such incidents mar the image of a city aspiring to be the "enlightened" commercial capital of the South. In his book *Mayor*, Allen describes how the leading businessmen in the city got together to chart a new course for Atlanta. Included in the meetings were Richard Rich, of Rich's department store; Mills Lane, president of the Citizens and Southern Bank, the largest bank in the Southeast; and representatives of the Coca-Cola fortune and other Atlanta-based corporate interests. They decided that Ivan Allen would make the best mayor.

Allen tried to avoid racial explosions while he served as mayor. He describes in his memoirs how eventually all of Atlanta's ruling elite saw the advantages of peacefully integrating the restaurants and business establishments.

Only recently did men like Allen realize that it might not be best to govern in their own name—that they could use some Black elected officials.

Andrew Young's campaign is a study of how the strategy Allen mapped out works in practice.

Young shook the hands of thousands in the Black community during his campaign, but most of his public statements were geared to convincing white liberals and white financial backers that he was acceptable. His electoral strategy was quite simple: get the Black voters to the polls and get at least 25 percent of the white vote.

His financial statement to Congress reveals that his two largest contributors were an executive of Delta Airlines and Ivan Allen. He admits to spending more than \$100,000 to get elected.

The Republican candidate in the race, Rodney Cook, had difficulty distinguishing his positions from those of Young, even before white racist audiences. For example, Young told a wealthy white suburban audience at the Buckhead Exchange Club that, like Cook, he too was "against busing to achieve racial integration." Unfor-



Militant/George Basley

Atlanta policeman arrests Keith Jones, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 5th C.D., on picket line in support of Mead strike. Young refused to join picket lines during strike.

tunately, he added, he would not be able to vote for an antibusing bill because "it is probably unconstitutional."

Young's positions on many issues were exposed through an unprecedented series of seven confrontations with his Socialist Workers Party opponent, Keith Jones. Two of these debates were televised.

The first public confrontation between Young and Jones occurred at a September meeting of the National Organization for Women (NOW). At first Young was warmly received, but he was later booed when he said that he would not favor the liberalization of the abortion laws unless a "third party" in addition to a woman and her doctor had some decision-making power. Jones was applauded enthusiastically when he replied that "too many third parties" were trying to make decisions that belong only to women.

On the war in Vietnam, Young's position was no better. In a debate with Jones, Young said he favored McGovern's position: keep residual U.S. forces in Thailand and on the seas until the prisoners of war are released. In a debate with Republican Cook, Young moved further to the right: he told the Atlanta Press Club that he is for an immediate

cease-fire, but added that he is for "all-out war if North Vietnam refuses to return U.S. prisoners."

Young's role in the strike by Black workers at the Mead Corporation also exposed his true loyalties. As chairman of the Atlanta Community Relations Commission (CRC), Young helped "mediate" the strike by trying to persuade the workers to give up. This is not surprising since one of Mead's board members is Ivan Allen.

But the Black community won't be supporting the Democratic Party and candidates like Young forever. The Committee for Independent Black Politics ran two candidates for the Georgia state legislature in this election. They campaigned on a program of Black control of the Black community and opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. Eddie "Omar" Webster got 10.7 percent of the vote, outpolling the Republican in his district, and Arlon Kennedy received 12.5 percent of the vote.

By the end of his campaign, Keith Jones was known by almost every political activist in the Black community, and his ideas were well received by many. Undemocratic election laws prevented his name from appearing on the ballot.

## D.C. antiwar rally hears Jenness

# Pulley condemns Baton Rouge shootings

By TANK BARRERA

HOUSTON, Nov. 17 — More than 250 Black students rallied here at Texas Southern University (TSU) today in response to the killing of two Blacks at Southern University (SU) in Baton Rouge, La. Andrew Pulley, the 1972 Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, attended the meeting and participated in the discussion. Pulley was touring Houston to build the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The rally heard a report from TSU student body President Carl Thomas describing what had been happening at SU and relating that to problems TSU students face. During the discussion Pulley denounced the murders and spoke on the need to organize a widespread response in support of the SU struggle. His remarks were well received.

On Nov. 16 Pulley taped a half-hour interview with Radio KCOH, the biggest Black station in Houston, and addressed meetings at Rice University and the University of Houston.

That evening he spoke at a forum sponsored by the Lynn Eusan Institute in the Black community. Most of the people in attendance were students from TSU.

While in Houston, Pulley was also



Militant/Howard Petrick

interviewed by the *Voice of Hope*, a Black newspaper, and other radio and newspaper reporters. His condemnation of the Baton Rouge killings was picked up on several radio stations and in the newspapers.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Nov. 18 — Linda Jenness addressed 325 antiwar demonstrators today at a rally here demanding that U.S. troops be immediately withdrawn from Southeast Asia.

"If there was some way that this rally today could be broadcast to the Vietnamese workers, the peasants, and students," Jenness told the crowd, "I'd like to tell them this:

"You are confronting the mightiest military force in history. Millions of your countrymen and women have died. . . . Millions are homeless. Thousands more are in Thieu's jails and torture chambers.

"Yet you have fought on. Your determination and courage against such formidable odds is truly historic. . . .

"We will tell the truth about this proposed settlement—that it is unjust and was imposed upon you by Washington with the support of Moscow and Peking. . . .

"We are here today to solidarize with you and to pledge to continue our fight until the U.S. gets all of its forces out of Southeast Asia."

Before flying to Washington for the antiwar demonstration, Jenness toured Ohio and western Pennsylvania building the YSA national convention. The 1972 SWP presidential candidate was the featured speaker at a banquet in Cleveland on Nov. 17. In her speech Jenness explained why the "peace" plan for Vietnam is in reality just a plan for continued domination of Southeast Asia by U.S. imperialists.

On Nov. 16 Jenness addressed a meeting of students at Chatham College, an all-women's school, and spoke at the University of Pittsburgh. A seminar of high school women heard Jenness speak on the nature of female oppression.



# The left opposition in the USSR

## Lenin's fight against Stalin

The following is the first of a series on the history of the left opposition in the Soviet Union.

By DAVE FRANKEL

The year 1923 has gone down in history as that in which the left opposition in the Soviet Union was organized. The opposition was led by Leon Trotsky, principal organizer of the insurrection that brought the workers to power in October 1917 and the commander of the Red Army during the civil war that followed. Trotsky also served as the first People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the newly established revolutionary government.

The opposition fought against the bureaucratization and degeneration of the Bolshevik Party. It struggled for a revolutionary foreign policy, for an economic policy based on planned industrialization, and for the continued involvement of the masses of workers and peasants in the political and cultural life of the country.

The parasitic bureaucrats who rule the Soviet Union today try to pose as the inheritors and continuators of the October revolution and the ideas of Lenin while portraying the left opposition and its fight against Stalin as "petty bourgeois," and even counterrevolutionary. But the fact is that the left opposition was carrying on a battle begun by Lenin in December 1922.

Just 50 years ago, in the final political struggle of his life, Lenin opened fire against the growing bureaucracy in the Communist Party and in the Soviet state, and against the foremost representative of that bureaucracy—Joseph Stalin.

This series of articles will discuss some of the background behind the formation of the left opposition, the issues that it raised, and its history.

Lenin had always been aware of the problems of bureaucratism in the new workers state and described its "bureaucratic distortions" as early as the end of 1920. But in the fall of 1922, as he returned to work following a serious stroke, he was shocked by the expansion of bureaucracy in the party and state.

Lenin gave three speeches before a second stroke on Dec. 16, 1922, was to finally force him to withdraw from public activity. In each of them he discusses the problem of bureaucracy in the state. On Nov. 20 Lenin declared, "What we need is that . . . the Communists, should control the machinery they are assigned to, and not, as so often happens with us, that the machinery should control them."

Explaining what he meant by "the machinery" in an earlier speech on Oct. 31, he compared the number of public officials in Moscow in August 1918 with the number in October 1922. Although the Bolsheviks had hoped to cut down the state bureaucracy, they found that the number of officials had increased from 231,000 to 243,000.

The Bolshevik Party inherited the legacy of centuries of backwardness and semifeudal barbarism when it took over the former Russian Empire in 1917. Only some 300 people out of every 1,000 were literate. The destruction and dislocation wrought by World War I and the two years of civil war that followed it further lowered the general cultural level of the country.

It was these conditions of backwardness and devastation that served

as the basis for the growth of a privileged bureaucracy, intent on pursuing its own narrow interests at the expense of the workers and peasants of the Soviet republics and of the rest of the world. The harsh economic conditions resulted in a demoralizing struggle for the most basic necessities of life. The masses, who had already made enormous sacrifices, tended to be driven out of political activity, while large numbers of people were attracted to the Bolshevik Party in the hopes of landing a soft job.

These problems were aggravated by the fact that the Bolsheviks had to rely partially on the old czarist civil service, along with "specialists" who, while often hostile to the revolution, were willing to serve the new government in return for high salaries and special privileges. The result of all this was the growth within the Bolshevik Party of a current that reflected the aspirations of the self-seeking careerists.

This current coalesced around Stalin. As head of the party's Organizational Bureau, Stalin was responsible for assigning party members to various posts, both within the Bolshevik Party and within the state apparatus. He began to use his power to build up a personal following, giving out jobs to those loyal to him, sending the uncooperative to outlying areas, and recommending his hangers-on for positions of greater responsibility.

Stalin was also the head of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (Rabkrin), which was charged with investigating and preventing just such bureaucratic abuses. The result was that Rabkrin became one more government body filled with careerists seeking a comfortable job and economic security.

It was against the growing faction being built by Stalin that Lenin opened up his fire in December 1922. Early that month he proposed to Trotsky "a bloc against bureaucracy in general and against the Organizational Bureau in particular." (Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 479.)

### Struggle against bureaucracy

Despite his second stroke, which paralyzed his right side on Dec. 16, Lenin continued the fight he had begun. The first issue he concentrated on was the treatment of the nationalities that had formerly been oppressed in the czarist empire. Stalin at that time was in charge of a commission on nationalities, which was working on a plan to establish a single government for all of the former Russian Empire. Up until this time there had been a federation of independent republics.

The majority of the Georgian Bolsheviks opposed the proposed centralization. Stalin's reaction was to attempt to ride roughshod over their objection. Lenin suggested a series of amendments to Stalin's plan, designed to meet some of the objections raised by the Georgians. Stalin replied in a letter to the Politburo of the Bolshevik Party dated Sept. 27, 1922, accusing Lenin of "national liberalism," and of encouraging "the advocates of independence." (Trotsky, *The Stalin School of Falsification*, pp. 66-67. Although the USSR has not reproduced this letter, the Marxist-Leninist Institute in Moscow has confirmed its existence.)

In the meantime, Stalin continued to

push the reluctant Georgians. On Oct. 22, nine of the 11 members on the central committee of the Communist Party of Georgia resigned in protest. Things reached such a state that at a meeting near the end of November one of Stalin's lieutenants, Ordzhonikidze, struck a Georgian party member who disagreed with him. Lenin now began to conduct his own inquiry into the Georgian affair, and found that he had been receiving false information.

In notes dictated on Dec. 30, Lenin sharply criticized Stalin's plan for the unification of the Soviet republics. "Obviously the whole business . . . was radically wrong and badly timed," said Lenin.

"It is said that a united apparatus was needed," he continues. "Where did that assurance come from? Did it not come from that same Russian apparatus which . . . we took over from tsarism and slightly anointed with Soviet oil?"

Lenin spoke of the need "to defend



Lenin and Trotsky. In December 1922 Lenin offered Trotsky 'a bloc against bureaucracy in general and against the Organizational Bureau in particular.' Trotsky replied, 'With a good man it is an honor to form a good bloc.'

the non-Russians from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great-Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant, such as the typical Russian bureaucrat is."

He insisted that the "political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky."

### Called for Stalin's removal

On Jan. 4, 1923, Lenin added a postscript to notes on the Bolshevik leadership that he had dictated on Dec. 25 and that later came to be known as his testament. He had already warned the party that "Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use this power with sufficient caution." Now he proposed that the party "find a way to remove Stalin" from his post as general secretary.

In the meantime, Lenin also opened up an attack on Rabkrin, which Stalin had headed from its formation in February 1920 until May 1922. On Jan. 23 he completed an article proposing the reorganization of Rabkrin, and on Feb. 6 he completed his article, "Better Fewer, But Better." This article was such a sharp attack on the whole record and organization of Rabkrin

that Stalin's supporters tried to prevent its publication. Kuibyshev, a subordinate of Stalin in the Organizational Bureau, even proposed that a dummy copy of *Pravda* be printed with the article in it in order to deceive Lenin.

The article finally appeared in *Pravda* on March 4, 1923. "We have been bustling for five years trying to improve our state apparatus, but it has been mere bustle, which has proved useless in these five years, or even futile, or even harmful," wrote Lenin.

"Indeed," he asks, "what is the use of establishing a People's Commissariat . . . which does not enjoy the slightest confidence, and whose word carries scarcely any weight?"

And, to stress the role of Stalin's faction in the party, Lenin says, "Let it be said in parentheses that we have bureaucrats in our Party offices as well as in Soviet offices."

On March 5 Lenin wrote to Trotsky, asking him to defend the dissenters in the Georgian Communist Party against Stalin in the dispute on the formation of the USSR. "This case is now under 'persecution' by Stalin and Dzerzhinsky," wrote Lenin, "and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Quite to the contrary."

On that same day Lenin wrote to Stalin threatening to break off all personal relations with him. On the following day he wrote to the leaders of the Georgian Party who had op-

posed Stalin's unification plan.

"I am following your case with all my heart," he said. "I am indignant over Ordzhonikidze's rudeness and the connivance of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky."

But the fight Lenin had planned for the twelfth congress of the Bolshevik Party scheduled to take place that month, never materialized. On March 9 Lenin suffered yet another stroke, one that paralyzed him completely and made impossible his participation in political life from then until his death in January 1924.

The party congress was postponed to April. Trotsky was unwilling to open up the fight for fear that it would be seen as an attempt on his part to ensure his advancement to the leadership position previously occupied by Lenin. Also, he still hoped for Lenin's recovery.

Stalin, frightened by the blow that had almost fallen on him, agreed to rewrite his report on nationalities and voted for a report on the economy by Trotsky with which he had disagreements. Lenin's removal from political activity put off the conflict that was brewing, but six months later it was to break out in full force.

Before going into the struggle waged by the left opposition, though, it is necessary to explain in greater detail why the bureaucracy emerged. That will be done in the next article.

## Moscow sides with Washington

# U.S. plan on 'terrorism' stirs UN debate

By TONY THOMAS

NOV. 18—A debate has flared up in the United Nations over the U.S.-sponsored "antiterrorism" proposal introduced by Secretary of State William Rogers when the UN General Assembly convened in September.

Rogers's proposal calls for the UN to convene an international conference on "terrorism." According to the Nov. 14 *New York Times*, the purpose of the conference would be to adopt a convention providing for the "prosecution or extradition of persons who kill, seriously injure, or kidnap innocent civilians in one country for the purpose of harming or obtaining concessions from another country, or from an international organization."

Under these terms, any struggle for national or social liberation that might lead in any way to the death or injury of anyone the imperialist governments might deem as "innocent civilians" would be defined as "criminal terrorism." Likewise, any country from which "terrorists" operated—with or without the support of the government—would be liable to UN "sanctions," such as the cutting off of world air transport, or even military intervention.

These proposals pose a special threat to various African and Arab countries that have given aid and asylum to groups attempting to liberate their own countries from colonial or dictatorial regimes through armed struggle. Under Rogers's proposal these and other countries would be liable to "punishment."

The "antiterrorism" proposal has drawn strong attacks from Cuba and a bloc of Arab and African states. Imperialist and proimperialist countries such as the U.S., Britain, France, Belgium, Israel, and Iran have supported the measure.

At the close of October, U.S. Ambassador to the UN George Bush used the hysteria surrounding the hijacking of a German airliner by Palestinian commandos to press for discussion of the proposal in the UN General Assembly's Legal Committee. This

move was assisted by a report from the supposedly neutral UN Secretariat that called for the adoption of the measures because such actions "could threaten the very existence of society."

Arab states in the Legal Committee attempted to focus the discussion on the social conditions the "terrorists" are fighting against. According to Robert Alden in the Nov. 9 *Times*, they were able to add an additional item to the committee's agenda: "a study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in attempt to effect radical changes."

Typically, imperialist representatives responded to this charge by attempting to turn the victims—peoples who are fighting back against their oppression through armed struggle and other means—into the criminals.

The representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy took a position similar to that of the U.S. and its supporters. M.A. Farber, in the Nov. 18 *Times*, quotes Soviet delegate Dmitri Kolesnik as saying, "the struggle against international terrorism was a common cause of all peace-loving nations. . . ." Farber states that Kolesnik felt "an international treaty to thwart criminal terrorism was necessary."

Although the Soviet bureaucrats claim to be Marxists, they reject a key principle of Marxism—solidarity with all fighters from the workers and national liberation movements who are under attack from the capitalist class. Marxists oppose individual terrorism and explain the bankruptcy of this tactic. But they never call on the ruling class to settle these differences within the workers movement. The Soviet bureaucrats, however, have chosen to make "a common cause" with "peace-loving nations" like the U.S.

The Cuban representative in the Legal Committee, Fernando Alvarez Tabio, took a different position. He "called it 'absurd' to ask Cuba to co-



Israel seized on Munich incident to launch attack on Lebanon. This terrorism isn't covered in U.S. plan.

operate in the war against terrorism 'while the rights of the imperialists to act against Cuba are accepted,' reported Robert Alden in the Nov. 15 *Times*.

"Cuba, Mr. Alvarez Tabio said, Alden continued, 'has been blockaded and an attempt has been made to crush it because Cuba was seeking to determine its own future free from foreign intervention. . . .'"

"The Cuban representative said that in raising the subject of international terrorism at the United Nations an effort was being made to 'picture the frustrated people of the world as those who wish to destroy the 'paradise of earth' created by the imperialists."

"'To deny the people the right to struggle for their liberation is to deny history,' Mr. Alvarez Tabio said, and he referred to the violence of the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution and 'Cuba's hundred years of revolution.'"

"... Mr. Alvarez Tabio turned in his speech to the United States air attacks on the cities of Vietnam, 'which constitute terrorism within the full meaning of the term,' he said."

The Cuban delegate's speech unmasked the "antiterrorism" proposal for what it is: a plot by the imperialist exploiters to maintain their terrorism against revolutionary struggles throughout the world.

## Israel seeks more weapons from Nixon

By TONY THOMAS

NOV. 20—Earlier this month Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan arrived in the U.S. to speak at fund-raising meetings for the United Jewish Appeal



Moshe Dayan

(UJA) in New York and Chicago. The UJA is an American Zionist organization that, among other things, sends money to Israel.

On Nov. 14 Dayan went to Washington. His purpose was to consult

with Secretary of State William Rogers, Deputy Defense Secretary Kenneth Rush, and Central Intelligence Agency Director Richard Helms on plans for spending these and other resources of the Israeli state.

According to William Beecher, writing in the Nov. 14 *New York Times*, Dayan sought the continuation of U.S. deliveries of F-4 Phantom jet fighters and other aircraft. He also asked for "authority to buy the Lance surface-to-surface missile, which has a 50-mile range; the Cobra helicopter gunship; the Maverick television-guided missile; and a laser-guided bomb system. . . ."

With the exception of the Cobra, these weapons are so new that U.S. authorities denied Dayan's request for them last year because they "had not been perfected." Beecher reports, "The Cobra helicopter gunship carries antitank and antipersonnel weapons. Its value . . . has been proved in combat in Vietnam."

U.S. government officials were aware, writes Beecher, "that Israel is considering punitive raids against Libya, which has provided funds and refuge for Arab terrorists [U.S. government code-word for Palestinian liberation fighters]."

Dayan's statements in Washington and the actions of his armed forces in the Middle East make it clear he

wants to put these weapons to the same use that they were in Vietnam—attempting to suppress the national liberation movement of an oppressed people. In this case the target is the Palestinian resistance movement and the Arab states of the Middle East.

Since the deaths of 11 Israelis held hostage in Munich by Palestinian resistance fighters, Israel has launched military and air attacks against Lebanon and Syria, using the presence of Palestinian resistance fighters in those countries as a pretext. The most recent series of attacks have been against Syria.

In the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Israel seized the Golan Heights, an area of Syria bordering Israel, for "security reasons." The occupation was supposed to be temporary, but since that time 17 Israeli settlements have been established there.

Commenting on the amount of economic development and settlement in the area, Shaike Gendelman, himself a settler in the area, was quoted in the Nov. 5 *New York Times*, "Can you honestly believe that any rational Government would spend this much money on a place it intends to give back? Not a chance."

When on Nov. 9 an Israeli steam-roller driver was killed after he drove over a "mine" allegedly set by Pales-

tinian guerrillas and after an Israeli patrol encountered a band of 18 Palestinian fighters in the southern part of the Golan Heights and the guerrillas escaped back to Syria, the Israelis launched air attacks on Syria. The Israelis bombed and strafed Syrian army emplacements near the Golan heights and shot down two Syrian fighters.

The Syrians report that four Israeli jets had been brought down. They also launched a heavy artillery attack on the Golan Heights. According to the Nov. 11 *Times*, "Two Israeli settlements on the heights were severely damaged, one soldier was killed and two civilians were wounded. . . ."

The Nov. 10 *Times* reported that "a senior officer on the Israeli General Staff warned that Syria could expect more strikes unless she prevented the fedayeen, or Palestinian guerrillas, from initiating raids from Syrian territory."

In other words, the Israeli military aims to continue such attacks as long as the Syrian government gives any kind of aid or asylum to Palestinian militants and Syrians from the Golan Heights who are both fighting for their democratic rights to self-determination against the Zionist settler regime. This is what U.S. government and "private" Zionist aid to Israel goes to finance.

# MAX SHACHTMAN

## 1904-1972

By MILTON ALVIN

Max Shachtman, a founder of the American Trotskyist movement, died Nov. 4, 1972. He was 68 years old.

Shachtman's career in politics began in the early 1920s in the Communist Party, where his talents as a speaker and journalist were quickly recognized. He became a well-known spokesman for the party, frequently representing it at public meetings.

As a writer, he edited *The Young Worker*, organ of the Young Workers League, predecessor of the Young Communist League. He played a leading role in these organizations. He was a staff member of the *Daily Worker*, newspaper of the Communist Party.

In 1923, Shachtman became editor of *Labor Defender*, the monthly periodical of the International Labor Defense. This organization defended class-war victims such as Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney, and many others.

At the same time Shachtman became a member of a grouping within the CP headed by James P. Cannon. Cannon, a founding member of the Communist Party, was then national secretary of the International Labor Defense. The CP at that time was composed of three main factions. These were led by Charles E. Ruthenberg, William Z. Foster, and James P. Cannon. They contended for influence and power in the party for a number of years.

Shachtman was one of the leaders of the Cannon faction and defended its views energetically in the struggles within the CP. He was a full member of the party's central committee.

In 1928 Cannon returned from a congress of the Communist International held in Moscow with a political analysis written by Leon Trotsky. Trotsky's document offered a Marxist critique of the rising Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and its false domestic and international policies. (Available in *Third International After Lenin*, Pathfinder Press, New York, N.Y. \$3.45 paper.)

Trotsky had been expelled from the Soviet Communist Party the previous year, but his document fell into Cannon's hands through an oversight by Stalin's supporters, who controlled both the Soviet CP and the Communist International.

Heavily influenced by Trotsky's ideas, Cannon began to show them to his closest associates. These were Rose Karsner, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern, all of whom quickly reached agreement with Cannon that Trotsky's ideas were correct and that a struggle for them within the Communist Party was necessary.

As the document began to circulate, the other CP leaders got wind of it and expelled Cannon, Shachtman, and Abern, all members of the central committee, from the party. They were charged with "Trotskyism," a crime in the Stalinized Communist Party.

Following their expulsion Cannon, Shachtman, Abern, and Karsner formed the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) as an avowed Trotskyist organization. Shachtman became prominent in the new group as an editor, writer, and public spokesman. Next to Cannon he was the best-known leader of the Communist League.

### A founder of SWP

When the Socialist Workers Party was formed on New Year's Day 1938 Shachtman was a leading figure in it. He served as editor of the party's magazine, *The New Internationalist*, and at times, editor of its weekly newspaper, which at that time was called *Socialist Appeal*. In 1938 he was a delegate to the founding congress of the Fourth International.

In 1939 Shachtman began to move toward the political position of James Burnham. A professor of philosophy, Burnham had come to Trotskyism via the American Workers Party. This party, led by A.J. Muste, merged with the Communist League in 1934.

Burnham became prominent as a writer and

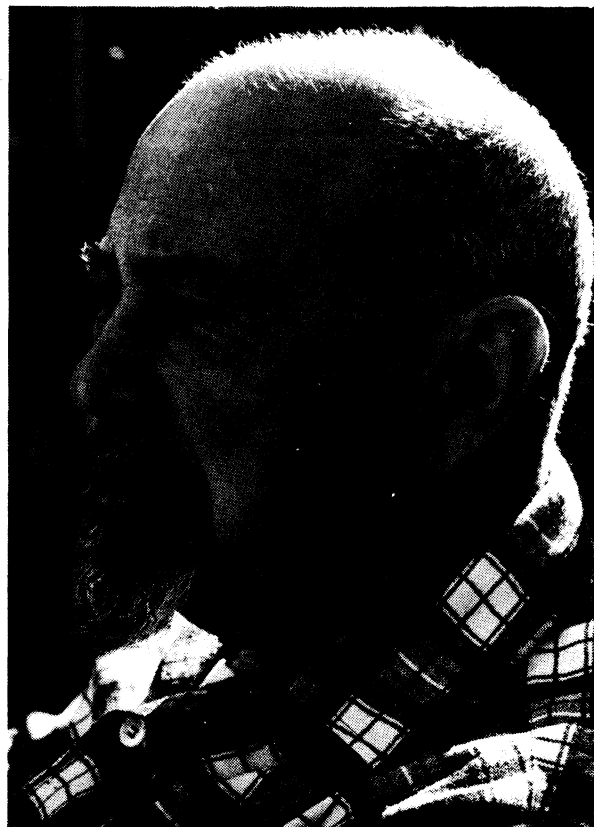
spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party as well as one of the editors of *The New Internationalist*. However, by 1939 he was indicating signs of skepticism about the party's analysis of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state and also about the party's organizational principles.

At the beginning of 1939 Shachtman coauthored with Burnham an article, "Intellectuals in Retreat," in *The New Internationalist*. The article asserted that dialectical materialism, the basic Marxist methodology, was not essential to reach correct political positions. The authors stated that Shachtman accepted the theory of dialectical materialism, while Burnham rejected it.

Trotsky vigorously attacked the article. In a letter to Shachtman he wrote, "The section on the dialectic is the greatest blow that you, personally, as the editor of the *New Internationalist* could have delivered to Marxist theory. . . ." (*In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, New York, N.Y. \$2.45 paper.)

Shachtman, however, ignored and tacitly rejected the criticism.

In the fall of 1939 World War II broke out shortly after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact. When the Nazi and Soviet armies divided Poland between them, a furious anti-Soviet campaign was



Max Shachtman in 1969

launched in this country. Joining the chorus, various former leftist intellectuals attacked the Soviet Union as no better than or different from Nazi Germany.

Shachtman, Burnham, and others in the SWP, feeling this pressure from middle-class intellectuals, began to express doubts about the sociological character of the Soviet Union and its role in the war.

It became necessary to call a plenum of the national committee to discuss the party's attitude to the new events. Burnham prepared a document for the plenum that took the line that the Soviet Union was no longer a workers state of any kind and that it should not be defended in the war.

But he withdrew this document in favor of one presented by Shachtman, which avoided the key issue of the class nature of the Soviet state, denied it support in the war, and called for a "Third Camp" to oppose the two sides engaged in the war.

The majority of the national committee, led by Cannon, supported a document written by Trotsky. Trotsky's document saw no fundamental change in the class character of the USSR as a degenerated workers state and retained the position of uncon-

ditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. At the same time Stalin's reactionary course was severely condemned.

This was the beginning of a struggle within the party that lasted seven months. After a lengthy democratic discussion the majority vote at the April 1940 party convention rejected the position of Shachtman, Burnham, and Abern. They and their followers then walked out of the Socialist Workers Party and formed the Workers Party, with Shachtman as national secretary. The split from the SWP and Fourth International signified their definitive break with Trotsky and Trotskyism.

Burnham never showed up to help launch the new party and soon formally resigned from it. He rapidly developed in a rightward direction, ending up as a writer for the arch-conservative *National Review*.

At its 1941 convention the Workers Party, after a long internal discussion, adopted a new position on the Soviet Union sponsored by Shachtman. This view held that a new class of "bureaucratic collectivists" owned and controlled the country. The party continued to call for a "Third Camp" in the war.

The Workers Party proved to be an unviable political grouping with little or no attraction for workers.

Soon after the war it attempted to reunify with the Socialist Workers Party. However, the reunification was never realized.

In Shachtman's case, the "Third Camp" position was converted into support of the camp headed by the imperialist rulers. This evolution confirmed Trotsky's prognosis that rejection of solidarity with the workers state would logically lead to support of imperialism.

In the late 1940s, the Workers Party changed its name to the Independent Socialist League (ISL).

During the cold war Shachtman continued his rightward course and adopted an "antitotalitarian" posture directed against the Soviet Union. This made him more acceptable to Socialist Party leaders, and in the late 1950s he and his supporters joined the SP as individuals. This was unacceptable to some of his younger followers, who broke with him and joined SWP youth in forming the Young Socialist Alliance.

Later some of his followers quit the Socialist Party's youth group, the Young People's Socialist League, to form what is called today the International Socialists. This group still holds to the "Third Camp" view.

Although Shachtman did not become a prominent public spokesman for the Socialist Party, he was known in radical circles to be an internal leader of the party. He became identified with the extreme right wing of the party, which looked favorably on the Hubert Humphrey group in the Democratic Party rather than the George McGovern wing during the nomination contest earlier this year.

Shachtman was also identified with those SP leaders who were friendly to conservative union officials such as AFL-CIO President George Meany and American Federation of Teachers Albert Shanker of New York.

On the war in Vietnam, Shachtman supported American intervention, and in the 1965-66 period he supported the bombing of North Vietnam.

Shachtman's journey from revolutionary to reactionary politics can be measured in the fact that at the time of his death he stood to the right of Michael Harrington, a McGovern supporter in the 1972 presidential elections who holds Shachtman's estimate of the Soviet Union. Harrington recently resigned as cochairman of the Socialist Party because other leaders of the party were too critical of McGovern.

For those who knew him for many years Shachtman's political decline was sad to watch. At the same time this deterioration does not detract from his earlier contributions to the revolutionary movement in the Communist Party and as a founder of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International.



# Novack and Harrington debate road to socialism in America

By MICHAEL SMITH

NEW YORK, Nov. 14—George Novack debated Michael Harrington on the subject "The Road to Socialism in America" before a Queens College audience today. Harrington, who recently resigned as cochairman of the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation, while retaining his membership, is perhaps the best known person in the United States who represents himself as a socialist. Novack is a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

It was the first time since Farrell Dobbs debated Norman Thomas in the 1948 presidential campaign, Novack told *The Militant*, that a figure of stature in the Socialist Party was willing to debate a proponent of revolutionary socialism.

Harrington opened by stating that the debate was not about which party had better succeeded in creating a socialist cadre. "If that were the debate I would concede defeat at the outset. The SWP has been extremely successful and dedicated in building a small group, much more so than the Socialist Party. Alas, that's not what I am debating."

Harrington contrasted his view of the current political situation in America—"my America," as he persisted in terming it—with that of the SWP. He called the SWP's analysis, which views the U.S. as being in the process of the deepest radicalization of this century, as "utterly fantastic," particularly in the light of Nixon's reelection.

In Novack's view, "The Socialist Party has been suspicious of or hostile toward all the progressive and militant currents of the developing radicalization. It opposes Black nationalism, Black control of the Black communities, and the formation of an independent Black party. It is equally opposed to the Chicano Raza Unida parties.

"It has refused to advocate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam or to participate organizationally in the mass antiwar demonstrations. It shows no understanding of or sympathy for the feminist or gay liberation movements. It supports the entrenched officialdom of the union establishment."

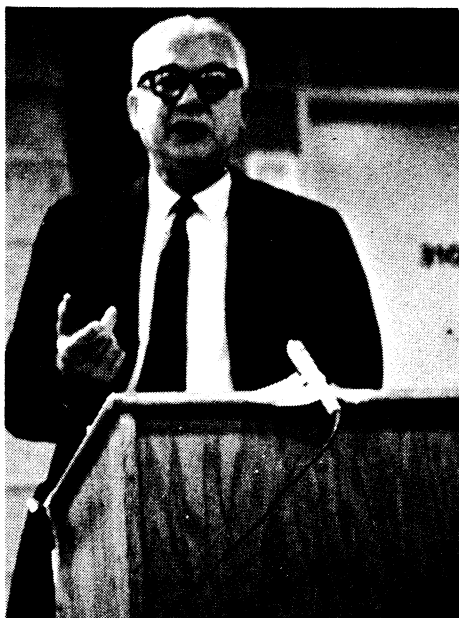
Harrington confirmed this assessment, especially with respect to the trade-union officialdom. "The working class, particularly in the AFL-CIO through George Meany . . . on national health insurance, on full employment, on planning, on Social Security, on poverty, on all of these issues, represents the mass left wing of American society," he declared.

Novack countered, asserting, "The Socialist Party here is nothing but a

houseboy for the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and an off-stage noise in the Democratic Party."

Harrington was angry that the SWP ran its own independent election campaign rather than support McGovern, as he did, and that the SWP attacked the Democratic Party as, in Novack's words, one of the "gold-dust twins of big business."

Novack pointed out that when Harrington resigned the cochairmanship of his party he issued a statement to the press saying he had vin-



George Novack Militant/Michael Smith

icated the tradition of Debs.

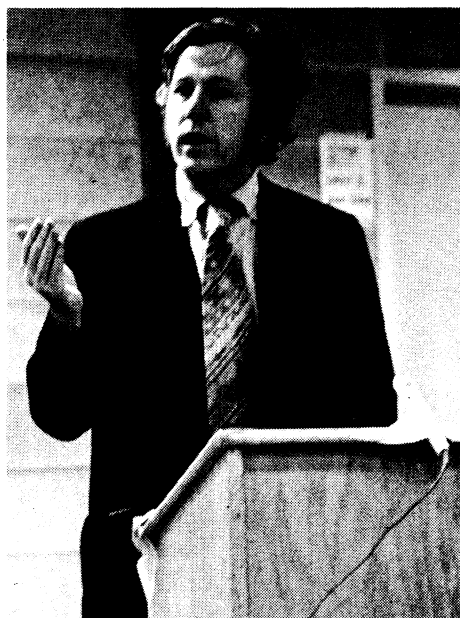
"This is not so," replied Novack. "From the time he helped found the Socialist Party to the day of his death Debs never supported the Democratic Party, which jailed him for his union activities and then for his antiwar stand." The SWP's election campaign, Novack affirmed, followed the revolutionary tradition of Debs by breaking with the Democratic Party and starting to build a socialist alternative.

Replying to this, Harrington observed that Debs has been dead for 40 years, and that "times and the Democratic Party have changed." He strongly suggested there remains the possibility, given certain structural changes in capitalism (which he did not elaborate), that a peaceful, electoral, gradual change to socialism will occur.

Harrington projected a strategy of winning a liberal congress two years from now and a Democratic presidency in 1976. "Liberalism is a precondition for socialism," he stated, and recommended that socialists join up with the liberals and their candidates.

Novack argued that reformist socialist parties, like Harrington's, have without exception "acted as caretakers of the capitalist regime" when they have been elected to office. He gave the examples of the Israeli government of Golda Meir, Willy Brandt's German Social Democratic Party, and Harold Wilson's Labour Party in England. Indeed, Novack said, Harrington concedes this fact in his recently published book, *Socialism*.

In opposing Harrington's assertion that the Trotskyist view is unrealis-



Michael Harrington Militant/Michael Smith

tic, Novack laid the charge on Harrington's doorstep. Harrington, he said, "wipes out the significance of all the victorious socialist revolutions in this century. The successful worker-peasant revolutions from Lenin to Castro have not only been anti-capitalist but even more, according to him, anti-socialist."

Unlike Novack, Harrington refused to support the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam and pointed to Sweden and England as his models of democracy.

Harrington's presentation was characterized by one observer as both pessimistic and skeptical. "What is the road to socialism in America?" Harrington queried in his opening remarks. "I frankly don't think that my party has the answer. I don't think that George Novack's party does either."

Novack encouraged the people in attendance to join the Young Socialist Alliance and attend its convention over the Thanksgiving weekend in Cleveland. Harrington, on the other hand, did not mention the Young People's Socialist League, a cosponsor with the YSA of the meeting and the youth group affiliated with Harrington's Socialist Party.

## Court postpones decision on Akwesasne land fight

By LEE SMITH

NOV. 11—A Franklin County court in Malone, N.Y., failed to reach a determination yesterday on the status of 87 acres of land on the Mohawk reservation at Akwesasne. The land was purchased in August in the name of Richard Cook, a Longhouse chief, for use by the North American Indian communications group known as White Roots of Peace. The official tribal council, which has been waging a campaign against White Roots of Peace and the newspaper they publish, *Akwesasne Notes*, has attempted to seize the land.

The pretext used by the tribal council to seize the land is that Richard Cook's name does not appear on the New York State annuity rolls. Cook had his name removed from the rolls some time ago because he disapproves of the relationship between the state and his people, who he considers should be treated as a sovereign nation. Cook has lived on the reservation all his life and is one of nine chiefs recognized by the Longhouse Indians—those who follow traditional Mohawk practices.

Kanatakeniate (Tom Cook) of White Roots of Peace told *The Militant* in a telephone interview today that in yesterday's hearing, the tribal council's attorney argued that the annuity rolls are de facto "membership lists" for the reservation.

The attorney for White Roots of Peace and Richard Cook, Tim Coulter of the Native American Legal and Educational Defense in Washington, D.C., argued in reply that the annuity lists "are just that—annuity rolls," Kanatakeniate said.

Coulter also presented "a very sophisticated constitutional argument," Kanatakeniate said, that New York State has no jurisdiction over land issues on the reservation. The judge gave Coulter 20 days to prepare a brief, the tribal council's attorney 20 days to prepare a rebuttal, and himself 11 days to consider the arguments. Thus, in 51 days the judge will decide whether he has authority to hear the case. In the meantime, he began hearing the case.

According to New York State, one is legally an Indian if his or her name appears on the annuity rolls or if he or she follows Indian "custom and usage." The bulk of yesterday's hearing, Kanatakeniate said, was concerned with defining "custom and usage."

The tribal council, "none of whom can talk Indian or even think Indian," Kanatakeniate said, maintained they should be the judges of custom and usage. For White Roots of Peace, Coulter called as a witness Alex Gray, an old, blind Mohawk chief whose testimony had to be interpreted from Mohawk. "Their attorney kept making stupid objections to everything Alex Gray would say," Kanatakeniate said.

The hearing will continue on the issue of "custom and usage" Dec. 11.

## Wash. doctor faces abortion charge

SEATTLE, Wash.—A. Frans Koome, a well-known doctor in Washington, was indicted Nov. 10 on charges of performing an illegal abortion on a "juvenile" woman. Koome is the fourth doctor in recent months to face charges for allegedly performing "illegal" abortions.

Last summer, a 15-year-old woman who was a ward of the King County Juvenile Court and in the custody of the Catholic Children's Services applied for court approval for an abortion. Under Washington state law, abortions are legal up through the sixteenth week of pregnancy. Women

under 18, however, must have the approval of a husband or guardian.

The woman received approval from Superior Court Judge Solie Ringold in early August. However, the Catholic Children's Services and the woman's parents appealed the court's decision. On Aug. 14 Chief Justice Hamilton of the State Supreme Court suspended approval of the abortion, pending a hearing.

Koome performed the abortion the next day. Thus he has been charged with violating the court order and with proceeding with an abortion without

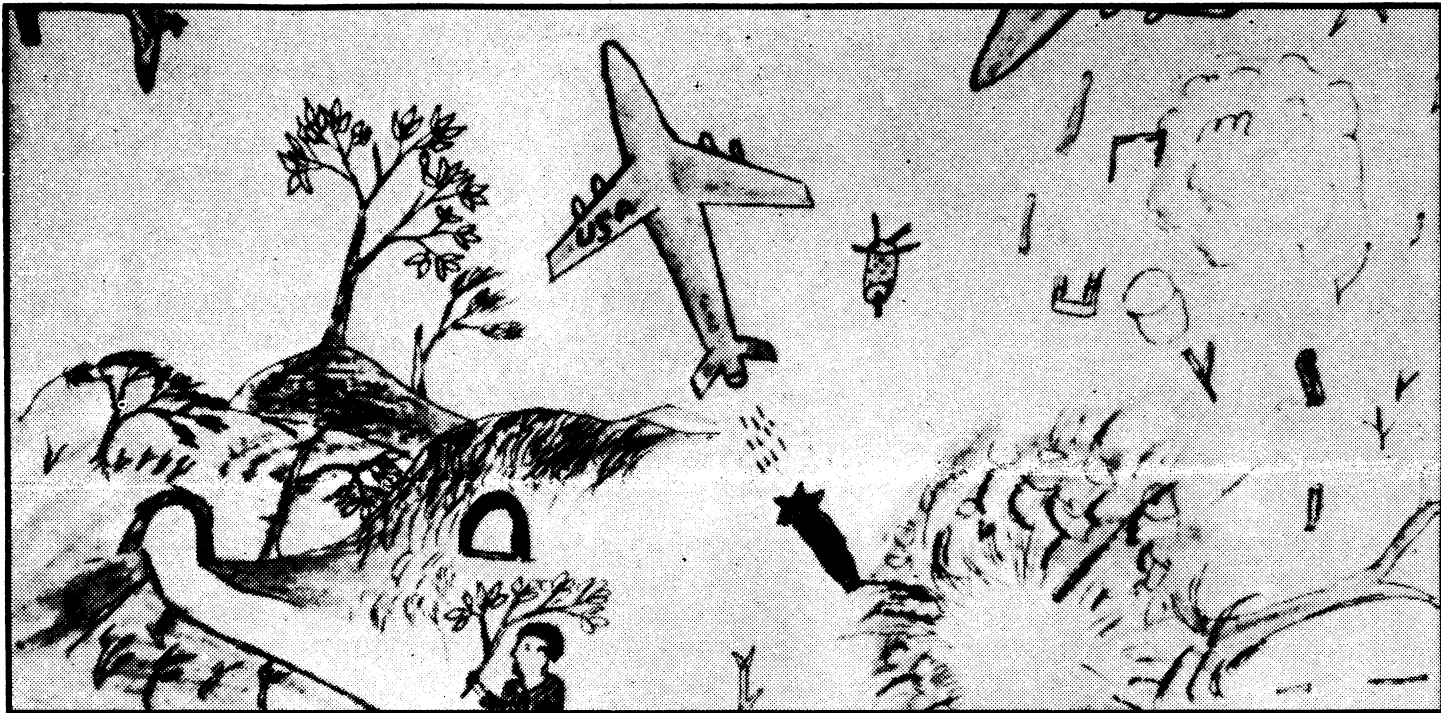
prior consent from parents or guardians.

Testifying in court Nov. 1, Koome said he was aware of the order prohibiting the abortion but performed it anyway because he felt the law was unconstitutional and infringed on his doctor-patient relationship.

Koome gained prominence in Washington in 1969, before voters passed a referendum liberalizing the abortion law. At that time he wrote to Governor Dan Evans saying that he was performing abortions and urging abortion law reform.

# In Review

## Books Behind secret air war in Laos



Drawing by Laotian teacher from Branfman's book

**Voices From the Plain of Jars: Life Under an Air War.** Compiled and with an introduction and preface by Fred Branfman. Harper Colophon Books. New York, 1972. 160 pp. \$1.95.

Fred Branfman's short but gut-grabbing book uncovers a part of the war in Indochina that was kept secret from Americans and the world for six years. The full enormity of this secret air war in Laos and the deprivation suffered by its victims are still not known by most people.

Without even the pretext of a congressional resolution, the U.S. government carried out a massive air war in Laos, beginning in May 1964. Sifting through government reports, testimony at congressional hearings, and studies by such institutions as the Center for International Studies at Cornell University, Branfman presents some of the facts that U.S. officials repeatedly denied about this war. One million Laotians were killed, wounded, or made homeless. More than 25,000 attack sorties were flown, starting with half a dozen a day early in 1964 and increasing to dozens and hundreds daily during the last years.

After the much-heralded bombing halt of North Vietnam in 1968, American air power shifted much of its massive might to Laos, dropping a quarter-million tons of bombs during two years alone. No reporters were allowed to investigate the situation firsthand, nor were they allowed to speak with the American personnel involved.

It wasn't until October 1969 (when much of their military-political goal was achieved) that U.S. officials admitted some bombing had taken place in Laos. Even then they repeatedly claimed that only military targets were struck. The president publicly announced the Laotian air strikes March 6, 1970, with the explanation that air operations had been directed at the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Branfman's book clearly reveals that all these official announcements lied about what really took place.

The bulk of the book concentrates on the air war as it affected the peasant society of the Plain of Jars, located in northeast Laos. The plain, with its rich and well-watered soil, its lush savannah lands and wealth of natural resources, stretches from the border of North Vietnam in the north to the edges of the Mekong Valley in the south. It was used by the French as an air base and supply depot until their defeat by Laotian and Vietnamese guerrillas in 1954. The plain also then became a major political and military battleground for the U.S.-backed Royal Lao puppet government and the Pathet Lao.

Fred Branfman lived in Laos for four years. During 1967 and 1968 he worked as an education adviser for the Voluntary Service. He spent the next two years as a free-lance journalist. During this latter period he made about 100 visits to the refugee camps set up in southern Laos for the peasant refugees from the Plain of Jars. Branfman spoke with more than 1,000 people and learned from them about the napalm, white phosphorous, anti-personnel pellets, and terrible bombings that had completely destroyed their civilization. He gathered 30 handwritten eyewitness accounts from these victims of American superwar technology. Sixteen of these essays, along with 32 drawings by the former inhabitants of the Plain of Jars, are included in the book.

Person after person described the same terrible events. At first they saw and heard distant bombings, then they were forced to hide in holes as the airplanes swept over their rice paddies and grazing lands. Then, with more frequent air raids, they had to hide in holes or caves most of the time, creeping out to do a little farming or food-gathering. When the bombings destroyed their fields and homes, they were forced to leave the Plain of Jars and take refuge in the Southern Laotian refugee camps, where they have no means of livelihood and are plagued with many illnesses.

Thus, all of the inhabitants of the Plain of Jars were driven out by American air power. The U.S. military had achieved its purpose as announced in a U.S. Senate Staff Report: "to destroy the social and economic infrastructure of Pathet Lao-held areas" and to safely bring the plain completely under the control of the American-supported Royal Laotian government.

Listen to some of the voices from the Plain of Jars tell how U.S. air power destroyed their "social and economic infrastructure."

A 26-year-old nurse: "The holes! The holes! During that time we needed holes to save our lives. We who were young took our sweat and our strength, which should have been spent raising food in the rice fields and forests to sustain our lives, and squandered it digging holes to protect ourselves. For many days and nights having enough food to survive on became a gigantic problem which pressed upon our hearts. The fields, paddy and seedbeds all became bomb craters."

A 12-year-old boy: "One friend of mine went to the village to get rice for his mother and father to eat. He crossed the field to the hill and the airplanes saw him and shot and killed him so that you couldn't even see his body. It was scattered all over the field."

A 16-year-old student: "At night they dropped flares in search of a place to bomb; if they saw people they would fire at them. . . . I couldn't go into the woods any more because they had been sown with antipersonnel bombs—some hadn't exploded. Sometimes an animal would kick one and it would blow up. Consequently, we could only come and go along a single narrow path. If you left the path just a little ways there was a good chance of your stepping on an antipersonnel bomb!"

A 17-year-old boy: "People were struck in the forest and in their villages. We didn't see that the planes actually bombed any soldiers. If they did, we didn't hear about it. And the airplanes also dropped one kind of poison I know of, which made cows and buffalo die, because it was dropped in the forrest and the animals didn't know what it was. They would go to eat the poisoned grass, then return home to die. Sometimes, we saw it drop in the water or on the ricefields: pigs, ducks and chickens would also die because of it."

A 37-year-old man: "I will explain about this kind of poison which I know about and which I saw. This kind of poison was in long, long lines. The planes dropped it on the forests and in the hills. If it was dropped on the ricefield and touched the rice, the rice would die. A person who picked it up would become very hot. And if it fell on people who didn't know what it was, they would die. Many people, most of them children aged eight or ten years, didn't know."

—EVELYN SELL

## Pamphlets Questions facing the IRA

**Problems of the Irish Revolution: Can the IRA meet the challenge?** by Gerry Foley. Pathfinder Press, New York, 1972. 32 pp. \$.60.

Although the fight of the Irish people for self-determination is one of the oldest in the world, it was only a few months after the French upsurge of May-June 1968 that the most recent mass struggle among the nationalist minority in Northern Ireland developed.

In the course of this conflict, a debate took place that split the traditional Irish Republican Army into two wings—the Provisionals, who sought to continue fundamentally unchanged the purely military strategy of the unsuccessful guerrilla campaign of 1956-62, and the Officials, who sought to combine military activity with a program of political action based on the immediate needs and aspirations of the masses of the people.

Hence, despite its long tradition and continuity, the Official IRA is fundamentally a young radical movement that grows out of the current worldwide youth radicalization.

In his pamphlet, *Problems of the Irish Revolution: Can the IRA meet the challenge?*, Gerry Foley points out that "In the future any radical organization in Ireland will have to stand on its political program and not its historical credentials." He then takes up some of the problems confronting the IRA and charts an approach to solving them based on the experience of revolutionary Marxism.

Foley, with a detailed knowledge of the complexities of Irish history, is able in this pamphlet to discuss the problems facing the IRA in a manner thoroughly grounded in the realities of the nationalist struggle in both the North and South.

He demonstrates how the logic of the Official IRA's turn toward a political mass-action campaign, in view of the inadequacy of a purely guerrilla strategy, raises important though as yet unanswered questions. How the Officials answer will be a test for them. More important, their ability to respond correctly will be crucial if the current upsurge is to avoid demoralization.

What are the dynamics of such an upsurge and how can revolutionists intervene in them to deepen the consciousness of masses of people? What is the relationship between the nationalist struggle of the Catholics and the class struggle in Ireland? How can genuine working-class unity be achieved, and what place does this have in a strategy for the Irish revolution?

What is the relationship between the democratic demands of the Catholic population and the socialist revolution? What dangers does the two-stage theory of revolution propounded in Moscow and Peking pose for the Irish revolution?

What kind of organization must be built in Ireland to achieve both national liberation and socialism?

Foley's answers to these questions not only provide an enriched understanding of the Irish revolution but can aid revolutionists throughout the world who must solve similar problems.

—PETER SEIDMAN



# Dow Jones breaks 1,000 as corporate profits soar

By DICK ROBERTS

The pitchmen on Wall Street are pulling out all the stops. On Tuesday, Nov. 14, the Dow Jones average crossed the 1,000 mark and stayed above it. Now's the time to buy, they say. After all, if the Dow index can top 1,000 it can go . . .

This index of 30 "blue chip" industrial stocks was first computed in the 1890s at a level around 40. It reached 400 before the 1929 stock crash and did not come back up to this level again until 1954. The Dow Jones average topped 700 in 1961 and 900 in 1965, reaching the previous peak of 995 in February 1966.

Wall Street brokers are asking themselves if the 1,000 mark can't be used to hook small investors

back into the market. For most of the last three years, from 1969 to this summer, small investors were selling more stocks than they were buying.

"The public," Wall Street's telling term for the small shareholder, got burned in the 1970 collapse of mutual fund prices and the even more precipitous drop of the once "high flying" stocks of conglomerate corporations. Litton Industries, for example, reached a high value of \$109 per share in 1967. At its bottom point this year it had fallen to \$10—less than a tenth of the former paper value.

"Will the 1,000 mark do the trick again? Or is the magic too far gone?" *Business Week* asks in its Nov. 11 issue. An optimistic "portfolio manager" is quoted: "When the market hits new highs, the public starts feeling it's missing out. They come running."

And this Wall Street con man is probably not too far wrong. Small investors tend to buy when stock prices are high and sell when they are low. It is one of the facts of life in capitalist finance. You need to be on the inside to make money on the stock exchange.

Why is the Dow Jones index at its present relatively high level? It is the coincidence of two factors: a possible settlement of the war in Southeast Asia in a way that is beneficial to imperialism; and an upturn of the U.S. economy that has seen record-high corporate profits in 1972, with high profits expected again next year.

In fact, some business analysts are wondering why the stock market isn't even higher, and they expect it to continue rising well into 1973.

There are, however, a number of uncertainties. Even on Wall Street, President Nixon is not taken at his word. A sharp turn of events in Southeast Asia is not ruled out.

All business analysts are convinced that inflation will resume a spiraling pace in the future, but they don't know when. A new burst of inflation could precipitate labor struggles that would undermine the boom atmosphere on Wall Street.

# Pay Board orders wage cuts for N.Y. printers

By FRANK LOVELL

The government Pay Board ordered wage cuts in the New York printing industry on Nov. 14, affecting nearly 24,000 workers at four newspapers and 300 print shops.

Those hit include printers, pressmen, photoengravers, bookbinders, and delivery drivers. The several crafts are represented by 10 different unions.

Also included were editorial workers, reporters, photographers, and clerks—all represented by the Newspaper Guild.

Recent raises of 11 percent, already in effect under contracts signed in 1970, long before the Pay Board was created, were reduced to 8 percent. The loss varies depending upon the pay scales of the different job classifications.

Printers represented by International Typographical Union Local 6 will lose \$7 a week. Their present scale on newspapers is \$258.82 a week on days and \$270.94 on the night shift.

The 1,600 members of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union will lose \$300 each in wages and benefits until their contract expires March 30, 1973, according to NMDU President Carl Levy.

Levy was the only union official who said the contract might be terminated as a result of the government ruling, thus closing the newspapers. All unions involved have a termination clause in their agreements with the publishers in the event of action against them by the Pay Board. All newspaper contracts expire next March 30.

Those hardest hit by the Pay Board ruling are the lowest paid workers, most of them members of the Guild. A clerk earning about \$200 weekly gross pay got a raise of less than \$20 last March under the contract. A \$5 cut now in the face of rising prices is a serious loss. It means take-home pay for these workers is down to around \$150, hardly adequate for family expenses in New York City.

These wage cuts follow a precedent set last March 12 when the Pay Board ordered similar action against newspaper workers in Washington, D.C. At that time the same unions failed to organize defensive actions. All signs indicate they are still unwilling to do so.

Bertram Powers, president of ITU Local 6, said he would seek clarification from the Pay Board on whether the union could strike for a raise of more than 5.5 percent if the membership voted now to terminate the existing contract and forgo the presently approved 8 percent hike over last year. This is an obvious dodge, understood as such by all members of the typographical union and others in the industry.

The printing-trades unions are unwilling to challenge the provocative move of the Pay Board because they represent a minority of workers in the industry, the majority being unorganized. These unorganized workers receive wages a third or more below union scales. A teletype setter in a nonunion shop often makes less than \$175 a week as compared with the \$258 union scale.

These craft unions remain unwilling to undertake a serious organizing campaign for fear of losing their job-trust privileges in the organized sector of the industry. Consequently they are now unable to take defensive action against the Pay Board because of this self-induced weakness and fear of disturbing the status quo.

The Pay Board was careful not to prod the unions too far, and the government made a show of counterbalancing its antiunion moves by imposing a cut in advertising rates on the publishers.

In another dispute over wages in the news and advertising field, the union movement demonstrated its latent power. Television technicians who belong to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) have been on strike against the Columbia Broadcasting System for higher wages since Nov. 3. The executive board of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) issued an order to all its members Nov. 15 to respect IBEW picket lines. That cut off "CBS News" because Walter Cronkite and other newscasters refused to go on the air.



Militant/Ed Weaver

## Militant Gets Around

Nancy Cole



As *The Militant's* circulation and influence expand, we can expect to find a corresponding increase in attempts to abridge our right to sell. Fortunately there's another side to this, and that is that these attempts to harass and intimidate salespeople are being met with bigger and more united defense efforts.

The YSJP teams this fall, despite their legitimate role as canvassers for Jenness and Pulley, have frequently been forced to leave dormitories or denied the permission to set up literature tables on campus. The Detroit team scored victories at two consecutive campuses they visited in late October. At Hillsdale College in Michigan the dean stipulated that they had to have a student sit at their table. Ten students signed a list saying they would help.

Then at Indiana University (Purdue Extension) in Fort Wayne, Ind., the student government tried to prevent the team from setting up a table. The Youth for McGovern group on campus, angered by this tactic, allowed the team to share their table.

Team captain Sheila Ostrow writes, "The son of a Democratic congressional candidate came running down to campus from the Democratic headquarters, upset that the McGovern people were sharing their table with socialists. The students stood firm and let us share their table."

When the administration at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, prompted by right-wing students, tried to remove the Texas team's literature table, a group of students gathered to protest. The administration agreed to let them keep the table, but for display only, not for selling. Later it reneged and forced the team to take the table down.

The team then gathered support from the student

government and McGovern supporters and obtained an interview in the student paper. The administration backed down and allowed them to set up their table again. The Young Socialist Alliance on campus plans to continue the fight to gain the right to sell *The Militant*.

At the University of Nevada in Reno the administration took more drastic steps, but they were met with a response just as determined. Oakland-Berkeley team member Dorothy Dillon, when "apprehended" in a dorm selling subscriptions, was first questioned by the campus police and then turned over to the city police. She was booked on a charge of soliciting without a permit and held overnight on a \$500 bail.

The other team members went into action to get her released and to restore their selling rights. The editor of the campus paper and the student body president agreed to support their fight. A legal aid group finally managed to get Dillon released on her own recognizance.

The city attorney was forced to admit that there was no law against selling *The Militant*, that there was no permit necessary, and that the only problem remaining was the rules of the campus. With the help of their lawyer the team convinced the college president to write a letter granting them limited permission to sell on campus. They're now confident that charges will be dropped by the trial date in January.

Administrators probably don't consider this initially, but every time they try to take away our right to sell, they inadvertently spark more interest in *The Militant* and what it has to say. And the united defense efforts they force *Militant* salespeople to initiate give students a little taste of their power.



# Calendar

## CHICAGO

**GAGE PARK HIGH SCHOOL.** Speaker: Christine Leak, Black parent and leader in struggle. Fri., Dec. 1, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

## CLEVELAND

**A LOOK AT WILHELM REICH'S "SEXUAL REVOLUTION."** Speaker: David Paparello. Fri., Dec. 1, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## LOS ANGELES

**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; the 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.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**THE RELEVANCE OF PHILOSOPHY TO POLITICS:** The role of philosophy in politics today in the U.S., China, USSR, Eastern Europe, and fascist states. Speaker: George Novack, Marxist scholar. Fri., Dec. 1, 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.

## PHILADELPHIA

**REBELLION IN IRELAND**—Panel. Fri., Dec. 1, 8 p.m. University of Pennsylvania, Houston Hall, Second Floor, 3417 Spruce St. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by U of P Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**ARGENTINA TODAY:** Political repression and the fight against it. Speakers: Daniel Zadunaisky, on tour on behalf of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; and a representative from Committee Against Repression in Brazil. Fri., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 746 9th St. N.W. Second Floor. Donation: \$1. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

**Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.**

## ...killings

*Continued from page 4*

Leonard Brown, 20, of Gilbert, La. Students United, in a news conference the following day, stated that

the police were really aiming at Brother Sababu, who was to be a target of assassination along with Howard.

On the evening of Nov. 16 Governor Edwards closed the campus and declared a state of emergency in Baton Rouge. He ordered National Guardsmen onto the campus. And fearing an explosion in the Black community, he ordered a ban on the sale of guns, ammunition, and gasoline — except that placed directly into cars. The next day he lifted the ban on rifles because of the opening of deer season (!) but kept the ban on handguns.

After the coroner's report that the two students were killed by buckshot, Edwards announced that it may have been possible that in all of the excitement a deputy loaded the wrong shell into his gun and thus killed the students.

Sheriff Amiss originally claimed that the students had thrown homemade bombs loaded with buckshot at the deputies, and that these had exploded and killed the two students. At this writing Amiss is now conceding he is no longer certain that his deputies were not responsible for the deaths. "I'm not going to say one of my men didn't shoot them. I feel like they did not, but maybe we will never know."

The FBI has announced it is conducting an investigation into the situation to "see if any federal laws have been violated." Also, Edwards has assigned a special investigatory body to look into the killings.

However, there are many facts and unanswered questions that a genuine investigatory body — one composed of the students and representatives of the Black community — should look into.

One is that the governor claimed to have advance knowledge that the students were planning to take over the administration building. Where did he get this information, which the students have called pure fabrication? Why did Netterville request the students to remain inside his office when he left? Why wasn't a clear warning given to the students to evacuate the building?

## Smash the movement

As these questions and others are answered, one can piece together a crudely planned attempt on the part of state authorities to smash the movement on the Southern University campuses. In the eyes of Edwards, the state board of education, and others,

the students here and at the 2,700-student campus in New Orleans had gone too far, had won too much favor from the community as well as faculty and others. Hence, they decided to put an end to it.

The day of the police attack Governor Edwards abolished the "blue-ribbon" negotiating committee composed of the eight Louisiana Black legislators and other prominent individuals, which he had appointed to deal with the problems on the Southern University campuses. He has reneged on the amnesty demand that was won by the New Orleans campus and granted to the Baton Rouge campus by the negotiating committee.

He has stated that he will not accept the resignation of Dean Emmett Bashful, head of SU in New Orleans. Bashful, a Black, had submitted his resignation in the course of a student occupation of the administration building early this month. His inability to relate to Black consciousness made his ouster one of the key demands of the students.

Netterville, whose resignation was also demanded by the students, lowered the boom Nov. 19 and fired six faculty members who were sympathetic to the students. One of them, Dr. Joe Johnson, chairman of the Physics Department, was fired shortly after he made a statement to the press denying that the students attempted any building take-over Nov. 16. The arbitrary firing and harassment of professors who are sympathetic to the students is one of the original factors that caused the protest one month ago.

Despite the repression, the students are planning a mass funeral and rally in Baton Rouge Nov. 21. They plan to redouble their efforts until all their demands are won. Just today more than 1,000 people held a protest rally at the New Orleans campus. And across the country activities in solidarity with the Baton Rouge students are being planned for Monday, Nov. 27.

## ...Vietnam

*Continued from page 10*

of the United States and peoples all over the world, arousing them to wage a determined struggle to force the Nixon administration to honor that which was agreed upon, to end the war and to restore peace in Vietnam."

In a related development, the Organization of the Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, based in Havana, also called on people to demand that Nixon sign the nine-point treaty.

## ...campaign

*Continued from page 13*

won ballot positions in twice as many states as the CP. Meetings for the SWP candidates on campuses throughout the country were generally larger than those for the CP. The candidates of the SWP were more widely known and better regarded among movement activists than were the candidates of the CP.

Even the capitalist media, which usually tends to emphasize (and exaggerate) the role of the CP in radical protest movements, was forced to recognize the greater impact of the SWP campaign.

And, in spite of the fact that the Hall-Tyner Campaign Committee spent literally tens of thousands of dollars in the last weeks of the campaign on paid TV, radio, and newspaper advertising (the SWP, unfortunately, couldn't afford even a nickel for paid advertising), it seems that the votes for the SWP candidates are uniformly higher than those for the Communist Party.

The vote totals, with a few exceptions, are not yet in for the smaller parties. Many socialist votes will without a doubt never be reported. But the success of the socialist campaign, as measured by the yardsticks far more important than the vote total, should be evident to everyone.

The 1972 SWP election campaign won't actually wind up until the Young Socialist national convention in Cleveland Thanksgiving weekend. At that convention the gains made for the socialist movement through the election campaign will really be reflected. It will be there that the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and the members of the Young Socialist Alliance, will chart their future course.

One of the important discussions that will be held there is an evaluation of the SWP 1972 campaign and the need for continued socialist electoral activity. This activity will begin with the many municipal campaigns that will be opening at the beginning of 1973.

# Socialist Directory

**ALABAMA:** Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.  
**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, 9 E. 13 St., Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

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

• Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isobell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.

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Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsten, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

**COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

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**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 427 Main St. #206, Hartford, Conn. 06103. Tel: (203) 246-6797.

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Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

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**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

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Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

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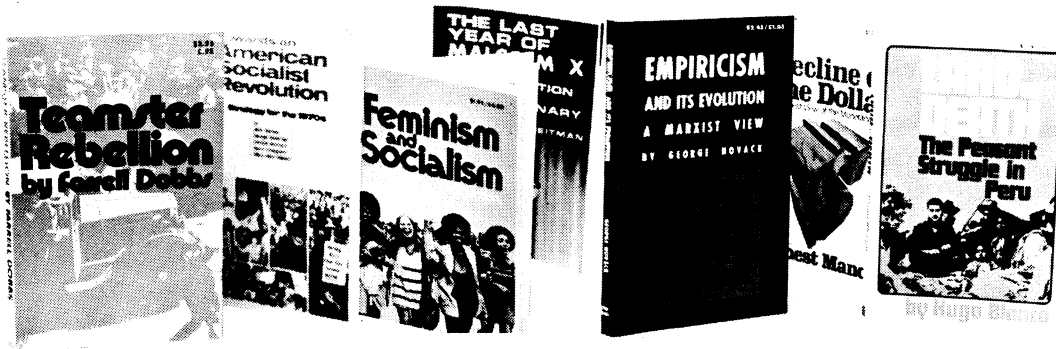
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# THE MILITANT

## Paiute Indians win important court victory

By ERNEST HARSCH

WASHINGTON, D.C.—At the same time that Native Americans from across the country were occupying the Bureau of Indian Affairs building and demanding fulfillment of treaty obligations and protection of land, water, and mineral rights, the Paiute Indians of Nevada won a victory in U.S. District Court here.

Judge Gerhard Gesell handed down a ruling Nov. 9 in favor of the Paiutes' suit against the Interior Department in what their lawyers called "a fantastic victory for all American Indians."

The suit charged that the Interior Department had permitted an increasing diversion of the Truckee River in Nevada to benefit land reclamation projects for white farmers near Reno.

This lowered the water level of Pyramid Lake and endangered the fish there, the Indians' major source of food and income. This action forced more than 1,000 Paiutes to leave the reservation to search for sustenance elsewhere.

The Interior Department had, according to the Paiutes, disregarded court decrees, permitted "improper and wasteful use" of the river water, and "acquiesced in excessive water deliveries to the farms" in the white settlements nearby.

These charges further underscore the role of the Interior Department in protecting the timber, mineral, land, and water interests of whites to the detriment of the Native Americans, ignoring their rights and their treaty claims.

They also add weight to the demands raised by the "Trail of Broken Treaties" protesters that the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is part of the Interior Department, be abolished as it now exists and be replaced with a new structure run and controlled by the Indians themselves.

One lawyer said that the victory of the Paiutes was "appropriate, coming during a week when Indians have been bringing to the country's attention a long history of treaty and trust violations."

Another suit, brought before the U.S. Supreme Court, but yet to be heard, demands that the Paiutes be given the rights to the Truckee River itself to ensure the preservation of Pyramid Lake. A victory in that case would set a national precedent.



Indians occupying BIA office in Washington, D.C.

## Defense exposes lies in Lawton frame-up

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 19—The trial of Gary Lawton has been under way in Indio, Calif., for more than nine weeks. Lawton is a Riverside, Calif., Black activist who is charged with the murder of two cops in April 1971.

The first five weeks were spent picking a jury, a procedure that quickly turned into a mockery of justice. The district attorney paraded some 350 prospective jurors through the courtroom before picking an all-white panel of eight women and four men, all over 45, hardly a jury of peers for Lawton.

The last four weeks has seen some 30 prosecution witnesses questioned in an attempt to prove the whereabouts of Lawton and his two co-defendants the night the cops were ambushed.

The young woman considered to be the key prosecution witness, Sally Harris, took the stand last week. Four

days were spent hearing her many lies exposed one by one.

Harris, 16, a companion of codefendant Larrie Gardner, had been picked up on the night of the attack on the police on juvenile charges for being a runaway. She told police and later a grand jury that she was at Gardner's house that night when he returned home carrying a sawed-off shotgun, claiming that there was blood in the streets and that it was beautiful. On the witness stand she claimed she was out of town that night and came home to find Gardner asleep.

Time after time, she admitted having made the original statements but consistently maintained they were lies fabricated under grueling pressure of police interrogation. Further questioning of the young woman and other witnesses brought out the fact that she has a history of pathological lying, psychiatric treatment, and drug

use, and is considered mentally unstable by those who know her well. She admitted being claustrophobic and claimed she told police what they wanted to hear in order to be released from the tiny room in which she was held.

Defense attorneys were able to show that she had told at least six or seven different stories at different times, implicating many other people who were in no way involved.

The prosecution is expected to bring forward some 30 more witnesses before the defense opens its case. The trial is expected to last at least six more weeks. A representative of Lawton's defense committee said it is becoming more and more obvious that the whole case is a frame-up.

Friends and supporters of the defendants have been continually harassed in the courtroom. Courtroom officials have made arbitrary searches

of spectators. Gum chewing and "doodling" have been forbidden, and the judge has ordered all spectators to sit up straight or else be faced with contempt of court.

A defense motion will ask that polygraph evidence be admitted since Lawton passed all three lie-detector tests administered by the police after his arrest. A Los Angeles court recently admitted such evidence.

Fund raising continues to be a major task for the defense committee. Jane Fonda recently gave a benefit performance in Riverside. Speaking engagements and rallies are being organized to help publicize the case and to meet mounting defense costs.

Contributions and requests for information on the defense of Lawton can be sent to the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92414. Telephone: (714) 787-9850.

## Martin Sostre faces new jail harassment

By PETER SEIDMAN

NEW YORK—A state assemblyman and a Buffalo civil rights attorney charged Nov. 14 that Martin Sostre has been separated from the general prison population at the Auburn Correctional Facility as a form of harassment. The charges were made by Assemblyman Arthur O. Eve and Professor Herman Schwartz, a Buffalo lawyer who represents Sostre.

The statement charged that while prison officials claimed Sostre has been thrown into solitary confinement for "refusing to shave off a beard," the real reason was that he attempted to form a prison labor union and organize a strike among workers in the prison license plate shop.

The statement also said that Sostre has been harassed in several ways while at Auburn. It defined the situation at the prison as "very tense and ready to explode."

These developments are only the latest episode in an eight-year campaign by police and prison authorities against Sostre.

Sostre became a police target because he operated an Afro-Asian bookstore in the Buffalo Black community. The store, which specialized in works by revolutionary authors, African art objects, and jazz and soul records, became a political center. During the June 1967 rebellion of Buffalo's Black community it was used as a refuge by those fleeing police bullets and tear gas.

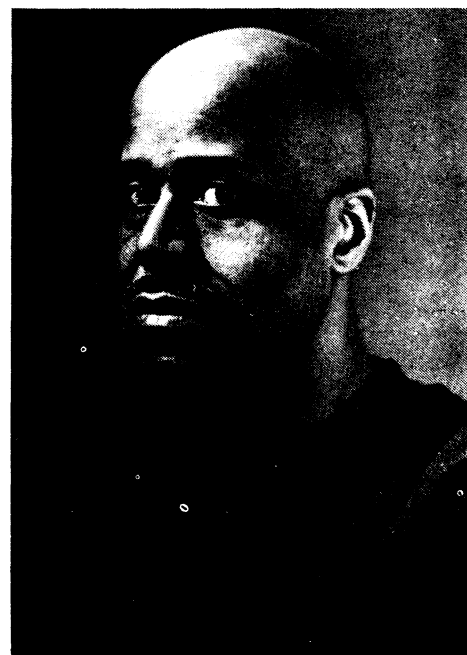
That July, police raided Sostre's store and arrested him on charges of narcotics dealing, arson, and riot. At his trial, the charges of arson and riot were dropped, but Sostre was sentenced to 41 years in prison on the charges relating to the alleged narcotics deal.

In March 1971, four years later,

Arto Williams, the key police witness against Sostre, confessed that he had been led to help frame Sostre in return for police agreement to parole him from the Erie County jail, where he had been serving time for felony theft charges.

So far New York authorities have refused to grant Williams immunity from perjury charges in the original trial if he appears at a new trial in the state that could clear Sostre.

Sostre's supporters are urging the public to send letters and telegrams to Auburn Prison Warden Robert Henderson and Albany Corrections Commissioner Russel Oswald urging that Sostre be released from solitary. Such letters should be sent in care of Auburn Prison, State Street, Auburn, N.Y. 13021. The address of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee is Box 839, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14205.



Martin Sostre