

THE MILITANT

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

Black inquiry probes Baton Rouge killings

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New Orleans rally protests police killings in Baton Rouge

Young Socialists map post-election strategy at 12th national convention

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CHICAGO SEVEN DECISION: Rennie Davis, Dave Delinger, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, and Jerry Rubin all had their 1970 convictions in the Chicago "conspiracy" trial overturned by the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals Nov. 21. John Froines and Lee Weiner, the other two Chicago Seven defendants, had been acquitted in the trial. Bobby Seale, initially put on trial together with the others—and bound and gagged in the courtroom on orders from Judge Julius Hoffman—had had his case severed, and charges were later dropped.

The decision reversing the convictions of the remaining five defendants was sharply critical of Judge Hoffman's "deprecatory and often antagonistic attitude." It vindicates what was said all along by the seven themselves, other antiwar activists, and radicals—that the charges were a frame-up aimed at intimidating the antiwar movement.



PROFESSOR POPKIN: Samuel Lewis Popkin, 30-year-old Harvard specialist on Vietnamese village life, was released from jail Nov. 28. He had been jailed for contempt of a federal grand jury Nov. 21. A week later, the jury was dissolved. A federal judge ordered Popkin to jail in spite of arguments presented by Harvard President Derek Bok, who represented Popkin in court Nov. 21, that the jailing would cause conflict between the government and academic community. This action clearly demonstrated the Nixon government's contempt for those George Wallace calls "pointy-head intellectuals" and Spiro Agnew calls "effete snobs."

There was no purpose from Nixon's standpoint in jailing Popkin except to intimidate the nation's scholars. Popkin had refused to disclose the names of nonscholars who helped him in his research. The line of questioning had nothing to do with the Pentagon papers case, which was supposedly the subject of the grand jury's investigation.

"... if scholars are to be questioned without restriction about their sources, grand juries will become the Government's instrument to limit the free flow of information about Government to the public," Popkin said in a statement read by Susan Shirk, his wife, after he was jailed. Such arguments were brushed aside in court by U.S. attorney Richard Bachman, who unabashedly asserted the government's right to regulate the flow of information by forcing newsmen and scholars to disclose their sources.

DISCRIMINATION GOOD FOR GAYS, SAYS SHRINK: Dr. Robert J. McDevitt, a psychiatrist at (no kidding) Good Samaritan Hospital, told the American Medical Association convention Nov. 27 that doctors should not support gay liberation groups. Thinking that they're normal, McDevitt said, "may intensify a homosexual identity and cause isolation of the homosexual male." McDevitt went on to say that "support of such groups... often condemns our patients to a second-class citizenship."

In the good doctor's opinion, evidently, hostility to gay liberation would have a salutary effect. He also told his colleagues they should be especially alert to a small group of homosexual masochists "who, he said," according to AP, "purposely expose themselves to 'beating, burning, or cutting.'" He said nothing, however, about the masochism of gays who would seek treatment from an anti-homosexual bigot such as himself.

RAP BROWN TRIAL: After a federal judge turned down the bid by William Kunstler, Howard Moore, and two other attorneys representing H. Rap Brown to have his trial moved from New York court to federal court, a preliminary hearing on the case opened Nov. 22. The pretrial hearing is to decide whether testimony will be allowed by prosecution witnesses who allege Brown's two codefendants, Samuel Petty and Levi Valentine, virtually admitted to armed robbery.

Another defense motion being considered by New York

Supreme Court Justice George Carney asks that the testimony of Patrolman Ralph Manetta be suppressed. The defense says it should be suppressed as compensation for the injury caused by an article about Manetta called "The Man Who Shot Rap Brown." The article, written by a former deputy police commissioner, was published in *New York* magazine Oct. 23.

N.Y. COPS RESURRECT SCARE STORIES: Francisco Torres, 23, was arraigned Nov. 27 in a Manhattan court for killing two cops in 1971. His brother Gabriel, 24, had been charged in an earlier proceeding. The Nov. 28 *New York Daily News* account of Torres's arraignment makes it appear that District Attorney Frank Hogan and New York's "finest" are digging some old lies out of mothballs. Although attribution is sloppy in the *Daily News* article, its repeated references to the "Black Liberation Army" apparently come from Hogan and the cops.

Last Feb. 7 Deputy Police Commissioner Robert Daley admitted, after a campaign of racist hysteria lasting for days, that the "Black Liberation Army" was a fiction. "The Black Liberation Army," Daley said then, "means hardened cop killers. Anybody who espouses that philosophy we speak of as the Black Liberation Army." Daley said he did not believe the cop killers sought then were "members in any sense" of any real organization.

The killing with which the Torres brothers are charged occurred some time before the Jan. 27, 1972, one that touched off the "Black Liberation Army" scare campaign, and the pair was arrested in the fall of 1971. Yet now the cops and the *Daily News* are calling Francisco Torres "one of five alleged members of the Black Liberation Army," and naming others as well, including two men Hogan is apparently trying to bring here from the West Coast for trial.

CALLEY ASKS CLEMENCY: A three-officer panel heard Lieutenant William Calley appeal for clemency Nov. 27. The convicted killer of unarmed civilians in My Lai has been sentenced to 20 years in prison, but so far his cell is a one-story apartment in a housing complex for military families at Fort Benning, Ga. The panel visited Calley at the apartment to hear his plea.

Ordinarily, his plea would be heard after he served one-third of his sentence. Also the panel's recommendations would ordinarily be reviewed by the Fort Leavenworth commandant before going to the provost marshal general. But, as an Army spokesman told Associated Press: "Calley is not in prison, and normal provisions don't apply to him."

If you subscribe to The Militant and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address into the business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

SIEGEL BAR ADMISSION CASE REACHES COURT: Dan Siegel, former student body president at the University of California at Berkeley and familiar to many antiwar activists as the even-handed chairman of many large student antiwar conferences, was denied admission to the California bar last July because of antiwar speeches he made in 1969 and 1970. His suit seeking to overturn the bar examiners' decision is now before the California Supreme Court. For more information, contact Dan Siegel, 3100 Lewiston, Berkeley, Calif. 94705. Phone: (415) 658-3124. Or attorney Malcolm Burnstein, 1440 Broadway, Oakland, Calif. 94612. Phone (415) 452-1300.

BROWN BERETS DISSOLVE: David Sanchez, prime minister of the Brown Berets, told a Nov. 1 news conference he was resigning and the organization was dissolving. Claiming a membership of 5,000 in the group's 90 chapters, Sanchez said the organization he helped found would be dissolved within three months. "The 24-year-old veteran of scores of demonstrations..." the Nov. 2 *Los Angeles Times* reported, "said the Brown Berets were disbanding chiefly to avoid strife within the Chicano movement." The paper added that Sanchez "would not elaborate. 'It is a dangerous situation,' he said."

BOARD CLEARS FUENTES: Luis Fuentes, the Puerto Rican superintendent of New York School District One, has been absolved by the local school board of charges that he had made racist statements against various minorities. Fuentes, a vigorous advocate of community control, has been slandered by the United Federation of Teachers leadership and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

— LEE SMITH



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Young Socialist Alliance sets strategy for 1973

By DAVE FRANKEL

CLEVELAND—"Today the eyes of the entire world are on Vietnam," said Geoff Mirelowitz in the international report given to the twelfth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The meaning of the recent negotiations on Vietnam was the subject of much of the discussion at the convention.

The convention was attended by some 1,200 people who spent Thanksgiving weekend, Nov. 23-26, in Cleveland, analyzing the situation faced by revolutionary socialists in the U.S. and internationally.

The delegates projected an ambitious program of activity for the coming year. This included participation in the movements for social change and a campaign to reach out to youth in high schools and colleges across the country with the ideas of socialism.

The discussion at the YSA convention represented the first opportunity of any part of the world Trotskyist movement to come together to grapple with the recent developments around the war in Vietnam. The serious and thoughtful character of the discussion was an indication of the importance the YSA attributes to the struggle of the Vietnamese.

As Mirelowitz pointed out in the international report, "Our political life, at least for the past seven years, has been integrally bound up with the struggle of the Vietnamese. Our work in defense of the Vietnamese revolution has been at the center of our political activity."

The international report maintained that there had been two stages in the struggle around Vietnam: one in which the war itself held the center of world attention, and a second in which the effects of the war and its impact on world events came to be of major importance. The struggle of the Vietnamese served as an inspiration for the fighters of the colonial revolution, as one of the motive forces behind the radicalization of youth all over the world, and as an important factor

in sharpening the economic problems faced by American imperialism.

"However, what is happening now . . . reflects a third stage in the war, a new stage for the Vietnamese struggle and for the world revolution," Mirelowitz stated. "In this new, third stage we are seeing the effects of world events on the Vietnamese. The result is that the Vietnamese are now faced with the prospect of a settlement to the war that will pose serious obstacles to the successful completion of the Vietnamese revolution."

Mirelowitz labeled the agreements Nixon reached with Brezhnev and Mao as the main factor behind the Vietnam settlement now being proposed. He also made clear that not just Vietnam was involved, but a détente on a world scale between the imperialists and the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China, the two most powerful workers states. This détente is a central factor in the world situation, and it will affect other struggles throughout the world. The détente indicates "a general willingness on the part of Washington and the bureaucrats in Peking and Moscow to try and work things out among themselves at the expense of the world revolution."

While the supporters of the détente between the U.S. and the workers states argue that this will help ensure peace, Mirelowitz pointed out that "exactly the opposite is the case." The U.S. now has a freer hand and will try to crush revolutionary movements around the world with the knowledge that these movements won't receive much aid from Moscow or Peking.

These bureaucrats do not view the decades-long struggle of the Vietnamese, or any other struggle, from the standpoint of revolutionary internationalism. "As far as they're concerned, Vietnam is just a poker chip to be thrown around and bargained with in their dealings with world imperialism," Mirelowitz stated.

Moreover, in Vietnam itself peace cannot be guaranteed by the nine-

point plan because that plan does not settle the basic problems that brought about the struggle in the first place. "Those who refuse to look at reality," Mirelowitz continued, "who call this settlement in Vietnam a victory . . . are paving the way for future defeats and demoralization."

"Our method is the opposite. At every stage in the class struggle we analyze objective reality, state the real problems, and on the basis of a real analysis, an analysis made from the point of view of the workers and oppressed throughout the world . . . we confidently prepare throughout the world

ments break down.

Finally, the growth of the revolutionary movement internationally—the Fourth International—was discussed. Mirelowitz reported that in Spain, functioning in underground conditions, the Trotskyist group has grown considerably among students and workers.

In Sri Lanka (Ceylon) revolutionary socialists are leading the defense against the repression of the Bandaranaike regime. Other countries mentioned where Trotskyist groups are active included Lebanon, Israel, Iraq, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Ar-

Message from Southern U student

The YSA convention sent a telegram to Governor Edwin Edwards of Louisiana condemning the racist murder of two Black students at Southern University in Baton Rouge. The following is a message sent to the YSA convention by Ricky Hill of Students United at Southern University.

Sorry we are unable to be with you at your national convention in Cleveland. But as you have probably heard, Governor Edwards has decided to close the campus for the rest of the semester, and we are busy planning a response to this.

We welcome the efforts that you are making to protest the brutal killings of the students here in Baton Rouge. We have worked with and held discussions with members of the Young Socialist Alliance in the past around such events as the Gary convention, African Liberation Day, and our recent boycott and protests here at Southern. We look forward to working with you again in the future and wish you the best of success with your convention. . . . In solidarity, Ricky Hill, Students United, Southern University at Baton Rouge.

for the next steps forward for the world revolution."

In keeping with this spirit, the international report recognized that if, as seems likely, the imperialists succeed in imposing the nine-point plan upon the Vietnamese, this setback would have a demoralizing effect on the world revolution. However, the report asserted, this will not change for long the perspective of mounting struggles for national liberation and social justice. It also noted that Washington might be forced to send its forces back into Vietnam if the agree-

ments break down. In Europe there are revolutionary socialist organizations from Greece to Ireland and from France to Sweden.

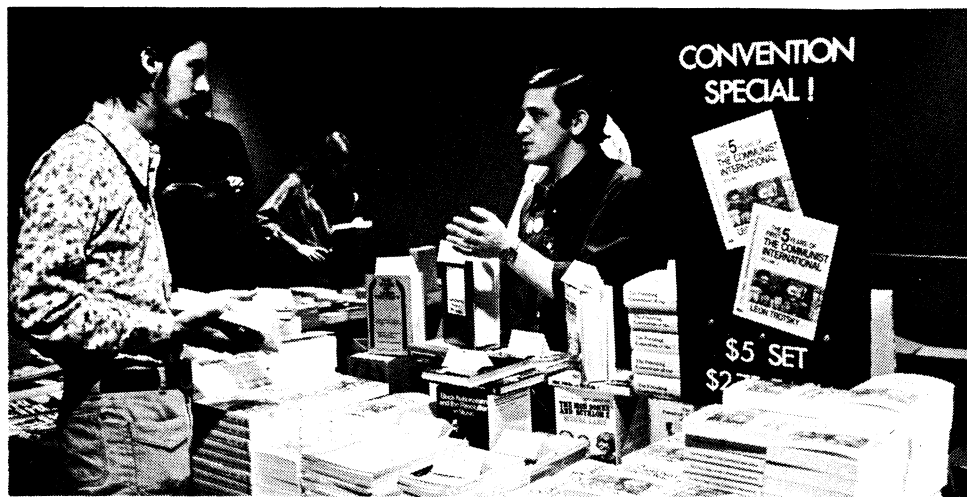
"Now is the time to build the Fourth International all over the world and to build the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party in this country," declared Mirelowitz.

Political report

The political report, given by YSA National Chairman Andy Rose, took up where the international report left

Continued on next page

YSA convention



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Literature sales at the YSA convention included 42 subscriptions to the International Socialist Review, 99 to The Militant, and 140 to Intercontinental Press. Pathfinder Press sold \$3,800 worth of literature, compared to about \$2,000 at the YSA convention last year. Included in the Pathfinder sales were 280 sets of the newly reprinted two-volume work by Leon Trotsky, *The First Five Years of the Communist International*.

Continued from page 3

off. "We reaffirm," said Rose, "that although the radicalization and level of activity will continue to go through ups and downs, periods of lull and periods of upsurge, the long-range prospect is for a continued deepening of the radicalization and for new waves of struggle."

The YSA will continue in every way possible to support the unconditional right of the Vietnamese to control their destiny, and to oppose any U. S. intervention into Vietnamese affairs.

In this context, Rose explained, "We must look squarely at the question of what potential exists at this time for organizing mass demonstrations against the war, and realistically we must state that the potential is quite small."

"The majority of the American people believe that peace is nearly at hand. . . ." The most likely variant, Rose continued, "is that the cease-fire will be signed and that at least for the time being Nixon will stop the bombing and withdraw the U. S. troops from South Vietnam itself."

"The antiwar movement must be prepared to respond if Nixon continues or reescalates the war, but the rapidly shifting course of the negotiations and the likelihood of a military cease-fire within weeks mean, in our opinion, that it would be incorrect to plan at this time for demonstrations next spring."

Then, turning to the general political situation in the U. S., Rose discussed the meaning of Nixon's reelection and the prospects for action in opposition to the government's policies. Although Nixon is interpreting his victory as a mandate for reaction, "The clock cannot simply be turned back to the 1950s as Nixon would like."

Rose predicted that attempts to roll back democratic rights, maintain racism, and attack the standard of living of the American people would meet with resistance. In support of

this, he pointed to the struggles of Black sailors against racism in the Navy; the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs by Native Americans demanding that the government fulfill its treaty obligations; the recent series of wildcat strikes by Black workers in Atlanta; the struggle at Southern University, where racist cops shot down two Black students; the growth of the Raza Unida parties in the Southwest; and the continuing struggle for the right of women to abortion.

"So the picture we see of the period ahead is not one in which the radicalization has subsided and the student movement is quiescent. Quite the contrary. We expect to see struggles breaking out over a variety of issues, and we anticipate opportunities for the YSA to fight alongside other militant youth in many different movements," Rose concluded.

The political report outlined an ambitious campaign to popularize the ideas of socialism and to win new members to the YSA. Plans for doing this included increasing the circulation of the *Young Socialist* newspaper, supporting the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1973 municipal elections, participating in student government elections, conducting speaking tours, and sending teams of YSA organizers throughout the country.

One aspect of the discussion on the international and political reports was the confirmation, based on the experiences of YSA members around the country, that the radicalization is not receding. Speakers from Denver, Detroit, Berkeley, New York, and other cities described the impact of the SWP election campaign in 1972 and the excellent response local candidates received.

A number of speakers noted the intense interest antiwar activists have about what is happening in Vietnam. Jeannette Tracy of Boston pointed out the importance of continuing discus-

sion and education around recent events.

In reviewing the role of the YSA in the antiwar movement, Wayne Hiebert, a YSA member at Brooklyn College, asserted that the clear political perspective and energetic activity of the YSA has been an irreplaceable factor in the mass antiwar movement. Hiebert also discussed the Stalinist bureaucracies' betrayal of the struggle in Vietnam. This betrayal, he said, shows once again the necessity of building the revolutionary movement and of carrying out educational activities on the counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism.

Parties, workshops, and a rally

The YSA convention wasn't all reports and discussion. Activists from all over the country—they came from 36 states, including Hawaii—renewed old acquaintances and made new ones. Informal discussions and parties went on into the early hours of each morning.

Interspersed throughout the convention schedule were greetings from revolutionary socialist groups from all over the world. Greetings were received from France, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Luxembourg, Venezuela, New Zealand, Canada, India, and Australia. Lew Jones, a member of the



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Al Baldivia, YSA leader and Colorado Raza Unida Party activist, describes struggle by Denver Chicanos for control of park during Community Struggles Panel.

political committee of the Socialist Workers Party, also gave greetings to the convention.

Workshops and panels discussed various aspects of YSA activity, enabling people from different parts of the country to exchange experiences and ideas. One panel focused on the defense of the YSA in Florida. In that state the YSA has been declared "subversive" and denied the right to function as an officially recognized organization at any state-supported school. The YSA is organizing a nationwide defense to answer this attack.

Other panels and workshops discussed the Chicano and Black liberation movements, the gay liberation movement, and the high schools. Doug Jenness, managing editor of *The Militant*, gave a presentation on the revolutionary socialist strategy for the trade-union movement.

Perhaps the spirit of the convention was best represented at the socialist rally held on Friday night. Speakers at the rally included Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the SWP candidates for president and vice-president; Robbie Scherr, a leader of the Cleveland YSA and the SWP's candidate for Congress in Ohio's 23rd District in the 1972 elections; and Joel Hodroff, a member of a team of Young Socialists that traveled in five Midwest states this fall spreading socialist

ideas.

Speaking of Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown, who ruled the SWP candidates off the ballot in Ohio, Scherr said, "It just isn't possible for him to intimidate the Young Socialist Alliance. He can't keep us off the campuses, he can't keep us out of the streets, and he can't keep us from running socialist election campaigns. . . . In fact, I'm very pleased to be able to announce tonight my candidacy for mayor of the city of Cleveland in the 1973 elections."

More than \$7,300 was raised at the rally in response to an appeal for funds by Norman Oliver, a member of the YSA national committee. The money will be used to put 10 teams of young socialists on the road this spring. Joel Hodroff explained the type of work the teams will be doing. In eight weeks this fall his team visited 17 campuses, sold 1,099 subscriptions to *The Militant*, and won 21 new members to the YSA.

Hodroff, a newcomer to the YSA himself, explained that "For the first time in my three years of experience in the radical movement I wasn't doing the bulk of my political work within the four walls of a movement office creating short-term organizations and projects with already-radicalized people, while ignoring many

potential activists on the grounds that they weren't committed or revolutionary enough."

In the main speech at the rally, Andrew Pulley, who had just visited Baton Rouge to find out about the struggle there firsthand, described the lies of the news media, the government, and the campus administration about the events. Pulley also discussed how the YSA will be supporting the SWP municipal campaigns in the coming year.

"Support to these campaigns," he said, "will give us a chance to confront all the basic problems of our society because it is in the big cities that many of these problems are concentrated—pollution, decaying schools, police brutality, drugs, crime, inadequate child care, and the degraded welfare system. Nixon is talking about less money for these things, not more. This is something we'll have plenty to say about. And we think a lot of people will agree with what we say."

"We believe that when we begin to talk about the problems of the big cities, people will understand better what we mean when we say that this society is sick, that it cannot meet the needs of the people, and that it must be changed."

Women, Blacks, Chicanos

The report on women's liberation, given by Delpine Welch, centered on



Militant/Mark Satinoff



Militant/Meriwether Shepherd



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Andy Rose (l), YSA national chairman; Andrew Pulley, national secretary; Laura Miller, national organization secretary.

the fight against the reactionary abortion laws in the U.S. since it is on this issue that the struggle for women's liberation is most clearly challenged. Pointing to the increased attacks against the right to abortion, she predicted that in the coming months the

Media covers YSA convention

Literally millions of people had the opportunity to read about or hear about the Young Socialist Alliance as a result of the coverage of the YSA convention in the mass media. Newspapers in eight cities, with a total circulation of more than one million, had articles announcing the convention.

Ann Marie Capuzzi, who organized the media work for the convention, reports that at least 13 television stations and 20 radio stations also announced news about the convention before it met. Some 40 campus and high school newspapers did the same.

The YSA convention was covered as a news event every day on at least one and as many as all three of Cleveland's TV stations. On Nov. 24 the convention received four minutes of national TV coverage on NBC's "Today Show."

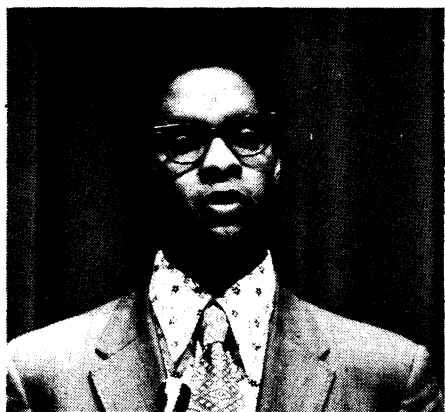
Both of Cleveland's newspapers, the *Plain Dealer* and the *Cleveland Press*, had daily articles on the convention, and reporters from UPI and Associated Press were also there, as was one from the *New York Times*.

In addition, media representatives from 20 campuses and high schools, six underground papers, and seven foreign publications were at the convention.

focus of this attack will be the liberalized New York abortion law, passed in 1970. This law "is the only law today that recognizes a woman's right to abortion," Welch said.

Emphasizing the importance of the fight on the New York law, she explained that "If the law is lost it will

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Militant/Mark Satinoff



Militant/Meriwether Shepherd

At rally celebrating windup of Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign, Norman Oliver (top) gave a collection speech that raised more than \$7,300. Robbie Scherr announced her campaign for Cleveland mayor on the SWP ticket.

Internationalism: major theme of Young Socialist convention



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Speaking at panel on political prisoners were Daniel Zadunaisky (l) from Argentina, Tom Bilko from Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners, Vijaya Wickrama from Sri Lanka, and Claire Moriarty, representing Irish Anti-Internment Coalition.

By DAVE FRANKEL

CLEVELAND — Revolutionary socialists are internationalists. From the time of Marx and Engels, who helped found the International Workingmen's Association in 1864, to the present, it has been a basic tenet of socialist thought that revolutionaries must have a worldwide perspective and that building a revolutionary movement requires the collaboration of people from all over the world.

This concept of international collaboration and solidarity was a constant theme of the twelfth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. It was expressed in the form of greetings sent by revolutionary organizations from six continents and by the work of the convention itself. It was expressed in the international report and a series of panels and workshops on the defense of political prisoners and revolutionary struggles around the world. In fact, for the past seven years the main activity of the YSA has been tied to the defense of one particular struggle in Asia—the Vietnamese revolution.

The first day of the convention featured panels on the anti-Arab witch-hunt in this country and on defending political prisoners around the world. Muthama Al-Hoory, general secretary of the Organization of Arab Students in the USA and Canada, and Abdeen Jabara, president of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, described the campaign of intimidation and harassment of Arabs being carried out by the U.S. government.

YSA leader Rich Finkel spoke on the international manifestations of this racist campaign and the dangers it poses for the civil liberties of all Americans. Finkel called on YSA members to help build teach-ins, set up literature tables, and engage in general educational activities to alert people to the nature of the campaign being carried out against Arabs. He made the point that if the anti-Arab campaign goes unanswered, it may lead to an attack on all those who defend the rights of the Palestinian people in the Middle East.

Speaking on the panel on political prisoners were Vijaya Wickrama, a Ceylonese just returned from Sri Lanka with firsthand information on the repression there; Daniel Zadunaisky, an Argentine activist touring the U.S. under the auspices of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA); Tom Bilko, a member of the Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners; and Claire Moriarty, a representative of the New York-based Irish Anti-Internment Coalition.

Wickrama's powerful condemnation of the bloody repression in Sri Lanka drew a standing ovation from the convention. He said that literally thousands have been executed without trial and that 15,000 young people are still being held in concentration camps.

The Bandaranaike government, with the support of the U.S., Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and other countries, has declared all political meetings, strikes, and publications critical of the government illegal, Wickrama said. It has extended its term in office for seven years and set up special courts to try dissidents.

Nevertheless, Wickrama concluded, there is resistance. On Oct. 18 one million people participated in a nationwide hunger strike, and with the help of masses of people all over the world the political prisoners in Sri Lanka will be freed and the democratic rights of its people restored.

Tom Bilko discussed the persecution of nationalities within the USSR, particularly in the Ukraine. He explained the policy of "Russification" practiced by the bureaucratic rulers of the Soviet Union. This policy is aimed at making the oppressed nationalities minorities in their own homelands and at destroying their language and culture. Bilko mentioned Angela Davis's trip to the USSR during which she hailed the supposedly harmonious national relations there. While she spoke in Moscow, 100 Ukrainian activists were secretly on trial.

Considerable interest in the plight of political prisoners in Latin America was evidenced throughout the convention. Many of the people there were already familiar with the tour of Daniel Zadunaisky and the attempt by the U.S. immigration department to prevent him from entering the U.S.

Zadunaisky recounted the recent history of Argentina, which has been ruled by a series of military dictatorships since 1966. In that year a state of siege was declared that rendered political parties illegal, dissolved the Argentine Congress, allowed internment without trial, and abolished civil liberties.

Later in the convention about 80 people attended a workshop on defending political prisoners in Latin America. USLA reports that it distributed all the literature it brought to the convention and took orders for more.

Babak Zahraie

A separate panel was organized on the case of Babak Zahraie. Zahraie, an Iranian student at the University of Washington in Seattle, has been a leader in the antiwar movement

there and in a struggle against tuition increases. In 1971 he was the president of the Iranian Student Association and of the Foreign Students Council at the U of W. The immigration department is attempting to deport him.

Speaking to the convention, Zahraie explained that the radicalization in the U.S. has also affected foreign students studying here. Many of these students live in anxiety and fear because of the immigration department's attempts to intimidate them. "The only way that this can be changed," he said, "is by building a defense and winning."

Bahram Atai, the secretary of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, also spoke. Atai has been ordered to leave the country by Dec. 12. He is charged with not being a serious student, although he has finished a four-year course of study in three years and is preparing to enroll in graduate school.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie has decided to publicize these attacks on the rights of Iranian students on a national scale. If the government is successful in deporting Zahraie and Atai, they face imprisonment, torture, or even death at the hands of the Iranian secret police. Mark Ugolini of the YSA pledged the support of the revolutionary socialist movement in distributing defense committee literature, getting sponsors, and publicizing the case.

Another area where the YSA is planning to step up its activity is in defense of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. Robert Van Lierop of the African Liberation Service and Sam Manuel of the YSA spoke to the convention on this question after the YSA had voted to engage in an educational campaign exposing U.S. complicity with the white racist regimes in Africa.

Van Lierop, who visited the liberated areas of Mozambique in 1971, indicated the importance of informing people about what is happening in Africa. He said that the armed struggle in Mozambique had been going on for five years before the *New York Times* finally reported its existence.

Sam Manuel outlined the extent of U.S. complicity with the colonial regimes in Africa and the opportunities for action on this issue. He noted that 40 of the major universities in the U.S. own stock valued at \$70-million in companies doing business in Southern Africa.

In addition to these panels, a workshop on the student movement around the world, and a panel in which revolutionaries from Sweden, France, Canada, and New Zealand described their work and the conditions in their countries, were also held.

For a free press

An important victory for democratic rights was won Nov. 28. The U.S. Justice Department released Professor Samuel Popkin of Harvard and dismissed the grand jury investigating the distribution of the Pentagon papers. Popkin had been jailed for refusing to give the grand jury the names of sources who provided him with information for his research on Vietnam. (See *In Brief*, page 2.)

This right of journalists and scholars to have confidential sources—a right that is vital to the free flow of information—has come under considerable attack recently.

Earl Caldwell, a Black reporter for the *New York Times*, was called before a grand jury and asked to reveal sources of information on the Black Panther Party. He refused. His case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, where he lost earlier this year.

A Los Angeles reporter, William T. Farr, refused to tell a court who "leaked" him documents during the Manson murder trial. Other reporters have been subpoenaed in similar cases.

Despite Popkin's victory, another grand jury can be called. He can be summoned to appear before it and be asked the same questions he refused to answer before.

The right of reporters to be able to gather information without their sources feeling threatened with exposure or arrest is a crucial part of the constitutional right to freedom of the press. Without this right reporters and scholars are dependent on official government reports for many subjects.

The erosion of this right can be expected to lead to increased attempts to harass and intimidate activists fighting for social change. All such moves must be vigorously protested.

End the cutbacks

It is common these days for people to talk about the "urban crisis" or the "deteriorating cities." What does this mean when translated into terms of people's everyday lives? Two current examples tell part of the story.

In Detroit, the board of education has voted to close the city's 300 public schools for eight weeks starting Dec. 21 unless money can be dug up to pay part or all of an \$80-million deficit. Two-thirds of the students to be deprived of schooling are Black. (See article on page 11.)

Eleven assistant principals and five teachers were ordered to transfer last week from East Harlem's school district in New York City as a result of budgetary cuts. Coming on top of overcrowded conditions in the schools, this action triggered a boycott by parents, most of whom are Black and Puerto Rican. Twelve of the district's 22 elementary and junior high schools were shut down, and about 11,000 students were out of class.

In addition to demanding reinstatement of the transferred personnel, the parents are calling for an end to staff cuts; more guidance, reading, and citizenship classes; reduction of teacher-pupil ratio to one to 25; extension of school-aide hours; more paraprofessionals; more diagnostic services and bilingual programs; a full-time nurse, psychologist, school guard, and social worker; and restoration of the normal substitute-teacher service.

These demands point to some of the many inadequacies common not only to East Harlem's schools but to Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano schools throughout the country. The funds that have been provided have never been sufficient to build modern, well-equipped, and well-staffed educational facilities. And now city and state governments are cutting back further.

What's the problem? Doesn't our society have enough money to provide a decent education for everyone who wants it?

There's plenty of money. But it's being spent for socially useless and destructive purposes. For example, if even part of Washington's war budget of more than \$80-billion was utilized for education, it would go a long way toward fulfilling our educational needs.

Financing education can't be left up to state and city governments or to property taxes. This system doesn't provide enough funds to keep up with growing educational needs, and it leaves Black and Puerto Rican schools far worse off.

What's needed is a nationally financed crash program to meet the educational needs in the Black community. These funds should be administered by organizations in the community itself. This is the best way to ensure that the funds are not misspent or wasted through graft but utilized most effectively.

Rail accidents increasing

Your Nov. 24 issue had a good letter from Chicago about the train wreck there that killed more than 40 and injured 300. The Illinois Central will be cleared of all blame, as Guy Miller said.

The number of rail wrecks is actually on the rise, all because the carriers are neglecting road beds and equipment, cutting the work crews, and speeding up operations. In August this year there were 588 accidents, causing 157 deaths. This is about average from month to month, although the total increases yearly.

There is another side to this. The more the carriers disregard safety rules the less they are fined for infractions. The Federal Railroad Administration has collected only \$825,987 in fines from 87 railroads this year. In 1971 total fines were \$1.3-million.

A switchman
New York, N.Y.

People's World

I noticed an interesting item in a recent issue of *People's World*. *PW* is the West Coast weekly reflecting the views of the Communist Party USA, which in turn parrots the ideas of the Stalinist Kremlin regime.

PW's summary of the California referendum results reports about each of the important ones except for Proposition 19, which would have legalized the use of marijuana. To mention this would have required taking a position on it. To oppose legalization would have further decreased *PW*'s sagging popularity. But marijuana is also illegal in the Soviet Union. For the *PW* to favor legalization would mean criticizing the Kremlin bureaucracy. The solution: just don't mention the subject.

Bob Geb
Berkeley, Calif.

Says Militant helped Nixon

[The following letter was sent in attached to a clipping of an article entitled "Youth disenchanted with 'honest George,'" from the Nov. 10 *Militant*.]

I have subscribed to *The Militant* since 1950 and have recommended it to many, despite disagreements on some issues, because I thought it stood for progress and was helping to prevent a fascist takeover. This is no longer the case, in my opinion.

My reasons are many. However, your scurrilous attacks on McGovern are central. Thanks to *The Militant*, Mr. Nixon has another "four war years." I believe that *The Militant* played a key role in Nixon's "game plan": getting most undecided voters not to vote. Only 55 percent of the eligible voters voted, because they "saw no difference."

I believe you had a right and a duty to present your program of socialist change. Instead, you focused on vicious personal attacks. This kind of attack hit college students far and wide. In Milwaukee, where I attend graduate school, I noted the apathy with dismay. A veteran's group organizing an anti-war group got three people outside

of the organizers. Students did not work for McGovern in the last few months as they did earlier.

It's quite true that radio, television, and newspapers deserve the chief blame in this regard. The amazing thing is that you helped them reelect Mr. Nixon. Students play a key role in much campaigning. You helped them stay at home by peddling the nonsense that there "was no difference."

Now we are faced with the prospect of more bombing, more killing, and, I believe, a wider war. The Vietnamese people will pay for your arrant nonsense. But I won't. Please cancel my sub immediately!

Richard Kujoth
Milwaukee, Wis.

Election laws

The thought recently occurred to me that the formation of a national association of third parties would not only be practical at this time but could possibly be successful by the 1976 presidential election in gaining what individual third parties have sought since time immemorial: a national election law dealing with qualification of parties for the ballot.

I for one, as a member of the state central committee of the California Peace and Freedom Party, will introduce a resolution in that body instructing our representative to the national committee of the People's Party to move for the establishment of such an organization, with the People's Party taking the lead. I hope the Socialist Workers Party will unite in such an effort.

Jan Tucker
Arleta, Calif.

In reply—Over the past year the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) has coordinated a number of legal challenges seeking to establish the ballot rights of smaller parties. The SWP and several other parties, including the People's Party, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Labor Party, have cooperated with CoDEL in filing these suits, many of which were victorious.

Among the gains won were the right to campaign on military bases not closed to the public, the striking down of a number of state "loyalty" oaths, and successful suits against candidate filing fees in Florida and California.

CoDEL's address is Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Death penalty

I view the attempt by racist state officials (especially in California) and the federal government to reinstate the death penalty for "certain crimes" with great alarm. For the poor, and for Blacks and other minority peoples, it poses especially great dangers, for they are the traditional victims of this inhuman practice.

Since 1930 (when "accurate" statistics on capital punishment first began to be kept, although the electric chair was first used in 1890 by New York State) 3,895 reported executions have taken place. Of

these, 2,065, or 53.5 percent, have been Black people.

Statistics indicate, in fact, that the death penalty has been preserved for Black "examples." Of the 455 men executed in this country for rape since 1930, 405, or 90 percent, have been Black. Black people constitute 76 percent of all those executed for robbery, 83 percent of the people executed for assault by a life-term prisoner, 100 percent of those executed for simple burglary, and 49 percent of all people executed for murder.

Do we commit more crimes? Hardly, but we suffer the harshest penalties under this unequal class and racist judicial and social system.

Another way to understand the immensity of horror involved in these figures is to compare them to a different sort of statistic. Between 1882 and 1938, a period of 57 years, there were 3,397 "reported" vigilante lynchings of Black people in this country. If the figures for Black people "legally" executed by the state is compared with that equivalent 57-year period, the figures are almost identical. Nothing has really changed but the style.

*A prisoner
Missouri*

SWPer not listed on ballot

I noticed in your newspaper that a woman named Rebecca Finch was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 18th C.D. of Manhattan. I happen to live in what I believe to be this district; at least I am aware that Koch was the incumbent. However, when I went to vote, no such Rebecca Finch was on the ballot. In fact, the SWP column was completely blank except for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Was there an error made? Did someone forget or just leave your candidate off the ballot? The polling place I go to is on 77th Street and York Avenue.

*M. L. C.
New York, N. Y.*

In reply—Your polling place is in the 18th C.D., and Rebecca Finch should have been on your ballot. The New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee has notified the Board of Elections and requested an explanation.

Changed her mind

I almost didn't renew my subscription as I decided to put the \$5 toward a "professional journal" subscription. (I am a social work/psychology graduate of CSU Sacramento). The last issue I received was a strong reminder that I can't ever be effective as a social worker (what an overworked term) if I don't remain very much a part of the socialist struggle. Keep up your good work.

Please . . . more on women's struggle and the gay movement.

*B. B.
Sacramento, Calif.*

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



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

CBS strike and class solidarity

Since the rise of industrial unionism it has been an unwritten law that all unions must respect legitimate picket lines against employers. Today most working men and women consider it a high crime to cross a picket line established for higher wages, more jobs, and better working conditions. This general attitude is a measure of working-class solidarity, a necessary condition for the protection of adequate living standards and the development of industrial democracy.

The employing class, in its never-ending efforts to subject all workers to conditions of employment dictated by management, seeks always and everywhere to impose restrictions on the right to strike. The employers try to outlaw picket lines and inflict severe penalties on all who refuse to continue working

Ordinances prohibiting picketing were common in many cities before the great strike battles of the 1930s established the right to strike and to picket, challenging all no-strike laws and wiping many off the books.

In 1947 the Taft-Hartley Act made it illegal for unions to impose what was described as a "secondary boycott," that is, to call upon other workers not to handle materials produced in a struck plant by scab labor. Since then the employers have interpreted every form of strike support as a secondary boycott of sorts and have sought court injunctions to weaken or break strikes.

New York State Supreme Court Justice Hyman Korn on Nov. 21 enjoined the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) from instructing some of its members who hold individual contracts with the Columbia Broadcasting System not to appear on CBS newscasts while striking members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) are picketing the company's television stations.

Among those immediately affected by the injunction were Eric Severeid, Dan Rather, and Roger Mudd, who had said, before the court ruling, that they would not broadcast. The order came against their union two hours before their scheduled 6 p. m. broadcast, and they all appeared.

CBS newsmen in an earlier statement said they had "agreed unanimously to respect any AFTRA orders to observe and not cross the picket lines of the IBEW." Their statement added, however, that they "do not agree with the objectives of the IBEW strike as they understand them."

Judge Korn's injunction was based on his ruling

that AFTRA cannot compel the newscasters to breach their individual contracts with CBS. He did not rule on the more substantive issue of their right to respect picket lines and support the striking technicians, even if their demands were not clearly understood.

The ready and continued appearances of these newscasters on scab CBS shows speak for their understanding of class solidarity if not the issues in the strike.

AFTRA's response to the court injunction was also far from the tradition established by the union movement in an earlier period. The union executive committee immediately withdrew its order to respect the picket lines until it appeals the court order.

The employers, on the other hand, have moved against the unions on all fronts. CBS supervisors are continuing to operate television cameras and other equipment.

The executive director of the National Football League, John Thompson, has advised all teams that players who refuse to give after-game interviews to CBS, as urged by the NFL Players Association, will be fined. Two Detroit Lions players, Greg Landy and Lem Barney, were threatened when they balked at being interviewed by the scab network. The *New York Times* has taken up the cudgels editorially for CBS by arguing that any support of the IBEW strike would be "a basic threat to the free flow of information."

The central issue in the strike, which began Nov. 3, is jobs. IBEW Local 1212, represents 1,200 cameramen, audio engineers, lighting technicians, and others. Many of these jobs will be eliminated by the use of new equipment.

Business agent Arthur Korff says, "We're not against automation, but we say that if it comes we have a right to share in the benefits. . . ."

Part of the IBEW troubles can be laid to the failure of the craft-minded leadership to explain what is happening in this industry and call upon all other unions for support in a concerted drive to reduce the hours of work for all.

Automation in the television industry is no different from what is happening throughout all industry. It means loss of jobs. The unions can recover these jobs only when they fight for and win a shorter workweek for all wage earners. And when they launch that campaign, everyone (except the boss and a few of his stooges) will respect picket lines—in defiance of court injunctions if necessary, as has happened before.



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith

Louisiana Black student demands

The present struggle being fought at Southern University in Louisiana is a manifestation of the struggle for the Black University. The students are seeking to define the role of an educational institution in the struggle for Black liberation.

A statement prefacing the students' written demands bears this out. These problems, it says in part, "we feel are systematically caused to stagger our move into the consciousness of nationhood. We find it necessary to exercise our duly possessed rights as Black men and women to abolish all conditions that threaten our existence."

The protest, which began as a classroom boycott, grew over into a strike for Black student control of the university. Although the university administrators are Black, they are controlled by the racist state government officials, not by the students.

Many of the demands spring from grievances the students have in various departments. One demand the political science students raised is that the university allocate funds for campus political organizations. Another major demand the students are pressing is the hiring of relevant faculty and staff. "Racist teachers should be eliminated from the staff and substandard teachers should not be hired simply because they possess a certain title or color."

Another demand states, "more emphasis should be placed on the amount a student comprehends rather than the amount the teacher manages to cover in a given time." Still another demand is for more

and qualitatively better courses in such areas as Black politics, history, and literature.

To implement these and other reforms the students are demanding the creation of departmental and executive councils. The departmental council, which would be composed of the department chairman, department faculty, and department students, would coordinate the activities of the department. The activities would include, according to the demands, "the hiring and firing of all faculty members in the department, including the chairman, and other necessary input within the department." The students want a 2-to-1 student-faculty ratio on the councils.

The executive council would be composed of the president of the university, his executive staff, and students. It would function as a board of directors for the university and tackle the other problems the students are protesting (poor cafeteria service, deteriorating conditions in the dorms, etc.).

The students are demanding the resignation of the current president of Southern University, Dr. G. Leon Netterville. At the conclusion of the demands they offer suggestions for a new president, some of whom are: Owusu Sadaukai, president of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N. C.; Imamu Baraka, chairman of the Congress of African People; Nathan Hare, publisher of *The Black Scholar*; and Don L. Lee, a nationalist poet who teaches at Howard University in Washington, D. C.



How appropriate can you get?—Van Cleef and Arpels are offering a special version of the AMA's emergency medical identification locket. Yellow gold, with the AMA symbol encrusted in jewels. Only \$180—plus doctor's fees if you drop.

For the steady tripper—Sakowitz, the Houston specialty shop, has come up with a practical gift for the flying executive, the Sakowitz Houseplane. Complete with office and living quarters, including master bedroom, bath, and bar. An office computer included, only \$9.25-million. Or, if he has a big family, he can have a Boeing 707 for \$11-million. A 747, \$27-million. Of course, there's a catch. Because of the computer installation, delivery takes one year.

Crime prevention—Researchers hope to cut down on resurgent cattle rustling by placing a computerized beeper in the cow's stomach. Wouldn't it be nice if they went off when the bandit in the market puts a piece on the scale?

Countercultural note—"Each man's hair is his own and he can certainly wear it the way he pleases without anyone imposing sanctions against him if this is the free country we want it to be," declared American Legion Commander Joe Matthews, commending the organization for its approval of the proposal by its Americanism committee to abolish hairstyle rules.

Makes a good extra blanket, too—Our friends at Neiman-Marcus are offering what they describe as a "su-

perlative" Russian Crown sable cape. \$42,000.00.

Environmental data—Big Mac freeks may be interested in the finding of a National Science Foundation researcher that the McDonald chain used up the energy equivalent of 12.7 million tons of coal last year. In addition, each customer used 2.4 ounces of packaging—paper cups, bags, burger boxes, napkins, waxed paper, straws, lid covers, etc. Not to speak of the wax in the hamburger.

Antique news—A magazine feature on bathtubs of old reports a Boston firm offered one in 1850 that tied in with a cooking range. Which may explain why some of our New York friends pay all that bread for a walk-up apartment with a tub in the kitchen.

That's why rich people smell different—Karle Jerome, recently dismissed as chef by Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, was the nineteenth cook in four years. He said that on top of everything else, he had to provide cinnamon to sweeten the heat in the fireplace.

Thought for the week—"Despite the differences in wealth and position, the upper-class alcoholic generally drinks for the same reasons as his less affluent brethren. Case after case illustrates how affluence and high position are no buffer against feelings of inadequacy, dependency problems, anxiety, depression, loneliness, rage, repressed sexuality. . . ."—From a UPI report on Silver Hill Foundation, a plush private Connecticut psychiatric hospital.

Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



'Lesbian/Woman' & Communist Party

When the associate editor of the *People's World*, the West Coast voice of the Communist Party, writes a favorable review of *Lesbian/Woman*, you know that the gay liberation movement must be having an impact among CP members. But not only is Judy Baston's review in the Nov. 11 *People's World* favorable—it also attacks (indirectly) the hostility of the CP leadership toward the gay liberation movement.

Lesbian/Woman (Bantam Books, 1972) was written by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, two founders of the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB). The book is aimed at demystifying female homosexuality, and it does a good job. Martin and Lyons draw on their own personal experiences and from the experiences of other lesbians to ridicule and expose the myths surrounding lesbianism and to describe the types of discrimination gay women face. They also include sections on the development of DOB and other groups in the gay liberation movement and on the struggle by lesbians for equal rights within the women's liberation movement.

Baston's review, however, really just takes *Lesbian/Woman* as a jumping-off point to get to her real subject, which is the "almost irrational atti-

tude towards homosexuality among many in the Left."

"I'm talking about smirks, convictions that homosexuality is somehow 'not normal' and seeing the gay movement as more or less diversionary from the business of making basic social change," Baston says.

It's no big secret that the Communist Party leadership has taken a hostile approach toward the gay liberation movement. For example, in the main political resolution adopted at the CP's national convention in February 1972, the question of gay liberation is relegated to the section on "weaknesses" in the women's liberation movement.

"Other weaknesses in the women's liberation movement include the influences of homosexuality and Trotskyism. To some women homosexuality has become an alternative to fighting male supremacy."

For cover, the resolution adds, "we oppose the ridicule and persecution of homosexuals." But, it continues, "we must also point out that the struggle against this has often been used in a disruptive and diversionary way in the women's liberation movement."

It would be interesting to know if the Communist Party is only opposed to persecution of homosexuals in the U.S. What about in the Soviet Union, where Stalin reinstituted the anti-gay laws after the reactionary statutes had been repealed under Lenin? But Baston fails to mention the Soviet Union in her review.

She does tell us, however, that "nobody who calls themselves a committed socialist can ignore or dismiss any kind of oppression, whatever its basis."

Baston obviously feels the pressure of the growing sentiment for full civil rights for gay people. She probably realizes that an openly negative attitude toward homosexuals will only serve to isolate the Communist Party from many young people it would like to reach with its ideas. In particular, feminists are not likely to be attracted to the Communist Party when they read that one of the "weaknesses" of their movement is the "influence" of homosexuality.

What are other leaders of the Communist Party thinking? Can we expect an answer from them to Baston's review?

The American Way of Life

Lee Smith



'Progress' in Philly, death in D.C.

An AP dispatch from Philadelphia in the Nov. 25 *New York Times* says that 23 cases of rat bite have been reported in that city so far this year. The statistic, the item goes on, is one "health officials deem encouraging. If the trend holds up, there will be only about 40 cases of bites reported this year. Cases of rat bites have been decreasing steadily for several years in Philadelphia. In 1969 there were 91 bites reported, 75 in 1970 and 53 in 1971."

It is hard to imagine anything that could underscore any more dramatically than this the kind of constricted vision imposed on health workers by the system within which they must operate. In the richest country in the world, health officials in a major city are "encouraged" if only 40 people a year are reported to have been bitten by rats.

Not far away from Philadelphia a month earlier there was a single, tragic case of rat bite. On Halloween night, Joseph Alexander, a four-month-old Black child in Alexandria, Va., bled to death from what the state medical examiner called "multiple bites of the feet . . . probably caused by rodents, most likely rats."

Washington Post staff writer Ron Shaffer reported

in the Nov. 3 issue of that paper that the infant's death was "the first time in the memory and records of local officials, spanning the past 20 years, that a Washington area resident has died of rat bites."

Perhaps officials could find some encouragement in the fact there has only been one such death in 20 years. It is not likely, however, that James and Evelyn Alexander, the parents of the victim, see it in that light.

The Alexanders and their children, together with Evelyn's brother, James Locke, and his family, moved last year into the old, seven-room house where the tragedy occurred. The place rents for \$40 a week. (The name of the vampire who gets more than \$2,000 a year for a rat burrow is not mentioned in the newspaper article, nor is it so much as hinted that any of the responsibility for the infant's death is his.)

Locke and Alexander needed to save money because—as a consequence of being Black and lacking high school diplomas—neither could find work paying more than \$2 an hour. Locke is a radiator repairman. Alexander drives a tow truck nights at a Bethesda, Md., gas station for \$1.80 an hour.

James Alexander was working when his son died. His wife was on her way to pick him up from work. Locke, who was home, looked in and found Joseph sleeping at 11 p.m., then went to bed himself. Two hours later, when his parents got home, the baby was dead.

The county department of social services assisted the two families in finding new housing after the baby had been killed. Last year they had to hunt on their own.

Meanwhile, in whole sections of major cities, such as the Shaw area of Northwest Washington, D.C., where some 33,000 people live, rats run in and out of dilapidated housing people shouldn't have to live in, let alone pay rent for. Sometimes the rats bite people. If they happen to bite less frequently or if every case isn't reported, then officials can be "encouraged." Once in a while, a rat bite victim dies. Then officials can take some minimal action.

No doubt there are some who would say that decent housing at reasonable rent would "pamper" Americans, make them "soft, spoiled, and . . . weak." But that's because the only rats in the White House walk upright on two legs.

How New York abortion law has saved hundreds of women's lives

Opponents of women's right to abortion are organizing now to fight for repeal of New York's liberalized abortion law in the next legislative session. The law permits abortions up through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

Last spring the Catholic Church hierarchy, anti-abortion groups such as Right to Life, and even President Nixon joined in a campaign that won repeal of the abortion law in New York's senate and assembly. The repeal bill was vetoed, however, by Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

The following are excerpts from a speech on the New York law by Gordon Chase, New York City Health Services administrator. The speech was given Oct. 7 at a conference of the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws held in Detroit, Mich.

In the first two years under our liberal abortion law, some 400,000 abortions were performed in New York City.

Who were the women who sought abortions? About two-thirds of them were non-New York City residents—women from every one of the 50 states. Most came from nearby states like New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but many others came from New England, from the more populous states like Ohio and Illinois, and even from states with relatively liberal abortion laws like Maryland and Florida.

A large group—close to 20,000 women—came from right here in Michigan, and I hope every one of them will be out there on November 7th voting for abortion reform. . . .

The fact that so many women traveled to New York City for abortions, however, argues strongly for abortion on demand in every state. Obviously the demand exists. The question then is why should women have to travel hundreds of miles for what is, in most cases, a simple medical procedure? Why isn't this procedure available in

their own hometowns? I haven't heard a good answer yet.

Overall, the majority of women who had abortions in New York City during the two years under the law were in their twenties. Teen-agers, however, accounted for almost a quarter of the abortions. . . .

Blacks accounted for about 45 percent of reported abortions, and Puerto Ricans for about 11 percent. . . . a study last spring indicated that in 1971 Medicaid paid for nearly half of the abortions in the municipal hospitals and for two-thirds of the ward patients in the voluntaries. . . .

There were eight deaths in New York City following legal abortions performed during each of the two years under the law. This means the death rate during Year One was 4.6 deaths per 100,000 abortions—a rate well below the death rate associated with live birth. By the 18-month point, this figure had dropped to 4.3, and it declined even further—to a remarkable 3.5 for Year Two as a whole. . . .

In the first year, the reported complications rate was 8.5 per 1,000 abortions. For Year Two, that rate dropped to 7.2. . . .

The overall maternal death rate for the two-year period under the new abortion law was 37.7 per 100,000 live births, a statistically significant 28 percent decline from the preceding two-year period, when it was at a rate of 52.2.

Infant mortality, which had also been on the decline in New York City, has now dropped to an all-time low, and while there is not an ironclad case to be made, we believe that access to abortion has been an important contributor.

Abortion on demand also seems to have brought about a striking decline in "incomplete" abortions—those cases that the hospitals see after an abortion was begun elsewhere or was self-induced. Municipal hospital data on incomplete and spontaneous abortions

indicates a sharp drop in criminal abortions since the law went into effect. . . .

And, in fact, the cost of an abortion has been coming down. A first-trimester abortion often cost as much as \$500 in the early months of the law. Today, however, some voluntary hospitals have a standard fee of about \$200 for an abortion that does not require an overnight stay. Many clinics have published fees of \$125-\$150, and some accept even less in cases of need. . . .

I am certain we will see another attempt to repeal the abortion law in the next legislative session. I believe Right to Life will be stronger than ever. And, I believe they can win unless we begin to fight back really effectively.

We lost in the legislature last spring because we were complacent. We sat back and said, "we're on the side of right" and "they can't win."

But we were wrong. They almost did win—and would have if not for the governor's veto after the end of

the session. And, it was our complacency, in part, that helped them. Those of us who support abortion must organize now for the uphill fight ahead. Not just for the fight in New York either—but for the fight here in Michigan—in fact, for a fight in every state in the nation.

We can win if we fight. There are sure signs to encourage us. . . .

We have to get across the point that, yes, abortion does involve moral decisions—but that, as the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future stated, we must balance the moral problems relating to the woman and the child along with those concerning the fetus.

We must consider the morality of forcing a woman to bear and raise a child she does not want. Does this not infringe on her personal freedom?

And what of the unwanted child, whose prospects for a good life may be dim precisely because he or she was not wanted?

And, certainly, we must consider the

Continued on page 22



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Health Services administrator Gordon Chase testified at Oct. 21 New York hearings on abortion organized by Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

Defendants get light sentences

French anti-abortion law exposed at trial

[The article that follows was written shortly before sentences were handed down in the recent French abortion trial.

[On Nov. 22, Michelle Chevalier received a \$100 suspended fine for having helped her daughter obtain an abortion. Micheline Bambuck, who performed the abortion, was given a one-year suspended sentence. Two other women charged with complicity in the cases were acquitted.

[The leniency of these penalties—French courts have previously sent women to jail for two years on similar charges—shows the growing sentiment for repeal of the French anti-abortion law.

[Gisèle Halimi, Chevalier's lawyer, told reporters that the sentences will be appealed. "This judgment just shows the disarray of the judges on the abortion law. The law is ineffective and is itself convicted," she said.]

From Intercontinental Press
By Candida Barberena

Facing the bench on November 8 in the Paris suburb of Bobigny were the "accomplices" in an abortion case. Charged with having arranged an abortion for Marie-Claire Chevalier were her mother, Madame Chevalier,

and two subway coworkers, Madame Duboucheix and Madame Sausset. Madame Bambuck is the accused *faisseuse d'ange* ("angel-maker"), or abortionist.

One month ago Marie-Claire was tried and acquitted for having an abortion, an illegal practice except "when it is required to preserve the life of the mother when that is gravely threatened." Charges were dropped after women's liberation and abortion groups demonstrated in Paris under the flailing nightsticks of police.

Testimony given in behalf of the four defendants was aimed at revealing that, in fact, French women do not have the right to make a choice regarding maternity. After listening to the defendants explain the motives for their participation in the "crime," Maurice Denuzière, correspondent for the Paris daily *Le Monde* noted:

"But that's not what the trial was all about. It went beyond the case of these four women, prosecuted after being picked out as if in a random drawing from among at least six or eight hundred thousand French women who secretly interrupt their pregnancies each year, taking deadly risks that are only partially revealed by official statistics."

Jacques Monod, Nobel prize winner

in medicine and director of the Pasteur Institute, came to Bobigny to testify for the defendants. "Abortion is not infanticide," he told the court. "The fetus is not a human being."

The French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* reported an unusual and surprising gesture by Monod. He told the court, "Yes, I gave 3,000 francs [\$600] to Madame C. . . ." for a safe and comfortable abortion in Switzerland or England. He indicated that he would have acted in complicity: "I gave it to her after the abortion. If I had known about it before, I wouldn't have had to give it to her. I would have directed her to a clinic where this is freely performed every day."

In a statement to the court Madame Chevalier explained why she and her daughter had chosen to seek the abortion: "I am still living the humiliations that society reserves for unwed mothers, and I didn't want my daughter to experience that. I offered to keep and raise the child, which would not have been easy or within our means. She didn't want this." Concluding, she added, "As soon as she had made up her mind, I had to help her. I have nothing to be sorry about."

Actresses Delphine Seyrig and Fran-

çoise Fabian incriminated themselves under the law when they gave the dates of their last abortions. They expressed astonishment at not being sought by the law themselves.

For its part the prosecution did not totally ignore public dissatisfaction with the nation's 162-year-old restrictive abortion law. Denuzière reported that in the indictment Mr. Rouhault, first deputy prosecutor of France, confined his arguments to "the record and the law," adding that the law was "still in force." Apparently retreating somewhat in recognition of the day's revealing testimony, the prosecutor did admit that he expected the present law to be modified. However, this ". . . would not in his opinion at all guarantee complete happiness, a simplistic notion in his mind."

Also present at the trial was Simone de Beauvoir, author of *The Second Sex*. In her testimony she offered to provide money and addresses and to open her home to women requiring abortions.

"When the hearing was over, ending with a postponement of the judgment one had the impression that a step had been taken, that the court was not comfortably sitting in judgment, but had been itself placed in the dock," observed *Le Monde*.

Issues in miners elections

Boyle 'protects bosses from the men'

By ALEX HARTE

FAIRMONT, W. Va. — The 190,000-member United Mine Workers of America is about to select its national leadership for the next five years as a result of a May 1 court ruling that invalidated the 1969 election.

The election for UMW president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, three auditors, and three tellers is set for Dec. 1 through Dec. 8. The election, to be monitored by the U. S. Department of Labor, was ordered by U. S. District Court Judge William Bryant, who cited vote fraud, intimidation, and illegal use of union funds by UMW officials in the 1969 elections.

Shortly after that contest, Joseph Yablonski, who had recently broken with UMW President W. A. (Tony) Boyle to run for president himself, was murdered, along with his wife and daughter. High UMW officials are being tried for the killing, and funds used to pay the alleged assassins have been traced to UMW headquarters in Washington.

The Boyle machine, calling itself "the prounion team," is being challenged by a group of insurgents called Miners for Democracy. The MFD was formed after the Yablonski murders

"retirement" of Vice-president George Tidler, 77, and Secretary-Treasurer John Owens, 82—were all Boyle's running mates chosen.

Leonard Pnakovich, 53, of Fairmont, W. Va., resigned as District 31 president to become UMW vice-president and run for that office in December. Should Boyle's appeal of his recent conviction (for contributing UMW funds to Hubert Humphrey's 1968 campaign) be denied, he would be prohibited from holding office, and Pnakovich would succeed him.

Boyle's slate received nominations from 863 locals with a total membership of 97,000. The Miller ticket was nominated by 410 locals numbering 93,500 members. The latter locals are composed mainly of working miners, while Boyle's are made up mostly of pensioners.

The Boyle clique has attacked the federal government's intervention in the UMW as an attempt to destroy the union and weaken the labor movement. The MFD answers that government interference, while not desirable, is necessary to break Boyle's stranglehold.

Since July, the semimonthly *United Mine Workers Journal* has been shared, due to court order, half and half between the MFD and Boyle fac-



Arnold Miller

black lung disease, but neither has been able to collect disability benefits, even under the liberalized black lung law enacted last July. (About 169,000 claims were denied by the Social Security Administration under the 1969 act.)

Black lung, a painful and life-shortening ailment, is caused by inhaling coal dust. The Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 was supposed to reduce dust particles to safe levels. But according to Brooks, "I can't see any difference since the safety laws started."

"Mine inspectors take dust samples

ing, you work twice as hard as in anything else. You've got more bosses than you ever saw; they drive you hard, right up to quitting time."

Brooks said he has noticed a changing mood among miners in recent years. "The younger ones are talking back to their supervisors. They're much more willing to go out on strike now."

Brooks said he voted for Yablonski in 1969 and will vote MFD in December. "Most miners from around here are voting for Miller and more are changing over every day," he said.

He said there had been evidence of vote fraud in District 31 (northern West Virginia) in 1969. He added that this time the pro-Boyle operatives changed the date of the nominating election in his local in an attempt to deny the right to pro-MFD miners. Local 4047 nominated the Miller slate despite this, Brooks said.

David Cunningham, 39, a cutting-machine operator, has been a miner for 18 years. Talking about the current contract, signed last December after a bitter 45-day strike, he said, "half the stuff you've gotten in the contract is taken away. You try to apply for things—sick benefits for example—and they've [union officials] given it away. All they want is to get the men back to work."

Cunningham said more vacation time should be a high priority. "You have to work 10 years before you get an extra day of vacation." (Base vacation is two weeks per year.) Another problem, he said, is that "if you're killed in the mine, your widow gets no benefits after five years."

Cunningham spoke of strip mining, a practice that has ruined much of Appalachia. "Strip mining companies should make the land as good or better than it was before. The extra profits from stripping [less costly than deep mining] would pay for the cost of reclamation. But when they get through, they just move on and don't care what they leave behind," he pointed out.

Cunningham said he intends to vote for the MFD slate. "But whoever wins the election, there have got to be some changes."

Allen Scott, 47, UMW Local 1501, became a miner six years ago following his retirement from the Army as a noncommissioned officer.

Foremost among his grievances was the absence of membership ratification of contracts. "We have to take what someone else says we want. Those [union] officials don't know what it's like down under there."

Scott, who is Black, said there is racism in the coal industry and that "the union hasn't done anything to help. In my mine, owned by Consolidated Edison, there are only four Blacks out of the 400 who work there."

Scott says he favors the MFD candidates as "a step forward."



Tony Boyle



Jeanne Rasmussen/LNS

by the Miners for Yablonski, who had officially been credited with about 40 percent of the vote. The MFD calls for a broad range of reforms within the UMW, which it says "once protected the men from the bosses but now protects the bosses from the men."

The Miners for Democracy held a convention last May in Wheeling, W. Va., where about 500 miners nominated a slate of candidates to oppose Boyle. Arnold Miller, 49, head of the West Virginia Black Lung Association, was chosen to run for president; Mike Trbovich, 51, then MFD chairman, for vice-president; and Henry Patrick, MFD vice-chairman, for secretary-treasurer.

The MFD platform includes the right to elect district officers (only five of the union's 24 districts have full autonomy); reduction of the salaries of union officials; strict enforcement of health and safety standards; increased medical and pension benefits (now \$150 a month at retirement), and sick pay.

The reform plank also calls for rank-and-file ratification of contracts, the establishment of a strike fund, and a full-scale organizing drive aimed at the nation's 44,000 unorganized miners.

While MFD candidates have been campaigning throughout the coal fields for several months, the Boyle slate has been less active on the stump. Not until July—following the

tions. Boyle's pages have carried shrill attacks against "outside lawyers who seek to destroy our union. . . . The Malcontents for Destruction. . . . The Moscow Fire Department . . . the dissidents, the rebels, and sundry other freaky characters, including hundreds of hippy-type outsiders. . . ."

The Oct. 1 issue of the *Journal* featured an article entitled "Radical Left Supports MFD." It documented 20 so-called pro-MFD or anti-Boyle articles from *The Militant*, the *Daily World*, and the *Guardian*, "the three left-wing papers we read regularly." (Their reading isn't very careful. *The Militant*, a weekly, was described as "a monthly" that "follows a pro-Mao Tse Tsung [sic], anti-Moscow editorial policy.")

The Boyle article was an obvious gambit to undermine reform sentiment by trying to link the MFD with radicalism. Miners interviewed by this correspondent were shown a copy of the piece. None appeared at all frightened or, for that matter, impressed in any way by the specter of "radical left" encroachment.

Alex Brooks Jr., 32, a member of UMW Local 4047, has been working in a shaft mine for eight years. Brooks went into mining "because there's not much else to do around here that pays anything."

His father and the father of his wife, Carolyn, spent their working lives in the mines. Both of them contracted

in parts of the mine where there's little dust or where the dust has been removed just before the inspection.

"I knew a man who got sick a short time ago. When he went to the company doctors to see if he had black lung, the doctors told him he was well enough to go back to work. A week later his hands and feet turned blue. He went to the hospital and died a few days later. The autopsy showed he had both black lung and cancer."

Wages, said Brooks, are not the problem. "What we need is more security. A man who gets crippled for life is done for unless he's reached retirement age."

"When grievances over safety come up, just try to find Pnakovich. He's always out of town. If we had a good, strong union to back us and back the safety committee, we wouldn't need the federals," he declared.

"I've never seen the dust man [local union safety official who is supposed to monitor dust levels] check the dust in our mine. This man will soon be retiring at a \$500-a-month pension. [Rank and filers receive \$150 a month.] He now gets an expense account of at least \$6,000 a year. I have to drive five miles to work, but I don't get any expense account," Brooks continued.

"Our union has actually been going backwards," Brooks asserted. "We won a six-hour workday during World War II; now it's eight hours. In min-

Closing to hit Black students hardest

Detroit schools out of money

By PAULA REIMERS

DETROIT—At a time when public schools across the country are facing severe financial problems, the Detroit school system is bankrupt; in fact, it is \$80-million in debt.

Unless financial aid is immediately forthcoming, Detroit's 300 public schools will close Dec. 21 for two months. The schools will then run from Feb. 19 until late April or early May, when all the money will be gone. At that time, if the city cannot obtain new bank loans, the schools will close again.

The Detroit board of education's decision to close the schools came after Detroit voters rejected a ballot proposal to raise school taxes.

If the premature school closing goes through, the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges has warned that its minimum requirement of 175 days of instruction per year will have been violated. This would endanger the accreditation of all 22 Detroit high schools and could lead to the loss of accreditation of the entire school system in the 1973-74 school year.

The city's school system will also lose some \$46-million in state aid next year if it does not provide its students with a full year's instruction.

In simplest terms, the financial crisis may be summarized as follows. It costs \$254-million a year to run the public school system. School taxes bring in \$216-million, which leaves a yearly deficit of \$38-million. Last year, Detroit averted an early closing by borrowing \$38-million from this year's budget. This puts the schools \$76-million behind this year, which

means a total of \$292-million is necessary to complete the full school year.

On Nov. 27 the U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati refused to hear an emergency motion from the Detroit school board. The board was asking that the court order Michigan Governor William Milliken and other state officials to put up \$80-million for Detroit schools.

The school crisis strikes disproportionately at Detroit's Black community. Black youth comprise 70 percent of the school population of 278,000. Detroit has the fourth largest school system in the country, but among the 10 largest systems, only Dallas and Houston spend less per student than Detroit.

A group of Black Detroit parents began a protest of the school situation Nov. 21 by trying to enroll their children in suburban Dearborn schools. The parents were turned away after being told that nonresidents cannot attend Dearborn schools without special permission. Dearborn is a predominantly white suburb.

These protests are an outgrowth of meetings of the Fitzgerald Elementary School Parent-Teachers Association. The parents have announced they will try to enroll their children in other school districts in the next few weeks. They say it is the state's responsibility to provide an education for their children. If the Detroit schools cannot give their children an education, the parents argue, some other state school district must provide it.

Black students in the MacKenzie High School Student Action Coalition (SAC) organized a meeting Nov. 21

that was attended by 200 people—students, teachers, and parents—representing nine predominantly Black high schools in the city.

Clarence Merriweather, a SAC leader, stressed the importance of keeping the schools open. "SAC not only means Student Action Coalition," he said. "It also means 'schools ain't closin'.'"

SAC plans to help register Detroit students in suburban schools. The group has established a Central Planning Committee with three members from each high school.

The Detroit teachers union, American Federation of Teachers Local 231, has declared its opposition to any cut in the school year, stressing the irreparable harm that would mean for the students' education. The union has asked teachers not to cooperate with the board's plans to close the schools.

Detroit teachers have suffered from the school crisis. A year ago, the Detroit school system employed 10,603 teachers; now it employs 10,141. This year Detroit teachers received no salary increase at all, not even a cost-of-living increase, because of the financial situation in the school system.

Locals 706 and 345 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) had offered to let their 2,100 members work for two months for deferred pay to keep the schools open. The offer was withdrawn when Governor Milliken said the state might pay April school aid in advance. AFSCME members in the school system include custodians, cafeteria workers, and other nonteaching employees.

Abortion victory in California court

By CAROLE SEIDMAN

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 22 — Today the California Supreme Court declared key sections of the therapeutic abortion law of 1967 unconstitutional. This was the outcome of the state's case against two doctors for performing abortions in violation of provisions of the state's restrictive abortion law. The doctors are now free from criminal charges.

Declared unconstitutional were the sections of the law requiring that a hospital board approve abortions and that special conditions exist for the abortion to be approved. The conditions were rape, incest, and cases where carrying the pregnancy to term would cause death or severe mental or physical impairment to the woman.

The decision means that for the first time in California women have the right to choose for themselves whether to have an abortion—a real victory for women.



Militant/Linda Burton

Women demonstrating for repeal of anti-abortion laws in San Francisco, November 1971. Such actions helped bring about favorable court decision on California abortion law.

New Israeli attacks on Syria

By DAN ROSENSHINE

In the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Israel seized the Golan Heights, an area of Syria bordering Israel, and has held it ever since for "security reasons." Seventeen Israeli settlements have been established in the Golan Heights, a fact that contradicts any claim that the occupation is "temporary."

On Nov. 21, the 90-mile Golan Heights cease-fire line was the scene of a dawn-to-dusk battle in which Israeli planes bombed and strafed Syrian army and Palestinian guerrilla positions. In response, scores of Syrian artillery batteries and tanks poured shells into the Golan Heights.

The two sides differed on the casualties each had incurred. According to the Nov. 23 *New York Times*, the Syrians reported shooting down three Israeli aircraft and destroying 14

tanks, while losing two planes and only one tank. The Israelis claimed they had shot down six Syrian MIGs and knocked out 15 Syrian tanks without losing a plane or tank.

A Nov. 22 Associated Press dispatch on the Golan Heights fighting cited the remarks of an Israeli commander "who declined to be identified." He reported that his troops had shelled six Syrian civilian villages "to make an example of them." According to AP, the commander had ordered the shelling "on orders from higher up."

"We made about 20 to 30 hits inside the villages," the officer said. "Who lives in them? Poor people."

High Egyptian officials have recently been quoted as saying that a major Israeli attack on Syria would lead to a reopening of artillery bombardment of Israeli positions along the

Suez Canal. But there was no such response; the Israeli cease-fire line with Egypt remained quiet throughout the long day of fighting with Syria.

According to the Nov. 26 *New York Times*, the Syrian government has asked the Soviet Union for SAM-3 anti-aircraft missiles, which are effective against low-flying attacking aircraft such as those being used in the current Israeli assaults. The *Times* noted that the Soviet Union is apparently "reluctant to supply the SAM-3's because Moscow does not want to get deeply involved in Syria, as it was in Egypt."

This was the fifth such battle in the Golan Heights area in eight weeks, and the biggest between Israel and Syria since the summer of 1970. Israeli planes "have gone into action on the average of once every ten days," wrote Terence Smith in the Nov. 26 *New York Times*, "and after each operation the Government has directed the same message to Damascus."

Israel's message is that it plans to carry out repeated terror raids against Arab regimes (and their populations). These raids are aimed at forcing the Arab governments to suppress the national liberation movement fighting for the right of two million dispossessed Palestinians to return to their homeland.

When Israel employed this strategy against Lebanon in September, the Lebanese government responded by restricting the Palestinians' movements and limiting their arms.

Terence Smith quotes an Israeli commander involved in planning the attacks against Syria as saying, "This is likely to be a slow process. It may take months to reach its conclusion."



Arab Information Center

Israeli Phantom jet shot down by Syrians over the Golan Heights in earlier fighting.

'Technical advisers' replace troops

Peace 'at hand' but Vietnam war still rages

From Intercontinental Press
By JON ROTHCHILD

For more than five weeks peace has been "at hand." On November 24, after meeting six times in secret talks with chief North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho, presidential errand boy Henry Kissinger flew back to Washington to confer with his boss. It was four weeks and one day after he had promised the American people that only a few "linguistic difficulties" that could be cleared up in "one session" lasting "three or four days" remained to be settled.

"It was clear that the negotiations this week have been considerably more difficult than those Kissinger and Mr. Nixon predicted a month ago," Flora Lewis incisively observed in the November 26 *New York Times*.

In face of widespread rumors that the talks had reached an impasse, U. S. government officials were quick to deny that anything out of the ordinary was afoot. The two sides were still "seriously negotiating," according to press secretary Ronald Ziegler, and there had been "no deviation" in Nixon's view that no agreement should be signed until it was "right." Ziegler declined to explain what further negotiating procedures were necessary or what had been discussed by Tho and Kissinger. The Paris talks are scheduled to resume on December 4, but it was not reported that Tho and

eign interference.

The article was interpreted as confirmation of the speculation that the United States was continuing to demand that Hanoi withdraw at least some of its troops from the South and that North Vietnam was continuing to resist that demand.

While the Paris haggling went on,

of them doing jobs formerly done by the military."

The civilians will apparently function under Defense Department contract and will "do everything from running the South Vietnamese military's personnel and logistics computers to teaching the Vietnamese Air Force how to fly and maintain newly

or another will be met by resistance from the liberation forces. In the November 22 *Washington Post* Jacques Leslie reported that "Communist cadres a few miles from Saigon are continuing to hold nighttime meetings telling villagers to prepare for an imminent cease-fire."

Residents of Tanan, a provincial capital twenty-five miles southwest of Saigon, attended their first meeting on October 15, according to Leslie. "Villagers were given detailed instructions, the residents said. They called for the organization of demonstrations against the South Vietnamese government, preparations of lists of people absent from their home villages, burial of heavy weapons and display of Vietcong flags after the cease-fire."

Tanan is the capital of Longan Province. Its northeast boundary is ten miles from Saigon's center, and it extends twenty-five miles to the southwest. Leslie's sources told him that all seven districts of Longan had been the scenes of similar meetings and that they had occurred in other provinces in the Mekong Delta area.

"The details which the villagers gave of the meetings and their unusual openness in describing them suggest that once again in these areas there are two administrations: the South Vietnamese government, which functions in the daytime, and the Vietcong, or National Liberation Front, which appears at night."

The instructions reportedly given the villagers of Tanan indicated that the local liberation forces intend waging a serious struggle for control after the cease-fire:

Lists are to be drawn up of prisoners of war, political prisoners, and lands destroyed by the Saigon government; groups are to be established to build monuments for martyred NLF fighters; war widows and families of dead soldiers are encouraged to organize antigovernment demonstrations; other demonstrations demanding lowering of taxes and demobilization of the Saigon army are to be organized; villagers will initiate campaigns to convince Saigon soldiers to desert and give their weapons to the NLF.

People are to be chosen to bury heavy weapons in places where they can be recovered when necessary; villagers will struggle to maintain the land given them under Thieu's land-to-the-people program; each family is to store excess rice for possible emergencies; delegations of villagers will demand the right to visit political prisoners in the Saigon jails.

The Thieu regime has made it clear that it regards any of the above actions as Communist activity punishable by his police. And if the Vietnamese people object to that evaluation, the U. S. bombers are ready.

U.S. bombs South Vietnam civilians

NOV. 29—U. S. bombers "accidentally" hit South Vietnamese civilians in a populated area about 15 miles south of Danang, Nov. 28. Associated Press reported from Saigon that "six American fighter-bombers supporting South Vietnamese troops killed at least 19 civilians and wounded 29 in a misdirected attack in the northern part of the country."

These casualties are a grim reminder that U. S. bombing is continuing at peak levels and that the ground war has not abated during the secret negotiations. "B-52's and United States fighter-bombers also repeatedly struck near the front lines of South Vietnamese paratroopers who are trying to thrust back the enemy along a front southwest of Quangtri," the same AP dispatch stated.

Kissinger would necessarily meet again on that date.

Because the negotiations are proceeding through secret diplomacy, no certain information about what specific questions are holding up the settlement has been forthcoming. There are indications, however, that at least one major issue remains the question of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. On November 25 *Nhan Dan*, the newspaper of North Vietnam's Communist party, stated that "there can be no peace without recognition of the principles" embodied in the nine-point accord released by Radio Hanoi on October 26. The paper specifically referred to "respect for the military clauses" of the agreement and quoted a section providing for negotiation between the "two Vietnamese parties" on "reduction" and "demobilization" of forces to be conducted after the cease-fire and without for-

there was no letup in the U. S. pounding of North Vietnam's southern panhandle. In fact, during the week Kissinger was talking "seriously" to Le Duc Tho, B-52 raids on the North reached a new level of intensity. During the twenty-four-hour period ending at noon November 25 fourteen B-52 missions were flown against the North. During the weeks preceding the talks the bombing level had been averaging five to six missions a day.

A mission normally involves three planes, each of which carries twenty-four to thirty tons of explosives. Fourteen missions thus amounts to about 1,100 tons of bombs, in this case all of them dropped on a relatively small geographic area. Was the sudden intensification of the bombing exactly during the week of the "final" round of talks intended as a message to the Hanoi leaders, a portent of what to expect if they refused to capitulate to the latest U. S. blackmail?

There is reason to believe that such might be the case. Concurrently with the escalation of the bombing, U. S. officials revealed that American military forces in Thailand will be bolstered in preparation for possible fresh attacks on Indochina.

In the November 25 *New York Times* James P. Sterba reported that the current U. S. troop level in Thailand—40,000—will be maintained "for a period of months and perhaps longer after a Vietnam settlement." Unidentified "senior officials" in Bangkok told Sterba that a "significant American military presence able to respond in an armed way" to events in Indochina would mean the indefinite stationing of U. S. fighter-bombers and B-52s in Thailand.

"Some United States Army and counterinsurgency experts would continue to train specialists from Laos, Cambodia and possibly South Vietnam if a peace agreement prohibited the presence of American military men in those countries," Sterba added.

But U. S. imperialism has no intention of restricting its base of operations to Thailand. In the November 27 *New York Times*, Fox Butterfield reported that "American officials [in Saigon] . . . are secretly planning a major postwar presence of United States civilians in Vietnam, with many

provided planes and repairing the complex military communications network left behind by the United States Army."

Some 5,000 of these "technical advisers" are already in South Vietnam, Butterfield reported. The rest are arriving in Saigon "almost daily."

The ubiquitous "senior American officials" claim that the influx of civilian aggressors violates neither the letter nor the spirit of the proposed Thieu-Kissinger agreement. But they refuse to supply information on what U. S. plans are. "It might upset the Paris negotiations," one official said, "and it's just not in the national interest to have these things known."

Most of the civilians will apparently be attached to private U. S. companies that have been awarded "cost-plus" contracts by government agencies. (A cost-plus contract stipulates that the more money a company spends on a project, the more profit it is guaranteed by the government. Some cynics have suggested that this gives corporations an incentive to waste large amounts of money and, in the present case, to import large numbers of "employees" at taxpayer expense.)

In addition to the new influx of technical advisers into South Vietnam, about 1,000 members of the Agency for International Development, which has been in charge of some U. S. "pacification" programs, will also remain in South Vietnam after the cease-fire.

Hopefully, U. S. intentions to stay in South Vietnam under one pretext



"Tell Me I'm Dreaming . . ."



Henry Kissinger with Le Duc Tho (r) and translator.

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 8, 1972

Soviet Union

Ukrainian underground journal documents oppression of nationalities

By Ted Harding

Despite the extensive efforts of the Soviet secret police (KGB) to liquidate all unofficial publications, the latest issue of the *Ukrainian Herald* (*Ukrainsky Vysnyk*), the underground publication of the Ukrainian oppositional movement, began to circulate early in September. According to emigre press reports, the latest *Herald*, Number 6, has achieved a much wider readership than the previous issues.

The *Herald* is the Ukrainian equivalent of the Russian-language *Chronicle of Current Events*. It reports the activities of the Ukrainian dissident movement, and the measures taken against it by Soviet authorities.

The latest issue of the *Herald*, excerpts of which have appeared in an emigre newspaper in Paris (*Ukrainske Slovo*), is primarily devoted to the mass arrests and searches that took place all across Ukraine between January and March 1972 as a result of a decision by high party officials to put an end to the production and circulation of underground literature.

Special attention is also given to the latest pronouncement of Dadenkov, minister of higher and specialist

education in the Ukrainian republic, who accused wide layers of the Ukrainian working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia—in effect, the entire Ukrainian population—of nationalist deviations.

Other items reported in Number 6 of the *Herald* include:

- A report on the torture methods used by the Rovenschina region KGB during their investigation of political prisoners.

- The suicide of a Lviv sugar-combine worker, Labinskyj, after he had been threatened by the head of the factory party organization.

- The trial of three schoolboys in the Ivano-Frankivsk region following an incident where the school children tore up portraits of prominent party and government officials in the town center. Two of the boys were from the eighth grade; one was from the seventh.

Marderovytch, an eighth-grader, explained his actions at the trial as a protest against Russification and Great-Russian chauvinism. He claimed his actions were also intended to be a protest against the recent arrival of Russian bureaucrats who took all the top posts in his village. The boys received suspended sentences, but Marderovytch's father was dismissed from

his job in reprisal.

- The rearrest at the end of April of Anatoly Lupynic, who while serving his first prison sentence launched a two-year hunger strike against the cruel treatment of political prisoners, and the lack of democratic liberties in the USSR. During the two-year period Lupynic was kept in a hospital and was force-fed. He stopped his hunger strike shortly before he was due to be released. As a result of the two-year strike, Lupynic became an invalid.

The record of arrests, tortures, and intimidations contained in Number 6 of the *Herald* is a sad commentary on the nationalities policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is particularly sad this year—the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR as a federation of republics. As the bureaucrats have sat on podiums listening to themselves lie about the "definitive resolution of the nationalities question in the USSR," the KGB this year has been working overtime carrying out the most sweeping campaign of repression since Stalin's death, directed against those forces in Ukraine who stand by the original conception of a real and equal federation of republics. □

New issue of the 'Chronicle' appears

Issue No. 27 of the *Chronicle of Current Events* has begun to circulate in the Soviet Union, according to the November 16 *Christian Science Monitor*. Its contents reportedly deal "at some length with the repression of mainly nationalist unrest in the Ukraine." This is the fifth time the human rights journal has defied the Kremlin's ban.

The compilers of the *Chronicle* have repeatedly pointed out: "The *Chronicle* is in no sense an illegal publication." It merely presents systematic accounts of events which carefully avoid

violating Articles 70 and 190-1 ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda").

Nevertheless, the success of the *Chronicle* as a link between the numerous democratic opposition tendencies as well as geographically separated groups and individuals and its effectiveness in circulating information that embarrasses and incriminates Soviet bureaucratic rule have made its existence intolerable for the government.

In December 1971 the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party, according to Soviet dissidents, voted

to suppress the *Chronicle* and other samizdat writing, including a similar journal of the Ukrainian opposition, *Ukrainsky Vysnyk*. Since then the KGB has conducted hundreds of searches and arrests in attempts to suppress these publications.

The appearance of No. 27 marks a victory for the democratic opposition and underscores what the *Chronicle* has been reporting since its inception: that the oppositions are not the "tiny minority" the Soviet bureaucrats would have the world believe.

Argentina

Police raid socialist headquarters

At the end of October and the beginning of November, the latest in a long series of attacks on the Argentine Socialist party (PSA—Partido Socialista Argentino) occurred when police raided three of its headquarters. On October 31, according to the November 8 issue of the PSA's weekly, *Avanzada Socialista*, the police entered the Villa Lugano center and left without seizing anything. On November 2, the Florida headquarters received its second visit from the police.

On the same day, a group claiming

to be acting under orders from a judge (the judge in question emphatically denied issuing such an order) occupied the Beccar headquarters and arrested twenty-eight party members who arrived during the afternoon.

The Beccar incident, according to *Avanzada Socialista*, "exceeds the outrages previously carried out against other headquarters (the centers in Flores, Núñez, Rosario, and Córdoba). The police moved against a recently opened headquarters, the address of which is included in the list published

by our newspaper and whose opening had been announced to the very commissariat that subsequently raided it. Since the police were unable to come up with any 'evidence' capable of justifying their action, they gave the press a frivolous story about an alleged stronghold of 'extremists' where 'documents were falsified' and 'clandestine meetings' held. These fairy tales have been refuted by the very fact that the police were forced to release our compañeros twenty-four hours after they were arbitrarily taken into custody." □

Martial law in the Philippines

Repression hits students, workers

By Antero Nanhaya

Manila

Repression continues to intensify under Ferdinand Marcos's martial-law regime. Military tribunals have been established, superseding the court system, with jurisdiction in all cases except civil litigation. They are empowered to conduct summary proceedings in which no formal investigation is necessary.

The possession of firearms is punishable by execution by firing squad. Although news of such executions has not been published, firing squads have already claimed some victims.

The house-to-house searches now being conducted are reminiscent of the years of Japanese occupation during World War II. The nightly curfew remains in force, and any gathering of more than three persons may be forcibly dispersed.

Most schools have been permitted to reopen after a massive purge of fac-

refusing to work overtime, exhibiting disgraceful conduct, engaging directly or indirectly in partisan political activity, and violating official regulations.

The list is a blank check to fire workers without disclosing the true reasons, which are often related to union activity. Workers are forced to sign payrolls indicating they are receiving the minimum wage when in fact "special deductions" have been made from their salaries. While strikes, rallies, and other group activities are strictly banned, the government has moved decisively to "protect" the workers—by issuing a statement requesting businessmen to act fairly and with justice.

There is no prospect of any relaxation of media censorship, or of the resumption of publication by most of the twelve Manila papers shut down by Marcos. For the first month, only two newspapers were issued, the Marcos-owned *Daily Express* (popularly known as the "Daily Suppress") and *Business Day*. The latter is essential because it permits dissemination of such heartening news as the abolition of the capital gains tax, the reduction of the stock-transfer tax from 2 percent to .025 percent, the surrender of the country's natural resources to foreign exploration and exploitation, and new concessions to foreign investors.

It is no coincidence that the only newspapers allowed to publish during the first month of martial law were in English, a foreign language with which peasants and most workers are unfamiliar. Use of English is a legacy of direct American rule, which ended in 1946. The past ten years have seen a process of replacement of English by Philippine languages, the principal one being Tagalog, which is spoken in the Manila area. For the first three days of martial law, all radio announcements were in English. When Tagalog was used later, it was usually in connection with peripheral items or with simplified versions of the English-language pronouncements. Two reasons for this policy are immediately apparent. First, it prevents the masses from grasping the implications of the situation. Second, it is an effort to turn back the tide of nationalism, which included a major trend toward the use of Tagalog and other Philippine languages.

Imposition of martial law in Min-

danao followed a series of injustices against Muslims including outright massacres, and Muslim forces have since begun armed struggle in earnest.

For several years the Philippine government has been clandestinely arming and financing bands of Christian terrorists known as Ilagas. The Philippine army has participated directly in massacres such as that in Kauswagan, Lanao, on November 22, 1971, when seventy-five unarmed Muslims returning home, after voting, in a convoy of trucks were stopped at an army checkpoint and butchered. Muslims predominate in the western provinces of Mindanao, which is spectacularly rich in croplands and min-

against the pockets of rebel resistance." The "battle" on the Mindanao State University campus resembled the Philippine army's "encounter" at Kauswagan in that no casualties were sustained by government soldiers.

Any doubt among Muslims about their second-class status in Marcos's New Society was dispelled by the dictator's insistence on dating each of his proclamations "in the year of our Lord" and by his constant invocations and public prayers to the Christian god.

In a carefully stage-managed October 21 ceremony at Malacañang [the presidential palace] Marcos "transferred" from landlord to tenant the ownership of 1.5 million hectares of rice and corn croplands, in an attempt to mitigate the impact of martial law and to defuse the burning dissatisfaction of tenant farmers. Landlords have been evading every land reform for twenty years. They have switched crops, introduced mechanization, converted from a share-tenancy system to wage labor, or subdivided their holdings. As a result, lands subject to dis-



Ferdinand Marcos

ulty and students. All members of radical organizations have been automatically dismissed. In some schools, such as the Philippine College of Commerce, this meant the firing of large portions of the administrative staff and faculty and dropping a majority of the students. Uniformed police and plainclothes agents are stationed in all school buildings and those who enter without official identification cards pinned on their chests are arrested.

Employees can be fired for any of thirty reasons listed in Presidential Decree No. 6. These include insubordination, being notoriously undesirable,



Two suspected rebels arrested in Manila

eral resources, with virtually unexplored oil deposits potentially rivaling those of the nearby island of Borneo.

On October 21, Muslim insurgents captured and held Marawi City in Lanao Province for twenty-six hours, commandeering the radio station for political broadcasts. They seized Pantar bridge, the only land link to the city, killing four government soldiers, wounding eight, and holding various army detachments at bay.

After the armed rebels withdrew to their sanctuaries in the forests, army units reoccupied Marawi. In what the October 24 *Daily Express* called "the ensuing battle inside Mindanao State University," the army "exacted the lives of 60 rebel Muslims, and wounded countless others. Search and destroy missions have been launched by combined elements of the Philippine Constabulary, army and marines

tribution include only the most backward, stagnant, nonproductive holdings.

Furthermore, the former tenant is required to pay his usual share-rent for an additional fifteen years. This will be extended in case of crop failures.

Will the Marcos "reforms" raise productivity and improve the bare-subsistence life of the farmers? Perhaps slightly, if the massive aid programs offered by the United States, Japan, West Germany, and Israel are used optimally. On the other hand, production may drop disastrously, as occurred in Bolivia after 1953 and in Iraq after 1958. Land reforms, even more substantial ones, can hardly accomplish miracles when the peasant landowner, illiterate and steeped in a tradition of fatalism, is surrounded by an imperialist-dominated capitalist economy. □

1,500 attend British women's conference

London

About 1,500 women met in London November 4-6 for the fourth and largest national conference of the women's liberation movement in Britain. The weekend conference reflected the tremendous growth of the movement since the first national conference attended by 400 women at Oxford in 1970.

The issues discussed in workshops included: Is it necessary for the women's movement to make demands and build campaigns? Is women's oppression based on male domination? Is it necessary to organize working women in unions? Can women's liberation be achieved without a socialist revo-

lution?

Women in the abortion and contraception campaign workshop discussed ways of obtaining free, safe contraception and abortion and of ending forced sterilization. Two proposals for developing this campaign were to set up self-help clinics and health centres staffed by women and to build mass actions to pressure the government to provide the necessary facilities. A national conference on the abortion and contraception campaign was announced, to be held in January in Liverpool.

The enthusiasm of the conference was strengthened by the presence of representatives of women's liberation

movements in other countries. Greetings were given by women from Ireland, Spain, France, Italy, Holland, the United States, Canada, Australia, and Israel. Reports were also heard from Belgium and South Africa.

A representative from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition and a participant in the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws described their activities. On a proposal from the abortion and contraception workshop, the conference endorsed the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization that will take place in New York City on March 9-11, 1973. □

Israeli socialist tells of antidiscrimination struggles in Israel

[We publish below the second part of an interview with Michel Warschawski that was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* early in October. The first part appeared in the December 1 issue of *World Outlook*. Warschawski is one of the leaders of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist), which is commonly known as Matzpen, the name of its journal.]

Q: Are there any mass organizations of any sort among the Arab population?

A: No, apart from the very few who are organized—or were organized—in the Palestinian resistance organizations. The great majority are under the leadership of the so-called feudal and bourgeois forces. The leadership of the occupied territory in Israel is the old pre-1948 Palestinian leadership, like Jabaari in Hebron, and so on. There is no independent organized movement, not even a petty-bourgeois movement. The Zionist occupation repressed every tendency toward such a movement. But on the other hand there never were any such organizations.

Both before the '67 war and afterwards, the only alternatives were no Palestinian resistance whatever or the bourgeois and "feudal" leadership.

Q: What about Rakeh?

A: Rakeh is the Communist party in Israel. Rakeh has decided that it will not carry out any political activity today in the occupied territory. But in Israel, Rakeh is—and always was—the opposition party for Arabs who stayed after 1948.

Rakeh's official position is that Arabs in the occupied territory have to be organized by the Jordanian Communist party, and it doesn't intervene there.

The only thing Rakeh is doing is giving legal support to men who are arrested. Rakeh lawyers usually defend them.

Q: What is the political program of Rakeh?

A: The program of Rakeh is the classical Stalinist program—that is, to make peace between Zionist Israel and the Arab countries. And only afterwards will they speak of the "next stage" of the struggle. The effect of this position is to sanction the prevailing situation. That is, the Zionist state should give back part of the occupied territory, and the Arab countries should recognize the "fact" of Zionism. This is the position both of Rakeh and of the Soviet Union. We can say that there is even more of a Zionist tendency in Rakeh than there was before.

For this reason there is criticism of the line of the Communist party among the rank-and-file members, and today

there are a few who are interested in Matzpen's positions.

Q: About how big is Rakeh, and what percentage of its members are Arabs?

A: The official membership is not known; I would say it is a few thousand. The great majority of them, the great, great majority, are Arabs. In the latest election, for example, Rakeh received something like 30,000 votes. This vote is quite significant—Rakeh has three members of parliament out of 120. The great majority of the voters are Arabs.



Israeli policemen close in on a Black Panther demonstrator in Jerusalem in 1971.

Q: Are there any mass organizations—or trade unions—in the occupied territory?

A: No, it's forbidden. Only in Jerusalem, which is definitely occupied and definitely annexed to Israel, are Arabs part of the Histadrut.

Q: Is there any anti-militarist sentiment among some of the young people? One of the things that a visitor notices here, for example, is the omnipresence of people in uniform, coming or going to bases, the presence of soldiers everywhere.

A: No. Only a very small section of the young have any hostility to the army or military. It's a very tiny minority.

When Giora Neuman and his comrades decided to refuse to serve in the army, this had no real effect. A few people are themselves ready to serve in the army but support Neuman's right not to. But there is not even a tiny minority who are really hostile to the army.

In the lowest strata of Israeli society there is, perhaps, a certain feeling of "Why must I serve in the army? I have nothing to defend—I have no house, no money, nothing."

This year a tiny group of non-politi-

cal, Oriental Jews organized around this point, saying, "We have nothing to defend, so we have no reason to serve in the army." It had a certain effect on lower strata of the population, but it was insignificant on the level of Israeli society as a whole.

Q: What has been the situation with the Black Panthers in Israel?

A: There is no doubt that there is discrimination in Israel. There is even a certain racism among Jews—by the Occidental Jews against the Oriental Jews. The immigration from the Soviet Union is very racist against the Oriental Jews.

But the fact is that more than half of the population is Oriental, and the great majority of them are in the lower strata of Israeli society. This section of the population is the most exploited; generally they have large families, and they have a very low standard of living.

There is a consciousness developing among these strata in Israel today of being second-class citizens. They have the feeling that Israeli culture pushes aside the culture of the Oriental Jew—and it was a very rich culture. They have a feeling not only of economic exploitation and a low standard of living, but of having lost their honor.

This was the most important point about Black Panthers. For the first time a group was organized that said, "We are fighting for our rights, for our cultural rights. We are proud to be Sephardic; we are proud to be Oriental. We want at least to be citizens like the Occidental Jews."

So there is no doubt there is an objective base for such organizations as the Black Panthers. It is a real problem and a problem that, in our eyes, the Zionists cannot resolve.

One of the Zionist aims is to build an Occidental state in the Arab East, against "Arab barbarism." One theme that appears recurrently in the official propaganda is "We don't want to be a Levantine state." And it's not only race, it's attitudes. It's a political point of view. And persons like Golda Meir consciously understand the potential of the Black Panthers, and they decided to fight it very vigorously because they saw it as dangerous.

But the fact is that the Black Panthers have not as yet organized seriously. They have found an echo and great popularity in the Oriental population, but they haven't succeeded in building a mass movement in the Oriental slums, in the immigrant towns, where they do have popularity.

Today—and we encouraged them in this direction—they are publishing a newspaper. Our line is to build a mass movement, to build sections of the Black Panthers throughout the country and to move the Black Panthers away from being a relatively small organization in which internal clique struggles can take their toll.

We have great hopes, because there is an objective problem, and there is a need for such an organization that can lead the Oriental masses who feel exploitation and alienation, lead them in a struggle that is objectively anti-Zionist. Zionism cannot achieve this equality. Zionism cannot on the one hand offer immigration and on the other hand solve the internal problems of Israel.

We think that even if the Black Panthers of today—who are very weak—are unable to do this, there will be other organizations that will do it. Because the consciousness and the will to struggle of the Orientals is very high, mostly among the young.

[To be continued.]

Switzerland

Labor theory of value convicted

The Swiss bourgeoisie, already renowned for its expertise and discretion in the less savory aspects of international finance, has made its bid for yet another mantle of distinction. In a display of juridical obscurantism reminiscent of the 1927 Scopes "monkey trial," its courts have ruled that publication of the labor theory of value constitutes an actionable offense, an assault on the "honor" of the individual members of the bourgeoisie, a lamentable descent into "defamation and calumny."

On October 25 a criminal court in Lucerne ruled that these offenses had been committed by the revolutionary-socialist biweekly *La Brèche*. Why? Because *La Brèche* had claimed that employers enrich themselves by exploiting workers.

The affair began in 1971, when *La Brèche* wrote articles denouncing a wage system in the metallurgy industry whereby workers' incomes would be affected by their "attitude toward their superiors," and charged that capitalists "use pension funds to amass capital." Three companies in the French-speaking section of Switzerland—Bobst and Son, Les Cables de Cortaillod, and Les Ateliers de Vevey—each brought suit against *La Brèche*, charging that management had been defamed. Their aim was to stop members of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League), which publishes *La Brèche*, from distributing the paper and other literature at factory gates. The three suits were later joined into one.

The editors of *La Brèche*, it seems, were unable to demonstrate the reality of capitalist exploitation to the satisfaction of the judge. Hence the following ruling in the case of Bobst and Son: "... the passage cited from this pamphlet—as well as all four pages of it—are designed to create in the reader an image—very clearly and personally aimed—of heads of industry who are enriching themselves at the expense of the exploited and despised workers. ... Thus the pamphlet attacks the honor of the Bobst company and its two assigned administrators by accusing them of lack of professional ethics. There is no doubt that today, in our country, the sense of social responsibility is generally considered one of the qualities of an honorable man."

The October 30 issue of *La Brèche*, which reported the verdict, noted that the ruling condemns anyone who contends "that those who own the means of production (the bourgeoisie) draw their wealth from their ability to utilize, in whatever way they want, *x* hours of workers' labor-power each day"—truths that were long ago recognized by eighteenth century economists such as Smith and Ricardo.

La Brèche is appealing the court's decision and has called upon its readers to aid the defense both financially and politically. *La Brèche's* address is: Case postale, 1000, Lausanne 20 Sevelin, Switzerland. □

Egypt

Sadat regime faces wave of discontent

By Jon Rothschild

"Egypt is going in circles, like a camel at the end of a long rope." That lament, expressed to a *Wall Street Journal* correspondent by a student at Cairo University, is a prevalent one—not only among left-wing critics of the Anwar el-Sadat regime, but also within the two major centers of rightist opposition, the officer corps and the Muslim Brotherhood.

The most recent wave of discontent in Egypt was triggered by the "resignation" in October of General Muhammed Ahmed Sadek. An old crony of Sadat's, Sadek had simultaneously held the posts of vice premier, minister of war, commander in chief of the armed forces, and minister of war production. A right-winger who played a key role in the May 1971 purge of left Nasserites from the government apparatus, Sadek is believed to have been a prime mover in Sadat's decision last July to expel most Soviet military advisers from Egypt.

Initial reports in the Western press suggested that Sadat had asked for Sadek's resignation in deference to the Kremlin. But it is now clear that Sadek's ouster and Sadat's attempt to mend fences with the Soviet bureaucracy were not causally related, but were both products of Egypt's worsening international position and consequent internal difficulties.

Sadat's expulsion of Soviet troops was at first popular in all sectors of Egyptian society. Leftist workers and students supported the move in the mistaken belief that the removal of Soviet restrictions on Egypt's armed forces would permit a more active anti-Zionist policy. The growing bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the officer corps saw the expulsion as a long overdue move toward rapprochement with U.S. imperialism.

But months after the Soviet departure nearly everyone had become dissatisfied with its results. Students at Cairo and Ain Shems Universities—centers of the upsurge that challenged the Sadat regime last January—began putting out leaflets denouncing the July turn as a prelude to a "shameful" peace with the Zionist state arranged under the auspices of the State Department.

At the same time, military leaders had concluded that withdrawal of advanced Soviet weaponry had seriously weakened Egypt's defensive capabilities without noticeably widening Sadat's maneuvering room in the diplomatic field.

Sadat's rebuff to the Kremlin produced no tangible response from the U.S. ruling class. No pressure was put on the Israeli regime to make concessions. Western European countries declined to supply Egypt with arms. According to the November 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, Sadek had been negotiating with Britain and France to secure credit purchases of an entire Western-supplied defense system based around the Anglo-French Jaguar fighter-plane. A definitive rejection from London and Paris dashed Sadat's hope of obtaining a weapons-supplier to replace the Soviet Union.

Sadat found Egyptian policy floating in a void. A partial break with the Kremlin had been made, but no

concessions were forthcoming from the West. Hence the rapprochement with the Soviet bureaucracy.

The task of reestablishing closer relations fell to Premier Aziz Sidky, who, along with Foreign Minister Mourad Ghaleb and presidential adviser Hafez Ismail had opposed the timing of the July expulsion order. Sidky flew to Moscow October 16 for two days of discussions with Kremlin leaders. Haggling over the quantity, quality, and price of new Soviet weapons began.

The week following Sidky's visit, Sadek "resigned." His ouster set in motion an apparently sweeping purge of the armed forces—a process that can hardly be attributed solely to Kremlin demands that "anti-Soviet elements" be removed from top positions in the Egyptian army.



Anwar el-Sadat

In the November 7 *Washington Post* correspondent Jim Hoagland wrote that "usually reliable sources" reported that the Sadat purge had also hit Lieutenant General Abdel Kadar Hassan, Sadek's deputy, and had gone as far down into the ranks as divisional and even brigade commanders. The removal of "key unit commanders," Hoagland commented, "looks to informed observers here [Cairo] as a move to forestall any coup attempt by Egypt's army."

There have been some indications that fear of a military coup represents not merely paranoia on Sadat's part. On September 23, according to *Le Monde* correspondent Eric Rouleau, a battalion of soldiers stationed on the Suez front mutinied in protest against Sadat's passivity during massive Israeli raids on Lebanese civilians. The soldiers were disarmed by loyalists, and fifteen officers were said to have been arrested.

On October 12, an army captain and an undisclosed number of followers appeared, complete with military vehicles, at Cairo's Sidnaya Hussein mosque. The captain tried to stir a mass protest demanding immediate action to liberate the Sinai. He was arrested and officially described by the government as mentally deranged. But persistent rumors—not denied by the regime—say that he was court-martialed and shot, hardly a usual treatment for mental illness, even under Sadat.

These two incidents reflect a deep

feeling of discontent among the ranks and lower officers of the armed forces. Under such conditions, the possibility that upper-level officers could demagogically use such sentiments to attack Sadat from the right is a real one.

Dissent in the army is paralleled by unrest among Egypt's 200,000 university students. "At the engineering faculty of Cairo's big Ain Shems University," John K. Cooley wrote in the November 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, "students wander in small groups, reading wall posters and excitedly discussing a student 'underground' press that is free and frank—unlike the self-censored newspapers and magazines of 'adult' Egyptians."

Three political tendencies appear to exist among the students, although largely in unorganized form—leftists, many of whom consider themselves Marxists; self-proclaimed Nasserites, who believe that Sadat has betrayed the principles of the "liberator"; and extreme rightists, whose most significant organization is the Muslim Brotherhood.

The resurgence of the latter outfit, which also has a large following in the army, is perhaps the most ominous feature of the current Egyptian political scene. During the Nasser years the group was banned; many of its members were jailed. One of Sadat's first moves upon taking power was to free them. A paramilitary group based on Islamic fundamentalism, the Brotherhood is believed to have 5,000 to 15,000 members. Its political appeal has risen recently in the wake of Sadat's announced policy of fusing Egypt with Libya, which is ruled by the pro-Brotherhood Muammar el-Qaddafi.

It is evident that the Brotherhood is making some headway. In the town of Khanka, near Cairo, churches belonging to the Coptic sect, which has more than five million members in Egypt, were attacked by crowds of Muslims on November 6 and 10. The November 16 *Le Monde* reported that a "little holy war" was being waged in the Nile delta by the Brotherhood, which appears to be mobilizing people not only through religious fanaticism but through anti-imperialist demagoguery as well.

On November 14 Sadat addressed a special meeting of the Arab Socialist Union, the country's sole legal political party. He threatened that further domestic unrest would be severely punished. It is clear that at the present time Sadat does not want to give the Brotherhood a free hand. The eruption of communal riots would not only endanger his rule from the right, but might also trigger leftist mobilizations of the student and trade-union movements.

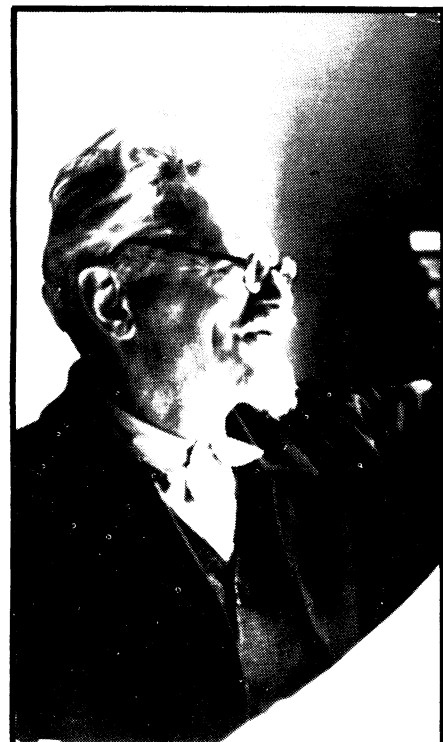
But Sadat has consciously followed policies designed to bolster the rightist milieu upon which the Brotherhood rests: denationalization of corporations that had been nationalized under Nasser's reign, luring of foreign capital into Egypt, backtracking on social reforms, etc. The aim is to solidify a bourgeois regime that could prove its usefulness to imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucracy has more than demonstrated that it has no particular objections to such a develop-

ment. The November 11 *New York Times* reported that the Kremlin had "recently" delivered about sixty advanced surface-to-air missiles to Sadat. The equipment concerned is the so-called SAM-6, the most highly developed weapon in the Soviet air-defense arsenal. The SAM-6 has a maximum altitude of 50,000 feet, and a minimum altitude of 100 feet. Lightning terror-raids such as are carried out by the Israeli air force generally involve low-flying bombers. In addition, the SAM-6 is mobile; it can be fired from flatbed vehicles.

The SAM-6s were delivered to Sadat amid great professions of friendship and solidarity. One wonders what the National Liberation Front or the North Vietnamese army could have done with such missiles.

But despite the assistance the Kremlin has granted Sadat, his position remains precarious. Economic, social, and political discontent has taken hold of virtually every social stratum. It is widely believed that the main reason Sadat has been able to retain power thus far is that neither the disorganized left nor the militarist right has succeeded in putting forward a credible alternative to the old wheeler-dealer. Such a situation can only be temporary, and in the meantime, the rope around the camel's neck grows shorter. □



● **FOR GRYNSPAN:** 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.

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Grievances ignored, say Black sailors

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN DIEGO, Nov. 26—Black sailors from the warship *Constellation* are finding little satisfaction in the current congressional investigation of racial conflict in the Navy. The three-man House Armed Services Subcommittee has called a string of officers to testify at its closed hearings in Washington, D.C., and San Diego. When leaders of the *Constellation* action for which 123 crewmen have been disciplined asked to come before the congressmen to explain their grievances, their testimony was refused.

On Nov. 24, the panel did call five former crewmen who had been involved in the *Constellation* protest. Afterwards one discharged sailor, M. L. Dawson, complained to the press that the investigators were not interested in Black complaints of discrimination. He charged that the inquiry "appeared to be supporting preconceived ideas of permissiveness in the Navy and is out to get Zumwalt." (Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, chief of naval operations, had admitted after the mass protest that the Black sailors might have legitimate grievances.)

Another Black sailor from the *Constellation*, Howard Smith, told the press: "They didn't seem very much interested when I told them how blacks get the short and dirty end of the

Hawk, all of them Black, face charges of assault and riot, and their military trials are expected to begin soon in San Diego. The incidents from which these charges stem have been described by military officials and the press as a "race riot." The sailors themselves are more specific about what happened.

The *Kitty Hawk* left Subic Bay in the Philippines on Oct. 13, supposedly to return to the United States. There was already some tension because of a fight on shore the night before in which one Black sailor was stabbed and several were beaten.

Then the crew were told that they were going "back on the line" instead of going home. Members of the crew demanded an investigation and a hearing. (On the *Kitty Hawk*, like other aircraft carriers, the crew had been working long, grueling shifts in the war zone, with Black sailors suffering particular discrimination and harassment.)

A hearing was convened, but when it became apparent that the officers in charge would not admit any discussion of real grievances, the Black sailors walked out. They were called back and agreed to another meeting but still received no satisfaction.

At this point one Black sailor went up on deck, where he was attacked and beaten by white Marines, and a fight broke out. Officers refused to intervene while white Marines beat the Black dissidents, leaving some seriously injured. Twenty-five Blacks were arrested.

Publicity about the arrests and pressure from organizations such as the NAACP and Urban League forced the ship's commander to change his original plan for a speedy shipboard trial of the 25. They were flown back to San Diego to be held in pretrial confinement until the carrier returns about Dec. 1.

They expect to face special courts-martial that carry a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment and a bad-conduct discharge. The NAACP is providing civilian counsel for 21 of the defendants and has attempted without success to obtain release of the men awaiting trial.

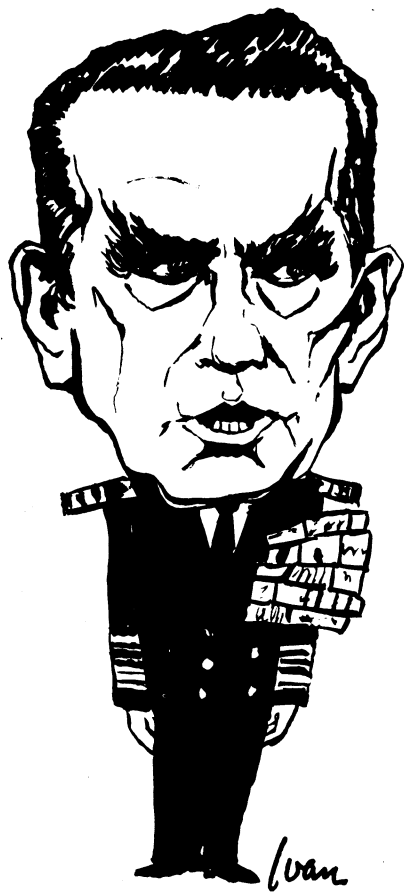
The courts-martial, which will be on shore, cannot be closed to the public. The Black Servicemen's Caucus, the Center for Servicemen's Rights, and the Student Mobilization Committee have promised to attend in order to help publicize the cases and to demonstrate their support for the sailors.

NOV. 28—Racist conditions in the Navy continue to provoke new protests by Black seamen.

A Nov. 28 Associated Press dispatch reports that Captain Creighton Cook of the Inspector General's office flew to Midway Island, some 1,100 miles northwest of Hawaii, to investigate an incident involving 130 sailors there. It also reports what it calls a "riot" that took place at the Navy Correctional Center in Norfolk, Va., Nov. 26.

The "riot" involved "32 black sailors, representing about three-fourths of the center's black inmates, [who] had reportedly burned mattresses, smashed a dormitory door, and defied Marine guards trying to confine four demonstrators," the story reports. The action resulted in the solitary confinement of the 32 Blacks and one white.

The AP reported that no "specific cause for the dispute" at the Midway Naval station has been determined. There are 650 men stationed there. No charges have been filed against any of the seamen involved in the Midway incident according to a Navy spokesman.



Admiral Elmo Zumwalt

stick in job assignments. The Navy gets you to join by telling you they'll teach you a trade and when you go aboard ship they hand you a 'dream sheet' [job preference request], but then they tell you that you're not qualified and you end up in the laundry or polishing brass."

The Center for Servicemen's Rights held a picket line Nov. 24 outside the North Island Naval Air Station, where the hearings are taking place. Thirty-five or 40 protesters, including sailors from several San Diego-based ships, demanded that the investigation be open to the public and address itself to the real conditions of Black sailors. A speaker from the Center for Servicemen's Rights insisted on the importance of civilian supporters keeping the pressure on through demonstrations and publicity. He also urged everyone to attend the courts-martial of Black sailors from the USS *Kitty Hawk*.

Twenty-five sailors from the *Kitty*

Military racism met resistance in WW I

By LEE SMITH

The racism that provoked the resistance of Black sailors on the *Kitty Hawk* and the *Constellation* in recent weeks is as imbedded in the U. S. Navy as it is in all the institutions in this country.

The official Jim Crow policy of all the branches of the U. S. military was formally ended only 24 years ago. (Jim Crow was the common phrase used to designate the practices of race discrimination and segregation in the South and elsewhere in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.)

Despite the fact that President Harry Truman's 1948 executive order did not and could not put an end to racism in the Army and Navy, it was an important concession. It was won as a result of long struggle, involving many battles fought by courageous Black GIs and the civilian Black community. The fight to defend the sailors from the *Constellation* and the *Kitty Hawk* is the latest battle in this continuing struggle.

commanded by white officers. W. E. B. DuBois wrote extensively on the cowardice, stupidity, and racism of these officers. The officers made themselves unbearable by their abuse of the Black troops, DuBois wrote, but he added it was rumored "that after the first battle (in the Argonne) the number of casualties among the meanest of the officers led to some sort of mutual understanding."

Emmett Scott, who was a special assistant on Negro matters to War Secretary Newton Baker, wrote an account published in 1920 entitled *The American Negro in the World War*. Scott records the case of 125 Black GIs from the 24th Infantry who got fed up with racist treatment at a training camp near Houston. They armed themselves and headed for town in August 1917, shooting down an officer who tried to stop them. But 17 of them were killed and another 20 wounded before they reached their destination, and 13 were executed later.

Scott also tells of his own experience



Soldiers of the 369th Harlem Regiment in European trenches during WWI.

This is the first in a series of articles that will take up some of the struggles against racism in the armed services.

World War I

The first time conscription affected Blacks was the World War I draft. A pattern that has yet to change much was established at the very beginning. While Blacks made up about 10.7 percent of the population at that time, the percentage of Black enlisted men in the armed forces was 13.08. While only 32.53 percent of whites registered for the draft were placed in Class A (the equivalent of 1-A today), 51.65 percent of registered Blacks were placed in that category. And only 20.04 percent of registered whites were selected for military service, while 31.74 percent of registered Blacks were selected.

Once in the Army, the majority of Blacks were put into the 92nd Division, an all-Black combat division

addressing Black GIs from the 369th Harlem Regiment stationed in Spartansburg, S.C. Baker sent Scott there after a group almost tried to duplicate the Houston episode in response to a physical attack on Private Noble Sissle, a Black. Sissle had been cursed, knocked down, and kicked for entering a hotel to buy a New York newspaper without removing his hat.

Scott urged the Black GIs to tolerate this kind of abuse for the good of the war to save democracy. He reports that after his talk, Black soldiers approached him, many "with tears streaming down their faces . . . and voiced how bitter they felt in the face of the insults which had been heaped upon them. . . ." But Scott asserts that "at the same time" they told him "of their willingness to listen to the counsel which had been addressed to them for the sake of the Negro race. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

To be continued

S. Calif. campaigns made gains for RUP

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—The three Raza Unida Party campaigns in Southern California registered some successes this fall. The write-in campaigns of Roger Granados in the 38th Congressional District in San Bernardino and of Guadalupe Ramirez in the San Fernando Valley of Los Angeles marked the first time the Chicano party has run in these areas.

Raúl Ruiz, who had previously run a very successful campaign in the state's 48th Assembly District in East Los Angeles, this time ran against incumbent Alex Garcia (D) and Robert Aguirre (R) in the 40th A. D.

Although this campaign was not as dynamic as the previous one, Ruiz netted an even larger vote. He was credited with 5,130 votes, or 13 percent of the total. Garcia won with 21,328 votes (56 percent).

Winning 13 percent of the vote running against two other Chicanos clearly demonstrates the existence of significant disillusionment with the two major parties.

Obtaining ballot status was no easy task for Raza Unida activists in the City Terrace chapter. Reactionary ballot laws in California required them to gain thousands of signatures on petitions in a relatively small district

within only a couple of weeks.

You could sign the petition only if you hadn't voted in either the Democratic or Republican primaries. In addition, the registrar of voters office would issue only a limited number of petitions, leaving little room for error or disqualified signatures.

To overcome these obstacles an unusually well organized petition drive was carried out. (A state official commented, with apparent surprise, that it was the first time an independent in this area had succeeded in winning a ballot place this way.)

One of the most successful actions of the campaign was the protest Raza Unida supporters organized against a rather stunned Senator Edward Kennedy when he spoke at a pro-McGovern rally in East Los Angeles this fall.

An additional benefit is that thousands of Chicanos in the 40th A. D. registered Raza Unida for the first time as a result of the campaign.

Activists working on all three campaigns have noted concerted efforts on the part of the Democratic Party to destroy La Raza Unida. Chicano Democrats, some associated with officials of the United Farmworkers Union, went into the community and

tried to persuade people to change their registration from Raza Unida to Democrat.

According to Raza Unida leaders, if the party can register another 20,000 they will have the 67,000 required to be placed on the California ballot automatically.

This development would be a considerable blow to the Democratic Par-

ty. In many areas, the mere presence of a Raza Unida candidate on the ballot can command enough votes from Chicanos to deprive the Democrats of their customary margin of victory.

The Democrats are certainly aware of this and can be expected to step up their attempts to destroy the Raza Unida Party.



El Sol de Texas
Senator Edward Kennedy gestures for silence as a Raza Unida Party supporter tells McGovern rally in East Los Angeles barrio why Chicanos should not support Democrats.

Indians accuse corporations, both parties

By LEE SMITH

Several hundred Indians demonstrated at Plymouth Rock Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 23, spitting on the rock said to be the site of the first Pilgrim landing. Others climbed the mast of the *Mayflower II* at Plymouth, Mass., and attached a Native American banner to it. The actions were aimed at the mythical picture of harmonious goodwill between the settlers and Natives associated with the holiday, calling attention to the real history of genocide and racist treatment that still goes on.

Meanwhile, at an American Indian Movement conference in Pawnee, Okla., the first of the documents seized in the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices earlier in November were released. Before they were made public, AIM's national field director, Dennis Banks, discussed their contents in a telephone interview with *Denver Post* writer Glenn Troelstrup.

"Banks said the . . . records go

back to 1849 but show 'major conflicts of responsibility on Senate interior committees beginning in the early 1930s,'" Troelstrup wrote in the Nov. 17 *Denver Post*. According to the article, corporations implicated in swindles that took mineral and oil rights from Indians include Sinclair Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Standard Oil of California, Phelps Dodge Copper Products, and Peabody Coal.

Banks told Troelstrup that "collusion and widespread payoffs" overlap "both major political parties and their administrations."

According to the *Denver Post*, Banks said the deals "involved payoffs to both present and past state legislators and U.S. congressmen, officials at both levels, company officers and tribal leaders."

The paper also quotes AIM leader Vernon Bellecourt's description of another document written by BIA Director Lewis Bruce. "It promises, he said, that BIA would 'fund the Na-

tional Tribal Chairmen's Association (NTCA) in the amount of \$50,000' for its recent convention in Eugene, Ore. And, in a separate letter, Bellecourt said, Bruce assured the NTCA that BIA wouldn't fund AIM or the National Indian Youth Council." After the occupation, the NTCA backed up government charges of "vandalism."

A 17-line Associated Press item from Oklahoma City in the Nov. 25 *New York Times* reported that bond was set at \$10,000 each for three Indians accused of illegal possession of government property in connection with the seizure of the BIA records. A federal grand jury, the item said, had indicted the three and two others Nov. 22. The two not yet arrested were not named. The three for whom bond was set are Andrea and Alida Quiroz, sisters aged 22 and 18, and Myron Thomas, 31.

In another development, the Nov. 19 *Denver Post* reported that the Amer-

ican Indian Press Association (AIPA) at its first annual convention in Denver Nov. 16-18 ratified its constitution and elected officers. The 120 Indian journalists chose Kanatakeniate (Tom Cook), a 26-year-old Mohawk, as president.

Kanatakeniate is a leading figure in the communications group White Roots of Peace, which publishes *Akwesasne Notes*. The group is currently fighting to keep control of land it purchased last summer. The land has been seized by the tribal council of the St. Regis Mohawk reservation in New York.

In addition, the U.S. Immigration Department, acting in apparent collusion with the St. Regis tribal council, is considering whether to deport the editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, Rarihokwats. Thus, the election of Kanatakeniate as AIPA president can be seen as an act of solidarity in this conflict with the council.

Partial victory in Chicago nurses strike

By DALE GAREE

CHICAGO—Nurses at Cook County Hospital ended their four-day strike Nov. 5 by a 494 to 159 vote. This strike was different from most and promises greater long-run gains.

The majority of strikers were Black and Filipino women. Their new contract provides for a 2.6 percent yearly wage raise for practical nurses. Registered nurses, who are underpaid but get more than practical nurses, will get an initial raise of 2.6 percent and another raise of 3.1 percent Aug. 1, 1973.

The strike did not succeed in lifting the low wage scales above the initial offer of Dr. James Haughton, the hospital director, who is head of the Cook County hospitals governing commission. This Black administrator was backed last year by several Black community organizations in his struggle against high-priced doctors. Haughton was supported this year by Circuit Court Judge James Mejda in his struggle against the low-paid nurses.

The strike gains were limited to guarantees that there would be no more arbitrary five-day layoffs for nurses and promises of a grievance procedure of sorts. This may seem slight by comparison with what many unions have won, but in light of the established bureaucratic practices of the hospital administrators, it is the beginning of important changes.

Signs carried by the nurses when they walked out Nov. 2 tell their story. "Nurses Are People TOO!" One said simply, "On Strike For a Better Deal." Another "Nurses United," referred to the fact that they went out together even though represented by two different organizations.

They wanted a one-year contract, so there was a sign "3 Years of Bondage? Never!" Most were hand printed, as if each nurse had made her own. One said, "Intimidation Will Never Divide Us." The picket line was a demonstration that these nurses are tired of being pushed around.

Considering all the problems of a hospital strike, the nurses handled them efficiently as they arose. They

demonstrated far more responsibility than the hospital administration.

When the strike began there were 1,074 patients in the hospital. Few were moved to other hospitals. Many were discharged and sent home. More than half, 568, remained in the hospital four days later when the strike ended. The striking nurses, for their part, set up a "patient-care committee" to look after the critically ill.

When Judge Mejda issued an injunction against the strike the first day, the nurses renamed their action

a "labor dispute," their picketing an "informational demonstration," and remained off the job just as if the judge hadn't spoken.

Not all the nurses were in favor of returning when they did, but the majority felt a good beginning had been made. Clara Rice, chairwoman of the Cook County unit of the Illinois Nurses Association, negotiated the back-to-work terms. Arma Hall, representing the Licensed Practical Nurses Association, said, "We are united now and can work out any problems."



Nurses picket Cook County hospital during strike

Anti-Defamation League defames anti-Zionist left

By PETER SEIDMAN

At its fifty-ninth annual meeting, held in New York over the Nov. 17 weekend, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith heard a report noting a "marked increase during the past two years in the scope of American anti-Jewish activities, incidents, organizations, and publications."

While attributing this development primarily to propaganda "broadside" from the Soviet and Arab worlds, the report zeroed in on what it called the increase of anti-Semitic activity from the far left as well as the far right.

Lawrence Peirez, chairman of the league's "Fact Finding Committee," said that "the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party ran presidential candidates who engaged in bitter anti-Israel appeals. The SWP . . . called for the outright destruction of Israel; the Communist Party stopped short of that extreme, but just barely." The positions of both parties regard-

ism with anti-Semitism.

Revolutionary socialists oppose anti-Semitism as one of the ugly forms of racism perpetuated by the capitalist system. At the same time, revolutionaries have refused to accept the lie that because of the genocide committed against Jews in World War II, the Palestinian people must be deprived of their land and rights. The Palestinians had no part in the crimes of fascism committed against the Jewish people.

Zionists who seek to ensure the safety of the Jewish people by making them dependent on the settler-colonialist Israeli state, which in turn is dependent on the support of the imperialist powers, are in fact urging Jews to rely on the very source of anti-Semitism in today's world—capitalism.

The false equation that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism therefore plays right into the hands of the most racist, anti-Semitic forces because it separates the Jewish people from their potential allies in a fight against anti-Semitism—the oppressed Palestinian masses and others fighting for national liberation and against oppression everywhere. The ADL's slanders of Luis Fuentes and Imamu Baraka are good examples of how this dangerous Zionist line works.

Any movement based on anti-Semitism and racism in this country will not only be aimed against Jews, but also against Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Asians. To fight the threat of right-wing and potential fascist movements in this country, Jews should forge alliances with oppressed Black and Brown people fighting for self-determination. Yet the ADL joins forces with the reactionary Jewish Defense League, the Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers, racist Newark assemblyman Anthony Imperiale, and other reactionary forces to oppose just such a unity.

Not once does the ADL mention the racist, hooligan tactics of the Jewish Defense League in its report. It is this policy that if continued will most threaten the ability of the Jews to avoid a repetition of the onslaught of World War II. This is because it will weaken their ability to fight against the capitalist menace that underlies both fascist genocide and the state of Israel by separating the Jewish people from those who should be their natural allies.

Fortunately, a growing number of young people today—Jews and non-Jews alike—recognize the falseness of Zionist propaganda. This is largely due to young people's increased identification with the national liberation struggles of the Vietnamese and the emergence of the Palestinian movement as a force that speaks for itself.

The leading Palestinian organizations explain that their hostility to Zionism is not a hostility to the Jewish people, and that their goal is to create a democratic and secular Palestinian state. Support to such an effort on the part of an ever-growing number of young people is one of the best guarantees that a repetition of capitalist barbarism directed against Jews will not occur.

The fear that Zionist groups such as the B'nai B'rith have of these developments is the best proof of what a reactionary and dangerous course their program is for the Jewish people.



ADL smears anti-Zionists as anti-Semites, but fails to condemn racists like Jewish Defense League leader Meir Kahane.

ing Jews and Israel, he asserted, have crossed the line into outright anti-Semitism.

Peirez lumped his attack on the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party with attacks on the right-wing American Independent Party presidential campaign of John Birch Society member John Schmitz. He also attacked Black and Puerto Rican community leaders Imamu Baraka and Luis Fuentes as anti-Semites.

While declaring that "criticism of Zionism or Israel is not anti-Semitic per se," the ADL leader said that support for activities aimed at Israel's destruction and attacks on "Zionists," where "Jews" are obviously meant, do constitute anti-Semitism.

In fact, the Anti-Defamation League is asserting through this report that any critics of the state of Israel or of Zionism are anti-Semites. But not one shred of evidence is presented to show that the Socialist Worker Party campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley confused its opposition to Zion-

Speedup is met by more absenteeism

By LOUIS PAUL

A sharp increase in on-the-job absenteeism, ranging as high as 18 percent for some work categories, has led to much speculation among corporations and government officials as to what's wrong with the American worker.

Federal statistics show that on a national scale 5 percent, or 3.5 million workers, have been absent from their jobs on an average day in 1972. This is up from a figure of 4.3 percent, or 2.8 million absentees, at any one time in 1967.

According to the Nov. 27 *U.S. News & World Report*, "Employers report that nonattendance is most common among young workers 18 to 25, among members of minority groups, workers previously considered hard-core unemployed, and employees with less than one year with the firm. . . ."

"Women workers have been found to have a 36 per cent higher rate of unexcused absences than men. Blue-collar workers fail to show up 57 per cent more often than do white-collar employees."

Citing U.S. Department of Labor figures, *U.S. News* reveals that only sales personnel and farm workers showed a decline in the rate of absenteeism, while the rate increased by more than 15 percent for craftsmen, clerical workers, and service workers. By industry, mining took first place with an 18 percent increase, followed by trade, finance, manufacturing, transportation and utilities, all with increases of more than 11 percent.

In response to these growing symptoms of employee disregard for capitalist discipline on the job, corporations have been trying to figure out how they can end this unprofitable development.

Frederick Herzberg, professor of management at the University of Utah, spoke recently to a conference of more than 300 business managers. He explained the "decrease in the will to labor" as flowing from the meaninglessness of modern jobs and the alienation that exists in the workplace.

Other experts outlined plans to increase job attendance by instituting programs that would involve workers in management decisions, give them flexible work schedules, and pay them more on the basis of group, rather than individual, productivity.

President Nixon contributed his views on this subject in his pre-election interview with a Washington, D.C., newspaper in which he decried the "running down" of "the work ethic." "The average American is just like the child in the family," he said, and should not be pampered.

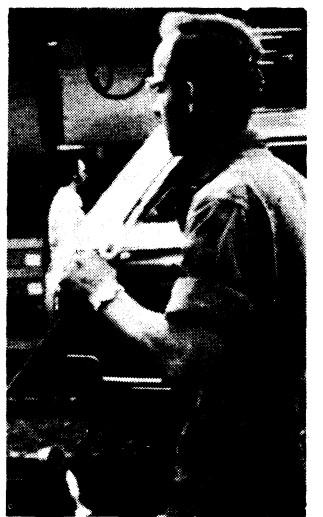
The real explanation for the sharp rise of on-the-job absenteeism, of course, does not lie with the moral deterioration of Nixon's "children" or simply with the dehumanizing alienation of the modern factory.

Alienation has always been a feature of capitalist production. But today, the bosses are squeezing the workers harder and harder in a speed-up effort aimed at maintaining the profitability of American industry in the face of mounting competition from industries abroad.

The auto industry, where absenteeism can now run up to 15 to 20 percent on Fridays and Mondays, is a good example of this process. As United Electrical Workers Union Secretary-Treasurer James Matles pointed out in the Nov. 13 *UE News*:

"Management keeps on tightening the screws all the time. The job is physically harder, noisier, dirtier and the air is fouler. The principal issue in Lordstown, as it is elsewhere, is increased speedup and increased need of keeping your mind on the same repetitive and monotonous job, while you watch some of your fellow workers being thrown on the street."

Just like their peers outside the factory, the young, Black, and women workers whose absentee rates have most increased are more and more refusing to accept the role of mindless robots in the employ of capitalism. They are refusing to allow their bodies and minds to be stretched to the breaking point just because their bosses are now on a new drive to maintain the superprofits of U.S. capitalism.



THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: WHY THE BUREAUCRACY AROSE

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

By DAVE FRANKEL

There were two fundamental causes for the growth of a bureaucratic caste in Russia. The first was the failure of the revolution begun in Russia to win success in the rest of Europe. At a session of the Moscow Soviet on April 23, 1918 Lenin said, "we shall perish if we cannot hold out until we meet a mighty support on the part of the insurrectionary workers of other countries." This was the unanimous opinion of the Bolshevik leaders during the early years of the revolution, and although the revolution did not perish, it was hurt severely by its isolation.

The second basic cause for the growth of the bureaucracy, which is the subject of this article, was the terrible cultural and economic backwardness inherited by the revolution. When the civil war that had ravaged Russia for two and a half years finally drew to a close late in 1920, the country was shattered. National income amounted to only one-third of its 1913 level. Industry was producing less than one-fifth of the prewar amount, and conditions were even worse in the key areas of heavy industry. Coal mines were producing less than one-tenth, and iron foundries only one-fortieth, of the 1913 output.

The breakdown of industry also resulted in a breakdown of the exchange between town and country. The peasants no longer brought their grain to the city because there was nothing to be had in return for it.

The working class had been ground down to a remnant of its former strength. Many of the most conscious and self-sacrificing workers had been killed on the front lines during the civil war. Unable to find work or food in the cities, many of those who survived returned to the countryside. By 1921 Moscow had only one-half, and Petrograd one-third, of its former inhabitants.

On top of the calamities wrought by seven years of World War I, civil war, and imperialist intervention came another, caused by nature. Droughts, sandstorms, and an invasion of locusts in the farming area around the Volga River resulted in one of the worst famines in history. By the end of 1921 some 36 million people were in the grip of starvation. Isaac Deutscher wrote of this period in *The Prophet Unarmed*:

"Surrounded by a hostile or, at best, indifferent world Russia stood alone, bled white, starving, shivering with cold, consumed by disease, and overcome with gloom. In the stench of blood and death her people scrambled wildly for a breath of air, a faint gleam of light, a crust of bread."

With the end of the civil war, political currents voicing the dissatisfaction of the masses began to grow rapidly, and the Bolsheviks moved to alleviate the condition of the country by inaugurating the New Economic Policy (NEP) in March 1921. The first aim of the NEP was to revive agricultural production and trade between the towns and the rural peasantry.

The emphasis that had been placed on war industry during the previous years was turned to the production of consumer products. The peasants were encouraged to plant all the grain they could, and they were guaranteed the right to keep the bulk of their crop and sell it on the open market. The government also allowed the establishment of privately owned industries in some areas of production.

This was a far cry from the previous policy, necessitated by the civil war. Under "war communism" all industry had been directed by the state as part of the military effort. The cities were supplied with grain by detachments of the Red Army, which confiscated it from the peasantry. This policy, together with the inability of industry to produce the goods that the peasants needed, removed the incentive for the peasants to plant more grain than was necessary for their own survival. Why work, the peasant reasoned, if we get nothing in return.

While reestablishing free trade within the Soviet republics and allowing the return of some private industry, the Bolsheviks retained control of "the

commanding heights" of the economy. The State continued to run the bulk of heavy industry and retained a monopoly on foreign trade, transport, and banking. In fact in March 1922, one year after the introduction of the NEP, 84.5 percent of all industrial workers, producing 92.4 percent of all industrial output, were employed in state enterprises.

The new emphasis on consumer industry and the restoration of the market resulted in a rapid



During the famine of 1921, millions of peasants wandered aimlessly across the plains in such extreme need that some were driven to cannibalism.

recovery in agriculture, trade, and light industry. By April 1923, agricultural output had risen to 75 percent of the 1913 figure. In 1922 the output of rural and artisan industry climbed to 54 percent of the prewar level.

NEP brings new problems

However, along with the revival of part of the economy the NEP also brought less welcome changes. Heavy industry—that sector of the economy producing machine tools, chemicals, metals, and processing raw materials—did not recover as quickly as consumer industry did, and in this area unemployment returned along with production for profit. By September 1922 there were 500,000 workers unemployed out of a total of three million in the work force.

At the same time that workers suffered from unemployment, a new class of economically privileged factory managers, specialists, rich peasants, speculators, and traders came to the fore. By the end of 1922 about 83 percent of all internal trade was in private hands. E. H. Carr graphically describes one example of the growth of this layer in *The Interregnum*:

"Mikoyan told the thirteenth party conference in January 1924 of a specialist who, on being offered a position in a factory in Kuban, had demanded, in addition to various financial bonuses in excess of the maximum salary, an apartment of four

rooms fully furnished, with heating, lighting and a bath; a horse and carriage for himself and his family; two months' leave a year and a two-room summer lodging on the Black Sea for his family; and permission to keep a cow in the factory grounds. The cooperative which was running the factory agreed to these terms—but too late; for the specialist had in the meanwhile received a more attractive offer in Moscow. Such experiences were said to be quite normal."

As industry extended its operations along the lines of the NEP, its management began to pass back into the hands of former bourgeois managers and specialists who had been replaced by workers in the earlier period of the revolution. An increasing number of these "nepmen" began to enter the Bolshevik Party.

In 1922, 35 percent of the management personnel in major industries were classified as nonworkers, and only one in seven of these were party members. A year later, 64 percent were classified as nonworkers, of whom nearly half were party members.

Basis for bureaucracy

The rise of these bureaucrats was a direct result of the terrible backwardness inherited by the Russian revolution. In a country where even literacy was at a premium, the mathematicians, financial experts, chemists, engineers, and administrators needed to run modern industries were able to claim special privileges.

While the masses of workers and poor peasants found the bulk of their time and energy taken up with a continuous struggle for the barest necessities of life, the rising bureaucrats had both the time and the means to enter into political activity and defend their own interests.

Moreover, as was already mentioned, many of the most politically experienced and conscious workers had been killed in the civil war. Others had been drawn into the administrative machine of the state, leaving a working class that replenished its ranks largely from the peasantry as it began to grow once more. The disappointment suffered as the revolution failed to extend into the rest of Europe also took its toll.

When the Russian masses stormed the arena of history six years earlier and overthrew the czar, they swept aside the managers, merchants, and speculators with scarcely a thought. But now the revolution was entering a period of decline. The conditions in Russia were causing the masses to withdraw from political activity, leaving the field open to the growing bureaucracy.

These bureaucrats had one main purpose in life: to look out for themselves. Their outlook was restricted to those things that affected their immediate comfort and security.

Why talk about long-range economic plans and the development of heavy industry, they felt, if they could have coaches and vacations on the Black Sea. Why worry about revolutions in the rest of the world? They would only upset things, the last thing that those who had made comfortable niches for themselves wanted.

The bureaucracy began to legitimize an approach to problems based on narrow self-interest instead of the needs and ideals of the worldwide socialist movement. It was characterized by narrow nationalism, by a desire to stabilize things and avoid any new shake-ups, and above all by the subordination of the needs of the Russian masses and of revolutionary movements abroad to its own conservative interests.

It was against this background that Leon Trotsky, in the fall of 1923, took up the struggle within the Bolshevik Party that had been begun by Lenin the previous December. The great issues that were debated during the course of that struggle were the bureaucratization of the party and of the state; the question of what economic policy should be followed in the newly established workers state; and the perspectives for the socialist revolution in the rest of the world, a question that was sharply posed by the revolutionary situation in Germany in October 1923. The formation of the left opposition will be discussed in the following article.

Bolivia's ruling junta jolted by strike wave

By CINDY JAQUITH

NOV. 28—Three days ago Bolivian workers ended a second round of strikes, winning another round of concessions from the government. The resurgence of militant strike activity indicates that the 15-month-old regime of Colonel Hugo Banzer Suárez is in serious trouble.

The protests began Oct. 27 when Banzer devalued the peso by 66 percent. In response, the trade-union movement organized what the Nov. 1 *Le Monde* called "an extraordinary assembly" in La Paz on Oct. 30, where labor leaders denounced the government as "fascistic and anti-working-class."

An eight-hour nationwide strike was called for the next day. That evening, Oct. 31, demonstrating workers in La Paz erected barricades to defend themselves from police attacks. The fighting resulted in one killed and 30 wounded, according to the Nov. 1 New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario*.

Banzer backed down in the face of these protests and promised workers a 135-peso bonus (about \$6) and a freeze on the prices of necessities. But he also ordered private radio stations to broadcast only official announcements; some stations had been broadcasting messages from the insurgent workers.

Despite Banzer's promises, prices have already "risen to levels that have erased the added income," according to the Nov. 26 *New York Times*. The continued erosion of buying power, combined with new provocations by the government, led to the second wave of strikes, which occurred last week.

On Nov. 22 Colonel Mario Adett Zamora, minister of the interior, announced that there were "extremists infiltrated in labor unions whose aim is to provoke a confrontation with the Government."

Reuters reported, "Colonel Adett also warned that the Government would not tolerate any threats or ultimatums from unions, which are demanding wage increases to offset soaring prices caused by devaluation of the peso last month."

Terming Adett's charges a "provocation" by the government, the La Paz textile workers called for a 24-hour strike.

The strike call prompted the government to announce a "state of siege" the next day, along with a ban on demonstrations, rallies, and other public assemblies. "An open conspiracy against the government" was the reason given for the special orders.

Predawn arrests of labor leaders followed the announcement of the state of siege. The news director of a local radio station was also picked up, but later freed.

"... the Government implicated many members of the Popular Assembly set up last year under the left-wing Government of President Juan José Torres Gonzales, in the current labor unrest," Reuters said.

The Popular Assembly was a body of trade unionists, representatives of left political parties, and students. It arose out of the mass movement that defeated a right-wing coup attempt in October 1970 and brought Torres to power.

In the summer of 1971, the assembly moved itself into the legislature's chambers in La Paz. It issued res-

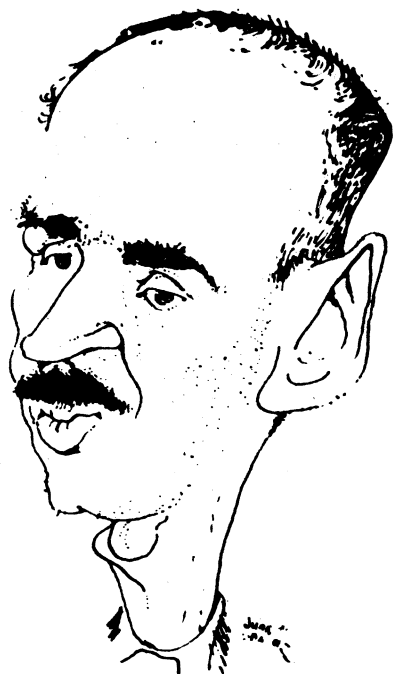
olutions condemning U.S. military forces in Bolivia and calling for workers' self-management in the tin mines. After the bloody Aug. 22 coup overthrew Torres and placed Banzer in office, the assembly was dissolved, branded as "the first soviet in South America" by the new right-wing regime.

As part of his "state of siege" last week, Banzer sent army tanks to surround factories that had been occupied by the workers. The textile workers responded by erecting barricades in the factories and declaring they would remain inside "until the ultimate consequences." The wives of the textile workers launched a hunger strike to last until all the jailed workers were released.

Unions representing bank, insurance, and store employees also joined in calling strikes and protesting the arrests.

Meeting with Banzer during this crisis, labor leaders stated there could be no solution until he withdrew his troops and freed the workers who had been arrested.

Banzer again apparently acceded to the workers' demands. An Associated Press dispatch reported from La Paz



Colonel Hugo Banzer Suarez

that on Nov. 25 "tensions eased here as thousands of workers ended a crippling two-day strike in return for the release of 18 arrested companions and a promise of wage negotiations."

The strike wave has demonstrated the inability of the Banzer regime to tame the workers movement, despite the repression unleashed against the unions since the junta came to power. Recent elections in the miners union, for example, have resulted in defeats for the ruling parties' candidates. Deep divisions are reported between the MNR (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario — Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) and the Bolivian Socialist Phalange, the two right-wing parties that organized the coup that put Banzer in power. There are also serious rifts among the army officers.

The capitalist regime in La Paz is currently receiving more U.S. military aid than any other country in Latin America — \$4.5-million. In addition, Bolivia has been given \$30-million in credits by the U.S., as well as aid from Brazil and Argentina. Neither of these factors, however, seems to have helped stabilize Banzer's shaky rule.

Kremlin supports Nixon Communist Party on horns of dilemma

By PETER SEIDMAN

Favorable reaction to the reelection of President Nixon within both the bureaucratic circles of the AFL-CIO and the Kremlin has placed the American Communist Party on the horns of a dilemma.

Both George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CP of the USSR, welcomed Nixon's gain of four more years. For domestic purposes, however, the CPUSA is required to attack the Nixon win. After all, CP leader Gus Hall told a Nov. 2 campaign rally in New York that after his reelection, "Nixon would emerge as a leader of ultrareactionary and fascist forces" in this country. For this reason the CP made "defeat Nixon" the central theme of its presidential campaign in a barely disguised pro-McGovern effort.

In the Nov. 16 *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, Meany comes under attack from columnist George Morris for his backhanded support to Nixon. In a piece entitled "Meany is delighted," Morris attacks the idea that Meany's "neutrality" policy in the election reflected the sentiments of the ranks of organized labor. He points out that had it not been for the absence of Wallace from the campaign the so-called Nixon landslide would have been much reduced. He then blasts Meany for disrupting and dividing the efforts of labor to elect Democrats in congressional races.

This anti-Nixon, anti-Meany message is to be expected from the CP, of course. Its specialty for the last thirty-odd years has been support to "progressive" and "liberal" capitalist politicians and union bureaucrats. The dilemma arises, however, from the Kremlin's approach to the American election and the foreign policies of Nixon.

In a telegram sent to Nixon after his victory, Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny congratulated Nixon and expressed confidence "that in the coming period Soviet-American relations will be further favorably developed in the interests of the Soviet and American peoples, in the interest of insuring international security and strengthening world peace." This to "a leader of ultrareactionary and fascist forces!" But after all, if the Kremlin is willing to sell out the Vietnamese revolution in exchange for better relations with U.S. imperialism, the American CP must surely be counted as small change.

In the same issue of the *Daily World* in which Morris attacks Meany for his support to Nixon, CP leader Conrad Komorowski is assigned the task

of defending Podgorny and Brezhnev for their congratulations to Meany's man. Komorowski reveals his artful ability to abuse logic and the English language, which no doubt has been a key to his advancement as a CP leader, defending the many twists and turns of the Moscow bureaucracy for an American audience.

In a column entitled "Facts and liars," Komorowski quotes Brezhnev's comment on the U.S. election campaign: "Unlike the quarter-century of cold war, this time the electoral campaign in the U.S. was dominated, as regards international questions, mainly by appeals for a peaceloving, realistic foreign policy. The electoral results indicate, as it seems to us, support for precisely such a policy."

Most media in the U.S., seeing as this statement came after Nixon won the election, interpreted it as a welcome to Nixon and as an endorsement of his credentials as a peacemaker. Compared to Meany's statements of "neutrality" in the campaign, which the CP attacked, Brezhnev's remarks must be considered at least as non-neutral and equally deserving of censure by any self-respecting revolutionist in this country.

Komorowski appears to have stored his self-respect somewhere along with his logic, however, as he explains why the Kremlin's response to Nixon's reelection is really *not* favorable: "The Soviet leaders are Marxist-Leninists. The logic and facts of this situation are simple arithmetic to them, even if it may be vector analysis to some of us."

"When Brezhnev spoke of a change in the electoral campaign from the tone of the cold war period, he was referring to a change in the orientation of the U.S. ruling class and of the masses of the people, not to a 'new' Nixon, nor a 'new' imperialism."

"If, in the eyes of many voters, Nixon appeared to be the symbol of this changed situation with its promise of lasting peace, that does not change the basic fact—that the change is the result of a forced retreat of U.S. imperialism as a result of the changed relationship of world forces in which the socialist countries and their allies predominate."

So, for Komorowski it is a matter of a retreat for U.S. imperialism, while for Gus Hall, it is a matter of Nixon emerging as a leader of "ultrareactionary and fascist forces." While the CP leaders are trying to decide who is correct in this matter, they should recall the spectacle of Brezhnev clinking champagne glasses with Nixon in Moscow last spring while U.S. bombs rained down on Vietnam.



While Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny (l) congratulated Nixon on his reelection, American Communist Party presidential candidate Gus Hall made "defeat Nixon" central part of his campaign.

Moscow and Peking's role in Vietnam, 1971-72

By DICK ROBERTS

"Examine your hands closely, Mr. Brezhnev; the stigma of Mylai may be on them, and of Con Son, and of the piecemeal, methodical destruction of the cities of Vietnam. Even the children? The children also."

This is part of Daniel Berrigan's open letter to Leonid Brezhnev published in the Oct. 5 *Village Voice*. Reflecting the feelings of many supporters of the Vietnamese revolution, Berrigan condemned Brezhnev for meeting President Nixon at the height of U. S. slaughter of North Vietnam last May.

An attempt to answer Berrigan appeared in the Nov. 18 *Daily World*, voice of the American Communist Party. "Concretely," Michael Myerson told Berrigan, "... you shake hands with Richard Nixon." Defending Moscow, Myerson declared, "the people Brezhnev represents are the main force trying to save Vietnam (outside of the Vietnamese themselves). . . ." Myerson spoke of "the enormous aid rendered Indochina by the socialist countries."

What are the facts?

Military aid

Far from being "enormous" as Myerson asserts, the military aid Moscow provides Hanoi is insufficient to protect Vietnam from Washington's bombers. It is not that Moscow lacks the weapons.

William Beecher, reporting from Washington in the Nov. 12 *New York Times*, states that U. S. intelligence believes Moscow is providing its most advanced surface-to-air missiles to Egypt. "The new missile reportedly sent to Egypt is the SA-6, the best low-altitude, mobile surface-to-air missile system in the Soviet arsenal," Beecher writes.

Whether this will provide Egypt with sufficient strength to deter an attack by Israel, we do not know. Certainly Egypt and the rest of the Arab world need such protection.

But Vietnam is being bombed right now, and it has been for the last seven years. U. S. military authorities believe that the antiaircraft guns supplied to Hanoi are "obsolete," the *New York Times* stated Aug. 20. "While Soviet technology is understood to have kept pace with the passing years," the *Times* continued, "relatively few Soviet antiaircraft innovations seem to have been passed on to Hanoi. By all indications, the Russians have been far more helpful to Arab defenses against the Israeli Air Force than they have to the North Vietnamese."

A comparable description of ground weapons appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, May 3. "... American officers have long been puzzled that the Soviet Union did not use the Vietnam war to test some of its equipment," George McArthur wrote from Saigon.

"The fact that most Russian equipment was standard hardware was also known to cause some chagrin in the North Vietnamese military establishment.



Peking summit, February. Nixon and Chou

"Even the massive supply of tanks from Moscow did not alter that policy substantially. The tanks were also mostly of World War II vintage."

Measured in dollars, Moscow's military aid to Hanoi is less than one-tenth of its foreign military aid, according to U. S. intelligence sources. In 1971 the total military aid to less-developed countries from the Soviet Union came to \$1.1-billion. "... Soviet military aid to North Vietnam was estimated at only \$100-million," Tad Szulc wrote in the Nov. 19 *New York Times*.

"One-third of Soviet military aid last year, about \$350-million, went to Egypt. . . ."

"Iraq was the second largest recipient of Soviet military aid in 1971, followed by India, which fought her victorious war against Pakistan late last year. . . ." Thus, measured financially, Egypt, Iraq, and India received more military aid from Moscow than North Vietnam. It is clear from this that Moscow limits its military aid to Hanoi.

Peking's military capabilities are undoubtedly inferior to Moscow's and consequently the main responsibility for providing an adequate defense to Hanoi falls on Mos-



Moscow summit, May. Nixon and Brezhnev

cow's shoulders. Nevertheless Peking follows the same policy of curtailing military aid to North Vietnam. Szulc reported that Peking's military aid to Hanoi in 1970 was worth \$85-million and in 1971, \$75-million.

President Nixon began to escalate the air war in Vietnam in late 1971. On Dec. 26, for the first time since 1968, U. S. bombers struck North Vietnam. The attack lasted five days and included 1,000 sorties. Nixon made it clear in an interview with CBS correspondent Dan Rather Jan. 2 that the purpose of stepping up the air war was to force Hanoi to recognize the Saigon regime.

On Jan. 25, Nixon issued his "eight-point plan" for a cease-fire based on the continued existence of the Saigon government. The speech ominously warned that Washington would resume full-scale bombing of North Vietnam if the insurgents refused to accept these conditions.

From then on Washington stepped up the bombing of North and South Vietnam week by week. On Feb. 14 the bombing of South Vietnam had reached the highest levels of the war, exceeding the peaks of 1968 and 1969. One week later Chou En-lai greeted Nixon in Peking.

The timing of this trip was not a coincidence. Nixon's Peking and Moscow summit meetings were carefully planned to coincide with the U. S. escalation of the war, to test Peking's and Moscow's response to this escalation, and to exert pressure on Hanoi to capitulate to Washington's demands.

As U. S. fighter-bombers smashed away at cities, towns, and villages in North Vietnam, Chou clinked glasses with Nixon in the "Great Hall of the People." This was a demoralizing blow to the Vietnamese revolution.

U. S. planes dropped millions of leaflets on the countryside and battlefields of Vietnam with the photograph of Nixon and Mao shaking hands. Hanoi officials did not disguise their bitterness. "While Nixon gets his 21-gun salute in Peking, we'll be giving him a different kind of salute in South Vietnam," the editor-in-chief of the official Hanoi newspaper *Nhan Dan* told a British correspondent.

Following Nixon's trip to Peking, Washington continued to escalate the bombing of Vietnam.

In late March, the revolutionary forces opened up their spring offensive. They swept down on the northernmost South Vietnamese province of Quangtri and within a few weeks had Saigon armies retreating or pinned down on four major fronts.

Nixon retaliated immediately by bringing U. S. bombers into the battles in South Vietnam, by further increasing the bombing of North Vietnam, and by mobilizing U. S. naval forces in the South China Sea.

On April 15 and 16 Hanoi and Haiphong were heavily bombed. War Secretary Melvin Laird held a news conference to declare that no place in Vietnam was off limits to the destructive power of the U. S. bombers.

Only this U. S. air and naval artillery support prevented the Saigon government from collapsing. This was admitted by high U. S. military officials, and it was the virtually unanimous opinion of the leading U. S. bourgeois publications that have news bureaus in South Vietnam.

James Reston, the influential vice-president of the *New York Times*, declared in a May 3 editorial, "The danger at the moment is that Hanoi is doing so well in the drive towards Hue that it may think it can smash its way to a military victory and not only demoralize and defeat Saigon but humiliate Washington.

"Hopefully, they will not take this gamble, because nobody in Washington or Moscow or Peking, let alone in Hanoi, can calculate what Mr. Nixon will do if he is trapped. This point has been emphasized through private channels to everybody on the other side."

Nixon's strategy

On May 8, five days later, President Nixon went on TV to announce his decision to blockade the port of Hai-

phong and seal off North Vietnam. This move had been ruled out by the Johnson administration. The Pentagon papers explain the reason why.

From the very beginning, the U. S. attack on Vietnam was based on the belief that neither Moscow nor Peking would respond with sufficient military aid to Hanoi to deter the attack. In fact, the step-by-step way in which the war was escalated was carefully planned to probe the response of Moscow and Peking to each heightened U. S. attack.

Here, for example, is how the U. S. intelligence services assessed the responses to the first U. S. bombing of North Vietnam in 1965 — purportedly in retaliation for the guerrilla attack at Pleiku.

"As predicted in CIA's October 1964 estimate, the reactions of the . . . principal Communist powers to the limited U. S. reprisal strikes were relatively restrained, with both Moscow and Peking promptly and publicly pledging unspecified support and assistance to Hanoi. . . . Neither raised the specter of a broad conflict or portrayed the U. S. actions as a threat to 'world' peace. Peking's propaganda, though full of bellicosity and bluster, and publicizing huge anti-U. S. rallies organized in China's major cities, carefully avoided threatening any direct Chinese intervention. . . .

"Moscow's response was even more restrained. . . . While indicating that 'DRV defenses' would be strengthened, some Moscow broadcasts took note of the growing interest in the United States and elsewhere for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam." (Emphasis in original.)

"Bellicosity and bluster" from Peking, "interest in a negotiated settlement" from Moscow — these characterizations equally covered Moscow's and Peking's response to the U. S. Marine landing at Danang a month later, the swelling of U. S. forces in South Vietnam to more than 500,000, the scorched earth, search-and-destroy operations, and the bombing pulverization of cities, towns, villages, and hamlets in South and North Vietnam for the next seven years. Both regimes provided military and economic aid to the DRV but in such minimal quantities as to preclude the possibility of deterring the U. S. bombs and troops.

Nevertheless, top officials of the Johnson administration had considered mining the port of Haiphong, the "flash point" beyond which intervention of Moscow and Peking was virtually certain. In March 1968, following the setback to Washington in the Tet offensive, a total review of U. S. policies in Southeast Asia was undertaken by a group of leading imperialist policy makers headed by Clark Clifford. The "Clifford Group" stated in its final recommendations:

"Politically, moreover, closing the Port of Haiphong continues to raise a serious question of Soviet reaction. . . . the Soviets would be compelled to react in some manner — at a minimum through the use of minesweepers and possibly through protective naval action of some sort. Again, we continue to believe that there is some kind of 'flash point' both in terms of these likely actions and their implications for our relations with the Soviets in other matters. . . .

"Finally, by throwing the burden of supply onto the rail and road lines through China, the mining of Haiphong would tend to increase Chinese leverage in Hanoi and would force the Soviets and Chinese to work out cooperative arrangements for their new and enlarged transit. We do not believe that this would truly drive the Soviets and Chinese together, but it would force them to take a wider range of common positions that would certainly not be favorable to our basic interests."

The Pentagon's changed opinion on this question in April 1972, as the White House prepared to blockade North Vietnam, is one of the clearest pieces of evidence that the Nixon administration had reached a new assessment of the policies of Moscow and Peking as the winter and spring summits took place. This reappraisal proved to be well founded. Not only did both workers states refuse to intervene in any way as North Vietnam became virtually isolated by a hail of bombs and mines, but Moscow even refused to cancel Nixon's trip.

Just three days after Nixon announced the mining of Haiphong, Moscow's trade minister Nikolai Patolichev met with the president to dispel any doubts that the trip was still on. Photos of this meeting were spread throughout the world press. In the three days before Nixon's arrival in Moscow, U. S. bombers flew 1,000 strikes against North Vietnam.

During and after the Moscow summit, the U. S. attack reached new peaks. "Never before in the Vietnam war, or perhaps in any war, has air power been used with such ferocity," *Times* reporter Sydney Schanberg wrote from Hue, May 26.

"The war from the skies was deadlier than ever," *Time* magazine stated in its June 5 issue.

U. S. News & World Report reported in the same week, "Practically every major railhead, supply depot, gun emplacement, airfield, radar installation, truck park and fuel dump in North Vietnam is coming under air attack.

"Roads and railroads leading south to the battlefields are



being methodically cut and then cut again as they are repaired. The two rail lines leading from Hanoi to Red China are bombed daily.

"Now, the White House has added to the target list such nonmilitary installations as power plants, factories, repair shops and industrial facilities."

In the beginning of June, *Los Angeles Times* reporter George McArthur wrote from Saigon that "A cozy photograph of President Nixon and Russia's Communist Party boss Leonid I. Brezhnev is being airdropped by the million over North Vietnam.

"As might be expected, American psychological warfare operatives are overjoyed. The experts admit that leaflets are frequently of questionable value but in this instance the message is so obvious that the leaflets cannot fail to considerably discomfort Hanoi's leadership."

Hanoi response

The propaganda emanating from Hanoi rarely takes issue with either Moscow's or Peking's policies, but as the U. S. bombing wore on in the summer there were clear indications of Hanoi's dissatisfaction. The sharpest implicit criticism came in a *Nhan Dan* editorial, Aug. 17.

" . . . for the U. S. imperialists, reconciliation is but a Machiavellian policy to materialize designs of aggression, enslavements, subversion and peaceful evolution by new methods," *Nhan Dan* stated. "In other words, to carry out the 'Nixon doctrine' U. S. imperialists have applied the policy of reconciliation toward a number of big powers in the hope of having a free hand to consolidate their forces, oppose the world revolutionary movement, suppress the revolution at home, bully the small countries, break the national liberation movement while not relinquishing its plan to prepare a new world war.

"For the socialist countries, safeguarding peace and carrying out peaceful coexistence cannot be separated from the world movement of independence, democracy and socialism. If this is aimed only at caring for the narrow, immediate interests of a country, it will not only harm the revolutionary movements of various countries, but, in the end, will bring to these very countries incalculable losses and make them give up their lofty internationalist duty. . . .

" . . . if out of the narrow interests of one's nation one tries to help the most reactionary forces avert the dangerous blows, just like throwing a life-buoy to a drowning pirate, that is a cruel reconciliation beneficial to the enemy and not beneficial to the revolution."

On Oct. 8, according to Henry Kissinger, Hanoi first agreed in secret sessions to separate the political and military aspects of a cease-fire treaty — the key to allowing the Saigon regime to stay in power. It is impossible to know what specific "behind-the-scenes" pressure Moscow and Peking exerted on the Hanoi leadership to bring about this concession.

Typical of the U. S. bourgeois press opinion on this subject was an article by Robert Keatley on the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 30. "When Moscow let the summit proceed despite the mining, any doubts Hanoi had about Soviet intentions must have vanished for good," Keatley said. "But to drive it home a bit more, Russian propagandists — talking with American newsmen along on the Moscow trip — privately berated Hanoi for trying to sabotage cooperation between the superpowers. As intended, such talk got into print.

"China's known pressure has been applied discreetly. For example, Premier Chou used a state banquet to cite political talks between the two Koreas, and his own conversations with Japanese leaders, as examples for others to follow. Such efforts 'to settle reasonably their mutual disputes have become an irresistible trend,' he noted rather pointedly to the assembled diplomats, including North Vietnamese.

"More concrete evidence followed the Haiphong mining. Though Peking eventually let some Russian ships carrying goods for North Vietnam use South China ports, it never permitted massive transit of Chinese territory by Soviet planes and rail cars. The Sino-Soviet split was not about to be mended for Hanoi's sake despite Vietnamese appeals for Communist unity. And neither big Communist power, of course, tried to crash the American blockade."

The known facts about the course of the war in 1972 are a weighty indictment of Moscow and Peking, even when the secret pressures they brought against Hanoi cannot be known.

Beginning last December, the Nixon administration was able to escalate the air attack on Vietnam to the most intense bombing of any country ever known in warfare. This bombing was solely responsible for defeating the revolutionary offensive launched in the spring, which could have finally toppled the hated Saigon clique after three decades of civil war.

Moscow and Peking made no moves to stop this. On the contrary, they feted the chief agent of U. S. imperialism as his bombers poured death and destruction on the people of Indochina.

In Review

Books

Republic or Empire



Boston headquarters of the New England Anti-Imperialist League, with Secretary Erving Winslow (glasses and beard) at his desk.

Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War by Daniel B. Schirmer. Preface by Howard Zinn. Schenkman Publishing Co. Cambridge, Mass., 1972. 298 pp. Paper.

Vietnam is not the first Asian nation raped by American imperialism. At the turn of the century, when the U. S. had just begun to launch itself as a full-fledged imperialist power, the American government took sovereignty over the Philippines away from an anemic Spain. When the Filipino people demanded their independence in place of this new domination, presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt unleashed their armed forces in a war of atrocity and extermination that looks very "contemporary" when compared with today's headlines about Indochina.

"Just after the war broke out," writes Daniel Schirmer in his new book about the opposition to the U. S. attempt to crush the Filipino resistance movement "reports had reached the United States that an undeclared practice of taking no prisoners was in evidence, and anti-imperialists had pointed to the Filipino battle ratio of five killed to one wounded (the reverse of the usual) as confirmation of these reports."

Schirmer makes it clear, as does Howard Zinn in his preface, that the U. S. war against the Philippines and the U. S. war against Indochina contain many parallels because both were the outgrowth of the same imperialist policies.

Early advocates of imperialist politics made no bones about the fact that imperialism was good for business. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who was one of McKinley's chief congressional spokesmen, put his advocacy of a war with Spain to take away some of its colonial possessions in terms like these:

"From the purely business standpoint business would not suffer from a fight with Spain. On the contrary our mills would make more goods, our railroads carry more freight . . . these are the things that constitute business and not the stock market prices."

So, just as in Vietnam, the U. S. government—with its heart of gold—simply ignored the will of the people in its conquest of the Philippines. Schirmer writes:

"In his report for the year, submitted October 1900, General [Arthur] MacArthur frankly told Washington that the success of the Philippine guerrillas was due to the 'almost complete unity of action of the entire native population.' The guerrilla fighters, in other words, were able to sustain their warfare because they enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of the Philippine people."

Thus, the U. S. government had to use the most ruthless methods available to break the resistance movement, including torture (especially the notorious "water cure").

All of this brought forth a massive opposition movement in the United States. Schirmer shows that it was especially strong in Boston and Massachusetts as a whole. Two leading Massachusetts newspapers, the *Boston Evening Transcript* and the *Springfield Republican*, were the virtual "house organs" of the anti-imperialist movement (as it called itself) during the years 1898-1900, the height of the oppositional upsurge. The movement was so strong on a national basis that anti-imperialist rhetoric was a prominent feature of the campaign of the Democratic Party's presidential candidate in 1900, William Jennings Bryan.

The anti-imperialists supported Bryan, although he had not been a consistent opponent of imperialism or the Philippine intervention and was conciliatory to the blatant racists who held sway in the Democratic Party's Southern wing. After the demoralizing experience of backing Bryan's defeated campaign, the anti-imperialist movement went into decline. It still carried a certain amount of political weight until about 1904, however, after which it lingered on as a propaganda grouping for several years.

Schirmer's book is filled with details and documentation on the events and people involved in the anti-imperialist movement. He can be faulted for concentrating more than appears to be warranted on the Boston section of the movement and for saying very little about the relationship of the socialist movement to the movement against the war. But this is a pioneering piece of research on a very important predecessor—one that stands at the beginning of the imperialist era in U. S. history—to the antiwar movement of our time. As such, it is a valuable historical contribution.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

A Populist Manifesto

A Populist Manifesto by Jack Newfield and Jeff Greenfield. Paperback Library, 1972. 222 pp., \$1.50 paper.

A Populist Manifesto presents an analysis by two liberal democrats of what is wrong with our society and a political program on how to alter it. The book will probably be read by many young people who share this concern; 3,000 copies were given away at a recent convention of political scientists to encourage its use in their classrooms.

In the authors' view this is a "desperate time in history." Revolution they think impossible. Nor, they go on, is "full economic equality . . . possible or desirable, except in the most Utopian sense."

The fundamental argument of the book is that "some institutions and people (in the U. S.) have too much money and power, most people have too little, and the first priority of politics must be to redress this imbalance." They propose a political realignment along economic lines as "the key to building a new majority."

The authors have gathered much damning evidence about who runs this country and to what ends: "About 1.6 per cent of America's adult population owns 82.4 per cent of the publicly held shares of stock. . . . The decisions are made by a tiny minority. . . ."

They make many accurate observations: Regulatory agencies are in fact run by the industries they are supposed to regulate. "T. V. is owned by a handful of corporate giants." "The American tax system is a fraud."

Although they don't believe the American political process is a fraud, they do state: "The citizens who are the victims of economic power are often shut out of the process by which real decisions are made: for while the public can organize and use its voting power, the most critical decisions are made in congressional committees and federal agencies, which are essentially unreachable except by groups with economic leverage." Moreover, according to "a Harris Poll in September 1971 every major institution in America was distrusted by a majority of Americans."

What to do? An example of their approach is the program they outline to reverse the increasing concentration of wealth. They want the executive branch of government to break up the biggest corporations, ban all mergers and take-overs involving the largest corporations, put persistent antitrust violators in jail, change the tax law to make mergers unprofitable, and ensure that the corporation that has broken the law suffers the penalty.

The kindest thing one can say is that this is unrealistic. There is a ruling class in this country—the authors prove this. And the government functions as its executive committee—they demonstrate this also. So one is justified in asking, How can you entertain the notion that this ruling class is going to turn upon itself?

And moreover, what vehicle should this coalition of Blacks and low-to-moderate-income whites choose to "curb the excesses of capitalism," to use their phrase? The authors have not fully thought out this key strategic question. They mention with approval the independent character of the antiwar movement and note that an earlier attempt at populism, the Populist Party of the late nineteenth century, was derailed by being absorbed into the Democratic Party.

Yet, they themselves backed McGovern and support other liberal congressmen and women. Liberals by definition don't like what the system does, but like the system. And for Newfield and Greenfield that's where it's at.

This refusal to break with the capitalist Democratic Party compromises their well-intentioned effort—for history has always shown that the best way to win even much-needed reform is for people to rely on their own strength, not on a capitalist party.

—MICHAEL SMITH

Scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Lexington, Ky.	30	44	146.7
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	35	140.0
Storrs, Conn.	25	32	128.0
Oxford, Ohio	40	51	127.5
Edinboro, Pa.	60	75	125.0
Bethlehem, Pa.	10	12	120.0
Bowling Green, Ky.	10	12	120.0
Cedar Falls, Iowa	30	36	120.0
New Haven, Conn.	25	28	112.0
Seattle, Wash.	1,270	1,376	108.3
Boston, Mass.	2,500	2,704	108.2
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050	1,136	108.2
Cleveland, Ohio	1,700	1,814	106.7
San Francisco, Calif.	2,150	2,281	106.1
Detroit, Mich.	1,700	1,769	104.1
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,350	1,405	104.1
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,450	1,505	103.8
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,450	1,499	103.4
Boulder, Colo.	175	180	102.9
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,900	1,939	102.1
Washington, D.C.	900	919	102.1
Atlanta, Ga.	1,350	1,373	101.7
Madison, Wis.	200	203	101.5
San Diego, Calif.	400	406	101.5
Chicago, Ill.	2,600	2,634	101.3
Oakland/Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	2,227	101.2
Los Angeles, Calif.	2,000	2,009	100.5
Binghamton, N.Y.	200	200	100.0
Bowling Green, Ohio	25	25	100.0
Huntington, W. Va.	40	40	100.0
Nashville, Tenn.	20	20	100.0
Portland, Ore.	880	872	99.2
Tallahassee, Fla.	150	146	97.3
Denver, Colo.	1,250	1,197	95.7
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	13	86.7
Augusta, Me.	25	20	80.0
Houston, Texas	1,050	791	75.3
Austin, Texas	550	414	75.2
Hartford, Conn.	125	91	72.8
Columbus, Ohio	30	21	70.0
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	130	65.0
Youngstown, Ohio	20	13	65.0
Corvallis, Ore.	33	20	60.6
San Antonio, Texas	50	30	60.0
College Park, Md.	175	95	54.3
Providence, R.I.	125	67	53.6
Athens, Ohio	30	16	53.3
Bloomington, Ind.	350	164	46.8
Geneseo, N.Y.	15	7	46.7
Cincinnati, Ohio	100	46	46.0
Burlington, Vt.	25	11	44.0
Knoxville, Tenn.	30	12	40.0
New Brunswick, N.J.	20	8	40.0
Saranac Lake, N.Y.	25	10	40.0
St. Louis, Mo.	120	46	38.3
Durham, N.H.	50	19	38.0
Celina, Ohio	10	3	30.0
Lawton, Okla.	10	3	30.0
Champaign, Ill.	60	17	28.3
Allentown, Pa.	50	14	28.0
Carbondale, Ill.	35	9	25.7
Sarasota, Fla.	25	6	24.0
Wichita, Kans.	25	6	24.0
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	10	20.0
University, Ala.	100	20	20.0
Long Island, N.Y.	100	15	15.0
Kansas City, Mo.	150	20	13.3
Amherst, Mass.	150	19	12.7
Worcester, Mass.	175	20	11.4
Alfred, N.Y.	10	1	10.0
Bellingham, Wash.	50	5	10.0
Buffalo, N.Y.	20	2	10.0
Sacramento, Calif.	10	1	10.0
Santa Barbara, Calif.	75	4	5.3
Red Bank, N.J.	50	2	4.0
Springfield, Mass.	25	1	4.0
Gary, Ind.	100	2	2.0
Aliquippa, Pa.	20	0	0
Iowa City, Iowa	20	0	0
Louisville, Ky.	20	0	0
General	500	216	43.2
Midwest National Team	1,000	1,095	109.5
Special National Team	1,150	1,204	104.7
Southern National Team	700	498	71.2
TOTAL		35,441	107.6
GOAL		33,000	100.0

(The following is a breakdown of the final results of the local teams. Figures are incorporated in the above totals.)

TEAM BREAKDOWN	QUOTA	SUBS	%
Boston	700	877	125.2
San Francisco	800	883	110.4
Seattle/Portland	1,000	1,083	108.3
Cleveland	1,200	1,278	106.5
New York #1	1,000	1,059	105.9
Detroit	800	842	105.3
Philadelphia/Washington	700	729	104.1
Atlanta	700	718	102.6
New York #2	700	713	101.9
Chicago	800	812	101.5
Twin Cities	800	805	100.6
Los Angeles	750	754	100.5
Denver	625	626	100.2
Oakland/Berkeley	700	653	93.3
Texas	700	340	48.6
TOTAL		12,172	101.6
GOAL		11,975	100.0

Biggest Militant sub drive yet

35,441 new readers in 9 weeks

By NANCY COLE

NOV. 29—The final tally on new subscriptions this fall puts us 2,441 over our 33,000 goal. For most of the drive, which began on Sept. 15, we were behind schedule, and it was only the determined efforts of our supporters during the last few weeks that put us over the top.

These efforts included putting on the road a special national team, which sold more than 1,200 subscriptions in three weeks. Several areas with large quotas sent out regional teams; smaller locals of the Young Socialist Alliance stepped up their canvassing of dormitories; and individual supporters made a last push to sell to their co-workers and friends. The result was 7,337 subscriptions sent in during the last two weeks.

This was the largest sub drive *The Militant* has ever tackled, and its duration of nine and a half weeks made it one of the shortest. Last year during a drive of 11 weeks with a goal of 30,000, we obtained 32,580 new readers. The largest drive before that dated back to 1945, when 22,437 subscriptions were sold in 13 weeks.

Surpassing the 33,000 goal is no small achievement for *The Militant*. It brings us one step closer to our goal of becoming a mass-circulated socialist weekly. A subscription drive of this size, and the widespread interest in radical ideas that it suggests, is also another index by which we can judge the depth of radicalization among American youth.

Considered in the context of all the other activities that *Militant* supporters carried out this fall, the success of the subscription drive is even more impressive. The most outstanding activity was campaigning for Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

There were also antiwar actions and the abortion tribunals that *Militant* supporters were actively involved in organizing and publicizing. And the YSAers and YSJPer who built the Young Socialist national convention into the representative and authoritative voice of radical youth that it was were the same people who sold the bulk of the 35,000 subscriptions.

The majority of subscriptions were sold to college students at virtually every major campus and hundreds of smaller ones across the U. S.

Almost 40 percent of the subscriptions were sold by 17 Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams, which campaigned for eight to 10 weeks. Their schedules took them to 260 cities and 325 campuses in every state in the continental U. S. The teams went over their goal of 13,675 with a final total of 13,765.

In addition to selling subscriptions, the teams signed up endorsers for the SWP campaign, distributed campaign literature, set up literature tables (taking in more than \$10,000), arranged meetings and debates, and publicized the YSA convention. As a result of these tours, 81 people joined the YSA and many more expressed interest. Sixteen new locals of the YSA were formed.

As the statistics indicate, the teams found an openness to revolutionary socialist ideas almost everywhere. Steve Bloom from the special national team, and a veteran of past subscription campaigns, reports that an increased familiarity with *The Militant* helped subscription sales. Many people had met subscription sellers during previous drives, had bought single copies before, or had roommates or friends who subscribed.

The teams considered it a special project to familiarize McGovern supporters with the SWP campaign and to sell them *Militant* subscriptions and McGovern truth kits. Not a small number of them came to realize the futility of supporting any capitalist candidates, and 20 weeks of *The Militant* should deepen that understanding. Those who subscribed but stuck with McGovern should find *The Militant* helpful now as they try to figure out what to do next.

Thirty-one of the 80 areas with quotas made 100 percent or better. Of the 20 areas where there are both a YSA and SWP (accounting for 85 percent of the total sold), 16 completed their quotas on time. Portland has not yet reported its final total, but with only eight to go we're confident they made it. Denver was forced to cancel several subscription teams last weekend because of snowstorms and thus fell short of their goal. Both the Houston and Austin YSAs and SWPs made their

share of the quota although the Texas team ran into problems and was unable to complete its quota.

There are now scores of campuses across the country with more than 100 subscribers to *The Militant*. A few representative examples are the University of California at Santa Barbara, where close to 600 students subscribe; the University of Connecticut in Storrs, 300; Bowling Green State University in Ohio, 300; and Columbia University in New York City, 200.

Many of these students, some who had thought they were the only ones at their school interested in radical ideas, will want to join in the activities they read about in *The Militant*. Many will participate this spring in actions that *The Militant* supports and reports on, and many will decide to support SWP candidates in the 1973 municipal elections. Some will join the Young Socialist Alliance. So all those supporters who participated in this fall's subscription drive deserve a special thanks for introducing revolutionary socialist politics to more than 35,000 young people.

International Socialist Review

The *International Socialist Review* gained 2,440 new readers this fall, falling short of its goal of 3,300. Those areas that made 100 percent or more of their quotas are Atlanta; Austin; Bowling Green, Ky.; Brooklyn; Huntington, W. Va.; Lexington, Ky.; Los Angeles; Nashville; Oxford, Ohio; Pittsburgh; San Francisco; Seattle; Storrs, Conn.; and Washington, D. C.

The YSJP teams that went over their ISR quotas are the Los Angeles team, the national Midwest team, the San Francisco team, and the Seattle/Portland team. The top ISR subscription seller was John Teitlebom from the San Francisco team with 52 subscriptions.

Top sub sellers



Joel Hodroff speaking to Young Socialist convention rally.

Final reports put Joel Hodroff from the national Midwest team at the top of the sub sellers' list with 450 subscriptions. Two other sellers went over 400—Steve Bloom (in only three weeks!) from the special national team and Bernie Senter from the Cleveland team.

Those who sold more than 300 subs include Gary Johnson, Seattle/Portland; Dan Kuschke, Twin Cities; Mike Lux, special national; John Olmstead, Boston; Norton Sandler, San Francisco; Jean Sica, San Francisco; and Mary Zins, Cleveland.

The following, all members of regional teams, sold over 200: Dennis DiPace, Boston; Jeanne Fitzmaurice, Chicago; Julie Bingham and Elena DiVega, Cleveland; Marie Head, Denver; Sheila Ostrow, Detroit; Natalie Harary and Sudie Trippett, Los Angeles; Dorothy Dillon, Oakland/Berkeley; Cappy Kidd, Philadelphia/Washington; Joe Callahan and Bob Frantz, Seattle/Portland; Margie Kleijnmolekamp and Richard Orawiec, New York #1; Karen Bancroft and Susan Winsten, New York #2; Lee Artz, Dean Hall, and Debbie Shayne, national Midwest; and Andrea Brod and Judi Chertov, special national.

Calendar

BROOKLYN

WOMEN'S LIBERATION EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Fri., Dec. 15, 8 p.m.: The Family and Women's Liberation Today. Speakers: Eleanor Leacock, anthropologist and author of an introduction to Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*; Ruby R. Leavitt, anthropologist and author of "Women in Other Cultures"; Evelyn Reed, anthropologist and author of *Problems of Women's Liberation*.

Sat., Dec. 16: three classes on American women in struggle: First Wave of Feminism—History of the Suffrage Movement; Third World Women—The Myth of the Black Matriarchy; Revolutionary and Socialist Women—Harriet Tubman, Kate Richards O'Hare, Antoinette Konikow. Classes followed by dinner and party. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Sponsored by Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party and Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

LOS ANGELES

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REPRESSION IN BRAZIL—Discussion and slide show. Speaker: Dr. Timothy Harding, professor of history at Cal State Los Angeles and a member of Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity. Fri., Dec. 8, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

LOWER MANHATTAN YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND: The African Liberation Struggle and Black Nationalism.

Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m.: The Role of the U.S. in Africa and African Liberation Struggles—Panel discussion. With Paul Boutelle, Africa Information Service, and others.

Sat., Dec. 9, 2 classes: 12-2 p.m.: In Defense of Black Nationalism and Self-Determination; 2-4 p.m.: Transitional Program for Black Liberation. Speaker for both classes: Sam Manuel, national committee member of YSA and builder of African Liberation Day demonstrations. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$2 for whole weekend. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 982-5940.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

UKRAINIAN OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET UNION. Speakers: Tom Bilko, Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners; Marilyn Vogt, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA

ECOLOGY—Panel. Fri., Dec. 8, 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.

TWIN CITIES

PRISONS, POLICE, AND THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE. Speaker: Joe Johnson, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...YSA

Continued on page 5

mean a tremendous setback. . . . But it will be a bigger setback if we lose without putting up a good fight!"

"What is needed," said Welch, "is an active, visible defense campaign on a national scale. The eyes of the entire country will be on what happens in New York."

The report on Black liberation, presented by Malik Miah, asserted that the conditions of Black people continue to deteriorate. The crisis in the American cities is bearing down most heavily on Blacks, as are Nixon's wage controls, unemployment, and the cutbacks in social services.

At the same time, although the Black masses have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness to engage in militant struggle against these conditions, there is a crisis of leadership in the Black liberation movement. Miah stressed the fact that there is "no mass, militant nationalist organization leading the day-to-day struggles of the Black community."

The task of the YSA, he said, is to continue to participate in and support the struggles of Black people wherever they occur, and to help spread the idea of breaking with the Democrats and forming a Black political party.

Much of the discussion on the Black liberation report centered on the activities of YSA locals during the past year. Delegates from Atlanta spoke on the series of strikes by Black workers there, and the YSA's participation in solidarity actions with the strikers. Others discussed the African Liberation Day demonstrations, and their work in ongoing committees based on solidarity with the struggles in Africa and on exposing the role of the U.S. in Africa.

Maceo Dixon from Detroit discussed the need to break down the isolation of the struggle at Southern University through solidarity actions and a nation-wide united defense of the students there.

José Pérez, who gave the Chicano liberation report, took note of the fact that less than three years after it was founded, the Raza Unida Party in Texas has gained an automatic place on the ballot. Ramsey Muñiz, its candidate for governor, received more than 200,000 votes.

"The picture we get from viewing

the development of the Raza Unida parties over the past year is a positive one," Pérez said. "Not only did these parties resist the election-year pressure and take a clear 'no-support to either Nixon or McGovern stand,' but they also ran against many Democrats and Republicans on the local and statewide levels, and for U.S. Congress."

While continuing to support independent Chicano parties and explaining their significance, the YSA will also pay increased attention to developments among Chicano students and to building support for their struggles.

Pedro Vasquez from Houston stressed the importance of *The Militant* during the discussion. He said that Chicano papers throughout the Southwest have reprinted articles from it. Others discussed the defense of undocumented workers against persecution by the immigration authorities and the role actions in defense of political prisoners in Latin America played in helping to internationalize the outlook of Chicano militants.

Prospects for YSA

In the organizational report Laura Miller announced that the YSA has members on 200 college campuses, 57 high schools, five junior high schools, and two elementary schools. Forty-one YSAers currently hold student government posts.

Miller said that the YSA would place special emphasis on winning new members in high schools during the next year, while engaging in a campaign to increase the circulation of its newspaper, the *Young Socialist*.

Of those at the convention, 318 were not members of either the YSA or SWP. Fifty-four joined the YSA at the convention, and two new locals of the YSA were formed, one in East Lansing, Mich., and another in Oxford, Ohio. The YSA now has members in 56 locals and 161 at-large areas.

Thirteen of the delegates at the convention were fraternal delegates from Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley chapters in different parts of the country.

Some attending the convention were former McGovern supporters, and one person had even run as a McGovern delegate to the Democratic Party national convention in Ohio's 19th District.

Andy Rose and Laura Miller were

reelected as national chairman and national organization secretary of the YSA, and Andrew Pulley was elected national secretary.

...abortion

Continued from page 9

morality of forcing women into the hands of illegal abortionists. We have to remember that we did not invent abortion; women were having abortions long before New York voted its law. Desperate women will continue having abortions—even if they are illegal. Can we then, in good conscience, consign these women to the butchers who thrive on criminal abortion?

Lastly we must repudiate the ridiculous contention of the anti-abortionists that legalized abortion will dull our respect for life and lead to euthanasia or worse. Abortion has been legal for years in places like England, Japan, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, and I see no evidence that respect for life has diminished as a result.

These then are the issues. It is up to us to make them known and understood.

...murders

Continued from page 24

or National Guard on CU campuses; that he condemn the use of force at SU; that CU funds be used to help the SU students in their legal battles; and that Nov. 16 be declared a school holiday in commemoration of the SU martyrs. Kibbee agreed to meet with the students Nov. 30.

The demonstration, which heard two students from SU, was organized by the Third World CUNY Coalition, an ad hoc formation of Black and Puerto Rican students organizations.

In Boston, 150 attended a rally at Northeastern University sponsored by the campus group Afro.

In Detroit, at Wayne State University, representatives of the Association of Black Students (ABS) and the Young Socialist Alliance held a Nov. 27 news conference to announce a teach-in on the events at SU for that evening. The featured speaker at the teach-in, which was attended by 150 Blacks, was Loretta Akers, a leader of the ABS who had gone to Baton Rouge to get a firsthand account.

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 Isabell, 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.

San Diego: SWP and YSA, 4309 1/2 51 St., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 287-0787.

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

San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 453 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

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.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 427 Main St. #206, Hartford, Conn. 06103. Tel: (203) 246-6797.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, P.O. Box 176, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Lawrence Roth/Mark Harris, 505 S. Graham, #341, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, 10975 Sheraton Dr., Baton Rouge, La. 70815.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TEI-6135.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Red Bank: YSA, P.O. Box 222, Rumson, N.J. 07760.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

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

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

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Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228.

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

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA and SWP, P.O. Box 7753, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

Lubbock: YSA, c/o Tim McGovern, P.O. Box 5090, Tech. Station, Lubbock, Texas 79409.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

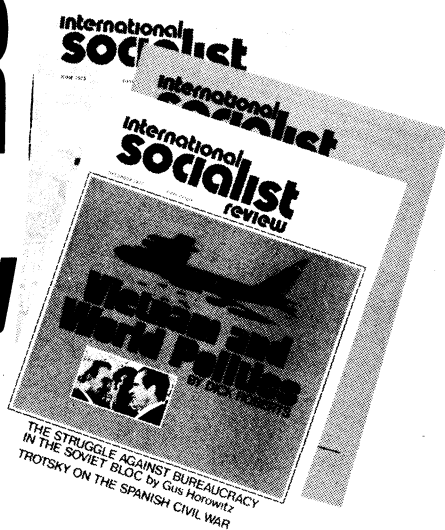
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

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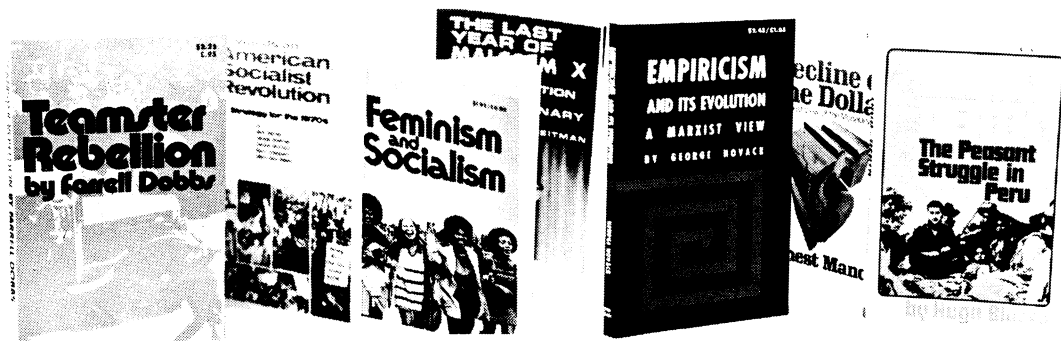
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THE MILITANT

Student demonstrations continue

Blacks investigate Baton Rouge murders

By DERRICK MORRISON

Two investigations—one by the Black community and the other by the state of Louisiana—are currently under way into the Nov. 16 shotgun deaths of two Black students on the Baton Rouge campus of Southern University.

On Nov. 27, as these two inquiries

win Edwards will continue the police occupation of the school.

The day before the two inquiries opened another 400 Blacks held a memorial meeting on the steps of the State Capitol in Baton Rouge for the two slain students—Denver Smith of New Roads, La., and Leonard Douglas Brown of Gilbert, La.

it. To camouflage the fact that the commission is helping to prepare indictments, Guste has included on it white university presidents, Black state legislators, and two Black students from SUNO.

But even before the commission has handed down its "justice," Dr. Netterville has moved to settle a few scores

nity: Lerone Bennett Jr., historian and an editor of *Ebony* magazine; Julian Bond, Georgia state legislator; John Lewis, executive director of the Voter Education Project; D'Army Bailey, Berkeley, Calif., city councilman; and Owusu Sadaukai, president of Malcolm X University in Greensboro, N.C., and cochairman of the African Liberation Support Committee. Haywood Burns, director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, heads the committee.

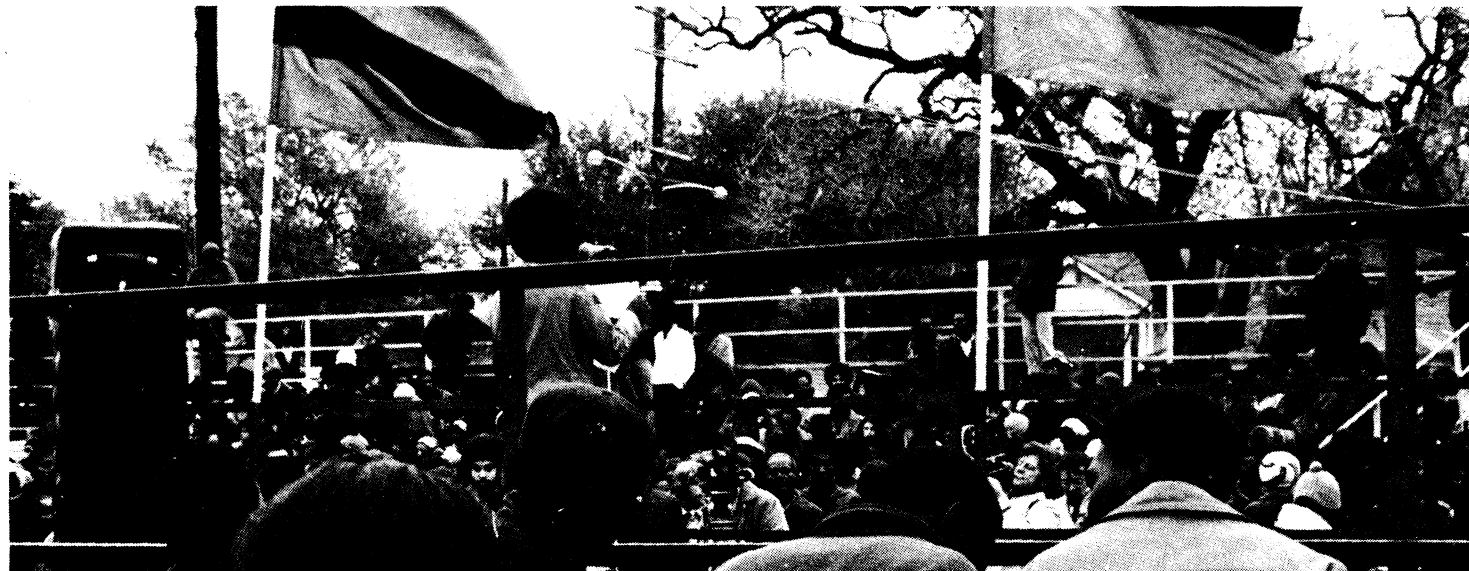
Governor Edwards, sensing a credibility gap with the establishment of an independent Black investigation, appeared as one of its first witnesses. He conceded that the two students were possibly killed by police shotgun fire. He maintained, however, that a tear gas canister fired from a group of a couple of hundred students standing in front of the administration building precipitated the attack by the scores of battle-dressed state, county, and local police. But all of the eyewitnesses to the Nov. 16 scene say the students were only tossing back a canister fired at them by the police.

Charlene Hardnett, a leader of Students United, also appeared before the panel. She rebutted the governor's contention that the students had planned to occupy the administration building that day and that they were armed. Baker, one of the professors fired by Netterville, also testified before the panel.

While the inquiry goes on, protests continued in other parts of the country Nov. 27. In New York City 200 people, primarily Black and Puerto Rican students, marched from 125th Street and Seventh Avenue in Harlem to the board of higher education on 80th Street. They wanted to see the chancellor of the City University of New York, Dr. Robert Kibbee.

They demanded, among other things, that the chancellor issue a statement barring the use of the police

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New Orleans, Nov. 20. Rally protests murder of two Black students at Southern University in Baton Rouge.

Militant/Tom Vernier

began, about 400 students staged a rally at the New Orleans campus of SU. There Earl Picard, president of the Student Government Association, and other speakers urged a continuation of the boycott of classes to express solidarity with the students at Baton Rouge and to press their own demands.

When the Baton Rouge students announced plans to continue the struggle after the Thanksgiving holiday break, the all-white Louisiana board of education decided to close the primarily Black campus until Jan. 3. This action was formally taken Nov. 22 at the request of Dr. G. Leon Netterville, the Black president of SU. To implement it, Democratic Governor Ed-

When State Attorney General William Guste Jr. announced the formation of the 12-member Biracial Commission of Inquiry on Nov. 20, he said there would be a "detailed and thorough investigation to find out who killed these students, how it happened, and why this tragedy occurred." This investigation, he said, would safeguard and uphold Louisiana's motto of "Union, justice, and confidence."

But the condition he attached to the inquiry is that it take place behind closed doors, making a complete mockery of the revered "motto." In fact, the commission is more of a grand jury than anything else since Guste, the chairman, can use his authority to subpoena witnesses before

of his own. The day before the commission was announced he had already sent letters of dismissal to Dr. Joseph Johnson, chairman of the civics department, and George Baker Jr., a professor of engineering. Both professors had been associated with Students United, the group that led the Baton Rouge protests. Four others are reported to have received dismissal letters, making it perfectly clear that Netterville has learned nothing from the protests.

Unlike the state commission, the Black People's Committee of Inquiry is open to the press and public. The committee's 14 members include figures from the national Black commu-

Judge refuses to hear Magee motions

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The trial of Ruchell Magee opened Nov. 27 in a tense San Francisco courtroom surrounded by helmeted police. Magee is facing charges of murder and kidnapping. He is the only surviving member of a group of prisoners who, with Jonathan Jackson and Judge Harold Haley, lost their lives when police fired on their escape vehicle at the Marin County civic center on Aug. 7, 1970.

Magee's case was severed from that of Angela Davis on July 19, 1971. The trial began when Judge Morton Colvin denied Magee's motions to dismiss his court-appointed attorney, Robert Carrow, and to halt trial proceedings pending review of his petition to move the trial to federal court in San Diego. Removal of the trial to federal court and the defendant's right to represent himself are the major demands the defense made in the pretrial period.

Since he was cut short during his attempt to explain his motions to the court, Magee explained his motions to Carrow in a voice loud enough to

be heard by the spectators, who are shielded from the trial area by a bulletproof barrier. For this infraction of court decorum, sheriff's deputies took Magee out of the courtroom.

As Magee returned from his holding cell to observe the questioning of potential jurors, he greeted the judge's syrupy "good afternoon" with a frigid stare.

Judge Colvin's routine order for the arrest of one of the potential jurors who was late returning from lunch caused Magee to spit out, "Why don't you arrest this pig?" This warning gave Robert Carrow time to narrowly miss a punch Magee aimed at his face. The defendant was promptly removed from the courtroom.

Magee maintains that Judge Colvin's decisions prohibiting him from speaking on his own behalf in court or in news interviews reflect the state's concern to avoid exposing the lack of evidence in Magee's original conviction for kidnap and robbery in 1963. Magee was sentenced in 1963 to life imprisonment because of an earlier conviction for attempted rape in Louisiana.

In a retrial in 1965, Magee was bound and gagged and yoked with a court-appointed attorney who entered a plea of "insanity" over Magee's objections that he had an alibi. The judge, the same one who had presided over the trial two years earlier, sentenced Magee to continue his imprisonment at San Quentin.

Magee contends that the 17 years he has spent in prison under false convictions constitute slavery. The Aug. 7, 1970, event, Magee has stated, was an exercise of his constitutional right to rebel from slavery. Magee has adopted the name Cinque after Joseph Cinque, a Black man acquitted by the U.S. Supreme Court for his leadership of a mutiny on a slave ship before the Civil War.

Judge Colvin informed potential jurors that the jury panel will be sequestered in a hotel for the duration of the trial and that they will be allowed visits by friends and family once a week. Attorneys for both the defense and the prosecution protested in vain that sequestering of the jury is an unusual procedure. They

pointed out that it was not even done in the Angela Davis trial, which received much wider media coverage than Magee's trial. Carrow charged that sequestering would create the mood of a "hanging jury."

A picket line of about 60 persons marched outside the courthouse in support of Magee Nov. 27. The demonstrators were addressed by Chukia Lawton, wife of Gary Lawton, a Black activist facing frame-up charges of murder in Southern California.



Ruchell Magee