

# THE MILITANT

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

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## THE MILITANT

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**SPECIAL PATHFINDER PRESS SUPPLEMENT:** The center four pages of this issue of *The Militant* should be of special interest to our readers. There you will find a complete listing of all books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press. This supplement can be taken out of *The Militant* for future reference as a reading list or buying guide.

**JULIUS HOBSON HONORED:** As the first Black elected official in Washington, D. C., a founder of the D. C. Statehood Party, vice-presidential candidate of the People's Party in 1972, and an activist for many years in the struggle for social justice and peace, Julius Hobson is well known around Washington, D. C. On Nov. 14 more than 2,000 people from every sector of the radical movement and the Washington, D. C., community turned out to honor him at an informal evening in the Sheraton Park Hotel.

Although it was not simply a local affair—Joan Baez, who makes her home in California was there—D. C. Mayor Walter Washington named Nov. 14 "Julius Hobson Day," and a film on Hobson's life was shown over TV in Washington.



Julius Hobson speaking at Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C.

**DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE, PART II:** Last month we reported that hundreds of students at Stirling University in Scotland had participated in a spirited protest demonstration on the occasion of a visit by Queen Elizabeth II. University authorities decided to victimize 24 students for this action, but it appears that a demonstration of some 4,000 people in Stirling—the university itself has 2,000 students—resulted in the school administration reconsidering their action. Supporting the demonstration were the Scottish Miners Union, the Scottish Trade Union Council, the Stirling Labour Party, and other labor organizations, according to the November issue of the *Red Mole*, a socialist newspaper published in Britain.

**UAW ESCALATOR CLAUSE PAYS OFF:** The agreement in United Auto Workers contracts by which wages rise with inflation has resulted in recent pay increases for more than 900,000 workers. Most of the increases have been about 15 cents an hour.

**CANADIAN TROOPS IN VIETNAM?** The possibility of the use of Canadian troops in a "peacekeeping" force in Vietnam has sparked considerable debate. The pro-Moscow Canadian Communist Party has come out for sending the troops, but they're in favor of keeping an eye on them because the Canadian army has played a bad role in the past—like in Korea. The British Columbia branch of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, on the other hand, recently passed a resolution that it "opposes the use of Canadian peacekeeping troops in Vietnam."

**PUERTO RICAN NATIONALISTS VICTIMIZED:** On Dec. 4 the Manhattan trial of Carlos Feliciano, a Puerto Rican activist charged with possession of explosives and the attempted arson of an Army recruiting station, was postponed until Dec. 19. Feliciano was previously acquitted of the same charges in the Bronx.

Also on Dec. 4, the case of Jose "Che" Velazquez was postponed until April 30. Velazquez, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, is charged with refusing induction. Following the morning hearings, some 200 people demonstrated in support of Feliciano and Velazquez, and heard speeches by them.

Feliciano spoke in particular of the case of Eduardo Pancho Cruz, who was framed up on charges of possessing explosives, and who today, as a result of inadequate medical care in prison, is blind in one eye.

**PHILIP BERRIGAN WINS PAROLE:** Father Philip Berrigan, who was serving a six-year prison sentence for damaging selective service records in a raid on a Baltimore draft board, has been in jail for more than three years. The U. S. parole board says he will be released Dec. 20.

Berrigan was one of the defendants in the Harrisburg Seven case, in which he was accused of plotting to kidnap Henry Kissinger and blow up heating tunnels under government buildings in Washington.

**CHICANO HIJACKER GETS REDUCED SENTENCE:** Ricardo Chavez-Ortiz hijacked a jetliner from New Mexico to Los Angeles last April to publicize the oppression of Chicanos in the U. S. He was sentenced to life in prison. On Nov. 29 his sentence was reduced to 20 years.

The Associated Press reports that a federal judge in Los Angeles "believed the man's sincerity but condemned his method."

"As the wife and six children . . . looked on, Judge Charles Carr of Federal District Court termed the case 'pitiful' but noted that 20 years was the minimum term to which he could reduce the sentence."

**OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS:** The Navy brass knows a good thing when it sees it, and when President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines recently, the Navy wasn't caught napping. Three American antiwar activists who comprised the staff of the National Lawyers Guild at the huge U. S. naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines were deported as a result.

The three were arrested by the Philippine government on Oct. 18 and charged with antigovernment and procommunist activities on the basis of information supplied by the U. S. Navy. Douglas Sorensen, one of those deported, explained in an interview given to the *New York Times* that "Well over half of our case load was made up of black defendants even though there was only 5.8 per cent blacks in the navy." There are no longer any civilian attorneys available to enlisted men at Subic Bay.

**THE NAVY FINDS A NEW GOAT:** The Navy brass is trying to pin the blame for three fires that caused \$8- to \$12-million damage to the aircraft carrier *Forrestal* on July 10 on Jeffrey Allison, a 19-year-old sailor from Oakland. The prosecutor in Allison's trial, which opened Nov. 27, charged that Allison had access to the areas where the fires were found, that he could have set them, and that he had verbally admitted setting them to a Navy investigator.

The defense answered that many people had access to the area, that many people could have set the fires, and that Allison made a written statement to Navy investigators saying that he didn't set the fires.

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**'HIS CONDUCT IS EXEMPLARY':** Paul Narkin, a lawyer hired by the Buddhist movement in South Vietnam, filed suit in San Francisco on Dec. 4 for \$400-million in damages for the survivors of the Mylai massacre. The suit names Lieutenant William Calley and the U. S. government as defendants. Although the U. S. Army has estimated that as many as 347 civilians were murdered by soldiers in the American Division at Mylai, Calley was the only one ever convicted. He was found guilty of murdering 22 people.

Meanwhile, attorneys for Calley argued in Falls Church, Va., that his sentence—already reduced from life imprisonment to 20 years—be set aside entirely and the charges against him dismissed.

Calley's attorneys argued that "he was a model officer. He was never a source of trouble. His conduct was exemplary." Furthermore, they said, the women and children shot at Mylai were not recognizable as noncombatants from a distance, and therefore were "fair game" for U. S. troops. As for Calley, he "possessed no malice at all on the date of the alleged incident."

—DAVE FRANKEL

## As negotiations continue

# Washington presses for new concessions

By DICK ROBERTS

DEC. 5—As of this writing, Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho are continuing the series of secret negotiations begun in Paris Dec. 4. There has been no official communication of the substance of these talks.

And consequently there is still no way of knowing when a cease-fire treaty will be signed, despite continuing hints from Washington and Saigon that a settlement of the war is near.

With rumors flying hot and heavy in virtually every major world capital, it is well to heed the warning of *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis, writing from Paris, Dec. 4. "Contradictory rumors about concessions, agreements, pressures and plans continued to rise around the secret talks," Lewis stated. "None received authoritative confirmation, nor was there any word whether this round of negotiations would continue beyond tomorrow."

The most persistent rumors suggest that Washington is pressing Hanoi for further concessions beyond those outlined in the nine-point treaty Hanoi made public Oct. 26.

● Hanoi is being pressed to withdraw North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam. According to a Dec. 1 *New York Post* dispatch from Washington, a new agreement has been worked out between Washington and Hanoi. "Although the agreement falls short of an ironclad agreement on North Vietnamese withdrawals as sought by Saigon, there is provision for a reduction of North Vietnamese forces," according to the *Post*.

But in a Dec. 3 article written from Washington, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman listed this as one of the questions remaining to be settled. "Previously," said Gwertzman, "Hanoi had indicated tacit agreement to remove some forces; further cuts, it said, would have to be negotiated by the Vietcong and Saigon administrations."

● Hanoi is being pressed to agree to the reestablishment of the "demilitarized zone" between North and South Vietnam. This would add to the fake legitimacy of the U.S.-imposed dic-

tatorship in Saigon. Most sources indicate that Hanoi has agreed to this.

● Washington is demanding the unlimited "right" to reinforce the Saigon military—already equipped with the third largest air force in the world. "The latest Paris session," said *Times* Washington correspondent Gwertzman, "also produced an agreement under which the United States can send Saigon military equipment without regard to the previous limits of one-for-one replacements of worn-out items."

● Concrete terms for a cease-fire in Laos and Cambodia are under discussion. Gwertzman believes that the new agreement provides that "The North Vietnamese will remove their forces from Laos and Cambodia. Other foreign forces, such as Thai and American, will also leave those countries."

● According to these sources, the fate of political prisoners in Thieu's jails remains unresolved. *New York Times* correspondent Craig R. Whitney reported from Saigon Dec. 2 that when Kissinger and Le Duc Tho met in Paris Nov. 21, "Mr. Tho presented a list of demands by the Vietcong—the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

"The demands were that President Thieu be removed as head of the Saigon Government, that all political prisoners and military detainees in South Vietnam be immediately released, and that the National Council be strengthened to act as the equivalent of a coalition government.

"North Vietnam had confined its demands about prisoners to a propaganda campaign urging their release, but had not made it a condition of a cease-fire accord."

Takashi Oka, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent in Paris, wrote Dec. 5 that "Saigon fears the council which would include Viet Cong, Saigon, and neutralist elements, will be a disguised coalition government. On these issues, it seems, the draft agreement reached last month will stand substantially as it is."

## Hanoi complains about low level of Soviet aid

The leaders of North Vietnam are bitter about the military aid they receive from the Soviet Union, according to Paris reporter Milt Freudenheim writing in the Dec. 1 *New York Post*. Freudenheim's information came from reports by Olivier Todd, Hanoi correspondent for the weekly Paris magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

"Hanoi is painfully aware that the Soviets gave SAM-3 missiles and MIG-23 jets to the Egyptians, writer Olivier Todd says he was told by North Vietnamese," Freudenheim states. The North Vietnamese asked Todd: "Do you believe that our government has watched our population massacred without dreaming of the possible military counter-measures?"

"Instead Hanoi has had only some improved Chinese-made MIG-19s, an early model, some Russian MIG-21s and less-sophisticated types of surface-to-air missiles to oppose the virtually impregnable sophisticated equipment of high-flying U.S. B-52s," Freudenheim continues.

"Since last summer's U.S. blockade

of Haiphong harbor, Soviet aid has thinned out, and North Vietnam has had to cut down on firing its anti-aircraft rockets.

"President Nixon's warmly welcomed visits to Moscow and Peking infuriated North Vietnam. It sees 'Chinese communism as almost impure as the Soviet kind,' Todd reports. . . .

"Soviet President Podgorny visited Hanoi and 'preached cease-fire before settling of a political solution, which . . . Kissinger was to extract in part from Le Duc Tho almost four months later in Paris,' Todd says.

"For a long time, the Russians have favored settling the Vietnamese question, even at the price of returning to the status quo of 1954, a nightmare for the North Vietnamese."

According to Freudenheim, Todd also reports that "In Hanoi, Soviet diplomats, journalists, technicians, repeat ceaselessly: 'The North Vietnamese are crazy. They are at the end of their rope. The longer the war lasts, the less the compromise, inevitably, will be good for them.'"

# NPAC & SMC say U.S. 'OUT NOW!'

By PETER SEIDMAN

NEW YORK, Dec. 2—The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia (SMC) today reaffirmed their demand for the total and unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. war machine from Southeast Asia.

The action was taken at a national steering committee meeting of the two antiwar organizations, the first since Hanoi's Oct. 26 announcement of the nine-point "peace" treaty under discussion with Washington. One hundred and fifty-four NPAC and SMC leaders and activists from 35 cities in 20 states met at New York University to hear a report from Jerry Gordon, an NPAC national coordinator, and to discuss the organization's future plans.

In his report, reflecting the thinking of NPAC's coordinating committee, Gordon said: "NPAC stands for the total, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and matériel from Southeast Asia. . . ."

Gordon reaffirmed that "Out Now—Stop the Bombing Now" remained NPAC's central demand. Referring to the demand "No U.S. Conditions," Gordon said, "We are not stating this to the Vietnamese. They have the right to sign whatever treaty they think is necessary. We are not directing this demand at other sections of the antiwar movement. We are directing it at the Nixon administration."

Gordon emphasized that despite presidential aide Henry Kissinger's announcement that "peace is at hand," the U.S. government has not only continued its record bombing of Vietnam but has also moved rapidly to reinforce the Thieu regime with "civilian advisers" and huge amounts of war matériel.

In this context he said, "The treaty will not resolve any of the social problems in South Vietnam which led to the war. It's clear that this 'peace' will not be stable" and that the possibility of direct U.S. military involvement will remain.

Gordon pointed out, however, that the signing of the agreement will have an effect on the antiwar movement. "If the bombing is stopped, the remaining U.S. troops withdrawn, and the prisoners of war released," he said, "NPAC will welcome this. But most people would then think the war is over, even though the antiwar move-

ment's demand of 'total withdrawal' will not have been accomplished. This will reduce our ability to move the masses of the American people into action to achieve that demand."

Noting the effect the elections and the proposed treaty had in diminishing the turnout for the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 demonstrations called by NPAC, Gordon said, "It's not our feeling that we can project a mass demonstration for the spring at this time."

Gordon urged NPAC chapters to seek ways to continue to publicize the Out Now demand. "We think there ought to be a basis for unity against the war in these days when through his bombing and maneuvering Nix-



Jerry Gordon

Militant/Howard Petrick

on is trying to wrench further concessions from the Vietnamese."

Gordon proposed that the steering committee issue a press release reaffirming its demand for total and unconditional withdrawal and accompany this with a fact sheet outlining the atrocities still being committed against Vietnam.

He reported that WAPAC, NPAC's affiliate in Washington, D.C., was discussing plans for a Christmastime picket of the White House.

Finally, Gordon reported the coordinating committee's proposal "that NPAC defer plans to go ahead with its national conference, originally slated for Jan. 12-14, until the military and political situation in Vietnam becomes more clarified."

After a full discussion, Gordon's report was approved unanimously.



NPAC demonstration in Boston, Nov. 18

Militant/Dave Wulp



# I.F. Stone on treaty: 'A bad deal that may not work'

By ED SMITH

The nine-point cease-fire proposal for Indochina is "like a delicate watch, intricately fabricated to make sure it won't work," I.F. Stone declared in the Nov. 30 *New York Review of Books*.

Stone, who has written scathing indictments of Moscow and Peking for putting pressure on Hanoi to settle the war, believes that the proposed cease-fire is mainly to the advantage of the Thieu regime. "... the Vietnam war has been bypassed by the detente among Washington, Peking, and Moscow," says Stone. "In short, Nixon can pretty much write his own terms and has."

The Thieu government is likely to remain in power indefinitely, according to Stone, because of the loose provisions for elections: "There is no provision for Thieu's resignation before the election. The existing government is no longer excluded from responsibility in holding the elections; no clear line is drawn between what the Thieu government can do and what an electoral commission will do: what happens if the latter is reduced to observing the irregularities of the former? Thieu will continue to be in control of the army and the police, and there is no way to keep him from using them to harass the opposition and herd the voters."

Stone notes the previous opposition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to these terms. "The PRG felt that free elections would be impossible unless Thieu resigned and his repressive apparatus was 'dismantled.' The PRG proposed the establishment of a tripartite coalition 'to organize general elections to name a constituent assembly which will write a new constitution and set up a definitive government in the South.'"

Stone speculates that Hanoi released the terms of the proposed treaty in an attempt to get Nixon to sign before the elections. But "Nixon figured he didn't need the October 31 signing to win the election. He took the concessions and decided to wait and ask for more."

Nixon is fully prepared to reescalate the war to come to Saigon's rescue, Stone points out. Nixon's "hands are freed for further action if the cease-fire breaks down. . . ."

"There is no sign that Nixon is preparing to get out of Southeast Asia. The latest reports seeping out of the State Department on its current Cambodian and Laotian negotiations indicate that we hope to keep both Lon Nol and Souvanna Phouma under our wing; the cease-fire agreement limits neither military nor economic aid to either regime."

Nixon is utilizing the delay in the signing of the accords to "exact new concessions, mainly the removal of a sizable number of North Vietnamese troops as the price of a cease-fire agreement," Stone believes.



I.F. Stone

Militant/Eli Finer

## Answer to PCPJ & Guardian

# 'OUT NOW' versus 'SIGN NOW'

By PETER SEIDMAN

At a conference held in Chicago on Dec. 4, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) announced it was launching a national "Sign the Agreement Now" campaign. This effort to mobilize the American people to demand that Nixon sign the proposed nine-point "peace" plan is vigorously supported by both the Communist Party and the *Guardian* newspaper.

As part of their efforts to build such a campaign, the CP and the *Guardian* have found it necessary to attack the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which supports NPAC.

Both NPAC and the SWP have insisted that the antiwar movement should not demand of Nixon that he sign the nine-point treaty, but rather that he unconditionally withdraw all U.S. forces from Indochina. The *Guardian*, in a Nov. 29 editorial, describes these positions as "thoroughly reactionary."

The *Guardian* editorial bases its attacks against the SWP on two arguments. The first is that the Vietnamese have won an agreement in which the major concessions were made by U.S. imperialism in the wake of a still-continuing offensive launched by the liberation forces last spring.

"... the Vietnamese people are now preparing to complete the total expulsion of U.S. military forces from their soil," the *Guardian* editors write. "This is the real meaning of the nine-point draft peace agreement negotiated last month. . . ."

Hence, the SWP is wrong to oppose the treaty because rather than representing imperialist concessions wrung from the Vietnamese, it represents major concessions won by the Vietnamese from the imperialists.

Second, they argue that the SWP, while paying lip service to the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, in practice violates this principle by not joining in the international campaign called for by Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government to win support for the treaty.

### What happened to offensive

The North Vietnamese-National Liberation Front offensive that began in April 1972 was powerful proof of the massive popular support and military strength of the liberation forces. Thieu's army was routed on three main fronts: in Quangtri Province, to the point of threatening Hue; in Kontum province; and around Anloc, threatening Saigon itself.

While President Thieu described the fighting to hold back the offensive as his regime's "decisive battle," Sydney Schanberg, writing in the May 3 *New York Times*, revealed the kind of troops he had to fight with: "Thousands of panicking South Vietnamese soldiers—most of whom did not appear to have made much contact with the advancing North Vietnamese—fled in confusion from Quangtri Province today, streaming south down Route 1 like a rabble out of control."

By April 18, the Paris daily *Le Monde* had concluded that the policy of "Vietnamization," touted by Nixon as the U.S. key to "getting out" of Vietnam, was a failure. This conclusion was obvious to all observers of the war.

To shore up the crumbling Thieu regime, Nixon assembled the heaviest armada of bombers, aircraft carriers, and fighters ever seen in Vietnam.

Within the U.S., the antiwar movement responded to Nixon's bombing assault with its own offensive, which culminated in massive demonstrations,

called by NPAC, in New York and Los Angeles on April 22.

Given the weakness of the Thieu regime and the sharpening opposition within the U.S., what forces existed that could rescue Nixon from his dilemma? The answer lay in Moscow and Peking.

On May 8, President Nixon made his famous speech announcing the mining of the harbors of Haiphong. This move, the Pentagon papers prove, had always been rejected previously by the imperialists as a possible "flash point" that might provoke Moscow and Peking into direct confrontation with the U.S. over Vietnam.

By May 10, a broad coalition of antiwar organizations, including NPAC and PCPJ, had called for an emergency march on Washington, D.C., on May 21 to protest Nixon's acts. This demonstration began to gather significant trade-union support. The risk of a massive upsurge on the order of the one that had greeted the invasion of Cambodia in May 1970 was very real—and one Nixon wanted to avoid, especially during a presidential election year.

But the bureaucrats in the Kremlin went ahead with their plans to welcome Nixon to Moscow on May 22. Nor did Peking take any action to stay Nixon's hand. The message was made loud and clear to the liberation forces: the Soviet Union and China, even in the face of dangerous escalations of the war, will take no steps that might endanger their "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism.



Nov. 18 NPAC hearings in Chicago

Carla Hilary Dolinka

Further, the accommodation between Moscow and Washington represented by Nixon's May summit meeting disoriented and diffused the antiwar mobilization. Trade-union support for the May 21 action weakened. Many students and other activists took a wait-and-see attitude. What might have been a massive outpouring of people electrified by their opposition to Nixon's escalation became instead an action involving about 15,000 people.

Hence on two fronts—militarily in Vietnam, and politically here in the U.S.—the liberation forces were dealt blows.

This is not to say that the fighting has stopped. Or that the offensive, without these obstacles, might not have succeeded in toppling the Thieu regime. It is simply to recognize the fact that without adequate political or military support from Moscow and Peking, the massive U.S. bombing effort has succeeded where the South Vietnamese army clearly failed in maintaining Thieu in power and holding together his regime.

Precisely because of these facts, the Vietnamese have been unable "to complete the total expulsion of U.S. mil-

itary forces from their soil." Because of these facts, they have had to accept the continued existence of the Thieu regime and a whole new stage of American infiltration of "civilian advisers" into South Vietnam to back up that regime. It is for these reasons that *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party have said that the biggest concessions made in the Oct. 26 treaty announced by Hanoi were made by the liberation fighters.

The North Vietnamese and the PRG may feel they must make these concessions to survive. But if these concessions were made from a position of strength, as the *Guardian* maintains, why have the Vietnamese dropped their demand for the ouster of Thieu, which they held until Oct. 8? Why have they agreed to allow an international control commission to enter their land?

It is true that the U.S. imperialists have made some concessions also, but the important thing to understand is that they are not giving up anything basic to the continued maintenance of their power in South Vietnam because, *thanks to the cooperation of Moscow and Peking, they do not have to.*

In their editorial, the *Guardian* editors attack as "far-fetched" the analogy *The Militant* made in previous articles between the nine-point treaty and the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, which was imposed on Soviet Russia by imperialist Germany in 1918.

But, as we have shown, the analogy holds because the nine-point treaty has been imposed upon the Vietnamese.

Radicals who support this treaty are giving it left cover, making it easier for the U.S. government to get away with its crimes. These are precisely the reasons why Lenin denounced as "swine" the German Social Democrats who voted in the Reichstag to approve the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

### 'Pious pronouncements'

But, says the *Guardian* in its second argument, "At a time when all of progressive humanity is accepting the leadership of the Vietnamese revolutionary forces themselves, it is certainly noteworthy that only the Trotskyists refuse to accept that leadership—despite all of their pious pronouncements on self-determination."

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have not simply been making "pious pronouncements" about the right of self-determination for Vietnam. They have helped lead actions to achieve these ends. As the *Guardian* editorial itself admits: "The SWP has played a leading role in the antiwar movement. . . . In their devotion to the tactic of mass demonstrations when others were complaining that they were tired of march-

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# Dublin steps up drive on IRA

By DAVE FRANKEL

DEC. 5 — As the conflict between Catholic nationalists and pro-British Protestants in Northern Ireland continues, attention over the last two weeks has been focused on events in Dublin. In the Irish Republic, the government of Prime Minister Jack Lynch has stepped up its campaign against the nationalist movement.

On Nov. 19 the Irish government arrested Sean MacStiofain, the man reputed to be chief of staff of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA). Six days later a special court, sitting without a jury, sentenced MacStiofain to six months' imprisonment for his alleged role in the outlawed organization.

Irish authorities had already prosecuted 139 people in such special courts, set up by new repressive legislation passed earlier this year. And shortly before MacStiofain's arrest, the police had closed down the headquarters of the Provisional Sinn Fein in Dublin. The Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, is a legal organization in the Irish Republic.

But the Lynch government had just begun. On Nov. 27, during a total hunger strike by MacStiofain and following a demonstration of 10,000 in Dublin demanding his release, the government proposed a sweeping new bill to increase its repressive powers. The law provides for up to five years' imprisonment for membership in the IRA. A police superintendent's "belief" that a person is a member of the IRA is sufficient evidence for conviction.

Opposition parties in the Dail (parliament) vowed opposition to the proposed law, but on Dec. 2, following three explosions in the center of Dublin, the bill was passed overwhelmingly. The bombings, which killed two people and wounded 73, were disavowed by both the Provisional and the Official IRA, and by the right-wing Protestant Ulster Defense Association. Whoever planted the bombs, it is clear that the immediate beneficiary was the Lynch government and its senior partner in London.

A Dec. 4 AP dispatch reported that "Irish and British security chiefs exchanged information today in a campaign to trap dozens of commanders of the Irish Republican Army who are now reported to be fleeing to England and Northern Ireland to evade arrest in the Irish Republic."

Lynch's latest attacks, while focused on the Provisional IRA, will affect the rights of all political dissenters, and of the population in the South of Ireland as a whole. Already, the board of directors of Irish radio and television has been replaced by more pliable officials because the board had planned to broadcast an interview with MacStiofain. Dublin radio broadcaster Kevin O'Kelly, who taped the interview, was sentenced to three months in prison for refusing to identify MacStiofain.

Protests against these repressive measures have continued in Ireland. On Nov. 28 there was a one-day strike of journalists, which followed a two-day radio and television strike. In New York, 150 to 200 people participated in a picket line outside the Irish Airlines offices on Dec. 2. The action was called by the Irish Northern Aid Committee and the Official Irish Republican Clubs.

# U.S. trying to strangle Chile, Salvador Allende states in UN

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, Dec. 5 — Speaking to the United Nations General Assembly yesterday, President Salvador Allende of Chile accused the U.S. government and U.S. corporations of attempting to topple his government.

"From the very day of our election triumph on Sept. 4, 1970," Allende said, "we have felt the effects of large-scale external pressure against us, which tried to prevent the inauguration of a government freely elected by the people and which has tried to bring it down ever since."

Allende charged that U.S. interests have "tried to cut us off from the world, to strangle our economy, and to paralyze trade in our principal export, copper, and to deprive us of access to sources of international financing."

He described the abrupt cutoff of some \$80-million a year in loans that Chile had formerly received from international finance organizations, the withdrawal of bank credits and government credits from the U.S., and the obstruction Chile had encountered in trying to obtain bank credits in Western Europe. Allende said that such action "represents the exertion of pressure on an economically weak country, the infliction of punishment on a whole nation for its decision to recover its own basic resources, and a form of intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state."

"In a word, it is what we call imperialism."

The two major companies whose assets in Chile have been nationalized are Kennecott Copper and the International Telephone & Telegraph. Frank Milliken, president of Ken-

cott, declared in response to Allende's charges:

"No amount of rhetoric can alter the fact that Kennecott has been a responsible corporate citizen of Chile for more than 50 years and has made substantial contributions to both the economic and social well-being of the Chilean people."

In his speech, Allende had pointed out that Chile's foreign debt had swollen to more than \$4-billion, requiring more than 30 percent of its annual exports just for the payment of interest on this debt.

"The nationalization of our basic resources constituted an historic act of reclamation," he said. Chile could no longer tolerate "the state of subordination implied by the concentration of more than 80 percent of its exports in the hands of a small group of large foreign companies which have always placed their own interests before the needs of the countries in which they are making exorbitant profits."

Both Kennecott and ITT have claimed that they did not receive "equitable compensation" for their property. Allende explained that between 1955 and 1970 Kennecott averaged a rate of profit of 52.8 percent a year—significantly higher than the 12 percent allowed by Chilean law.

In the last 42 years, he said, the companies exploiting Chile's copper have taken out some \$4-billion in profits, with an initial investment of no more than \$30-million. Chile only "put right a long-standing injustice" by deducting from the indemnification that these companies were paid their profits in excess of 12 percent a year since 1955.

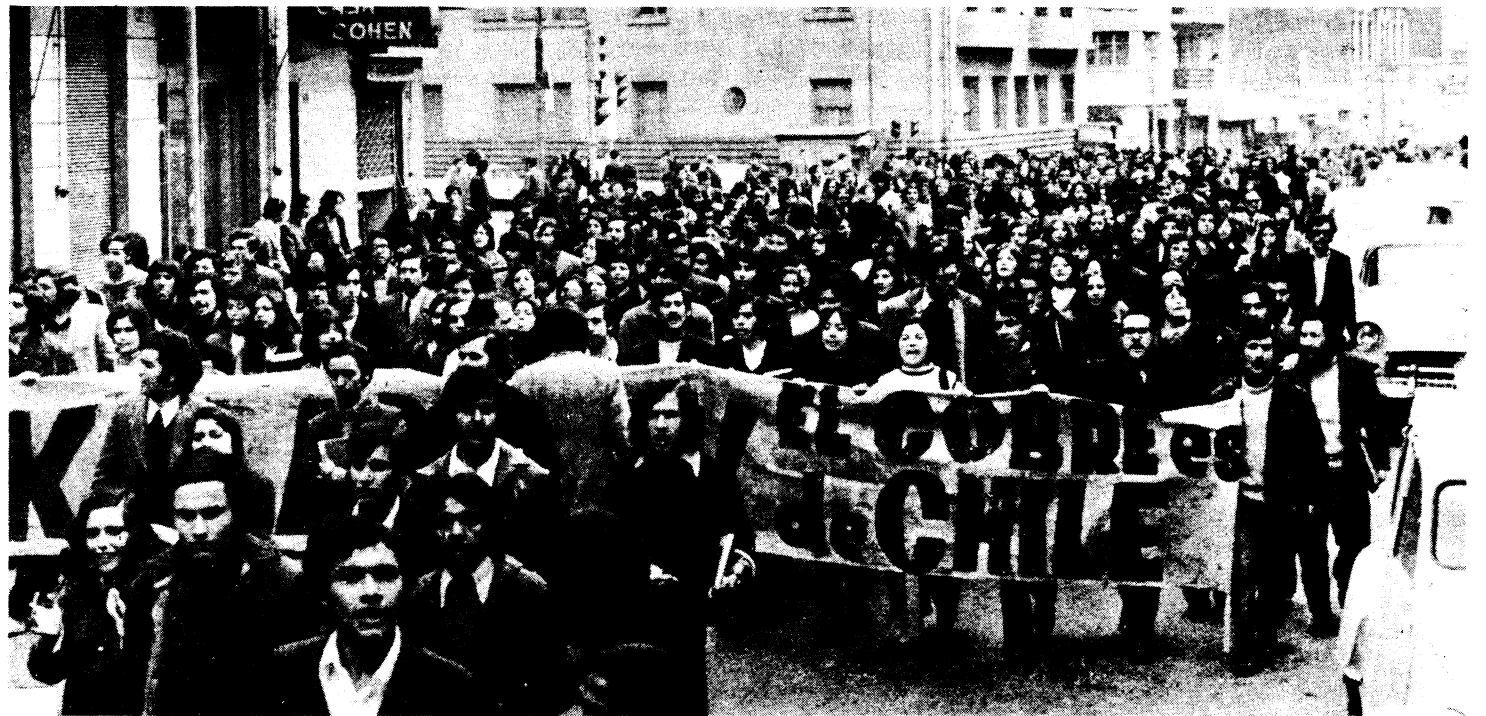
In response to this, "The ITT, a



Salvador Allende

gigantic corporation whose capital is bigger than the national budgets of several Latin-American countries put together, and bigger even than that of some of the industrialized countries, launched a sinister plan to prevent me from acceding to the presidency. . . . "Before the conscience of the world I accuse the ITT of attempting to bring about civil war in my country. That is what we call imperialist action," declared Allende.

Enthusiastic applause and shouts of "Viva Allende!" greeted the end of the speech to the General Assembly. George Bush, the U.S. representative to the UN, held a press conference in which he maintained that American investments abroad were not intended to exploit foreign countries. Several hundred people demonstrated outside of the UN during Allende's speech to show their support for him and their opposition to U.S. interference in Chile.



Chilean demonstration against Kennecott Copper Company. Banner says 'The copper is Chile's.'

Tricontinental News Service

# Magee barred from S.F. courtroom

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO — Ruchell Magee's efforts to speak on his own behalf have caused him to be ejected from the courtroom every day since Nov. 27, when his trial for murder and kidnapping opened here.

Magee claims that Judge Morton Colvin's stipulations that he speak only through his court-appointed attorney would legitimize previous rulings that have denied him an opportunity to argue against the insufficient evidence for which he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963 and in retrial in 1965.

On Dec. 4, Magee entered a courtroom almost empty of spectators, clutching a tiny slip of paper behind his back.

When Colvin issued his routine request that Magee promise not to disrupt the court proceedings, the defendant gestured with the piece of paper and responded, "Motion to dismiss this KKK lawyer from this case."

Before considering Magee's motion, the judge insisted, he must first be given assurance that Magee would behave. Magee delicately repeated his statement, this time mentioning attorney Robert Carrow by name, and

was promptly shoved out of the courtroom by sheriff's deputies.

Robert Carrow and chief prosecutor Albert Harris are continuing to ask potential jurors whether pretrial publicity has biased their opinions of the defendant. Ellis Goldberg, who reported on the Angela Davis trial for the *People's World* (West Coast voice of the Communist Party) was dismissed from the jury Dec. 1 on the grounds that he had access to sources of information beyond those available to the general public.

Carrow has appealed Judge Colvin's order that the jury be sequestered for the duration of the trial.

# YWLL urged to repudiate beating. Assault on Young Socialist Alliance member denounced

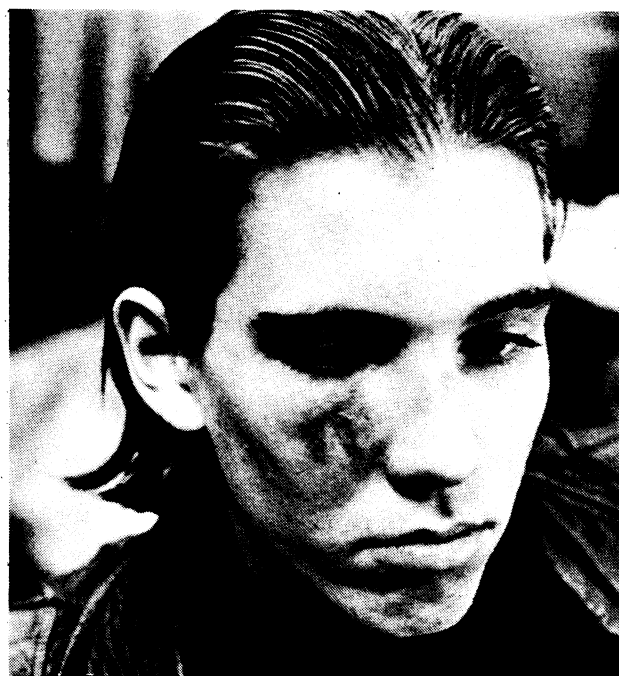
NEW YORK, Dec. 6 — The national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance issued a public statement today strongly condemning the physical attack on a YSA member by a leader of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) and two others last week.

Will Stanley, a YSA member and a student at Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) here, was beaten by three members of the Third World Coalition (TWC) on Nov. 29. One of his attackers was Richard Hoyen, the national peace director of the YWLL and an officer of the TWC. Hoyen is also the national director of the Nguyen Van Troi Hospital Fund.

The assault took place on the BMCC campus as Stanley and another YSA member, Joseph Har-

ris, were leaving a meeting of the Student Government Association (SGA). The two had appealed at the meeting for the SGA to overturn its decision revoking the charter of the YSA.

In its statement the YSA national executive committee said: "We call upon members and supporters of the Young Workers Liberation League, the Third World Coalition, and the SGA to repudiate the Nov. 29 assault and to support the right of the YSA to campus recognition at BMCC. The YSA urges all organizations in the radical movement to join in condemning the attack on the YSA."



Will Stanley, after attack on Nov. 29 Militant/Ellen Lemisch

The YSA plans to distribute the facts in the BMCC case to radical organizations, student groups, and campus newspapers around the country.

At this point a motion was introduced by the TWC and passed to refer the whole question to the Political Education Committee, and to uphold revocation of the YSA charter pending the committee's decision. This was intended to ensure that the issue of the YSA's right to a charter would not come up again at SGA meetings.

As Stanley and Harris left the meeting, Hoyen grabbed Stanley and attempted to force him to leave the building. When Stanley resisted, he was attacked by Hoyen and two other TWC members. They pushed him to the ground and kicked him several times, twice in the face. Harris was also shoved around.

In a letter dated Dec. 1, YSA National Chairman Andy Rose asked Jarvis Tyner, national chairman of the YWLL, "Where does the YWLL stand on democracy in the movement? Does the YWLL condone such undemocratic actions as the physical attack on two YSA members . . . Nov. 29?"

Tyner has not yet responded to the letter. However, YSA National Organization Secretary Laura Miller spoke by phone to YWLL National Organization Secretary Matty Berkelhammer Dec. 4 regarding the attack. Berkelhammer said that in general the YWLL is opposed to violence within the movement. When asked specifically about the BMCC incident, he was evasive, saying it depended on "what the situation was."

Miller also asked Berkelhammer whether the YWLL supported the YSA's right to campus recognition at BMCC. He replied that the YWLL backs the student government's "right" to exclude political groups it disagrees with.

The YSA national executive committee statement points out that the attack on Stanley and the denial of a charter to the YSA are "important questions before the entire student movement."

The YSA plans to distribute the facts in the BMCC case to radical organizations, student groups, and campus newspapers around the country.

## Attack condemned by YSA national executive committee

The following are excerpts from the statement of the Young Socialist Alliance national executive committee on the attack on Will Stanley.

We consider the physical attack against two YSA members and the revoking of the BMCC YSA charter to be important questions before the entire student movement. The first represents the substitution of physical violence for free and open political discussion within the radical movement. The second represents an additional attempt to deny political groups the right to put forward their ideas and organize on campus—that is, their right to exist.

The student movement cannot allow physical attacks on radical student groups to go unchallenged. Violence within the movement gives the campus administration and the government an unnecessary opportunity to attack the entire movement. Violent confrontations between radical groups also confuse the majority of students as to who our real enemy is—that is, the American capitalist system.

Only political discussion can clarify differences within the movement, not physical assaults or other undemocratic means. If the entire radical movement condemns this incident at BMCC, an atmosphere can be created in which any future physical attacks will result in the political isolation of those who are afraid to debate their ideas democratically.

We call upon members and supporters of the Young Workers Liberation League, the Third World Coalition, and the SGA to repudiate the Nov. 29 assault and to support the right of the YSA to campus recognition at BMCC. The YSA urges all organizations in the radical movement to join in condemning the attack on the YSA.

# Newark Blacks determined to go ahead with high-rise

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK, Dec. 4 — Whites continued picketing the Kawaida Towers construction site today. Only a handful of workers showed up, and these were mostly Black laborers. Anthony Imperiale, the state assemblyman leading the racist action, announced that the ironworkers, electricians, plumbers, and other skilled workers had decided not to cross the picket line. This meant that there would not be much work done on a partially-laid foundation for the 16-story, 210-unit housing project.

For the few workers who did show, a heavy police guard was required to escort them to the site. Over the past month Imperiale has mobilized several hundred whites at the entrance of the site, thus effectively shutting it down.

Despite these difficulties and a threat by a local Teamster president not to deliver construction materials across the racist picket line, Naibu Mchochezi, communications director for the Committee For a Unified Newark (CFUN), is confident that the housing will be built.

Mchochezi is a priest of the Temple of Kawaida, a Pan-African nationalist religious organization headed by Imamu Amiri Baraka. The Temple initiated Kawaida Towers, Inc., the group sponsoring the low- and middle-income housing project. In September 1971 the Temple got the city council (composed of six whites and three Blacks) to pass a tax abatement resolution for the proposed project. This stipulated that the city government would take 15 percent of the project's rents rather than collect taxes on it.

Then last March, at a meeting in Mayor Kenneth Gibson's office, the Housing Finance Agency of the State Department of Community Affairs approved the Temple's application for a \$6.4-million, 48-year mortgage to finance the project.

The sponsors attempted to get urban renewal land—of which there is plenty—in Central Ward. But the Newark Housing Authority, a predom-



White racists picket Kawaida Towers project in Newark Militant/Derrick Morrison

inantly white-run federal agency, ruled that out, despite the fact that the primarily Black Central Ward has been described as the worst ghetto on the East Coast. So a 1.5 acre plot was purchased in the North Ward, an area of the city that is 30 percent Black and Puerto Rican.

The site was cleared in September and the foundation was under way by the time of the groundbreaking ceremonies Oct. 12. Imperiale began his demonstrations Nov. 9. White police officials issued statements endorsing the action, causing heated responses by Black policemen. This polarization in the police force and city caused Police Director John Redden, a Gibson appointee, to submit his resignation. All of this flack—simply because Black people seek decent housing!

Unlike other housing projects in the Black community, Mchochezi said, Kawaida Towers would have many amenities, including a day-care center, an audio-visual room, tenants' hobby shop, and a community lounge.

Because the project is "legally and morally correct," Mchochezi expects "law and order" to prevail over the intentions of the racists.



# Household workers organize

## 'We will no longer be treated like mules!'

Nearly 600 household workers, mostly Black women, attended a national conference in New York City Oct. 7-9 sponsored by the National Committee on Household Employment (NCHE). NCHE has 10,000 members in 35 chapters around the country. Its goal is to win decent working conditions for household workers.

Below are excerpts from a speech to the conference by NCHE Executive Director Edith Sloan.

Douglas Turner Ward has written a penetrating, caustic play entitled *A Day of Absence*. *A Day of Absence* takes place in a small Southern town where one day all of the town's Black folk (both those who were visibly Black and those who were passing) disappeared without warning.

From dawn to dusk, there was chaos in the town. The missing Blacks were the town's cooks, baby nurses, chauffeurs, butlers, porters, handy-men, gardeners, laundresses, and general cleaners and caretakers of the town.

In one scene a young matron tearfully exclaimed: "How am I going to get through the day? My baby don't even know me. I never cooked a meal, pushed a broom, used a mop, or done anything. I need 'Lulu.' She's always been with me. How am I ever going to get through the day?"

Household workers are expected to

housekeeper (and that's both upstairs and downstairs, with the basement and the attic thrown in a few times each year for fun), the baby nurse or child-care specialist, the family nurse, the cook, the dishwasher, the laundress, perhaps the chauffeur for the children, the dog-walker, the outside woman and the inside woman as well, and all for \$35 a week.

So what do we do! We number 10,000 and they number many millions. We are the poor and the powerless, and they are the rich and the mighty—the powerful. They are mostly white, and we are mostly Black, brown, red, or yellow, and in this nation, white still seems to be interpreted as right.

Well, my sisters and brothers, there are still about two million household workers out there yet to be organized and to bring into our struggle. There are still two million or so workers out there whom you . . . have to find and inform of our movement and our victories and win to our cause.

What's more, in addition to the household workers, we have many allies, and we'll have many more. There are many other workers out there—hospital workers, farm workers, sanitation workers, and so on, who are simply sick and tired of being exploited and stepped on. They will join us—for our cause is just, our reasons are sound, and our struggle is universal, one shared by other oppressed workers.

Private household employment needs a complete transformation—not a few changes here and stitches there, for the whole system is corrupt and obsolete and must be destroyed.

It is time for each of us to stand up on our hind legs and say, as Sojourner Truth said a century ago: "Ain't I a woman?" or "Ain't I a man?" "I will no longer be treated like a mule, worked from dawn to dusk for a pittance and a few old clothes and some leftover food." And if that is what the madam calls being part of her family, tell her, "No, thank you." You don't want any part of her family to begin with—especially not if she treats her kinfolk that way.

It is time, my brothers and sisters, to follow your pride and to tell madam or mister so and so that you want a contract, with the duties, wages, ben-

efits and annual raise schedule spelled out.

It is time that you told the lady and man of that house you work in that you have a surname and a title and to please use it—and that no child is going to call you by your first name; and if that child must use your first name, then it must be Miss Sarah, or Miss Jane, or Mister Bill.

It is time that you told the woman that you work for that your labor

Tell them if you were able to get decent medical care instead of going to ye local butcher shop (or the city clinic, as it is known), where for all you know you might be part of a "Tuskegee study," you might be a human guinea pig, tell them you would be healthier and more cheerful and would not have to borrow money for medicine and hospital bills.

What's more, tell them that if you were able to move into that new hous-



Workshop at household workers' convention

NCHE Newsletter



Edith Sloan

NCHE Newsletter

do a week's work in one day, if they do day's work; or if they work for the same employer throughout the week, to be the combination general

is worth more than her hairdo and that you want to be paid more for your week than she pays for her one- or two-hour hairset. (As it stands now, some of your employers want you to accept \$4 or \$5 or \$7 per day, while they will gladly fork over \$15 or \$20 for a shampoo, color rinse and set.)

It is time that you told the woman of the house or houses in which you work that if she is so damned concerned about women's liberation, then she should stop exploiting her "sisters" who work in her household.

Tell her and her husband too that if they paid you a decent wage, you would have enough money to buy your own clothes and food and wouldn't have to accept their hand-me-downs and leftovers. Tell them if they gave you a few paid holidays and a paid vacation, you wouldn't get sick so often.

ing development nearby, if you were able to get a mortgage loan, if you weren't discriminated against in the housing market, you might be able to get to work on time every morning; you wouldn't be the victim of inadequate public transportation.

Also tell them that it would certainly help immediately if they could assist you in prevailing upon the bus company to transfer some of those half-empty buses from their neighborhood over to yours, where the buses are always overcrowded and run sporadically.

Certainly we need everybody we can get if we are to win this battle. And what's more, it is time that we look to our left and to our right and tell the sister or brother sitting there next to us in the hall, or on the subway, or on the bus, or in church, or in the clinic, or on the food stamp line, "Lean on me, sister!"

## N.Y. meeting set to defend abortion rights

By JUDITH LAMBERT

NEW YORK—New York State Assemblyman Franz Leichter, Dr. Barbara Roberts, the national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), and Blanche Hunter of the Cleaners and Dyers union will address a statewide planning meeting here Sunday Dec. 10, on the fight to defend women's right to abortion in New York. The meeting, called by New York WONAAC, is scheduled for 12:30 p.m. at New York University's Meyer Hall, 4 Washington Place.

The gathering will offer women and men who support the right to abortion an opportunity to discuss plans for an all-out offensive against the "right to life" forces, who have stepped up their efforts to repeal New York's liberalized abortion law. The law allows abortions up through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

A restrictive abortion bill—designated Bill #25—has already been pre-filed by anti-abortion legislators in preparation for the opening of the New York State legislature in early January. Bill #25 is similar to the

Donovan-Crawford bill, which would have permitted abortion only to save the life of a pregnant woman. Last spring the legislature passed the Donovan-Crawford bill, but it was vetoed by Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

This year, according to various

**On Nov. 30 Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp vetoed a bill that would have prohibited all abortions in the state except those to save the life of a pregnant woman. While he is personally opposed to abortion, Shapp called the bill "so restrictive that it is unenforceable." The present abortion law in Pennsylvania prohibits "unlawful" abortions and has been ruled unconstitutionally vague by two county courts.**

polls and questionnaires, a majority of both the senate and the assembly say they are opposed to the present liberalized abortion law.

How to most effectively counter the anti-abortion forces' attempts to deny women the right to abortion will be discussed at Sunday's statewide meeting.

In addition to the speakers, one of the meeting's focuses will be organizing for legislative hearings in Albany at the end of January. Assemblyman Franz Leichter has arranged to obtain a hearing room at the state capitol and to invite the legislators to witness personal and professional testimony from women and other supporters of abortion rights. New York WONAAC will be organizing as many people as possible to go to Albany on the day of the hearings.

Workshops will be held at the Sunday meeting on what can be expected from the anti-abortion legislature in Albany. Ross Graham from State Senator Manfred Ohrenstein's office will lead one of the legislative workshops. Other workshops will be held on such topics as how to organize constituencies and support groups in local areas.

Representatives from such groups as the National Organization for

Women, the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus, Planned Parenthood, and the Radical Feminists are expected to be at the meeting. From outside New York City, members of women's liberation and abortion rights groups from Vassar College, Sarah Lawrence College, and from Buffalo, New Paltz, Oswego, Long Island, Westchester, and various areas in New Jersey and Connecticut plan to attend.

For more information, contact New York WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 315, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

### Correction

The Dec. 8 *Militant*, which reprinted excerpts of a speech by New York City Health Services Administrator Gordon Chase, incorrectly stated in a photo caption that Chase spoke at the Oct. 21 New York abortion hearings organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). Chase did not address the hearings, but the deputy health services administrator, Mike Blumenfeld, did speak at the gathering.



# In Our Opinion

## Reviving old tactics

The Young Workers Liberation League, the Communist Party's youth organization, has organized a campaign to prevent the Young Socialist Alliance from obtaining official recognition at Borough of Manhattan Community College in New York City. One of the YWLL leaders is also implicated in a physical attack on a YSA member on the same campus. (See page 6.)

Such undemocratic conduct by an organization that claims to be socialist is intolerable. YSA National Chairman Andy Rose has demanded that the YWLL repudiate these actions by its members and supporters. So far they have refused to do so.

The YWLL attacks are one of the consequences of a stepped-up anti-Trotskyist propaganda campaign presently being waged by the bureaucrats in Moscow and the Communist Party in the U.S. Slandorous articles that have appeared recently in Soviet "theoretical" journals and CPUSA magazines and newspapers brand Trotskyism—including Trotskyist organizations like the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—as "a vulgar weapon of imperialism and reaction," a "counter-revolutionary element within the Left," an "advocate of blatant racism," and an "enemy of peace."

A two-part article in the June and July issues of the CP's magazine *Political Affairs*, entitled "Trotskyism: 'Left-Wing' Voice of Reaction," concludes with the admonition that "The SWP will not realize its hope of becoming the predominant force on the Left. It will continue to be a counter-revolutionary sect. But what must always be remembered is that Trotskyism will never disappear of its own accord. It must be fought."

The effect of these lies and the call to fight "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyists is to whip up an atmosphere among young CP and YWLL members that any measures against the SWP and YSA are justified if they can get away with them.

This hooligan conduct against socialists with whom they disagree harks back to the 1930s and 1940s, when such measures were the stock-in-trade of the Stalinized Communist Party. Attempts to revive these poisonous methods and to try to employ them today will not succeed in intimidating the SWP, the YSA, or any other critical-minded revolutionists. Such tactics will backfire and expose the true nature of the CP and YWLL's bankrupt politics, which are subordinated to the policies of the privileged bureaucracy in the USSR.

## Legal murder

Last month a Black man, Lawrence Breedlove, was condemned to death in the electric chair by an all-white jury in Oklahoma City. The charge was armed robbery. In its ruling, the jury simply ignored last summer's U.S. Supreme Court decision virtually outlawing the death penalty.

This case is only one example of attempts to roll back the death penalty ban. On Dec. 1 the Florida legislature passed a bill to reinstate the death penalty for some crimes. The Florida legislature was the first to do this, but similar bills will undoubtedly be proposed in other states.

In California, police and the Reagan administration mobilized racist forces to put an initiative referendum on the death penalty on the November ballot. The referendum results favoring restoration of capital punishment is an added pressure for rolling back the Supreme Court decision.

The offensive of right-wing forces to restore capital punishment poses a real danger, especially since the Supreme Court decision was not at all clear-cut. The death penalty was declared unconstitutional only as generally administered by the states, on grounds of its "arbitrary" application. This leaves an opening for states to write new laws that are not "arbitrary," for instance by specifying the death penalty as mandatory for certain crimes.

Eliminating a degree of arbitrariness from application of capital punishment will not make it any less of a cruel and inhuman punishment. Nor would this make the death penalty less of a discriminatory instrument of repression against Black people, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and poor working people. Black people, for example, have not only been executed in disproportionate numbers; they are also more likely to be arrested and convicted, due to racist attitudes of police and white juries.

Capital punishment—a racist, barbaric club of repression against working people—must be ended once and for all. Opponents of the death penalty should speak out emphatically in answer to the current offensive by right-wing and racist forces.

## Letters

### Indiana prison strike

Terre Haute federal penitentiary was on strike the week of Nov. 6-10. During most of the week over half the population of 1,000 supported the work stoppage. The demands were: an end to overcrowding; a change in federal law to allow prisoners to organize a union; the minimum wage; automatic parole after one-third of a sentence is served; work and study release; and an end to petty harassment and arbitrary enforcement of rules. At no time did the prison administration show any serious interest in negotiating with us.

As I write this (Nov. 16) the joint is back to "normal," but 300 are still in the hole. Only a few have actually been charged with anything. The rest, the great majority, are locked up for "investigation."

John Conyers, the Black congressman from Detroit, was here yesterday and today for the House-Senate Judiciary Committee, which is supposedly investigating conditions in federal prisons. After talking with him last night, it's clear he doesn't plan to do a damn thing.

I told Conyers that if Maceo Dixon, the SWP candidate, were here, he'd call a press conference tomorrow; expose Warden Alldredge and Norman Carlson, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons; and call for a full, independent investigation by a committee of our peers. He'd also call mass demonstrations in support of our grievances if results weren't forthcoming. Conyers replied by insinuating that Dixon was too poor to afford a trip here. How's that for arrogance?

It's clear to me that we can't trust any capitalist politician. Conyers came down here to polish his liberal credentials and assuage his guilty Democratic conscience.

*A prisoner  
Terre Haute, Ind.*

### School bars Panther speaker

Several weeks ago students at Arlington High School here asked a member of the Black Panther Party to speak at their Student Forum. The school administration refused to allow him to speak after Howard Miller, a racist, right-wing radio commentator, intervened and urged his listeners to put pressure on the school.

When Suzanne Haig, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Illinois attorney general, spoke at the school a few weeks later, she scored the administration for violating the students' right to hear all points of view. She announced that the Socialist Workers Party would challenge Miller to a debate anytime, anywhere, but preferably at Arlington High School.

An SWP campaign supporter at Arlington is trying to set up the debate. "I'm sure many of the students would like it," she said. "They'd love to see Howard Miller crucified in a debate."

*Antonio De Leon  
Chicago, Ill.*

### Gus who?

Foreign reporters who cover New York City got a chance to vote on election day. The United States Information Agency set up a sample

polling place, machine and all, near the United Nations. The reporters voting included correspondents from both the Soviet Union and China. Their voting, according to the *New York Times*, was: "Senator McGovern, 57; President Nixon, 39; Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers party, 4. Gus Hall, the Communist candidate, got no votes."

These figures raise three interesting questions. To the Communist Party: How come your co-thinkers voted against you? Did they vote for Nixon, possibly? To the editors of the China-worshipping *Guardian*: Who do you think your Maoist colleagues voted for—Nixon or McGovern?

*Michael Smith  
Carla Hoag  
New York, N. Y.*

### 'Prisoners' Digest'

I would like to bring to the attention of all *Militant* readers the existence of a newspaper called *Prisoners' Digest International*. PDI is printed by the National Prison Center, a nonprofit organization of professionals and paraprofessionals (and ex-prisoner volunteers) of law, sociology, penology, etc.

PDI was founded a few years ago by an ex-prisoner, Joseph W. Grant, who is the publisher. PDI uses prisoners inside as correspondents and associate editors. Thus they are able to keep you informed as to what is really happening in the prisons. They have inmate correspondents in every major prison in America, including women's and children's institutions.

Subscription rates are \$6 yearly for prisoners and \$9 for other folks. And because PDI is a tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation, the \$9 can be taken off your taxes. Their address is PDI, P.O. Box 89, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

*A prisoner  
Springfield, Mo.*

### 'Mexico 68'

We are trying to find out where we can order Mexico '68: The Students Speak. If you have it or know where we can get it, please let us know as soon as possible.

*L. T.  
Denver, Colo.*

*In reply*—This pamphlet, a collection of documents on the 1968 Mexican student uprising, can be ordered for 25 cents each from the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N. Y. 10011.

### New reader

I saw your ad in *Great Speckled Bird* for *The Militant*. I am stationed in Guam at Anderson Air Force Base. Your paper will be of great importance for the people against the war here.

*A GI  
Anderson AFB  
Guam*



## National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

### Eugene Debs

In the Dec. 1 issue of *The Militant* you had an article on the Novack-Harrington debate. Part of this debate focused on whether Eugene Debs would have supported George McGovern for president. Harrington felt he would have; Novack denied this.

It would seem to me that historically speaking, Harrington is correct. I think that it can be fairly said that the bourgeois presidential candidate of the last 50 years) that McGovern most closely resembles, ideologically speaking, would be Senator Robert La Follette.

La Follette ran for president in 1924 on the Progressive ticket, with the support of the Socialist Party and the endorsement of Eugene Debs. Debs supported La Follette rather than the Workers Party candidate for president, William Z. Foster.

Since Debs was willing to support a reformer rather than a communist for president in 1924, it does not seem unlikely that he might well have done so in 1972 as well.

Kevin Kelley  
San Mateo, Calif.

*In reply*—It's true that at the very end of his life Eugene Debs supported the ticket of the procapitalist Progressive Party, headed by Senator Robert La Follette. The Socialist Party did not field its own presidential ticket that year.

According to Ray Ginger, in his biography of Debs (*The Bending Cross*), Debs was uneasy about the alliance with the Progressive Party from the beginning.

In the principal address to the Socialist Party convention following the election, Debs assessed the experience as follows: "While we were in the so-called Progressive movement I felt as if I had lost my wings. I felt like an octogenarian snail just crawling along. Now I feel as if I could leap from crag to crag like a Rocky Mountain goat."

These are not the words of a person who would have rallied behind Democratic Senator George McGovern.

However, it is not Debs' mistaken support for La Follette for which socialists remember and cherish him. It was his more than 20 years of campaigning against capitalist politics.

In his five presidential campaigns and one congressional campaign he vigorously championed the struggles of working people against capitalism. He sharply opposed both his Democratic and Republican opponents, liberal and conservative alike. He opposed imperialist war and defended class-struggle prisoners.

These stands were far more similar to those of today's Socialist Workers Party than to those of the present-day Socialist Party, which supported McGovern in the 1972 elections.

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.

## Union fights gov't corruption

This is a corrupt society from top to bottom, but mostly at the top. When it comes to corruption the "trickle down" theory that what benefits the top layers of society will eventually find its way to the base is easily demonstrated.

Just now there is a good deal of attention on the corrupt practices of many union officials, and the implication is that there is something inherently corrupt about the unions. But there is a considerable body of evidence to the contrary.

A case in point is the National Council of Immigration and Naturalization Service Locals of the American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO, which represents 8,000 INS employees. Until very recently it has been the only force interested in exposing and rooting out corruption in that branch of government.

On Nov. 16 the union released a statement saying that "Since 1966 this union has made personal complaints of criminal violations and malfeasances to the attorney general, the FBI, various U.S. attorneys and congressional committees, to no avail."

The Justice Department, through its public information director John Hushen, immediately denied the charges. "Their statement would seem to indicate that Nicholas Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark had conspired with John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst to permit such activity to continue unnoticed, which is patently ridiculous," Hushen said.

A spokesman for the FBI confirmed that the union had lodged complaints, but said only that "appropriate action was taken."

Miles J. Ambrose, described by the Nov. 17 *New York Times* as "now the top Federal narcotics officer," issued a lengthy statement defending his overnight stay as a house guest at the home of a Texas rancher-banker charged with gun running and dope smuggling. He said, "I regret and resent the fact that the union, in its over zealous desire to advance its own cause, has attempted to use me as a spring

board for its charges against others."

When the cat was out of the bag, the accuser became the accused. But the fact remained that the union had lodged complaints and nothing had been done. Union President Noel Doran said rank-and-file union members were "fed up" with pervasive corruption in INS and are prepared to testify in criminal proceedings.

A sure sign of corruption in the INS is that relatively low-paid officials have big holdings in real estate and securities. One overseas official making \$14,000 a year acquired a \$1-million condominium. Others, in the Southwest, have large land holdings. INS officials have collaborated with organized crime to smuggle heroin into the country. Women aliens have been sexually exploited by them.

The specific charge against Ambrose, who is presently special assistant attorney general and director of the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, is "conflict of interest." Richard Harper, the Texan who entertained Ambrose last December, owns a 500,000-acre ranch straddling the U.S.-Mexican border. Harper has been arrested for smuggling guns into Mexico in exchange for heroin valued at \$1.25-million. He is free on \$25,000 bond, and the case is before a grand jury in New Orleans.

Ambrose claims he knew nothing of Harper or his past record at the time of the overnight visit.

In 1965 Harper was charged with mislabeling as "dog food" a shipment from Mexico to the U.S. of food intended for humans. Ambrose says he considers this "a technical violation."

Harper's wife was caught in another "technical violation" in 1971 when she shipped from the U.S. to Mexico trunks of "old clothes" that actually contained Hong Kong suits.

These charges, and others, are finally being investigated and publicized somewhat. But it remains to be seen who will be convicted. It ought not be the union.



## By Any Means Necessary

Derrick Morrison

## Depth of Black disaffection

A recent Louis Harris opinion poll gave an indication of the deepgoing alienation Black people have toward the American government and the institutions it upholds.

Harris points out that while 67 percent of whites who voted went for Nixon, 79 percent of Blacks who voted went for McGovern. The racial polarization reflected in this vote found its expression in the opinions of Blacks and whites.

Seventy-eight percent of the Blacks surveyed would like to see the public schools desegregated. This contrasts to 46 percent for the whites. Eighty-one percent of whites opposed busing to desegregate the schools. Half of the Blacks supported busing as one method of desegregation.

Whereas 67 percent of the Blacks gave Nixon negative marks on his overall performance, 64 percent of the whites gave him a positive rating. In the specific area of civil rights, 81 percent of the Blacks viewed the administration as negative.

Then Harris cites a devastating statistic. "The number of blacks who look to the federal government for leadership in civil rights and minority group improvement areas has shrunk from 67 per cent in 1966 [when illusions about Lyndon Johnson were rampant] to four per cent in 1972." (Emphasis added.)

Only 10 percent of the Blacks polled expressed "a great deal of confidence" in the "leaders of American industry," 17 percent for the "heads of labor unions," and 23 percent for "financial leaders."

The Black confidence rating was 20 percent for the press; 19 percent for Congress; 23 percent for

the U.S. Supreme Court; and 16 percent for the executive branch of government.

On increasing federal assistance to the poor, 79 percent of Blacks favored it, compared to 46 percent for whites. The overwhelming majority of the Blacks favored a "comprehensive, compulsory medical insurance program from the federal government." Less than half of the whites supported such a program.

In terms of the economy, 60 percent of the Blacks tended to feel that the "country is still in a recession," while 51 percent of the whites felt that "recovery has arrived." And while 79 percent of the Blacks polled saw a continual rise in prices of the things they buy, only 46 percent of the whites felt that way.

Harris concludes, "Of all groups in the population, blacks have the least confidence in the leaders of American institutions, public or private."

● This is a late campaign item. The Black Masses Party, a grouping in Milwaukee, went on record in support of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, in its Nov. 1 Organizational Letter.

Some of the reasons the BMP listed for supporting Jenness and Pulley were: "The SWP has consistently stressed the need for a Black Political Party—No other party has"; "The SWP has consistently advocated the right of Black people to control their community—No other party does"; "The SWP has called for an unconditional withdrawal from Indochina—No other party has"; and "On abortion the SWP advocates a woman's right to choose—No other party has."

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Got high sign**—Philippines President Marcos revealed he declared martial law only after receiving "several signs" from the big fella upstairs that it was the right thing to do. "It seems," Marcos said, "as if I was being led and guided by some strange mind above me."

**Right wing going to pot?**—William Buckley now favors decriminalizing marijuana.

**Life on Capitol Hill**—In addition to \$42,500 annual wages, U. S. senators enjoy such fringe benefits as cash allowances for stationery, postage, telephone, travel, etc. Incidentals include wallet-size copies of their electrocardiograms, free ice, plants for their office from the Botanic Gardens, and

prints and reproductions from the National Gallery of Art. Which gives a certain poignancy to the recent *New York Times* headline: "Ex-Congressman Hunts for Work—After 7 Terms, Cunningham Seeks Job as Salesman."

**Wild charges dep't**—"Rural Poor Held Neglected by U. S."—Headline in the *Washington Post*.

**The sour society?**—Americans consumed \$109-million worth of nonprescription antacids last year.

**Before-dinner thought**—According to a Nader researcher, the average consumer ingests about five pounds of chemical additives a year.



"I don't see why the high price of wheat should affect the price of bread... which is mostly made of cotton!"

It balances the antacids—Parts of Northern California experience "acid rain," says a University of California ecology professor. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, he said "the sulphuric acid in the rainfall probably is caused by air pollution, but that there is no cause for immediate alarm."

**Stoic**—"We've been bombarded with warnings over the past several years about how almost everything is bad for your health. Well, after a while you just turn it off," says Richard Stinnett. Friend Stinnette is an American Tobacco executive who was responding to estimates that coffin nail consumption will increase three percent this year.

## Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



### Debating anti-abortion forces

Anyone who thinks that the anti-abortion forces can always be beaten in a debate is wrong. A good example is what happened on the "Population Growth and the American Future" program shown on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) network Nov. 29.

The show was in two parts: first, a film on the recommendations the U. S. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future made last spring; second, a discussion during which four opponents of the report were allowed to speak.

Anti-abortion groups and at least one agency of the Catholic Church had tried to prevent PBS from running the program because of the commission's stand on abortion. Much to the displeasure of these groups and of President Nixon, who had set up the commission, the report supported the right of women to control their bodies and urged that abortion be made legal up through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

The commission's film, however, is more than anything an obstacle in trying to argue for abortion rights. It represents the issue of abortion and contraception in the context of the need to curb "overpopulation." The whole first half of the film, in fact, tries to make a case for the idea that population growth is a major cause of pollution, crowded cities, poverty, and the general deterioration of the quality of life in the U. S.

Actually, we could support a far larger popu-

lation in this country and around the world. The problems of hunger and pollution are not caused by "overpopulation," but by a social system that uses human and material resources for profit, not to meet the needs of the majority of people.

The "overpopulation" argument is not just wrong and reactionary—it plays right into the hands of those who want to deny women the right to abortion.

For example, after the commission's film was shown, the Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH spoke as one of the four panelists and attacked the commission for advocating "genocide" in the Black community. He made it clear that he views abortion as murder. He tried to make it appear that his opinion represents the thinking of all Black people.

Marjory Mecklenberg, a representative of the Minnesota Committee Concerned for Life, was quick to express her support for Jackson's "genocide" theory. She then focused her attack on the New York abortion law. It is this law—which allows abortions through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy—that the commission has suggested as the model statute.

Mecklenberg's basic argument—accompanied by slides of fetuses and tape recordings of a fetus's heartbeat—was that abortion is murder. Her strategy was to confuse the members of the commission on the show and the audience by insisting

that the "real" question was "When does life begin?"

Although this type of argument may sound crude, the fact is that no one on the commission was able to effectively answer Mecklenberg. Instead of taking the offensive and exposing her argument, the commission went on the defensive. During most of Mecklenberg's presentation they simply sat and listened, offering no arguments to support legal abortion.

The most important point that should have been made—the right of women to decide—never came through clearly. Instead, TV viewers were bombarded with hypocritical complaints that the commission's recommendations are tantamount to legalizing murder.

There was no mention of the thousands of women who have been murdered because of the anti-abortion laws; of the psychological torture inflicted on women who face an unwanted pregnancy with no recourse; or of the fact that due to liberalization of the New York law, far fewer women are now suffering complications, permanent impairment, and death from illegal abortions.

It is these facts that the anti-abortion forces hope to cover up by intimidating supporters of abortion rights and labeling them "child-murderers." The women's and abortion rights movements have to take this challenge head-on and provide the answers that the millions of Americans who do support legal abortion are looking for.

## The American Way of Life

Lee Smith



### Musical chairs

With Nixon's vaunted "reshuffling" the subject of so much attention, one feature to notice will be the way the discards go back into the same deck the new faces come from—corporate management. Already, Clark MacGregor, the manager of Nixon's 1972 campaign, has signed on as vice-president with United Aircraft Corporation, a major defense contractor.

But this game of "musical chairs" between business and government goes on all the time, not just when administrations change or get "reshuffled." Some contemporary examples include:

Proctor & Gamble's chief lobbyist, Bryce Harlow, has served Nixon as a White House consultant for a five-figure salary (down one figure from what he gets at P & G). Back with his old employer, Harlow helped draft the GOP platform this year—just as he did in 1968 and in 1964.

Nicholas Katzenbach, who made close to \$190,000 last year as a vice-president of IBM, was during two years of Johnson's administration the U. S. attorney general.

Clarence Palmby, making close to six figures

as a vice-president of the Continental Grain Company (which was involved in the Soviet wheat deal), worked as an assistant secretary of agriculture until last June.

James Needham only made \$38,000 a year as a federal securities and exchange commissioner. But in August he more than tripled his salary by taking a new job as chairman of the New York Stock Exchange.

A co-worker of Clark MacGregor's at United Aircraft Corporation, General James Ferguson, used to head up the U. S. Air Force Systems Command (which buys aircraft engines) before he got his vice-presidency.

Carl Bagge, National Coal Association president, used to be a member of the Federal Power Commission.

George Ball, a partner of Lehman Brothers, Inc., was an under secretary of state in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Henry Fowler, a partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co., was Johnson's secretary of the treasury. A deputy under secretary of state for Nixon,

Nathaniel Samuels, is a partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

These nine barely begin a list that goes on for pages of government officials who came to their posts from Wall Street law firms or corporation executives who came to their jobs from the higher echelons of government.

This interlocking system of staffing amounts to more than "deferred bribes" as Ralph Nader refers to it. The question is not one of "conflict of interest" in the sense the phrase is ordinarily used either. While these terms accurately describe an aspect of what is involved, they can be misleading because they imply the practice is contrary to the way things are supposed to work.

In reality, this cross fertilization is an integral and essential means of control used by the capitalist class to administer the state apparatus for its benefit. And that is the whole purpose of the state's existence: to protect and uphold the power, property, and privileges of the ruling capitalist class.



## Black inquiry issues findings

# Sheriff's deputies responsible for Southern University killings

By BAXTER SMITH

DEC. 4 — The Black People's Committee of Inquiry, which is investigating the deaths on Nov. 16 of two students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, issued preliminary findings Nov. 29. The independent committee confirmed that there is a "more than adequate basis" for the criminal prosecution of the law enforcement personnel it found responsible for the slayings.

This committee, composed of various local and nationally prominent figures from the Black community, stated that one or more sheriff's deputies had fired the buckshot that killed Denver Smith and Leonard Douglas Brown.

Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards termed the committee's findings a "Blackwash." "I think very few of the panel came to Louisiana with an open mind," he stated, "I really didn't expect an impartial study."

In sharp contrast to this statement, however, the "official" state commission Edwards appointed affirmed Nov. 30 that the two students had in fact been killed by shotgun blasts. Moreover, on the following day, the state commission determined that law enforcement officers were the ones who tossed the first tear gas canister.

These findings came as a strong blow to the governor, who had been claiming all along that it was the students who provoked the confrontation on Nov. 16 by "firing a smoke bomb at the police."

The Black People's Committee of Inquiry heard testimony from four students: Charlene Hardnett, Fred Prejean, Nathaniel Howard, and Sababu Taibika. They testified that it was not the students' intention to take over the administration building on Nov. 16, the day the students were killed. They said they were only waiting to talk to Dr. G. Leon Netterville, president of Southern University.

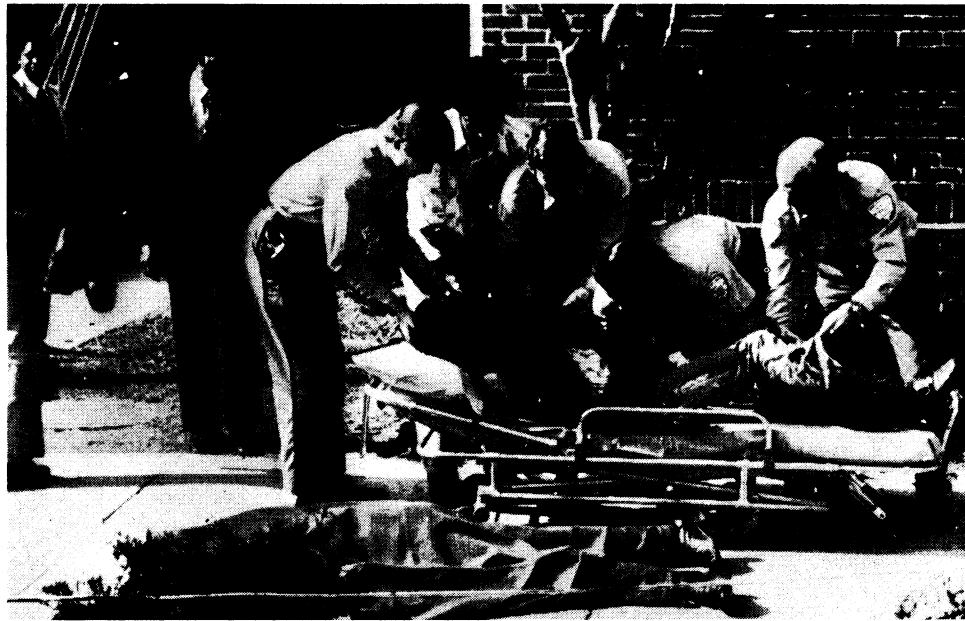
Taibika testified that the law enforcement officers intended to shoot him but missed and killed the other brothers instead. The committee also took statements from Dr. George Baker, the recently fired chairman of the physics department; Governor Edwards; and two ROTC instructors. According to the instructors, the state troopers and sheriff's deputies went out of control in attempting to deal with the students. They appeared "confused, disorganized, and hostile" stated Lieutenant Commander Howard Walton.

Major Leon D. Jackson, the other ROTC instructor who testified, claimed he had "very heated discussions" with policemen before getting medical aid for one student who remained alive after he was shot.

He added, "Four of us [instructors] had heated discussions with state police on how to go about clearing out the building. We felt we should go in rather than the police. After very heated discussions, the four of us went into the building." Jackson stated that he attempted to obtain the aid of two administrators but they refused, claim-

ing it terms "improper faculty dismissals."

The students at Baton Rouge are currently planning what course of action they will take when school reopens Jan. 3. They are soliciting support from various organizations throughout the state and country. They hope to get help from certain prominent individuals such as mem-



Independent Black inquiry and 'official' investigation agree that sheriff's deputies shot-gun blasts killed Black students.

ing that the students had brought the trouble on themselves.

The Black committee concluded two days of public hearings and indicated it would release its completed findings in two weeks. The committee includes nationally prominent figures such as Owusu Sadaukai, president of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N. C.; Lerone Bennett Jr., historian and editor of *Ebony* magazine; Haywood Burns, director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; and John Lewis, executive director of the Voter Education Project.

In addition, local figures on the committee include Alex Willingham, a former member of the Southern University political science department, now teaching in Atlanta; Annie Smart of the Welfare Rights Organization; and two Louisiana state representatives from New Orleans, Dorothy Taylor and Johnnie Jackson. Georgia State Representative Julian Bond, who originally agreed to be a member of the committee, did not appear for any of its hearings.

Brother Willingham was dismissed by President Netterville last semester for his nationalist views. His dismissal was not an isolated incident; Southern University has been on the American Association of University Professors' censure list since 1968 for what

members of the Louisiana Black Caucus, which includes eight representatives to the state assembly.

The students have established a defense fund to aid the students who have been arrested. Contributions can be sent to: Southern University Defense Fund, P.O. Box 73462, Scotlandville Branch, Baton Rouge, La. 70807.

In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, student leader Fred Prejean reports that Netterville is continuing to harass students. On the morning of Dec. 2, a university administrator told the father of a woman who is a student at Southern to have "all of her worldly goods off of Southern University property" by that afternoon. Fortunately, according to Prejean, this family lived only 75 miles away from the campus and could arrange to comply with the administration's orders.

Southern University in New Orleans officially reopened Nov. 27 after the Thanksgiving holidays. However, the boycott is still continuing, and the classrooms were virtually empty.

The students plan to continue the boycott until the demands they have been struggling around for more than a month are approved by the Louisiana board of education. The board, which controls Southern University, has so far given no response.

## Black telephone workers strike in Pittsburgh

By PAUL LeBLANC

PITTSBURGH — After five weeks of picketing, from Nov. 2 to Dec. 4, 29 Black employees have returned to their jobs at the Western Electric Company's service center here. They had been protesting the refusal of the company and the leadership of their union (Local 2596 of the Communications Workers of America) to meet their demands for combating racism at the workplace. It appears they have made some gains.

The Black workers were upset by a series of incidents, for example, a foreman using a racist epithet, and a company policy of keeping the Black employees separated from each other at the workplace.

When they approached their union leadership to establish an all-Black civil rights committee to discuss these problems with the company, the local executive board turned them down by a 7-to-0 vote. In the face of this they pressed the company to sit down with their own independent committee. The company refused, claiming that the union was the sole bargaining agent. The Black workers then walked off the job and set up a picket line.

At this point, representatives of the union's national office were sent to Pittsburgh to point out to the local that the Black workers' request for a civil rights committee was proper and in no way violated the union's constitution.

Because of this, some of the local's white members initially respected the picket line. But the local leadership refused to budge from its earlier decision, and unfortunately a majority of the white workers supported this stand. About 90 percent of the local is white.

On the other hand, the Black workers did receive significant help from the Black community. A community drug rehabilitation center known as FACE opened its Homewood-Brushston office to the strikers. State legislators K. Leroy Irvis and Joseph Rhodes met with the company on behalf of the strikers. Also, support came from some students and groups such as the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

In returning to the job the strikers accepted a two-point proposal put forth on Nov. 22 by the Mayor's Commission on Human Resources. The proposal calls for meetings to discuss problems of Black workers and for the formation of an advisory group on solving race-related problems. The advisory group will consist of two representatives each from the Black workers, the union, and the management.

The strikers face suspensions without pay, some of which may last for several weeks. A company representative says that the length of the suspension will be subject to mediation, and union grievance procedures will probably be involved.



Nov. 20 rally in New Orleans protests murder of Baton Rouge students

Militant/Tom Vernier

## Is 'protectionism' the solution?

# ILGWU pushes 'Buy American' campaign

By FRANK LOVELL

Radios, tape recorders, TV sets, and many other electrical appliances sold in this country are manufactured in South Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, where wages are low. U.S. factories that once built them are closed and their workers unemployed. These consumer goods are still produced by General Electric or some other multinational corporation but in factories abroad owned wholly or in part by U.S. capital.

The electrical industry is only one of many of the industries dominated by multinational corporations. Auto, steel, and rubber are also affected. In all cases foreign-produced goods are invading the American market.

The garment industry is one of those most severely hit by foreign competition. It is therefore appropriate that Gus Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), should undertake to explain this new threat. He is a career bureaucrat in the union movement, never having worked in a garment shop. He was once a leader of the Young People's Socialist League

What do the unions propose to do about this? Tyler doesn't say. His exposé of multinationals is intended only as "theoretical" justification of the action taken earlier at the 1971 AFL-CIO convention to endorse the Burke-Hartke bill.

This bill, introduced in Congress by Representative James Burke (D-Mass.) and Senator Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), would give the U.S. president authority to regulate, supervise, and control the outflow of U.S. capital and curb licensing and patent agreements. It would also set quotas on imports "with exceptions and allowances for flexible growth," and establish a single agency to serve Congress in all trade matters, according to an *AFL-CIO News* digest. The bill seeks government regulation of the multinationals and protection for noncompetitive and unprofitable operations in this country.

At the convention there was no opposition to this measure. In floor discussion, Jacob Potofsky, then president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, called upon all workers to buy only union-label goods and boy-

ance of piecework in the garment industry.

These union timeservers think the role of members is only to pay dues (never to make decisions) or to demonstrate against some uncooperative open-shop boss (never for higher wages or better conditions on a union job). They see everything through the eyes of the boss. The more farsighted see through the eyes of the employing class, but only the employing class of their own country.

This often leads to jurisdictional disputes among unions or to conflicts within international unions. Rather than mobilizing the unions along the lines of international solidarity, they support restricting the U.S. market in order to make jobs for American workers at the expense of workers in other countries. Thus, at the convention of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) this summer, CLC President Donald MacDonald (the George Meany of Canada) had the following to say:

"Now we are confronted with ever rising protectionist trends in the United States, which could have grave

subishi Motors and manufactures the Dodge Colt in Japan for sale on the U.S. market.

Bommarito charged that American multinational subsidiaries in foreign countries, totaling more than 8,000, have become the third largest productive force in the world, "only superseded by the U.S. and Russia." This thing, he said, is "too big for handling on a union-by-union and corporation-by-corporation basis. It has to be accomplished through legislation." And that, we are told, is why the union movement in the United States must support Burke-Hartke all the way.

These are the arguments Bommarito had learned six months before at the AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbour, Fla. But when repeated in Ottawa at the CLC convention they did not sound the same nor get the same response. The Canadians had rejected it all the day before he appeared, and Bommarito's talk failed to change the mind of a single delegate.

A CLC convention is very much the same as an AFL-CIO convention, a gathering of union officials representing the affiliated unions. Workers from the shops never get to these conventions. Most of the big affiliates are the same. The Steelworkers union has a Canadian district, as have the Rubber Workers, the Woodworkers, the United Transportation Union, the Auto Workers, many building trades unions, etc. Top union officials in Canada, like their U.S. counterparts, look at economic problems through the eyes of the boss—but the Canadian boss. That makes a difference.

They are not enthusiastic about closing down the Canadian subsidiaries of Ford, General Motors, Douglas Aircraft, and other U.S. corporations in order to provide more jobs for workers on this side of the border. To them it means weakening the Canadian economy and increasing unemployment there. The result is a growing movement for greater independence among Canadian sections of most of the big U.S.-based international unions.

The union movement in both Canada and the U.S. must fight multinational corporations, just as in the past unions have been forced to fight these same corporations. They are not different now than before, only bigger. They are not an "unnatural" economic growth, as the union bureaucrats pretend, but the same old "American free enterprise system" spilling out.

If the government of the U.S. ruling class in Washington votes some kind of bill to "regulate" the multinationals, it will be for the same reason that it enacted antimonopoly legislation in the past. All such legislation aims to protect and advance the worldwide interests of U.S. capital and to dupe, not benefit, the workers here or in any other country. It aims to unload the problem of unemployment on the workers in other countries.

If the union hierarchy is worried about unemployment, as it ought to be, then it should demand a program that is not at the expense of workers in other countries. It should call for a massive public works program, a new wages and hours law shortening the workweek (with no loss in pay) so that all could have jobs, the elimination of all military spending, and government funds for schools and housing. Such legislation is the kind of government action that is needed to meet the unemployment problem.

Let the ILGWU call demonstrations for this kind of legislation to protect workers, not the Burke-Hartke protective legislation for U.S. employers.



New York rally in support of Burke-Hartke bill

and was later active in the Socialist Party.

In the July issue of the *AFL-CIO Federationist*, in an article titled "Multinationals: A Global Menace," Tyler reports that there are thousands of American corporations with overseas investments and operations, but "a small group of 187 dominates the scene." These, he says, "are among the top 500 corporations in Fortune magazine's listing and are also America's foremost conglomerates."

Tyler explains that one reason U.S. corporations build factories in foreign lands is to circumvent high tariff barriers. "The multinational," says Tyler, "... plays a double game: in other countries, it is 'protectionist' to take full advantage of the closed market; in the United States it is 'anti-protectionist' to take advantage of the rich American market. In the process, it spurns the American worker as an employee while wooing him as a customer."

What is the result? "The people who are hurt are the estimated 1 million working people who are presently unemployed because their jobs have been washed away by the flood of imports. The people who are enriched are the top 1 percent of the shareholders who own about 75 percent of personally held corporate stocks and about 85 percent of the corporate bonds. This process becomes a way to redistribute the income of America from the bottom to the top."

cott all foreign products. Otherwise, he said, "our working conditions will be destroyed; our jobs will have disappeared."

On Nov. 16 of this year, almost one full year after the AFL-CIO convention set the policy, an estimated 150,000 garment workers in a dozen different cities left work at precisely three p.m. to demonstrate against foreign imports. There were 50,000 in New York City's Herald Square, called out by the ILGWU, Tyler's union. The demonstration also had the full collaboration and support of the sweatshop bosses in the garment district, who find foreign competition tough.

The union also bought full-page ads in daily papers to explain the purpose of the demonstrations. "... to make one point. It's a simple one: when Americans don't buy what other Americans make, Americans lose their jobs."

Most demonstrators thought they were doing something that might forestall layoffs, but few had any serious hopes that more jobs would materialize soon. Many must have wondered why their union does nothing to raise piecework pay, or maybe abolish piecework with its murderous built-in speedup system as other unions have done.

When delegates to the AFL-CIO convention endorsed the "Buy America" Burke-Hartke bill, their action was of a kind with the ILGWU's accept-

consequences for the Canadian economy. There are powerful elements in that country, including important elements within the American trade-union movement, who are leaving no stones unturned in their endeavors to get Congress to enact the Hartke-Burke bill.

"This bill would impose a restrictive quota on nearly all exports to the United States, including those from Canada. While the bill in its present form may not pass through Congress, it is symbolic of the kind of strong protectionist sentiment which has not been in evidence in the United States since the infamous Smoot-Hawley Act was made law in the 1930s."

AFL-CIO Vice-President Peter Bommarito, head of the Rubber Workers, went to Ottawa to explain to the CLC convention why the AFL-CIO top officialdom is solidly behind the Burke-Hartke bill. He tried to convince the 1,800 delegates that unions in the United States are mobilizing to destroy multinational corporations, "the fastest growing institution in American society," the greatest enemy of working men and women of all countries.

One example he cited was International Telephone & Telegraph, which has a yearly overseas production in manufactured goods of \$2.5-billion and employs more workers abroad than in the United States. Another was Chrysler Corporation, which has acquired a 35 percent share of Mit-

# World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 15, 1972

## 2,000 women rally

## French abortion struggle continues

By Candida Barberena

"It's a first victory over the defenders of an obsolescent law," Gisèle Halimi told nearly 2,000 supporters of women's right to abortion at the Mutualité in Paris on November 22. "A step forward has been taken. It cannot be reversed. And this is what is ringing the death knell of the 1920 law."

Halimi's comments, reported in the November 24 *Le Monde*, reflect the opinion of hundreds of thousands in France who yearly face heavy fines and stiff sentences under the current abortion law. She was addressing a rally called to evaluate a legal judgment concerning four women accused of involvement in an abortion case that may very well have permanently damaged the law's power.

Earlier that day a court in the Paris suburb of Bobigny acquitted Madame Duboucheix and Madame Sausset, who acted as "intermediaries" for Madame Chevalier in obtaining her daughter's abortion. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 27, p. 1295.) The mother was fined 500 francs (about US\$100) and the abortionist, Madame Bambuck, was sentenced to one year in prison under a law providing for up to ten years' imprisonment and a \$14,000 fine. But the penalties imposed in the latter two cases were suspended.

In recent years although the number of abortions performed has steadily increased, the reverse is true of the number of convictions recorded. According to the November 24 *Le Monde*, the number of convictions in 1950 was 2,885; in 1969 it was 471.

However, these developments and the mild Bobigny judgments contrast sharply with earlier abortion-law prosecution in France. For example the last woman to be sentenced to life imprisonment in France was an abortionist, as was the last woman to be executed, in 1943.

In an article that accompanied the report of the rally, *Le Monde* listed the following recent convictions:

On July 7, 1972, a Belfort nurse was sentenced to two years in prison, fined 10,000 francs (about US \$2,000), and permanently prohibited from practicing her profession; her patients were each given suspended sentences of one year in prison and were fined 2,000 francs; each "accomplice" got a six month suspended prison term.

On July 5, 1971, at Sainte-Etienne,

fifty-seven persons were sentenced to terms ranging from three years in prison to several months suspended in an affair involving about 100 abortions.

On February 5, 1971, Dr. Ali Ladjadj was sentenced to two years in prison for having performed thirty-six abortions in a private clinic in Saint-Denis-de-la-Réunion. Three other doctors and a nurse were sentenced to prison terms of six months to one year.

On May 19, 1970, Dr. Sauveur Palau received a sentence in Toulouse of five years in prison and lost his license for having allegedly performed nearly 2,000 abortions.

In her remarks at the Mutualité defense lawyer Halimi was severely critical of the entire Bobigny proceeding, which she said "... is a perfect example of disarray in the legal structure." Reproaching the judges for lack of initiative in questioning the abortion law while in a position to do so, Halimi continued, "They hid themselves behind the principle of the separation of powers," in an attempt to avoid "interfering" in the power of the legislature.

"However, not everyone had the same scruples regarding the independence of the bench," the lawyer added, alluding, according to *Le Monde*, to pressures that she claims were brought to bear by the national council of the

Ordre des Médecins (the powerful French professional medical association) and the minister of health, Jean Foyer.

Consider the experience of Dr. Paul Milliez, one of the expert witnesses at the trial. Incensed by his "unethical" comments at the trial in favor of liberalized abortion legislation, the Ordre des Médecins reprimanded him sharply. The minister of health was harsh and crude in his denunciation. At the trial Milliez had stated that in fact social differences are a factor in the availability of abortion. The minister's response was that this was "no reason why the vices of the rich should be made equally possible for the poor."

Other speakers at the meeting sponsored by the women's group Choisir, which has headed the campaign for abortion rights, were Dr. Petit from the organization Health Information; three of the defendants, including Madame Chevalier; and parliamentary deputy Michel Rocard, a sponsor of Choisir's repeal draft in the National Assembly.

The optimistic mood of the rally expressed a conviction that the dismal history of prosecution of abortion cases is drawing to a close. But Mme. Chevalier expressed the determination of many French citizens to extend their gains against restrictive abortion legislation when she announced, "I've decided to appeal; our fight goes on." □



Police harassed women demonstrators outside trial of Marie-Claire Chevalier and her mother in Bobigny, a suburb north-east of Paris.

## 5,000 attend Belgian women's conference

Women packed an auditorium in Brussels on November 11 for a full day of speeches and discussion on the liberation of women. According to the November 17 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*, between 5,000 and 6,000 women attended this unprecedented event—the first major activity of the Belgian women's liberation movement.

According to a report on the conference in the November 15 *Los Angeles Times*, authors Simone de Beauvoir and Germaine Greer spoke at the conference and initiated a lively discussion on the topic of abortion. Beauvoir came to Brussels just after having testified in Paris in defense of Michelle Chevalier and three other women charged with procuring, aiding, or abetting an abortion performed on seventeen-year-old Marie-Claire Chevalier.

The *Los Angeles Times* noted that an estimated 150,000 Belgian women are forced to resort to illegal abortions each year, although wealthy Belgian women are able to travel to Britain or the Netherlands where abortion is legal. Contraceptive pills are also forbidden by law in Belgium, a country heavily influenced by the Catholic Church.

The report in *La Gauche* described the conference as "tremendous," and "a gigantic discussion." The event, said *La Gauche*, "was, at one and the same time, the first stage of a movement in full growth, the first demonstration of women as women, and the coming together of many ideas—sometimes differing, sometimes congruent—of all of the independent feminist groups that were able to compare their experiences and activities in the course of organizing 'F' day [the conference was called Journée des Femmes, or Journée 'F'—women's day]."

A broad spectrum of women's organizations took part in the conference, which tentatively projected a women's liberation demonstration for March or April.

*La Gauche* reported that "exchange of ideas and experiences touched on diverse questions: women's jobs (since only 27 percent of women work outside the home, this question was the subject of the greatest discussion), abortion, contraception, maternity, paternity, child-care centers, and the double working day of women." □



## Great Britain

# Tory wage freeze poses challenge for labor movement

London

On November 6 the Tory government decreed an immediate wagefreeze in an attempt to make the labour movement pay for the British economy's inflationary crisis.

The Tory freeze will last at least ninety days from the date of the bill's enactment (probably not before the end of November), and there is provision for a sixty-day extension. Attempts by trade unionists to get around the freeze will be met by stiff fines.

The statutory wage freeze came after the November 2 breakdown of tripartite "talks" between the government, the Confederation of British Industries (CBI), and the Trades Union Congress (TUC) aimed at reaching a "voluntary" incomes policy. One of the objects of the freeze is to pressure the TUC to resume these talks, but there is every expectation that the current freeze will be followed by a modified long-term statutory incomes policy. After 150-180 days the government plans to introduce the "main legislation" making the wage restraint and enforcement powers more precise and permanent.

The government seemed to have its tactics prepared well in advance. On February 27, just after the biggest strike of the year, Prime Minister Edward Heath declared in a national broadcast: "We have to find a more sensible way of settling our differences." More sensible, he meant, than the victorious eight-week-long miner's strike that had left the government's unofficial wages norm in ruins.

Immediately after settlement of the coal strike, the government began to initiate its talks with the TUC and CBI. The government already had an unofficial policy—the crude "N

minus 1" formula, according to which successive wage increases were each supposed to be a percentage point below the previous one.

But the successful miner's strike plunged clear through this arbitrary norm. As Eric Jacobs commented in *The Sunday Times* on November 5, "Far from coming out at N minus 1 the miners' pay increase was more like N plus 10."

It was on July 18 that the three sides first met formally to discuss a "voluntary" wages policy. But the July 25 session was canceled by the TUC because of the growing popular support for the five dockers imprisoned for allegedly violating the Industrial Relations Act. After tens of thousands of workers had gone on strike to secure the release of the five dockers, and organized protest had subsided, the TUC leadership was able to resume its talks with the government on August 7.

The next phase came on September 14, when the three sides indicated general agreement on the concept of a flat-rate wage increase for a one-year period. At issue, it seemed, was only the size of the increase and whether there would be statutory price controls. On September 26 the government laid out its package: Basically, unions should limit pay demands to £2 a week across the board.

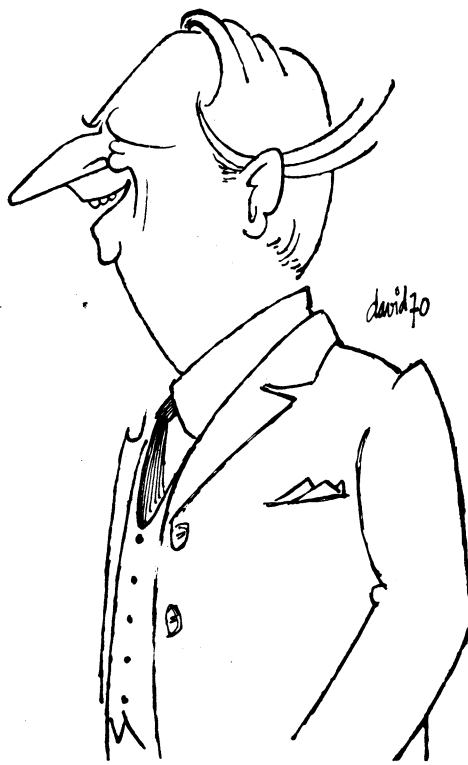
On October 4 the TUC countered with, among other things, a proposed flat-rate weekly rise of £3.60 with statutory price controls.

To be sure, all sides—not the least the TUC brass—would have liked a negotiated compromise, but it seemed not to be in the cards. Early in the last week of the talks, the government propaganda machine moved into action, placing the blame for the delay

on the unions. The government made it clear that there would be no statutory regulation of prices alone—and that on any other basis it would be impossible to continue negotiations.

The proposed "Counter-Inflation (Temporary Measures) Bill" pretends to freeze prices as well as wages. But the price of meat, vegetables, and fish can be raised without government permission, as can the price of goods requiring raw materials from abroad.

Also, government permission to raise other prices will be available to anyone who can show that the cost of their goods has been raised by "external forces." In the four days before the freeze the prices of some 6,000 household goods and food items were raised by manufacturers; and the government's "watchdog" body on prices will not function for the first twenty-eight of the ninety days. Apparently



Prime Minister Edward Heath

to make the Tory package more palatable, it included a miserly £10 bonus for pensioners.

The freeze will almost certainly provoke major confrontations with the government in the coming months. In the hours just before the freeze was imposed thousands of workers were compelled to accept wage increases

that otherwise would be considered contemptible. But there are still some large and potentially explosive claims in the pipeline, particularly by the miners and local government workers. The first victims of the freeze, however, will be the 340,000 farmworkers and the 250,000 hospital workers, two of the lowest-paid groups of workers in the country.

The Labour party parliamentary leadership—who were unusually verbose when the bill was introduced—promised a "fight" against the freeze "in parliament." In fact the last wage freeze was introduced by the Labour government in 1966 and was followed by severe wage restraints. The issue is likely to cause some dissension between the "left" and "moderate" wings over whether the party should pledge a future Labour government to refrain from interference with collective bargaining.

The significance of the wage freeze is that wage struggles will automatically escalate into political confrontations with the government. Unfortunately, the six-man TUC economic committee, which on November 8 broke off all talks during the freeze, decided against a special conference of the labour movement to plan a strategy of defense against the Tory attack.

But individual union opposition to the freeze is already mounting. On November 12 four pay strikes defying the Tory freeze were approved by the technical and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. And on the previous weekend the national executive of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, which has 250,000 members, approved six pay strikes in defiance of the standstill.

Up to now the government has been playing with negotiations over incomes (to which the TUC leaders willingly succumbed) while introducing anti-trade-union, rent-raising, and racist immigration legislation on the side. The Tory freeze presents a major challenge to the trade-union movement in this country. In all, some three million workers have wage claims that could be affected by the freeze. To meet this challenge the labour movement will need to generalise from the lessons learned in the victorious struggles against the government by the miners last winter and the dockers during the summer. □

## Soviet Union

# Parents demand inquiry into Galanskov's death

The parents of Yuri Galanskov, a Soviet dissident who died in a forced labor camp on November 4, have demanded a "comprehensive and official explanation" of his death. Unless they receive an explanation from Soviet officials, the parents say, "we will insist that our son was killed" in the Mordovian prison camp.

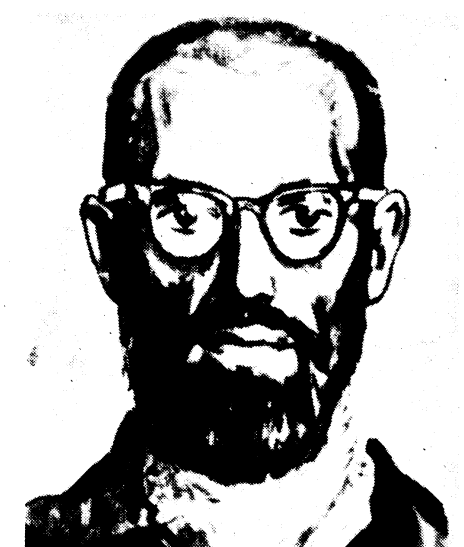
According to an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow printed in the November 27 *New York Post*, the parents made their request in a two-page letter to the department of supervision of places of confinement of the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Galanskov, a thirty-three-year-old poet, was one of the most prominent activists in the Soviet opposition movement. His death occurred while he was serving a seven-year sentence for "anti-Soviet activity." The charges stem from allegations that Galanskov edited two samizdat literary journals. Galanskov apparently died of peri-

tonitis after an October 18 operation in the prison camp for a perforated ulcer. His parents stated in their letter that their son had suffered from an ulcer since 1961. Prison hospital authorities, the parents wrote, "proposed a number of times that he be operated on, but he refused" because a surgeon at the camp "warned our son that because of his physical weakness and the clinic's lack of the necessary postoperative diet he would not survive the operation."

"This is why we asked the camp administration to transfer him to the prison hospital in Leningrad, where the operation could be performed under appropriate conditions," wrote the parents.

Despite repeated appeals from the parents, and from a Moscow doctor familiar with Galanskov's medical history, prison officials replied that there was no need for a transfer or any special diet. □



Yury Galanskov, as drawn by a fellow prisoner. His parents wrote: "We demand an official medical report on why the fatal operation had to be performed. We demand to know the names of the people who performed the operation against his and our will. . . ."

## Interview with Matzpen leader

# Development of the revolutionary-socialist movement in Israel

[We publish below the third, concluding, part of an interview with Michel Warschawski that was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* early in October. The first two parts of the interview appeared in the last two issues 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: Could you explain what the ISO (Marxist) is, and what the development of Matzpen has been?*

*A:* From 1962 to 1970, Matzpen was the only anti-Zionist organization in Israel. Matzpen was a socialist and anti-Zionist organization and was open to all those who wanted to fight Zionism from the point of view of socialist revolution.

Matzpen was composed of many political tendencies which understood anti-Zionism very differently. The ISO (Marxist) is today the product of a long clarification over many years inside the organization. Clarification with a view to defining the program and concrete perspectives of the revolution in Israel, the revolution in the Arab East, and the world revolution.

In the last three years, Matzpen has experienced two important splits which were the price of this clarification. The first one resulted from clarifying our concept of what anti-Zionism is and what the strategy of revolutionary anti-Zionists in Israel should be.

Those who left us at the end of 1970 didn't accept our position on the unity of the Arab East and the dependence of the Israeli revolution on the whole Arab East revolution. Also they didn't even accept our critique of Zionism. In our eyes, Zionism is not only an ideology, like American nationalism or French nationalism. It's a whole structure, a colonial enterprise.

We have to make very clear that our struggle is to break the Zionist state. Not to break it up like any other bourgeois state; it's more than a bourgeois state. The Zionist aspect of Israeli society makes clear the link between Israel and the whole Arab East. The Zionists play the role of gendarme in the Arab East, of the defender of order—together with the Arab regimes, but stronger.

This links the possibility of revolution in Israel to the revolution in the Arab East as a whole.

After we made our position very clear—about Zionism, the Arab revolution, the need for a strategy and organization for the whole Arab East—we then had to clarify some other problems that are part of the program of a political organization.

The group that left Matzpen in that period (it now calls itself the Avant-garde group) is linked to the Lambertist and Healyist organizations.

Their whole policy is in the tradition of Healy's and Lambert's organizations throughout the world. They have a very strong reformist tendency and, I would say, they are not Zionists, but they have Zionist tendencies, a Zionist dynamic.

Because of their Lambertist theory, they are unable to understand that the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie has many aspects that are not directly and apparently a problem of the workers' struggle against the capitalists. This makes them unable to understand nationalism, Arab nationalism, and Zionism. They can't see the role of Zionism in the Arab East and the consequent link between the Israeli revolution and the development of the revolution in the Arab East as a whole. They cannot understand the positive aspects of the national liberation movements of the Arab world and the revolutionary potential that exists in these movements. For them, nationalism is something bad, and they will have nothing to do with it. Although they say Jewish nationalism is bad too, they just ignore it. They say they have to go to the Israeli workers and organize them for the revolution—and that's all.

It's a very simplistic analysis and a misunderstanding of the dynamics of revolutionary development in the Arab East.

But after we defined our position about the Arab revolution and about the struggle against Zionism—in short, after we understood the implications of the theory of permanent revolution and its strategic application to the Arab East, we had to develop more concretely our program on how to work, how to organize, and we had to generalize our analysis of the Arab East and consider the revolution on a world scale.

We had a political discussion in the organization and concluded that if the theory of permanent revolution is valid in the Arab East, it must be valid throughout the underdeveloped world. When we asked the organization to broaden its program, to be not just anti-Zionist, but to develop a general political program, a part of the group objected and subsequently split.

Today they also use the name ISO—that's the reason we call ourselves ISO (Marxist). It was a very difficult split; the first split was not so important. This time it was a large minority, including a large part of the old leadership.

This leadership, in our eyes, had failed to educate the members of the organization in revolutionary-Marxist concepts. More and more anarchist and spontanéist tendencies had grown within the organization. And at the same time the lack of a program and analysis, the lack of consciousness of the need for theory had caused a real erosion of the old leadership's anti-Zionist position. Because apart from the point of view of Arab na-

tionism, a real anti-Zionist position can only derive from the point of view of revolutionary Marxism.

*Q: What is the political program, then, upon which the ISO (Marxist) is based?*

*A:* In our eyes, Israeli society is on the one hand a normal capitalist society based on exploitation of the working class. On the other hand, it is a colonial enterprise built upon the exploitation of the whole Arab and Palestinian people. And thirdly, it is a client state of imperialism.

All these three aspects of Israeli society have to be taken into account in order to develop a strategy for making a revolution in Israel. Our aim is to make a socialist revolution in Israel.

The Zionist nature of Israel makes the class struggle within Israel more complicated than in a "normal" capitalist country. Not only from the standpoint of consciousness, but from the standpoint of the real, concrete situation of the Israeli working class, Zionism plays a great role.

For one thing, consider all the money that comes from outside Israel. Israel is not exploited by imperialists, it is supported by them economically, mostly by U. S. imperialism. This support allows the Zionist establishment to build a society more developed than any other nondeveloped capitalist country, with a strong working class, with industry, with quite a high standard of living relative to the whole Arab East.

Imperialism is ready to pay if there is a need in Israel because imperialism needs a strong Zionist state to keep "order" in the Arab East. It will continue to pay as long as there is a need. So the Zionist establishment can offer a certain standard of living to the Israeli working class.

Second, the Israeli working class has no class organizations, no class parties, no unions. All the so-called

workers' parties, and the trade unions, the Histadrut, are Zionist organizations—that is, organizations of the whole Zionist movement and not of the working class. So the working class today is very backward politically.

Third, there is a feeling even today that there is no other way. This is a sentence you often hear in the street: "We have no alternative. Yes, it's bad; yes, the government is no good; yes, there is war. But what is the alternative?"

We have built our program around these three characteristics of Israeli society.

First of all, we have to make clear to the Israeli working class that the only chance for them to develop themselves and achieve their individual, class, and national rights is to break with Zionism. It's not so evident to them.

We developed a transitional program, which we call a de-Zionization program, in which we tried to make clear the connection between the Zionist regime on the one hand, and on the other hand, workers' exploitation, the fact of permanent war, and the price the workers have to pay in terms of living conditions.

For example, among our slogans is the call for real unions. The worker understands this need very well. He understands that the Histadrut does not defend him. He has no say inside the Histadrut; the workers are even in a minority in the Histadrut. So the need for a real union is very clear to the workers.

And, obviously, to build an independent union and to fight the Histadrut is to struggle against one of the most basic components of the Zionist establishment.

Secondly, we fight for democratic rights, such as abolition of the law of return and for the right of every Palestinian to return to his country. None

*Continued on following page*



The June issue of Matzpen

## ...Interview with Israeli socialist

*Continued from preceding page*

of these demands require a revolutionary socialist consciousness, but they concern democracy or other real problems of the working class and they cannot be achieved within the framework of the Zionist state. These are the types of slogans around which we attempt to mobilize the Israeli population.

We are certain of one thing: Not only is a real revolutionary breakthrough in Israel dependent on the development of a revolutionary organization inside Israel, but also, and mainly, it will be the consequence of the dynamic of revolutionary developments in the whole Arab East. A dynamic that will make clear the alternative that historically confronts the Is-

can say, "Look, there is an alternative," then our work is easier.

Our immediate aim today is to build the nucleus of an all-Arab-East revolutionary party, with a strategy for the whole Arab East. We will fight against Zionism, against imperialism, against the Arab regimes. We will fight for a united, socialist Arab East.

*Q: What is your position in regard to the major international working-class tendencies?*

*A:* The process of political clarification over the past three or four years has brought the majority of the organization to the position of revolutionary Marxism and the con-

have a more organized way of working.

Our work is in two main areas. First is propaganda. We have a newspaper, *Matzpen*, which is today the largest Hebrew newspaper on the whole Israeli left, even bigger than the CP newspaper. It is in Hebrew with a supplement in Arabic. After the split we began to publish pamphlets; now we have six, and hope in the next two months to publish three more. We publish in Hebrew and Arabic.

Second, we have political circles in the three major cities, Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv.

Also, after the split we began a very vigorous intervention within the Arab population. To work in the Arab population we must be very serious. It is very difficult. This work cannot be done in an amateurish way. And the influence of the Communist party is great.

In this area the split has had a good effect. Today we have a certain periphery in the Arab villages. We have circles today in the Arab sector.

Among the youth, we organized this year what we call "Red Mole groups," which we see as the nucleus of a youth organization. There are several dozen young people organized now in these groups. Now they have their own newspaper, *Red Mole*. The Red Mole members are mainly high schoolers.

In the universities we also have sympathizers who will begin this year to join with the high-school students in the Red Mole groups.

The second main area of our work is to organize and participate in all the struggles that are occurring in Israel—democratic struggles, struggles against repression, against the police, against discrimination.

Our aim in each of these struggles is always to organize united fronts, as broad as possible. Within these united fronts we make our political line very clear. On the one hand we mobilize for the struggle, and on the other hand we mobilize some of those involved in the direction of our positions.

Together with other groups we have also begun this year to organize a women's liberation movement, a movement that is in its beginning stages but has already carried out some activities. We have put forward three main slogans so far: free and legal abortion, the right of civil marriage, and equal pay for equal work.

The first two are the most important in our eyes, and we are fighting within the movement in favor of stressing these two slogans. This is because we see that Zionism cannot accede to such demands. These demands are in total contradiction to the government's need for a constantly expanding Jewish population in Israel. The policy has always been and will always be to push for big families and against any abortions.

*Q: Do you carry out any antimilitarist campaigns? What is the basic policy of the ISO (Marxist) in regard to its own members serving in the army?*

*A:* Our goal is to mobilize a mass campaign against the army and against the whole role the army has to play in opposition to the Arab revolution and also against its role inside Israeli society. But so far this position has found no significant response.

Today our policy is to ask our members and sympathizers to serve in the army. First of all because there are opportunities to do fruitful work in the army. During the three years

of service required by conscription, you are with the same people, generally young. You have a lot of time with them. The repression in the army is strong, but there is still the possibility of doing work. There are even more opportunities in the reserves than among the conscripts. Because in the reserves you are in contact with the population. This is important because the base of our organization is not a proletarian one. In the reserves we are in contact with workers we don't meet in the areas of work we are generally involved in.

Generally people in the reserves are very open to criticism of the government. For the month or month and a half they have to serve in the army every year they are outside their general milieu and there is much discussion among them. All our comrades have done quite good work in the reserves.

But while our position is to serve in the army, obviously our comrades are not ready to do everything they may be asked to do. Our comrades refuse to bomb houses, to repress demonstrations in the occupied territory, to carry out operations in the occupied territory. And they pay the price for their refusal.

Arie Bober, for example, was arrested because he refused to go into Lebanon to fight against the Palestinian organizations. □



Militant/Paul Boutelle

Israeli soldiers (above) guard Arab detainees at identification center in occupied Arab territory. Israeli revolutionaries see Zionist state of Israel as policeman for imperialism against the Arab revolution.

raeli working class: either permanent war against the Arab liberation movement (a movement which today is quite weak but which will develop) to fight more and more as the gendarme of American imperialism, to be the cossacks of the new Vietnam in the Arab East—or to join with the revolutionary movement in the Arab East against the imperialist oppressor and against the clients of imperialism, Zionism on the one hand and the Arab regimes on the other.

This is why one of our immediate preoccupations is not only to develop a theoretical strategy for the Arab-East revolution, but to build the party of the Arab-East revolution. Because there is a connection, an interdependence, between the development of struggle inside Israel and the development of the struggle outside Israel. There is no doubt that the growth of an anti-Zionist power in Israel makes the work of our comrades in the Arab countries easier. They can say, "Our problem is not the Jews, but it is to defeat Zionism, and to defeat Zionism is to defeat imperialist domination and capitalism."

And for us there is no doubt that if we can say, "Look, you do have the possibility of living inside the Arab world, as Jews, without any oppression, in a socialist Arab East"; if we

ception of the permanent revolution. The final point we had to develop in *Matzpen* was that if there is a need for a local revolutionary party—that is, in the whole Arab East—we also need an international revolutionary party.

Today we have just completed our discussion of our affiliation to the Fourth International. As far as I know the great majority of the membership supports this step, and I hope that at the next world congress we will be accepted as a part of the Fourth International. Our positions today are the positions of the Fourth International.

*Q: What are some of the activities that the ISO (Marxist) engages in?*

*A:* Most of the ISO activity—even before the last split—was agitation and propaganda against Zionism. The split has had a very good effect on our political work. The process of political discussion and also the political line of those who split had really paralyzed *Matzpen*. For two years we had to fight to organize our group and our work. But today, less than one year after the split, not only have we recuperated from the split, but our work has improved. We distribute more copies of our newspaper, our activity is more substantial, and we



- 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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Oppose cutbacks

# East Harlem parents lead school boycott

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK, Dec. 4—A boycott of schools in East Harlem's District 4 that began the day before Thanksgiving recess is continuing. So far, 13 of the District's 22 elementary and junior high schools have been closed by the parent-led boycott, with about 11,000 of the 17,000 pupils in District Four out of class.

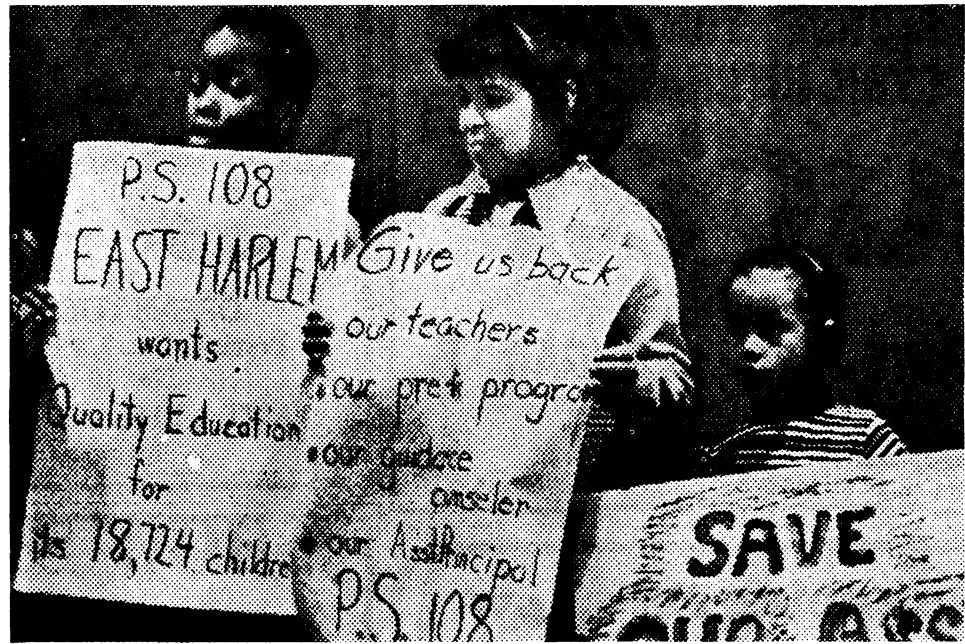
Discontent over deteriorating conditions due to drastic cuts in funding has been mounting ever since the start of the current school year. District Four lost 71 teachers, dozens of paraprofessionals and other staff, and many special programs. These cutbacks came after District Four lost over \$1-million in federal and state funds, and the New York Board of Education reduced its budget allocation by some \$236,000, claiming that the district had 101 pupils fewer than last year. The result has been a worsening of conditions in East Harlem

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.

Daily boycott meetings, conducted in Spanish and English, are held in the auditorium of P.S. 155, where 500 to 600 Black and Puerto Rican parents, the majority women, come to discuss the day's events along with teachers, community activists, and supervisory staff. A parents council of District Four has been elected with representatives from all the parents associations to coordinate this action.

Since the beginning of the boycott parents report they have received the support of District Four teachers, many of whom honored the parents' picket lines and joined in closing the schools. Many teachers participate in the daily mass meetings.

This spontaneous teacher response



East Harlem students on picket line

schools — overcrowded classrooms, lack of supplies, shortage of teachers and other staff.

Reacting to this crisis, 300 East Harlem parents staged a demonstration Sept. 28 outside the offices of the board of education. School Chancellor Harvey Scribner at that time appointed a task force to investigate conditions in District Four. According to boycott leaders, the task force has never functioned and the board of education has not responded to the needs of the East Harlem schools.

An estimated 62 percent of the pupils in District Four are Puerto Rican, and almost all the rest are Black. More than 75 percent of the pupils read below their grade level. One-third of the people living in District Four are on welfare.

The boycott was triggered when lack of funds forced the transfer to other areas of 11 assistant principals and five teachers who were in "excess" of District Four budget allocations. The decision for this transfer was made by the District Four school board, which is empowered under decentralization to spend the money allocated to the district and to hire and fire employees. A key grievance of the parents is that the local board does not represent the interests of the East Harlem community and does not involve the community in decision-making. The boycott has included sit-ins at the local board headquarters.

Demands of the boycott include reinstatement of the transferred personnel; no more staff cuts; more guidance, reading, and citizenship classes; reduction of the pupil-teacher ratio to 1 to 25; extension of school-aide

was brought to a halt by Albert Shanker, United Federation of Teachers president. He ordered teachers back to work Nov. 30, claiming the union was bound by its contract to do so, even though it supported the parents' demands.

Boycott leaders never formally requested teachers to stay out of class. This teacher-community relationship has been seen as a positive development in light of the strained relations between the UFT and the Black and Puerto Rican community following the 1968 UFT strike, which pitted the union against the Black and Puerto Rican communities fighting for control of the schools.

Typical of meetings going on throughout East Harlem was the meeting of the parents association at PS 108 Dec. 1. About 40 parents and 10 teachers voted to keep PS 108 in the boycott, after discussing the demands fully. A petition was initiated to demand that Mayor Lindsay come to District Four. A tutoring center for students taking part in the boycott was set up at St. Edward's Church. One PS 108 teacher got an enthusiastic response when she remarked that if the government would stop bombing Vietnam for one day and give District Four the money, there would be no need for the boycott.

DEC. 5—The New York school boycott spread to Brooklyn yesterday. All but 20 students at PS 137 boycotted classes to protest the replacement of an assistant principal. Only 200 students showed up for classes at PS 84, where there is a fight over the appointment of a temporary principal.

## State wants to raise fees

# New York day-care crisis sparks protest

By RUTHANN MILLER

NEW YORK, Dec. 4—At a meeting held in the Village Co-op Day Care Center on Dec. 1, people from all over New York City gathered to discuss how to respond to the new, more restrictive fee schedule planned by New York State for city day-care centers.

Two weeks ago, State Social Services Commissioner Abe Lavine proposed a new fee schedule to the 350 day-care centers in New York City. The plan (see box below) places the rights of the 30,000 children now in centers in serious jeopardy.

Even by city estimates, the new fees would eliminate at least 25 percent of the families now enrolled in city centers. It will place unreasonably high burdens on other families. For example, if a family earns more than \$5,500 per year, it will have to pay out \$2,199 for day care, or \$42.30 per week out of a salary of \$105.

New York City day-care facilities receive 75 percent of their funding from the federal government, and 12.5 percent each from the state and city. In some 100 of the centers the parents, staff, and community have attempted to make the decisions concerning fees, admissions, and operating costs. In the other 250 centers decisions are made by government departments and officials.

In addition, there are numerous community day-care centers that are not funded by the government because they don't meet city requirements.

Last January a similar fight broke out around the day-care issue. The state proposed a higher fee scale (see box). Because of the injustice of such fees, many centers refused to comply with the scale. A series of actions were called, including a sit-in by parents, children, and day-care staff members at Mayor John Lindsay's presidential campaign headquarters. These actions forced the city to officially reject the new fees, and the state eventually backed down.

While some of the centers have since accepted compromise fee schedules from the city administration, most have still not accepted the scale proposed last January, which is much lower than the new schedule would be.

At the Dec. 1 meeting, members of the Committee for Community Controlled Day Care (CCCCD), many of whom were Black or Puerto Rican, urged activists to totally refuse the new fees. They explained that the fee schedule would lock the very poor, into staying on welfare, accepting the city's enforced and poorly paid work program, or taking their children out of day-care programs.

As a result of the meeting, a demonstration against the new fees was called for Dec. 7 at Governor Nelson Rockefeller's New York City offices.

The Committee for Community Controlled Day Care, which organized the Dec. 1 meeting, is a group of representatives from day-care centers and groups interested in day care. The CCCDC calls for free, universal child care, controlled by those who use it. It says that day care is the right of every child—that it should be treated as a public service, like public schools.

There is also a city-wide coalition, the Ad Hoc Committee to Save Our Children, which includes a day-care workers union, directors of various day-care centers, the City-wide Association of Day-Care Parents, the Agency for Child Development, and other groups. This coalition has joined in calling the Dec. 7 demonstration.

While the debate and struggle around day-care fees is in the forefront right now, it is only one aspect of the day-care problem facing New York City. At the same time that the state is refusing to fund even the small number of centers that already exist, tens of thousands of children here have no day-care facilities at all. Waiting lists are enormous, and the centers are overcrowded, understaffed, and have virtually no health programs.

NET ANNUAL INCOME (after taxes and life insurance only)	NEW PROPOSED STATE FEE SCALE	STATE FEE SCALE DEFEATED JANUARY 72
<b>TWO PERSON HOUSEHOLD</b>		
\$3,300	\$ 0.00	\$ 0.00
3,500	3.80	0.75
4,000	13.40	1.50
4,500	23.40	2.50
5,000	32.60	4.25
5,500	42.30	6.25
6,000	not eligible	8.75
6,500		11.25
7,000		not eligible
<b>FOUR PERSON HOUSEHOLD</b>		
\$5,100	\$ 0.00	\$ 0.00
5,500	7.60	1.00
6,000	17.30	2.25
6,500	26.90	5.75
7,000	36.50	8.00
7,500	46.10	10.75
8,000	not eligible	not eligible
<b>SIX PERSON HOUSEHOLD</b>		
\$6,600	\$ 0.00	\$ 0.00
7,000	7.60	2.75
7,500	17.30	4.25
8,000	26.90	7.00
8,500	36.50	9.75
9,000	46.10	13.00
9,500	not eligible	16.50
10,000		not eligible

Committee for Community Controlled Day Care

# Socialist Workers Party demands retraction

## Jenness, Pulley answer anti-Semitism charges of Anti-Defamation League

Dec. 6, 1972

Mr. Arnold Forster  
General Counsel  
Anti-Defamation League  
315 Lexington Ave.  
New York, N. Y. 10016

Dear Mr. Forster,  
In a report to your fifty-ninth annual meeting, Lawrence Peirez, chairman of your "fact-finding" committee, charged that the positions of the Socialist Workers Party—especially as expressed in our 1972 presidential campaign—have "crossed the line into outright anti-Semitism."

This allegation is a slander, and we demand that you publicly retract it.

Anyone the least bit familiar with our election campaign and the views and record of the Socialist Workers Party knows that the SWP has always been a staunch opponent of anti-Semitism and of racism and bigotry of any kind. We have championed struggles against anti-Semitism wherever they have appeared—from the United States to the Soviet Union. Our European co-thinkers were in the forefront of the struggle against the anti-Semitic terror of Nazism. Many of them perished in Hitler's death camps. In this country during World War II the SWP carried out a campaign demanding that U. S. borders be opened to Jewish refugees from Nazism.

In the report referred to above, Lawrence Peirez says that the SWP calls for "the outright destruction of Israel," and therefore is anti-Semitic. It is true we see the elimination of the Zionist state of Israel as necessary. But opposition to a specifically "Jewish" state in Palestine cannot be equated with anti-Semitism. Such an equation wrongly identifies the interests of Jews around the world with Israel and Zionism. We believe it is *your* identification of Zionist policies with the Jewish people that helps to fuel anti-Semitism today.

The incorrectness of equating anti-

Zionism with anti-Semitism can be more clearly seen by considering the racist, settler regimes of South Africa or Rhodesia. Opposition to the existence of the white-supremacist regimes that usurped power in those countries, and made the black Africans second-class citizens in their own land, obviously cannot be equated with racism against the Dutch or British settlers who live there.

We oppose the state of Israel because it took over the territory of

sustain itself, Israel has created a militaristic, undemocratic regime engaging in expansionist aggression against Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon.

Here in the United States the charge of anti-Semitism has been falsely leveled against Black people and Puerto Ricans when they fight for control of the schools in their communities or for jobs in proportion to their numbers. Thus your organization charges that anti-Semitism also comes "from

war crimes against the people of Vietnam, a government that shut its borders to Jews fleeing Nazi terror, and a government that supports Zionist Israel.

Increasingly, young Jews around the world are coming to see that the only hope for the Jewish people is to side with struggles against *all* forms of racist oppression and exploitation around the world—to side with the struggles against racism in this country, and to side with the struggle of



Palestinian refugee camp

LNS

another people, the Palestinian Arabs, and forced them into a life as refugees or as second-class citizens. This was a great wrong perpetrated against the Palestinians, and their resistance struggle is not based on anti-Semitism but is a fight for justice, human dignity, and self-determination.

The Socialist Workers Party supports the Palestinians' struggle to regain their homeland and to establish a democratic, secular Palestine, where Jews and Arabs could live together with equality and religious freedom. We believe that it is in the interests of Jews everywhere, including in Israel, to support this struggle.

Because of the fundamental injustice involved in the creation of Israel, the Israeli state can only maintain itself through allying with the United States and other reactionary imperialist powers against the Arab peoples. To

extremist segments of other minority groups."

When you side in this way with the fascist-like Jewish Defense League and racists like Newark Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale to oppose the struggles of the Puerto Rican and Black communities—whose interests are you defending? When you brand leaders of these struggles, such as Luis Fuentes, as anti-Semites, you are siding with white racists in the oppression of another people. The anti-Semitic legions of American fascism will come from the ranks of these people who you are objectively making your allies today.

The danger to the Jewish people does not come from the Socialist Workers Party and the Black and Puerto Rican liberation struggles. The threat to Jews comes from the racist, imperialist government of the U. S.—a government capable of the genocidal

the Palestinian Arabs against the state of Israel and its imperialist backers, for a democratic, secular Palestine.

You identify the welfare of the Jewish people with Zionism and with the racist, militarist, settler-colonial state of Israel. The Socialist Workers Party believes that the ideology of Zionism disarms the Jewish people in the fight against anti-Semitism. We identify the welfare of the Jewish people with support to the just anti-imperialist struggles of the Arab peoples. Do not try to disguise your disagreement with us by using the slanderous charge of anti-Semitism. We repeat our demand that you retract this slander, that you do it publicly and immediately.

Sincerely,

Linda Jenness

Andrew Pulley

Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president in 1972



Linda Jenness

Cary Herz

## MIT forum: 'Israel and Middle East'

By GEORGE MASTELLONE

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — An overflow crowd of 500 attended a forum on "Israel and the Middle East" held here at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Nov. 29. The forum was sponsored by the MIT Arab Student Club and the Tufts Hillel Non-Zionist Caucus.

Speakers at the forum were Sarkis Khoury, a Palestinian student; Uri Davis, an Israeli anti-Zionist and a member of War Resisters International; Fawzi al-Asmar, an Israeli-Arab poet and writer; and Noam Chomsky, an MIT professor and well-known antiwar activist.

Khoury spoke on the Palestinian resistance movement and explained

why it came into conflict with the governments of the Arab states. Davis gave a critique of Zionism and particularly stressed the domestic effects of the Zionist state. He explained the situation of the Oriental Jews, who were brought into Israel to become agricultural laborers, filling the void left when the Palestinians were forced off their land.

Fawzi al-Asmar spoke from personal experience about the discrimination suffered by Arabs who live in the state of Israel. In 1948 he was separated from his family by Israeli authorities, and he cited Israeli laws that allowed him to be jailed for 15 months without charges.

Chomsky began his talk by expos-

ing the formula calling for a "Democratic Jewish State" as a contradiction in terms. He compared it to an American talking about the possibility of a "Democratic White State." He said that Israeli settlements in the areas occupied since the Six Day War in 1967 indicate that these areas will be permanently under Israeli control.

He spoke of the contradiction liberal Zionists face with continued Israeli expansionism: with the acquisition of more territory for "defense," the Jews in Israel may be put in a position of ruling as a minority, just as the whites in Rhodesia. He made the point that the continued dependence of the Israeli government on American imperialism is a suicidal course.



Noam Chomsky

[illegible]

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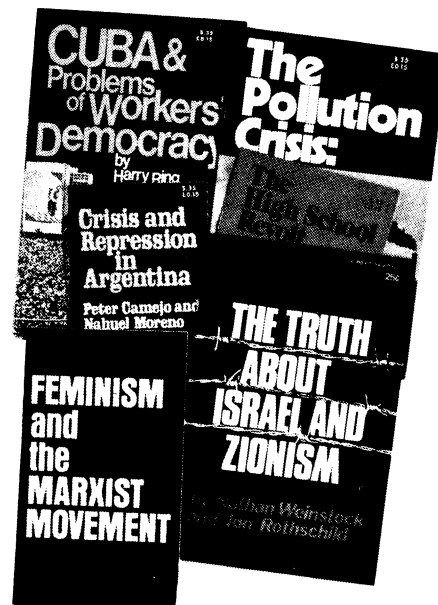
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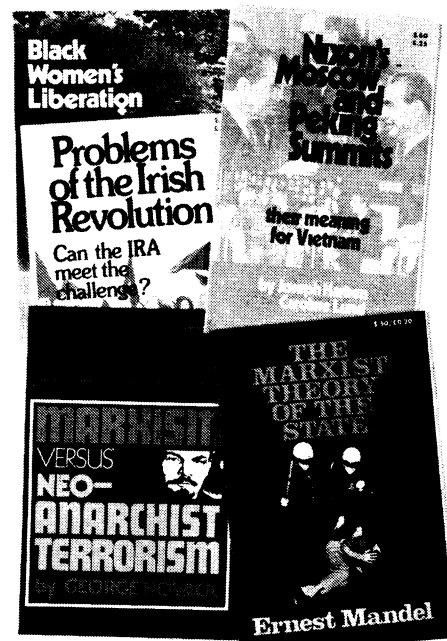
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# Did the Nov. 7 youth vote mean a 'turn to the right'?

By CINDY JAQUITH

A major theme of the speculations by pollsters and reporters during the 1972 election campaign was the impact of the youth vote.

What aroused the interest in new voters was the fact that young people, particularly students, have been the most active in leading such movements for social change as the fight against the war in Vietnam, the struggles of Blacks and Chicanos, and the women's liberation movement.

In fact, it was the radicalization of young people that prompted the Democrats and Republicans to finally enfranchise 18-year-olds, with the hope that



Only 70 percent of the young people who registered to vote went to the polls.

voting rights would encourage them to "work within the system."

A total of 25.7 million people between the ages of 18 and 24 became eligible to vote in their first presidential election this year. One-third of them were students.

The voter turnout for all ages in 1972 was the lowest in percentage since 1948—only 54.5 percent of those eligible cast ballots, 76 percent of those who had registered. But the turnout of young voters was even lower.

Seventy percent of the new voters who registered actually went to the polls. This represented only 11.4 million, or 44 percent, of the eligible young voters.

A CBS postelection survey of new voters gave a 52 to 46 percent margin to George McGovern. "This was far from the decisive margin predicted by his strategists," wrote the Nov. 9 *New York Times*. "Early in the campaign, they projected a youth vote of 18 million, with Mr. McGovern winning 13 million."

The polls had begun to show a close race for the youth vote between Nixon and McGovern earlier in the campaign. "During the first major drive to register new voters at Berkeley last spring," said an article in the Nov. 6 *Newsweek*, "nine out of ten students were registering Democratic—the tenth, as often as not, choosing something like the Socialist Workers Party. Now the guessing is that at Berkeley, of all places, the President will win a third of the vote. . . ."

Other articles reported the difficulty McGovern supporters were having registering students to vote.

What went wrong with the predictions that there would be a big turnout by new voters? Why did the expectations of the McGovern strategists fall short? Does the close margin of the youth vote mean that young people, especially students, are shifting to the right?

Part of the explanation for the low turnout among young voters was the lack of choice between Nixon and McGovern. Thus *New York Times* reporter Steven Roberts wrote, "The catch phrase on campus this fall is 'the lesser of two evils,' and, if given the chance, many students

would vote for 'none of the above.'"

A senior at Harvard University told Roberts, "McGovern's frequent compromising and vacillation disillusioned enough people so that they question the extent to which they will actively support him. . . . But they aren't disillusioned enough to vote for Nixon."

A survey printed in the Oct. 2 *Newsweek* showed that the war in Vietnam was seen as the most important election issue by people in the 18 to 24 age bracket. "But interestingly enough," *Newsweek* reported, "Vietnam does not come across as a plus for George McGovern. Roughly similar numbers of young people believe that the President (36 per cent) and McGovern (35 per cent) would be best at handling the war."

While new voters gave McGovern a slim majority, the 46 percent vote for Nixon showed that like older voters, many young people mistakenly saw the president as a "peace candidate." The announcement that a "settlement" of the war in Vietnam was at hand undoubtedly won more young people to support Nixon.

In addition, Nixon's appeal to racist sentiments helped him get the votes of many white youth.

A significant number—30 percent—of those new voters who registered never went to the polls. It is likely that many of these people began as McGovern supporters early in the election year, but then grew totally disgusted with their candidate as he proceeded to water down his positions and retract his promises.

One expression of the disillusionment with McGovern came on election day from his New Haven, Conn., campaign cochairwoman. "What's happened is that we've moved from crusade to compromise," explained Lee Novick in answer to a reporter's question about the cynical attitude toward the elections at Yale.

Another sign of the discontent with the Democratic and Republican parties was the fact that 15,000 people, mostly youth, signed endorser cards



Militant/Laura Miller

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley campaigned among youth demonstrating at Republican Party convention.

for the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. This was five times the number the SWP obtained in 1968.

All these factors indicate that the radicalization among young people is deepening, not lessening. Some magazines and newspapers, however, have tried to portray the youth vote and the lull in activity on the campuses as a sign that young people are "returning to the fifties."

Jerrold Footlick, the author of the Nov. 6 *Newsweek* article, does not think so. He writes: "if the '50s meant obedience, an unquestioning acceptance of the status quo and the simple pleasure of being in college, the '70s are not at all the same. The placid surface conceals tension—and an uneasiness that in some hard-to-pin-down way gnaws at students, administrators and faculty alike."

# Pentagon papers trial set to open Dec. 12

By LEE SMITH

DEC. 5—Federal Judge William Byrne Jr. had hoped to begin hearing opening arguments in the Pentagon papers trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo Jr. Dec. 6. But he is now hoping to begin Dec. 12. By next week the date may be pushed back even further.

Ellsberg and Russo are being tried by a federal court in Los Angeles because of their role in making public the secret Pentagon papers study of U.S. war policy in Indochina. It has been nearly a year since the indictment was handed down. It has been four months since the jury was selected.

Defense attorneys Leonard Boudin and Leonard Weinglass won a halt to the trial last July after Judge Byrne inadvertently blurted out that the government had told him one of the defense lawyer's conversations had been picked up on a "foreign intelligence wiretap." The lawyers got Supreme Court Justice William Douglas to stop the trial and filed a petition to have their motion reviewed by the entire court this fall. Their motion sought to force disclosure of the details of the bugging incident.

On Nov. 13, the Supreme Court denied the defense petition. The following week the defense filed motions in Byrne's court for a mistrial on the ground that the jury could not help but be biased because of prejudice against the defendants created by public statements of Vice-president Spiro Agnew, Republican National Chairman Senator Robert Dole, and other national figures. Boudin cited Agnew's statement over national TV Oct. 29: "I also feel that whether a person steals Larry O'Brien's secret papers or steals the Pentagon papers, he should be punished."

The mention of Democratic National Chairman O'Brien's papers was a reference to the Watergate burglary. The use of the word "steal" and the attempt by public officials to equate disclosure of the Pentagon papers with the Watergate incident, Boudin argued, made it imperative that a new jury be selected if there were to be a fair trial.

Byrne questioned the jurors for more than two hours Dec. 1 and then denied the defense motion. The jurors all claimed their minds were still clear of bias. Several of them, however, admitted to having had conversations with others about the case during the last four months.

The defense plans to appeal Byrne's ruling on their mistrial motion. At the same time, they have filed still another motion. After Byrne's ruling Dec. 1, Charles Nesson, one of the lawyers on the defense team, told the judge that a set of documents supplied to the defense by the government that week showed that the prosecution intended to use as evidence documents different from those previously supplied to the defense.

Court procedure requires the prosecution to make detailed disclosure to the defense of the evidence it intends to use. Nesson charged that of the 610 documents presented to the defense Nov. 27, only 220 had been among the 663 the government had indicated earlier it intended to use.

On the basis of this change in the government's evidence, Nesson told Byrne, the defense wants an additional month's delay. Byrne replied sharply, "The matter can be handled in another way." This, the defense infers, means that Byrne may not allow the government to use all of its new evidence in order to be able to begin the trial Dec. 12.



Daniel Ellsberg

# How New Zealand socialists campaigned for Labour victory

By PETER SEIDMAN

One of the international guests who took part in the Nov. 23-26 national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance was Kay Goodger, a leading member of the New Zealand Socialist Action League (SAL). Goodger, 25, also is active in the Wellington Women's Liberation group and heads the women's liberation work of the SAL.

I was able to interview Kay Goodger when she stopped in New York after the convention. Our discussion centered on the significance of the Nov. 25 upset victory of the Labour Party in New Zealand's national elections. In its biggest victory since 1935, Labour won 55 seats while the National Party took only 32.

"Labour won the 1972 elections primarily because of the increasing dissatisfaction with the fix of the last 12 years of National Party rule," Goodger explained.

She outlined how under the National Party welfare services have steadily eroded. "The government abolished the system of free milk in schools in 1967, a system which had been introduced by the first Labour government of 1935-49. The public hospital system, once regarded as the most progressive in the world, is in a state of chaos. The National government has been responsible for trying to shift the emphasis of medical care to private rather than public control and has done nothing to rectify the serious shortage of doctors.

"The government," she added, "has dramatically reduced the housing and building program introduced in the 1940s by the Labour government."

Goodger said that the National Par-



Kay Goodger

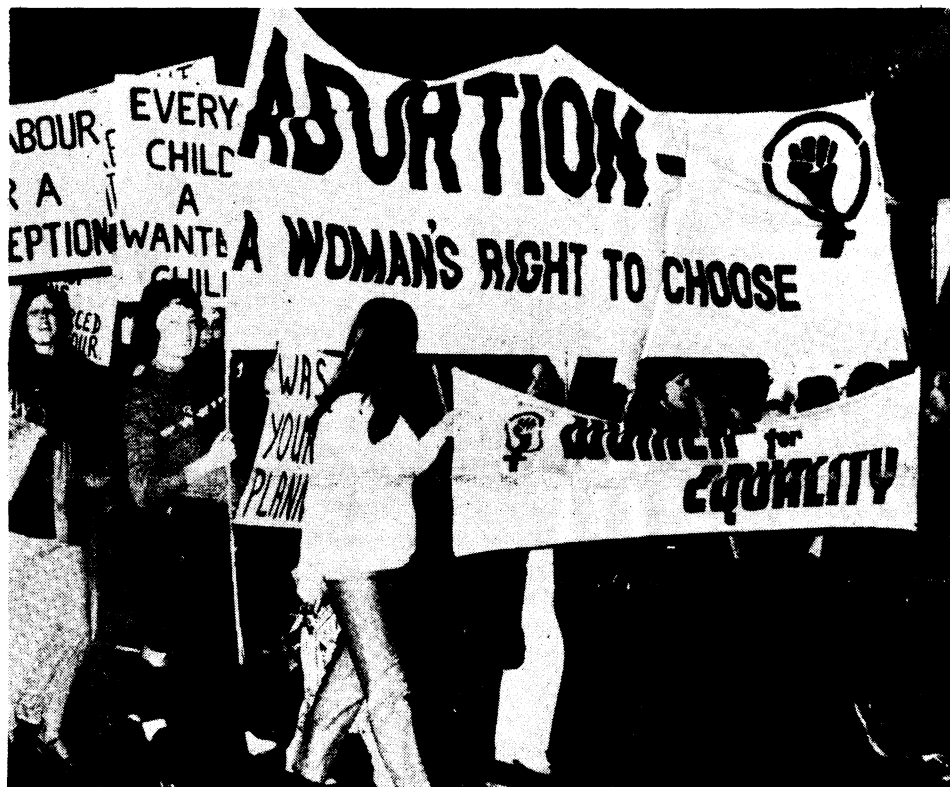
Militant/Mark Satinoff

ty government has also proposed measures to curb the actions of the unions, and this has led to "increasing conflict between the union movement and the National government."

In addition, the demands of the rising protest movements have been totally ignored. "The government has been adamant in supporting U. S. imperialism in Indochina, in its support for continued sporting contact with racist South Africa, and in its complicity with the employers over the issue of equal pay for women. It has stated firmly its opposition to legal abortion and free contraception."

Did the Labour Party present a clear alternative to the National Party policies?

"While the Labour Party was viewed as having a better stand on social issues," she answered, "the 1972 election was not characterized by sharp differences over any key issues. Rather, the real issues about which the majority of people are concerned were hardly touched upon."



Auckland, New Zealand, march for repeal of abortion laws

Socialist Action

I asked Goodger to describe the role of New Zealand revolutionary socialists, who initiated a Socialists for Labour Campaign, in the elections.

"The goals of the Socialists for Labour Campaign were to bring the real issues into the elections in the context of support for Labour, as the party of the working class. We wanted to show young activists in the movements for social change the importance of relating to this party, while at the same time criticizing it and putting pressure on its right-wing leadership to support the issues we raised.

"We said the Labour Party must end all support to the war in Indochina, end all wage restraints, repeal the abortion laws, and end sporting contacts with South Africa. It should support the demands of the movements for Maori language and land rights [Maoris are the original Polynesian inhabitants of New Zealand], for democracy in the high schools, and for an end to antihomosexual laws. We say the Labour Party must support these movements because they are the allies of the working class in the struggle for socialism.

"The campaign accomplished much in drawing many young people to support the idea of a socialist alternative to the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party. As Young Socialists for a Labour Government, these people conducted a wide campaign selling *Socialist Action*, the campaign newspaper, and distributing campaign literature at all the main election meetings in the country. People endorsed the Socialists for Labour campaign from 14 areas in New Zealand."

I asked Goodger what positions the Labour Party had taken on the issues of women's rights, the war in Southeast Asia, and the struggles of the Maoris.

She explained that abortion is illegal in New Zealand unless performed to save the life of the woman. Nevertheless, she said, between 6,000 and 15,000 women in this country of only three million obtain illegal abortions every year. Only the wealthy can easily afford the trip to Australia or to such faraway places as Japan and New York to obtain legal abortions.

"The Labour Party has to some extent related to the demands of the women's liberation movement by talking about increasing decent child care and being firm about equal pay, but they've completely run away from the abortion issue. And although there's

quite a bit of support in the Labour Party for legal abortion, the leadership, thinking that they're going to lose votes from Catholic people, has come out very strongly against doing anything. It hasn't actually said it's against abortion. We can expect that with their election, we'll have some sort of commission of inquiry at the most."

Goodger explained that through past struggles, the Maori people had won four seats in the 87-seat New Zealand Parliament, although Maoris make up 8 to 9 percent of the population.

"Both the National and Labour Parties run candidates for these seats, which can only be voted on by the Maori voters. There has been quite a bit of activity over the election period about Maori life—particularly concerning their right to be taught their own language in the schools. But there's been no real pressure from, or specific call by, the Labour Party to do this."

Goodger explained that the antiwar movement in New Zealand—which has organized as many as 35,000 people across the country in mass street demonstrations—"had a definite effect on the Labour Party. This year's national mobilization received endorsement from far more Labour MPs and candidates than did the previous year's, and this helped build the demonstration. Also, the Labour Party conference this year unanimously adopted a motion condemning the mining of the North Vietnamese harbors and the bombing of Hanoi."

The Labour Party has pledged to withdraw the New Zealand training forces left in Vietnam by the National government.

Goodger discussed the impact the new Labour government would have.

"We will have to continue organizing to demand that the Labour government make the changes people want. The people of New Zealand will be expecting more from the Labour government than they did from the National Party when it was in power. And the Labour government, offering only a few reforms of the capitalist system and not being capable of fully solving the problems people face, will serve to sharpen the conflict between the party leadership and its radicalizing members and supporters and will underline the need for a socialist alternative to its current program and leadership."

# Novack speaks on politics of philosophy

By DAVID KEIL

NEW YORK, Dec. 2—More than 100 people attended the Lower Manhattan Militant Labor Forum last night to hear Marxist scholar George Novack speak on "The Relevance of Philosophy to Politics."

Novack is the author of several books, including *The Logic of Marxism*, *Empiricism and Its Evolution*, and a forthcoming book, *Humanism and Socialism*, to be released soon by Pathfinder Press.

In his presentation, Novack pointed out that Plato had urged that all rulers be philosophers. In contrast, he said, the professional capitalist politicians in this country have no more use for philosophy than the invocation, on appropriate occasions, of God's blessing.

But now, as always, philosophy finds itself at the service of political purposes, Novack argued. Philosophers can play a part in the political process, often as critics of the established order. "France has its Jean-Paul Sartre," he said, "Poland, its Leszek Kolakowski, England had its Bertrand Russell—and we, alas! have Sidney Hook!" Hook has been a cold warrior for many years, and enthusiastically supported Nixon in the 1972 elections.

In the workers states, Novack said, the Stalinist school elevates its highest political leaders to the level of philosophical geniuses. Yet Mao and Stalin distorted or dogmatized Marxist thought. In addition, sectarian dogmatists of the Stalinist tradition seek to exclude persons of varying philosophical ideas from political and ideological discussions.

Novack discussed the philosophy of the spontanéist current in the student movement. According to spontanéists, accidental causes, not necessity, determine events. Hence, revolutionary organization is not needed. Marxism takes the opposite view. To bring the spontaneous impulses of mass struggles to fruition, Novack said, a revolutionary party must be built.

Novack's audience was provided with what he called "an excellent example of sectarianism in philosophy" when two spectators, evidently members of the Healyite Workers League, rose to denounce his philosophy as "liberal." They rejected the idea that Marxist philosophy, as Novack said, must incorporate the best previous accomplishments of human thought, however imperfect, and that philosophy, while it is important, is not the driving force of revolutionary politics.



George Novack

Militant/Brian Shannon



# Abdeen Jabara hits anti-Arab attacks

A panel on Nixon's anti-Arab witch-hunt was held at the recent Young Socialist Alliance convention. Abdeen Jabara, president of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, was one of the panelists. The following are excerpts from his remarks.

At this juncture in the history of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict, I would like to alert you to a campaign, a generalized campaign of harassment, intimidation, and persecution launched by the Nixon administration in a directive on Sept. 25, which established a cabinet-level committee on terrorism. Its members represent the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency, the attorney general, and the State, Defense, Transportation, and Treasury departments. It is headed by a former American ambassador to Lebanon and has started to implement a number of unspecified, vague, omnibus measures against several classes of people in the United States.

These are Arab students on F-1 student visas, permanent residents, American citizens of Arabic-speaking background, and Americans who have supported the Palestinian revolution. What has been the nature of this campaign? The government has been unwilling, despite requests to do so under the Freedom of Information Act

of 1966, to disclose the nature of the measures being taken on the grounds that such release would jeopardize the success of the campaign.

However, certain remarks can be made as to the nature of the campaign.

The institution of "Operation Boulder" was a result of three telegrams sent by Secretary of State Rogers to all posts around the world. Henceforth, all Arab ethnics, regardless of nationality, must be cleared through the Washington intelligence community before being granted a visa.

Secondly, we see the screening of all Arab students within the United States for their views with regard to the Palestinian question, and to determine whether or not any visa irregularities existed. This is designed to harass and intimidate these students into silence and to stop the activism which they have demonstrated on campuses around the country.

Thirdly, we see the screening of permanent Arab residents, which is a different status than student visas. They have considerably more rights. It's much more difficult to revoke a permanent residency status and deport the individual than in the case of a student visa. I would like to give some specific examples of what is happening around the country. In Los Angeles, in Kansas City, in New York, in Texas, etc.

In Kansas City, a student received an extension of his visa from the Immigration and Naturalization Service for a period of six months on the basis of presenting a valid I-20 form, that is, that he is currently enrolled in a degree program. He subsequently married an American citizen who filed a petition on his behalf for permanent residency.

He went to the INS in Kansas City to check on the status of that petition, was handed a letter saying that his visa extension had been revoked, the petition of his wife had been denied, and he was under arrest for being illegally in the country. He was incarcerated for six days in the county jail, was not allowed to obtain an attorney until he pleaded with an electrician who then contacted a priest in the jail who contacted the immigration author-



Militant/John Gray  
Anti-Arab witch-hunt aims to silence all supporters of Palestinian struggle.

ities and made them get him an attorney.

He was taken before the hearing examiner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. When he asked how he could be in the country illegally when he possessed a valid extension of his visa, no answer was given, and he was ordered to depart the country within 30 days—which he has done.

A senior design engineer for the Kansas State Highway Department, a permanent resident, was visited on numerous occasions by the FBI. On one occasion they demanded his fingerprints and photograph at 12 o'clock midnight. He said, "I refuse to answer the knock on the door. If you wish to contact me you can make an appointment."

He complained to the superiors of the FBI agent and was met again the second day in a Ramada Inn restaurant where he was told that they had information that he was a member of a terrorist organization. He

requested that the agent write that statement on a piece of paper, sign it, and have it witnessed. The agent refused. The Palestinian complained again and was told by the head of the FBI office in Kansas City: "Well, this is a tactic that is sometimes used by our agents to obtain information."

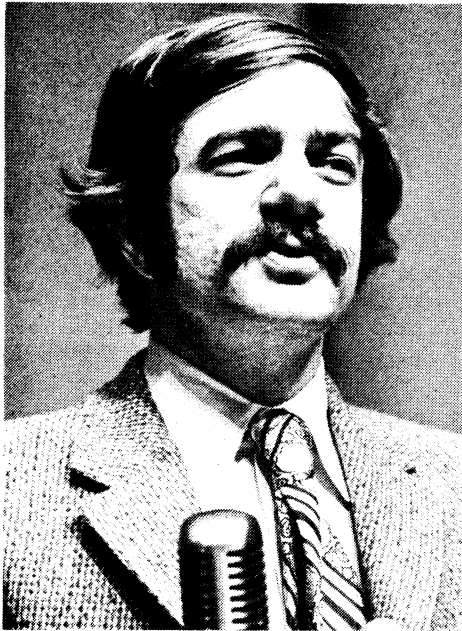
This campaign is occurring on a generalized, widespread basis throughout the country, against Arab-Americans, permanent residents, and Arab students.

Other actions taken by the FBI include a generalized review of those people who have recently visited the Middle East, or who subscribe to various journals which have supported or written or spoken on the problem.

We feel that the nature of this campaign is not designed to "screen" people the government has "reason to believe might be planning terrorism," as reported in an Oct. 5 *New York Times* article, but rather to suppress, to intimidate, and to liquidate the organizational and associational activities which have been taken on behalf of the Palestinian revolution.

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates has undertaken a campaign to react to this challenge, placing a one-third page ad in the *New York Times* on Oct. 29 entitled "Is the Nixon administration playing politics with civil rights?" We have supplied information about this campaign to the American Civil Liberties Union, which has written a letter to Attorney General Kleindienst and has issued a statement, a statement which has not appeared in the media.

We have supplied information to an investigative reporter for the *National Observer*, who, on Oct. 18, 1972, in a front-page article, indicated: "Arabs taste U.S. terror." And we are making every effort to reach fraternal groups, such as the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, to alert them to this campaign, to ask their solidarity, in terms of practical measures, on campus and off campus, to react, to inform the American people, particularly nationality groups, as to the character of this campaign, so that a public outcry can put an end to it and we can continue with our work.



Abdeen Jabara  
Militant/Mark Satinoff

# Swedish greetings to young socialists

Revolutionary organizations around the world sent greetings to the twelfth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held in Cleveland Nov. 23-26. Messages were received from such countries as Venezuela, Luxembourg, France, Canada, Australia, India, Sri Lanka, and Sweden.

In some cases greetings came from groups that were unable to send members to observe the convention. The Revolutionary Communist League of Japan and the Socialist Youth Alliance of Australia were prevented from attending the convention by the U.S. government, which refused to grant visas to their representatives.

The greetings came from groups that are affiliated to, or maintain fraternal relations with, the Fourth International. Although undemocratic legislation prevents the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party from affiliating to the Fourth International, they are in political solidarity with it.

The following are excerpts from the greetings of a member of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Sweden: We, the Revolutionary Marxist League of Sweden, give our revolutionary greetings to the YSA convention. For us, the YSA and SWP not only represent a stimulating historical tradition of the Trotskyist movement, but

in your daily political practice you have introduced important perspectives to us. We want to emphasize two aspects of your political work that have been important for us.

Firstly, your political work has given meaning to the idea that it is absolutely necessary for a communist party to understand and deal with all contradictions within a society. Your attempts to develop a revolutionary approach toward important problems in all different fields, and on all different levels of the society, is inspiring, and we admire your refusal to let any of the so-called new questions be monopolized by the bourgeois mass media.

So, for example, your discussion on the ecological crisis, women's liberation, the bourgeois family, etc., has been followed up by us. For us this total scope of society is important, because we have to challenge a Stalinist and reformist tradition that too often has limited itself to the problems inside the factory gates.

We all know that the working class in the big industries and enterprises is the center around which revolutionary politics develops, but we also know that a revolutionary policy has to include a lot more than just solutions determined by the situation in

these enterprises. And that goes especially for revolutionaries in the so-called welfare states, such as Sweden, where more than ever it is necessary to widen the political framework and broaden the student and working-class struggles so that they also include, for example, the problems of transportation, housing, and pollution, and the cultural situation as a whole. What we want to say is that the YSA and the SWP have given us a taste of such a policy.

Secondly, your work in the antiwar movement has become the example we have followed in our education on how to build united actions. And this has been important for us in Sweden, where you have an extreme

left that is dominated by Maoist organizations. And, as you know, the Stalinist concept of united actions is quite different from ours.

So today, with the principles you use, and other sections of the Fourth International use, we have succeeded in building several united antiwar actions that have attracted some parts of the Swedish left.

These are just two aspects of your work that we are eager to underline. We are sure that in the future, together with you, we will continue to develop international campaigns and actions; and, together with you and revolutionists all over the world, we will build a really strong Fourth International. Long live the Fourth International!



Women's liberation demonstration in Stockholm, Sweden, April 1972.



## 21 Kitty Hawk sailors face trial

# Pentagon study finds military courts racist

By LEE SMITH

DEC. 5—The aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* has been back in port at San Diego harbor for one week. The House subcommittee that held hearings on the *Constellation* protest is ready to begin round two of its investigation into the causes of "unrest" among Black seamen.

The ship's arrival Nov. 28 was followed two days later by the release of a four-volume Pentagon study scoring the system of military justice and a Navy transcript of a pretrial investigation into the Oct. 12 *Kitty Hawk* disturbance.

The kind of treatment that sparked the fight by Black sailors is documented in the Pentagon's four-volume study. Compiled by a biracial task force of both military and civilian representatives, the report rips the prevalence of uneven punishment of Blacks and whites for the same offense.

Chaired jointly by Nathaniel Jones, general counsel for the NAACP, and Lieutenant General Claire Hutchin, commander of the First Army, the task force said that in interviews with scores of GIs it found that Blacks get heavier sentences for minor offenses than whites, are more often put under pretrial confinement than whites, and get more administrative discharges than whites.

In looking for those who bear responsibility for these practices, the panel concluded that discrimination has a mysterious life of its own: "The discrimination is sometimes purposeful; more often it is not," the report says. "Indeed, it often occurs against the dictates not only in policy but in the face of determined efforts of commanders, staff personnel and dedicated service men and women."

But in its recommendations, the task force got back down to earth. It said penalties for minor offenses should be standardized. It stressed the need to recruit more Black and Spanish-speaking lawyers. It called for revision of the system of command selection of military jurors. It proposed substitution of a new procedure for

summary courts-martial. It recommended that racial discrimination be made punishable under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. It suggested that aptitude tests be reevaluated, taking cultural and ethnic backgrounds more into account. It suggested that race relations programs be expanded. And it suggested that helmets and other headgear be redesigned to allow them to be worn with Afro and other contemporary hair styles. In all, the panel made more than 100 specific proposals and recommendations.

In the meantime, 21 Black seamen still face court-martial on charges stemming from the Oct. 12 clash on the *Kitty Hawk*.

The Navy is attempting to keep the lid tightly clamped on news concerning these trials. When the *Kitty Hawk* docked Nov. 28, its commander, Captain Marland Townsend Jr., held a news conference at dockside.

As the 5,000 crewmen and officers streamed off the 80,000-ton vessel to the music of a Navy band and the cheers of some 3,000 friends and relatives, Townsend told newsmen he had ordered his men not to discuss the Oct. 12 incident with reporters. He himself said only that the trouble on that date was "very small" and "incidental to the total mission." Townsend claimed there was no racial discrimination on the *Kitty Hawk*. All of the 27 persons arrested and charged after the Oct. 12 fighting, in which 46 persons were injured, were Black.

Six of those charged were disciplined at sea before "captain's mast." The other 21 were flown to San Diego to face court-martial after the ship arrived.

Blacks coming down the gangplank off the *Kitty Hawk* shouted "racism" when reporters asked them what had caused the trouble Oct. 12. Some Black sailors stopped and talked to reporters despite the fact they had been ordered not to and their officers were watching them. One Black seaman, who had served for 14 years, said the *Kitty Hawk*'s Black executive officer, Commander Benjamin Cloud,



Sailors give Black power salute as *Kitty Hawk* docks Nov. 28

had been beaten. Another sailor said of the Marine security patrol: "every Black they saw, they started beating their heads."

It is still not clear exactly what happened to touch off the fighting between Black sailors and white Marines Oct. 12, but the general course of events in the six-hour incident is described in the pretrial transcript released by the Navy Nov. 30.

The master-at-arms called out the Marine patrol around 9:30 p.m. when a group of 30 to 40 Black sailors gathered on the rear mess deck. Soon the Marines were clubbing the Blacks with their nightsticks. The Marines went on a free-for-all, attacking every Black they could find. The Blacks defended themselves, and the fighting went on until around 3 a.m.

According to the pretrial transcript, around 11 p.m. Cloud, the Black executive officer, got on the ship's pub-

lic address system and made an impassioned plea for the Blacks to return to the after mess deck and for the Marines to go to the forecabin deck. Minutes afterward, Captain Townsend got on the sound system and overruled Cloud: "the XO's [executive officer] been misinformed, problems are not as bad as they seem, everybody go about their business. . . ."

Earlier accounts quoting Navy officers and quoting from interviews with the crew during a stop in Hawaii had suggested the Black sailors were grouped on the mess deck in the first place because of a protest against an investigation into an earlier incident at Subic Bay in the Philippines, a liberty port. These earlier accounts said the Blacks were angry when no whites were summoned for questioning about the Subic Bay incident.

## Argentina tells of Lanusse's repression

By ALEX BAGOS

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 2—"I am 23 years old and have been living under a 'state of siege' all my life. I have never voted for anyone . . . but can be arrested at any time and held for long periods."

These are the words of Daniel Zadunaisky, an Argentine activist in the movement to defend political prisoners and a former political prisoner himself. Zadunaisky is on a U.S. speaking tour to gain support for activists imprisoned by the Lanusse dictatorship. The tour is sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

During a two-day visit to the Washington, D.C., area Nov. 30 and Dec. 1, Zadunaisky spoke to six meetings totaling 300 people, held a successful press conference, and appeared on a radio talk-show.

He described the situation in Argentina to an audience at the Dumbarton United Methodist Church in Georgetown. "The Argentine government rules under an article of the constitution called the 'state of siege,' which, when it is applied, invalidates the rest of the constitution because all constitutional rights and guarantees are suspended.

"It means that persons can be arrested for any type of activity—not only for political activity but also for

union activity or for student activism. They can be arrested and held in prison for a long time, subject to the will of the government—the executive branch of the government because congress is dissolved and political



Daniel Zadunaisky

Militant/Mark Satinoff

parties are dissolved." He went on to describe the various forms of torture used against Argentine political prisoners.

Zadunaisky was introduced to the Georgetown audience by Philip Wheaton, director of the Ecumenical Pro-

gram for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA) of the National Council of Churches. The meeting was sponsored by EPICA, the Committee Against Repression in Brazil (CARIB), Common Front for Latin America (COFFLA), American Friends of Guatemala, Washington Clergy and Laity Concerned, Dumbarton United Methodist Church, the D.C. Anti-Imperialist Committee, and the Washington, D.C., USLA.

He also spoke at the University of Maryland, American University, and Federal City College. On Dec. 1, he spoke at the D.C. Militant Forum, along with a Brazilian student who had been imprisoned and tortured in his country.

One of the main points Zadunaisky made during his tour was the effectiveness of international solidarity in the campaign to free Argentine political prisoners. He pointed out that "the Argentine government wants to preserve a democratic image internationally, and it embarrasses them" when word gets out about the repression and torture in Argentina. Demonstrations and picket lines around the world, and especially in the U.S., he said, are "a tremendous help to us in freeing the prisoners."

As a specific example, he mentioned the case of Augustin Tosco, an Argentine trade-union leader who was

held for more than 15 months without trial. As a result of a campaign in Argentina and the U.S., particularly a picket line held by USLA in New York, Tosco was freed.

Zadunaisky's next stop after D.C. was Philadelphia, where he spoke to 50 people at the University of Pennsylvania. He also spoke after services at the First Unitarian Church. On Dec. 4, he spoke at Princeton University in New Jersey.

Militant correspondent Glen Boatman reports that Zadunaisky spoke to more than 300 people at the University of Minnesota on Nov. 21, including presentations to classes on Argentine history and Latin American politics. He also spoke at a Latino-American film program at the Catholic student center. All of these programs were part of a day-long teaching in on Latin America sponsored by eight organizations, including the local USLA.

The Argentine activist also appeared at a Nov. 20 news conference, covered by Twin Cities newspapers and TV stations, at which the Reverend Vincent Hawkinson from the international affairs committee of the Minnesota Council of Churches announced the formation of a local USLA chapter.

# BLACK SAILORS REBELLED AGAINST NAVY'S RACISM IN WWII



A company of Black soldiers and white officer at Kelly Field, Texas, in 1941. U.S. fought 'for democracy' with segregated armed forces in World War II.

The following is the second in a series on racism in the U.S. military.

By LEE SMITH

Most Black leaders urged Blacks to support and serve in World War I. Even W. E. B. DuBois, whose research on the battlefield led to extensive documentation of racist treatment of Blacks by the military, had urged Blacks to support Wilson's "war for democracy." In an editorial entitled "Close Ranks" in the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine, DuBois argued that the U.S. government, which professed democratic ideals, should be supported against the German government, which did not even pay lip service to such beliefs.

The article in last week's *Militant* indicated that many Black sailors and soldiers put up with the racist abuse of their officers out of a conviction that by performing well in battle they could help improve the condition of their race. Of course, no such thing happened.

For example, the 369th Harlem Regiment soldiers who Emmett Scott claimed told him they would swallow insults and fight "for the sake of the Negro race" earned (from the Germans) the name "Hell Fighters." The regiment was in the trenches 191 days, never lost a foot of ground, and was the first unit of the Allied Armies to reach the Rhine. More than 1,000 were killed or wounded. But when they returned home it was to a United States where hooded klansmen paraded on the Capitol mall and lynched Blacks across the country without fear of prosecution.

## World War II

In the Second World War few Black leaders with any following held the position Scott or DuBois had taken. They were constrained by an outlook that put their opposition to Jim Crow in the context of general support to the U.S. war effort. But Black leaders such as A. Philip Randolph were moved by the militancy and increased organization of the Black masses to take a more combative stance in the fight against military segregation when conscription was again instituted in October 1940.

Soon after the new draft law was enacted, President Franklin Roosevelt was hit with protest against a White House statement brushing aside the law's civil rights provisions. "This policy [not to intermingle Black and white sailors]," the statement said, "has proved satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense." Along with the statement, Roosevelt broadly

hinted that this policy was approved by an ex officio committee of three comprised of A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Walter White, president of the NAACP; and T. Arnold Hill.

The three men angrily answered the commander-in-chief in a telegram they made public. It said in part:

"We most vigorously protest your approval of War Department policy regarding Negroes in armed forces which precludes Negro officers except chaplains and doctors in regular army units other than two national guard regiments staffed by Negro officers. . . .

"We further vigorously question your statement that morale is splendid in existing Negro units of the regular army. *Many enlisted men in these segregated units have made repeated protests at being forced to serve as hostlers and servants to white army officers.* . . ." (Emphasis added.)

## USS Philadelphia

Meanwhile, a number of Black messmen aboard the *USS Philadelphia* got together near the end of September 1940 to discuss the racist abuse they suffered. Fifteen of them composed and

In their letter, the 15 said they were taking the step of writing "regardless of any action Naval authorities may take [because] it could not possibly surpass the mental cruelty inflicted upon us on this ship."

The action of Naval authorities was reported in the Nov. 9 *Socialist Appeal* (a predecessor to *The Militant*): "Because they wrote a letter protesting the intolerable Jim Crow conditions in the U.S. Navy and sent it to the Negro press, 15 young colored messmen on the U.S.S. Philadelphia have been clapped into the brig. . . ."

The same issue of the *Socialist Appeal* contained the Socialist Workers Party's resolution on Military Policy and the Negroes. This resolution said in part:

"The system of Jim Crowism in the armed forces demonstrates very clearly to the Negro the hypocrisy of slogans about 'war for democracy.' But the ruling class maintains Jim Crowism in the armed forces. For it cannot wipe out this system in the armed forces without endangering the whole system of Jim Crowism practiced in 'civilian life': in industry, in civil service, on relief, at the ballot booth, in housing, theaters, restaurants—economically, politically, socially. The capitalists fear that NO NEGRO TRAINED TO HANDLE A GUN WOULD PEACEFULLY GO BACK TO THE OLD LIFE OF DISCRIMINATION, SEGREGATION, DISFRANCHISEMENT AND INSULT AFTER TRAINING IN AN ARMY WHERE HE WAS TREATED AS AN EQUAL WITH WHITE SOLDIERS."

The capitalists were indeed afraid. Despite a flood of letters from Black and labor organizations into the office of Navy Secretary Frank Knox, protesting the Navy's Jim Crowism and demanding release of the *Philadelphia* sailors, the brass stuck to its racist policies. In late November of 1940, the Bureau of Navigation put out the following statement:

"After many years of experience, the policy of not enlisting men of the colored race for any branch of the naval service, except the messmen's branch, was adopted to meet the best interests of general ship efficiency. . . .

"This policy not only serves the best interests of the navy and the country, but serves as well the best interests of the men themselves."

And so, "in the best interests of the navy and the country," in December of 1940 the Navy gave 13 of the *Philadelphia* sailors "undesirable" discharges. Two of the men, Shannon Goodwin and Byron Johnson, were court martialed. These sailors had

Continued on page 26

# POLLSTER: MOSCOW BOOSTED NIXON

By LEE SMITH

"The Russians virtually pushed Mr. Nixon back into the White House when they agreed to go ahead with the Summit meeting after the mining at Haiphong." That's the conclusion of pollster Daniel Yankelovich.

"The news media failed to identify the truly decisive event of the election," Yankelovich wrote in an article that appeared in the Nov. 30 *New York Review of Books*, "because it occurred months before the campaign even began. . . ."

Yankelovich reports that his pollsters found the Vietnam war to be "the issue of greatest concern to the American public." He adds that "Domestic issues also played a part but we found they were not nearly so important."

Undoubtedly, the key "domestic issue" contributing to Nixon's electoral victory was his appeal to the racism of white voters on such issues as bus-ing and welfare. But Yankelovich does not discuss other issues besides the war.

The survey expert points out that in April, before Nixon mined North Vietnam's harbors, his "Vietnam policy was in serious trouble with the voters."



Brezhnev and Nixon

At that time when the Harris poll asked, 'Does Nixon inspire confidence?' the people interviewed answered no, by a margin of five to four."

Right after Nixon mined the harbors, Yankelovich says, "people expected the worst. In the past, most decisions on Vietnam made in times of crisis—such as the Cambodian 'incursion'—had proved disastrous." He says the voters were reminded of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. The key question on most people's minds was: "How would the Russians react?" When it was learned the Russians were not cancelling Nixon's visit, Yankelovich writes, the public was "vastly relieved."

He reports that people watched with "mounting confidence" Nixon "being toasted at Soviet banquets."

"Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the message got through to the American public: Nixon had faced the Russians down, and the danger to the US from the war—the danger of a big power confrontation—had been defused." After this, Yankelovich claims, "in the public mind it was almost as if the war had ended at the Moscow Summit." He states: "Soviet/Chinese acquiescence in the Haiphong mining had handed Mr. Nixon an overwhelming diplomatic victory, containing the seeds of his subsequent political victory at home."

During the rest of the preelection period, Yankelovich says, "an unwavering 62 percent of the voters said, 'Mr. Nixon is doing everything he can to end the war.' They voted for him largely, if not exclusively, for this reason."



Dec. 14, 1940, Socialist Appeal

signed a letter to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, a Black newspaper.

"On enlisting," they began their letter, "we are given the same mental and physical examination as the white sailors and were given to believe that we have the privilege of choosing any branch of the service the Navy offers. This is not true."

"With three months of training in making beds, shining shoes and serving officers completed, we are sent to various ships and stations of the Navy. . . ."

Blacks joining the Navy, the 15 wrote, only "become . . . seagoing bellhops, chambermaids and dishwashers."



# In Review

## Magazines



## Ms.

Ms. 123 Garden St., Marion, Ohio 43302. Subscription: 1 Year \$9. Back issues \$1.50 each.

The next time someone tries to tell you that the average American woman has no interest in feminist ideas, you might try quoting the circulation figures for *Ms.*—a monthly magazine that is the most successful publication to emerge from the women's liberation movement to date.

Its preview issue last winter had a run of 300,000 copies—enough, its editors felt confident, to remain on the stands eight weeks until the first regular issue was ready. It completely sold out in eight days and brought its editors some 20,000 letters of response! Its circulation has been rising ever since.

What is likely to appear in a typical issue of *Ms.*? In the beginning pages, one finds the regular departments. "Ms. on the Arts" has done such things as review the New York Festival of Women's Films, plug feminist rock bands, and elevate the novels of Margaret Drabble from obscurity to the acclaim they deserve. Then there's "Populist Mechanics," which systematically demystifies things like cars and the space between your walls. There's a "Men's Page." And there's also at least one article intended for children. Although most of the articles for children seem to verge on the overly "cute" side, that is a judgment young people would have to make themselves.

Most of the articles are features, and on the whole, are exceptionally well written. There have been articles on female sexuality, women's liberation in Spain, women in the Army, to name only a few. Each month numerous pieces give specific information on legal rights of women in education and employment, citing lawsuits in these areas.

An attempt is made to cover the lives of Black and Latin women, but this remains a weak area.

There have also been reminiscences of women such as Marilyn Monroe and Sylvia Plath, whose lives are now being filtered through the prism of feminist consciousness and interpreted anew.

The best articles are most always those on women's history. One dealt with the oppression of female garment workers at the turn of the century, pointing out that they were fined for crooked stitches or for laughing, and that they had to pay their boss 50 cents a week for the use of his machines and electricity!

*Ms.* also participates in controversies surrounding the women's movement. The December issue contains an outraged reply to Midge Decter's new book *The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation*. An additional controversial area *Ms.* covered was the elections. The manner in which it treated them must be criticized, however. While it was covering George McGovern's campaign thoroughly, *Ms.* never gave attention to candidates running in parties opposed to the Democrats and Republicans, such as the Raza Unida parties and Socialist Workers Party.

The October issue contains a lengthy piece by editor

Gloria Steinem retracing McGovern's political career and even rationalizing his reactionary stance on abortion as practical politics. Another issue has an article listing women candidates around the country, but neglects to point out that the SWP, as well as running many women for local offices, was the only party running a woman (Linda Jenness) for president. Then the November issue carried a "Memo for Election Day," detailing Nixon's bankrupt policies on major issues. The result of this treatment was to give an implicit endorsement to George McGovern.

Given the fact that McGovern's campaign was one of the most important factors responsible for the disorientation in the women's movement during the past year, it was particularly ironic for a feminist publication to take such a stance. Many feminists believed that electing McGovern would solve at least some of their problems, and they turned away from building an independent feminist movement.

The abortion rights struggle was particularly harmed by this turning away from visible, aggressive actions to go into the back rooms of the electoral arena to beg politicians to support women's issues. By its emphasis on the McGovern campaign, *Ms.* contributed to this disorientation.

In other respects, however, *Ms.* has definitely helped build the abortion rights movement. It has reported favorably on the activities of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), and it regularly runs the "American Women's Petition," a list of women who have had abortions and who urge the repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

*Ms.* is the only publication that has been able to be both professionally done and widely circulated while remaining generally feminist in content and aimed at drawing women into a movement that is fighting to change this society.

*Ms.* has provided a vehicle through which women can establish a sense of solidarity with feminist ideas, even though it may be a solitary and passive bond. The magazine has been particularly important to new feminists, many of whom were previously scared off by the negative image the sexist press has bestowed on the women's liberation movement. It has convinced them that feminist ideas are relevant to their lives.

Hopefully future issues will have more coverage directed toward those who want to take action against their oppression, discussing various strategies that can be used to do such things as defeat the anti-abortion forces. The lack of such articles has been a weakness.

Nonetheless, the way *Ms.* has reflected and contributed to the deep impact feminism has had on the lives of millions of women cannot be underestimated. As one woman wrote in a letter to the editors, "It's difficult to express the sense of exhilaration I experienced upon finding in print the ideas which have been smoldering in my semi-rebellious soul for some forty years."

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

## Pamphlets

### Repression in Argentina

Crisis and Repression in Argentina by Peter Camejo and Nahuel Moreno. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 24 pp. 35 cents.

With the Nov. 17 return of Juan Perón to Argentina, the rulers of that country are entering the final phase of an electoral maneuver they hope will stave off what is developing as one of the sharpest confrontations between the oppressed masses and their exploiters in all of Latin America.

Those seeking an introductory guide to the meaning of events in Argentina will find one in this pamphlet, which contains two articles by Peter Camejo reprinted from *The Militant* of Sept. 8 and 15 and an interview with Argentine Trotskyist leader Nahuel Moreno that appeared in expanded form in the Oct. 20 *Militant*.

In his two articles, Camejo defines the role of Peronism in Argentine politics and demonstrates its relationship to the massive semi-insurrections that have gripped Argentina's cities periodically since May 1969.

He also outlines the major tendencies that are playing key roles in the preparations for Argentina's 1973 elections. These elections were called after a series of uprisings in 1971 prompted Argentina's strongest military figure, General Alejandro Lanusse, to seize power directly in a military coup.

Lanusse invited Perón to return to Argentina and participate in the "Great National Agreement." This is the election agreement the major political forces are trying to work out, with the hope of demobilizing the masses through a parliamentary maneuver. With the exception of the Argentine Socialist Party, the PSA, nearly every left group, including the Communist Party, has fallen for the Lanusse-Perón gambit. Camejo's articles provide important explanations of the history and program of the PSA, which have led it to conduct an independent working-class campaign in the 1973 elections.

In his interview, Moreno describes how the Trelew massacre of 16 political prisoners in August has affected the political situation in Argentina. Moreno also outlines some of the plans the PSA has made for its election campaign.

—PETER SEIDMAN





# THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: FORMATION OF THE 1923 OPPOSITION

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

By DAVE FRANKEL

By the end of 1922 Stalin had formed a bloc with Kamenev and Zinoviev within the Politburo of the Bolshevik Party. Zinoviev and Kamenev led the party organizations in Moscow and Petrograd, Russia's two major cities. Zinoviev was also the first president of the Communist International.

This bloc, known as the triumvirate, dominated the Politburo, and its supporters had a majority in the central committee. It was not based on a particular political program but on



Leon Trotsky

mutual support and the desire of the participants to maintain themselves as leaders of the party. Since this was their main purpose, they subordinated to it the need to work out the best answers to economic and political problems.

## Economic policy

The consequences of this approach were not long in coming. From the beginning of the New Economic Policy (NEP) the recovery of heavy industry failed to keep pace with that of agriculture and light industry. A consistent economic plan was needed. Such a plan could have systematically developed heavy industry, and with it the planned and nationalized part of the economy as against the anarchic and backward peasant sector.

But the triumvirate, since it had no principled political program, responded

empirically to the pressures of the Russian economy. By far the largest sector of that economy was the peasant farms, and the dominant sector of the peasantry—the rich peasants—soon began to have a strong influence on economic policy.

Lenin had been well aware of the need to develop industry and economic planning. In November 1922, he said:

"The salvation of Russia lies not only in a good harvest on the peasant farms—that is not enough; and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumer goods—this, too, is not enough; we also need heavy industry."

And that, he continued, "needs state subsidies. If we are not able to provide them, we shall be doomed as a civilized state, let alone as a socialist state."

This had also been Leon Trotsky's view, that in the long run the development of both agriculture and light industry rested on the recovery of heavy industry. Heavy industry was needed to produce replacements for worn-out machinery, an adequate system of transport, tractors and fertilizer for farming, etc. Only the planned development of heavy industry in harmony with the rest of the economy could lay the groundwork necessary to lift Russia out of its backwardness and allow the development of culture and of material abundance.

The agreement between Lenin and Trotsky on this course was cemented in October 1922 when the central committee of the Bolshevik Party passed, in their absence, a measure that would have led to the eventual destruction of the government's monopoly of foreign trade. On Dec. 15 Lenin informed Stalin, "I have . . . come to an agreement with Trotsky on the defence of my views on the monopoly of foreign trade." He added, "I am sure Trotsky will uphold my views as well as I . . ." (*Lenin: Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 460-61; 1966 edition.)

In Lenin's view, the relaxation of the monopoly of foreign trade, which Stalin favored, "would in practice only leave Russian industry entirely unprotected," and would result in the "ruin [of] our home industry."

The monopoly of foreign trade not only protected Soviet industry from being destroyed by the competition of the more advanced industries of the capitalist world. It was also one of the main limitations on the introduction of private enterprise allowed by the NEP. The retention of all foreign trade in the hands of the state prevented the rich peasantry and the private industries established under the NEP from making economic and political links with international capitalism.

Those who advocated relaxing the trade monopoly were accommodating to the pressures of the rich peasantry and of the new class of petty capitalists rising under the NEP. Lenin charged that Bukharin, who defended the loosening of the monopoly, was "acting as an advocate of the profiteer, of the petty bourgeois, and of the upper stratum of the peasantry in opposition to the industrial proletariat . . ."

On Dec. 18 the central committee backed down, and five days later Lenin underscored his agreement with Trotsky on economic policy. He urged that the State Planning Commission be strengthened by giving it legislative

powers—a policy long advocated by Trotsky, and one that Lenin had originally disagreed with.

But the triumvirate refused to change its basic policies. The triumvirate refused to tax the rich peasantry to get the funds needed to develop industry—a policy that could have been carried out without destroying the advances in agricultural production. Instead, it allowed industry to stagnate, while placing the burden of its operation on the backs of the working class.

By 1923 industrial production as a whole had risen to only one-third of the 1913 total; by September unemployment had doubled from a year earlier, standing at 1,060,000. Wages were being paid irregularly and in some cases were cut. Beginning in August and continuing into September 1923, a series of large strikes swept Soviet industry in response to these policies. The widespread discon-



Zinoviev and Kamenev formed a bloc with Stalin against Trotsky.

tent with the official policy was also reflected by oppositional groupings within the Bolshevik Party.

On top of all this, the policy of the majority in the Politburo was incapable of placating the peasants. The failure to provide adequate subsidies for heavy industry caused a continuing increase in the price of manufactured goods relative to agricultural produce, a situation disadvantageous to the peasantry.

## Trotsky's response

On Oct. 8, 1923, Trotsky addressed a letter to the central committee of the Bolshevik Party in which he attributed the growth of factional groups within the party to two causes: "(a) the radically incorrect and unhealthy regime within the party, and (b) the dissatisfaction of the workers and peasants with the grievous economic situation, which has been brought about as the result not only of objective difficulties, but of flagrant radical errors of economic policy."

Pointing to the appointment of party members to posts by the Organizational Bureau, headed by Stalin, Trotsky said that these were made not on the basis of merit, but "first and foremost from the standpoint [of] how far they may support or hinder the maintenance of the regime in the party . . ."

Trotsky demanded that "secretarial bureaucracy" be replaced by "party democracy—at any rate enough of it to prevent the party being threatened with ossification and degener-

acy." For a year and a half, Trotsky explained, he had been raising these problems within the central committee of the party. But in view of the crisis produced by the policies being carried out, he now considered himself free to take the discussion beyond that body.

On Oct. 15, one week later, 46 other leading members of the Bolshevik Party submitted a manifesto to the central committee. This "platform of the 46" began with the economic crisis and went on to hit directly at the bureaucratic clique controlling the party. It explained that the party leadership's failure was due to "a direction of affairs which is one-sided and adapted to the views and sympathies of a narrow circle." As the result of a "party leadership distorted by such narrow considerations," the party was losing touch with the masses.

The platform decried the "division of the party between a secretarial hier-



archy and 'quiet folk,' between professional party officials recruited from above and the general mass of the party which does not participate in the common life." Party congresses, it charged, were becoming "the executive assemblies of this hierarchy."

The criticisms raised by Trotsky and the 46 represented only the most visible expression of widespread uneasiness and dissatisfaction within the party. The triumvirate was forced to allow a discussion within the party, and it was announced on Nov. 7 that the columns of *Pravda* would be opened for different viewpoints.

The discussion, which began first in Moscow, showed at once the powerful discontent that had been building up. Shortly after the debate had begun, at least one-third of the party organizations in the army sided with the opposition. The central committee of the communist youth and most of the youth cells in Moscow did likewise. A large majority of student cells declared their support to the 46 (Trotsky's differences with the triumvirate were still only guessed at outside of the central committee).

"At some meetings in large factories the triumvirs themselves were met with derision and heavily outvoted," according to historian Isaac Deutscher. Rykov, a supporter of the triumvirate and a member of the Politburo, later admitted that opposition speakers "frequently" obtained majorities at party meetings in this period.

The first reaction of Stalin and his cohorts was to resort to bureaucratic

*Continued on page 26*

# Veteran labor writer dies

By FRANK LOVELL

Carl Haessler died in Detroit, Dec. 1, at the age of 84. He was an antiwar fighter, a working newsman, and an active participant in the labor and radical movement.

As a young man he was a professor of philosophy at the University of Illinois, where he received a doctor of philosophy degree. He had previously completed his undergraduate work at the University of Milwaukee and studied as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University.

He opposed World War I and was sent to Fort Leavenworth prison. He was later transferred to Alcatraz for leading a prison strike. After his release in 1920, he remained for a time in the Socialist Party.

The Russian revolution had a strong influence on the young Haessler, and he never returned to the academic world after leaving prison.

For 35 years Haessler was identified with Federated Press, a national labor news agency that started during the 1919 steel strike and supplied news to most of the CIO union papers during the 1930s and 1940s.

During the rise of the CIO, Haessler was busy helping to organize the new industrial union movement. He edited the first publication of the Auto Workers union, *The Auto Worker*, and was an organizer of the Newspaper Guild.

During this period he collaborated with the Stalinized Communist Party and supported their policies in the trade-union movement, which was reflected in Federated Press dispatches.

During the McCarthyite reaction of

the 1950s he sympathized with efforts to regroup all radical forces. In those years he was the Detroit correspondent for the *National Guardian*.

Following the Khrushchev revelations in 1956 of the crimes of Stalin, Haessler began to rethink the politics of Stalinism. In this respect he was different, more alert and responsive, than most others of his generation of American radicals. He never lost hope, never ceased to study, never rejected the basic ideas of socialism that had inspired him as a youth.

During the 1960s he sometimes visited the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party on Woodward Avenue in Detroit. He occasionally attended the Friday Night Socialist Forum, which met at the SWP headquarters, and recounted his experiences in the union movement, lectured on the state of the unions, and debated the strategy and tactics of socialist electoral policy. He was an interesting lecturer and a lively debater, well known and respected by everyone in the Detroit radical movement.

He was a devoted supporter of the antiwar movement, and throughout the 1960s he participated in nearly all Detroit demonstrations.

He retained personal contacts in the unions to the end of his life. As a reporter for a local of the Teamsters union, he attended the 1970 convention of the United Auto Workers, the last presided over by Walter Reuther, a onetime associate.

Materials Haessler prepared on the rise of the CIO and his association with the UAW are in the labor archives of the Wayne State University library in Detroit.

Submissiveness and dishonesty are not qualities of revolutionary fighters, nor are they the same as support to the struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination.

In fact, this idea was smuggled into the radical movement, not by genuine revolutionists, but by Stalin and his followers when they needed to destroy the original fighting quality of the Communist International and turn it into a collection of pressure groups always looking after the best interests of the Kremlin bureaucrats rather than the class struggle in their own country and internationally.

Jay Schaffner, a leader of the Illinois Young Workers Liberation League, and a cosupporter with the *Guardian* of the "Sign Now" campaign, holds that NPAC's insistence on its "Out Now" position "is steering people away from the struggle for peace, which is just what Nixon wants" (quoted in the Nov. 16 *Daily World*, newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party).

In fact, however, the "Sign the Treaty Now" campaign of PCPJ has nothing to do with the antiwar movement, which for the last seven years has been the principal expression of the American people's opposition to their government's bloody aggression against Vietnam. The "Sign the Treaty" movement is a movement to support an imperialist-imposed peace.

## ...WW II

Continued from page 23

lacked what was necessary for a Black who wanted to be a "success" in the Navy of World War II.

An anonymous sailor described the qualifications in the NAACP's *The Crisis*: "... never to show a spark of intelligence. ... Everyone does his best to keep a smart Negro 'in his place.' If one doesn't mind being insulted by his superiors, if he is the kind that wants to be a rag under the white man's feet ... then he is the type the navy wants. He is the type that will make a success as a mess-man."

More Black sailors, on the USS *Sampson* and *Davis* and other ships, were inspired by the example of the *Philadelphia* sailors to sign their names to letters confirming that Blacks

in the Navy faced brutal racism.

The protest finally grew to the point that Roosevelt allowed a token number of Blacks to become ensigns after 1942. The vast majority of Blacks in the Navy, however, remained "sea-going chambermaids" throughout the war.

## ...opposition

Continued from page 25

repressions. Antonov-Ovseenko, one of the 46, the leader of the assault on the Winter Palace in October 1917, a hero of the civil war in the Ukraine, and the Red Army's chief political commissar, was dismissed from his post, and the vote in the military cells halted. The central committee of the communist youth was disbanded and replaced by nominees willing to support the line of the triumvirate.

At the same time that they carried out this campaign, Stalin and his allies attempted to neutralize some of the criticisms raised by the opposition by identifying with them. A resolution passed by the Politburo and published on Dec. 7 pointed out and condemned: "The sharp differentiation in the material situation of party members"; "an official narrowness of outlook"; "the danger of the loss of a broad view of socialist construction as a whole and of world revolution"; and "the bureaucratization which has been observed in party offices."

The resolution also called for "a real and systematic application of the principles of workers democracy." Trotsky, in an open letter to the party, called on the party membership to take the promises contained in the resolution on "the New Course" and turn them into a reality. It was necessary to remove from positions of leadership "those who, at the first word of criticism, of objection, or of protest, brandish the thunderbolts of penalties ... the New Course must begin by making every one feel that from now on nobody will dare terrorize the party."

Trotsky's open letter was published on Dec. 11, and on Dec. 15 an article by Stalin appeared in *Pravda* that ended with a sharp attack on Trotsky. For the first time Trotsky was publicly and unequivocally identified with the opposition. The battle that followed will be described in the next article.

## ...sign now?

Continued from page 4

ing. ... In their adherence to the line that the demand most understandable to the majority of people in the U.S.—and best able to win over the broadest masses to the antiwar movement—was 'U.S. Out of Indochina Now,' they provided important leadership while

others faltered."

There is no contradiction between defending the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination and disagreeing with the Vietnamese leaders on one or another question.

The idea that revolutionaries must uncritically accept the leadership of others and not always speak what they believe to be the truth is repugnant to serious fighters for social change.

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# Calendar

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## SISTERS IN STRUGGLE: A WEEKEND ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION.

Fri., Dec. 15, 8 p.m.: The Family and Women's Liberation Today. Speakers: three feminist anthropologists: Professor Eleanor Leacock, author of an introduction to Engels's Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State; Professor Ruby Leavitt, author of Women in Other Cultures; Evelyn Reed, author of Problems of Women's Liberation. Donation: \$1.

Sat., Dec. 16, 11 a.m.: First Wave of Feminism—History of the Suffrage Movement; 2 p.m.: The Myth of the Black Matriarchy; 4:30 p.m.: Revolutionary and Socialist Women—Three Profiles. Classes followed by dinner and party. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$2.50 (includes dinner) or 50c per session. Sponsored by Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party and Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

LOS ANGELES

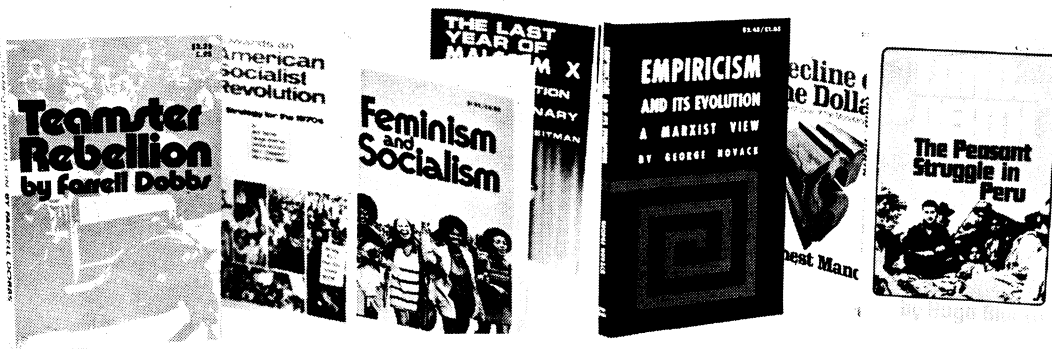
**THE ROLE OF THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS.** Speakers: Michael Letwin, Red Tide; Patty Parmalee, Guardian; Harry Ring, Militant; Art Kunkin, L.A. Free Press. Fri., Dec. 15, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Militant Labour Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**THE CASE OF POLITICAL PRISONER JOSE "CHE" VELAZQUEZ.** Speaker: Jose "Che" Velazquez, member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party who has refused induction into U.S. armed forces. Fri., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 982-5940.

PHILADELPHIA

**THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF WILHELM REICH**—Forum. Fri., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Sponsored by U of P Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.



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# THE MILITANT

## 5,000 workers strike Long Island RR

By PAUL DAVIDSON

NEW YORK, Dec. 4 — At 12:01 a.m., Thursday, Nov. 30, 5,000 members of 12 unions closed down the Long Island Railroad. The unions represent carmen, teamsters, clerks, electrical workers, sheet-metal workers, and other "nonoperating employees," as well as some supervisors.

The picket lines of the strikers were respected by the 1,500 trainmen of the United Transportation Union (UTU) and the members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. (These unions represent "operating employees" such as engineers, firemen, and switchmen.) This brought to a halt the normal weekday movement of 260,000 daily riders on 670 trains over the 326 route miles of track of the LIRR.

The last strike called by any of the dozen craft unions against the railroad was in 1922. The LIRR trainmen, however, organized in the UTU, have struck several times in recent years and had a major strike of 26 days in 1960 that won a five-day workweek.

Anthony D'Avanzo, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway

Carmen and chief negotiator of the 12-union conference committee of strikers, has made clear that the primary issue for the striking workers is wage parity with the trainmen.

The UTU trainmen on the LIRR were recently given a 36.5 percent wage increase by the Pay Board in Washington, D.C., in exchange for "productivity" gains (giving up long-standing safety work rules). The increases for the trainmen of 9 percent, 22 percent, and 5.5 percent come in three successive years of a contract retroactive to Jan. 1, 1971.

The fact that the trainmen surrendered work rules for a higher wage will now mean increased work tempos, fewer jobs, and more safety hazards. But even to achieve this settlement the trainmen had to engage in a "sickout" at the end of October to speed agreement between their union, the railroad, and the government Pay Board. That action was termed a wildcat strike and Judge Mark Constantino, at the railroad's request, issued an order directing the men not to continue the job action. The LIRR threatened to serve subpoenas to any-

one reporting sick.

However, the action got results. The rate for trainmen finally agreed to and approved by the Pay Board was \$51.75 per day for flagmen and brakemen and \$57.76 for conductors.

On the other hand, General Chairman D'Avanzo has pointed out that the average wage of the nonoperating employees is about \$4.80 an hour. The rates range from \$3.40 an hour for clerks up to \$6.82 for assistant foremen.

John Buccarella, a car repairman who has worked for the LIRR for more than 25 years, told reporters that his base pay was \$38 a day. Out of this, he said, he paid \$22 a week for retirement benefits. In addition, there are taxes and other deductions.

"With a large family like mine, how do you expect us to live?" Buccarella asked.

D'Avanzo has noted that while striking workers walked the picket line the railroad was receiving \$50,000 daily strike insurance benefits and saving \$250,000 a day in operating expenses. These figures were con-

firmed by Metropolitan Transportation Authority Chairman Dr. William Ronan.

In demanding an initial increase of 36 percent, scaled down in negotiations to 28 percent, the unions involved turned down a presidential emergency board recommendation of a wage increase of 6 percent in each year of a two-year contract, retroactive to Jan. 1.

The striking workers are also displeased with their current pension system, since the LIRR is part of the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), whose bus and subway workers, while receiving comparable wages for similar work, have a better pension system that is much less expensive to the workers.

The news media and employers are exploiting the inconvenience to the commuters and extolling the "productivity" aspect of the UTU settlement. Chief union negotiator D'Avanzo has begun to talk of possible productivity concessions in exchange for a wage settlement acceptable to the membership of the 12-union coalition he represents.

## Detroit board puts off school shutdown

By LEE ARTZ

DETROIT, Dec. 5 — In an attempt to avoid closing city schools, the board of education held an emergency meeting here today.

Under pressure from the public, the Michigan state legislature has assured the board that they would somehow provide the \$80-million needed to keep Detroit schools opened the full 180 days required by law. The state proposal is to levy another city tax to pay for the schools. The board voted 8 to 3 to keep schools open until the money runs out in February, hoping that the state government will come through on its promise.

Since the beginning of the crisis there has been a growing movement of parents, teachers, and students. A num-

ber of Black students at MacKenzie High School formed the Student Action Coalition, SAC, which also stands for "Schools Ain't Closing." SAC sponsored a picket line at the board meeting today.

The high school students then attended the board meeting to hear Clarence Merriweather and Trudy Hawkins, representatives of SAC, address the board.

Merriweather maintained that Detroit was "facing the same problems as every other Black community in the country." He stated that "Available money on all levels is being mis-spent on the Indochina war, opposition to African liberation, STRESS [a special police unit], highways for suburban commuters, etc. Until Black

people control the educational facilities in their community, the money will continue to be spent against their interests."

Trudy Hawkins outlined the SAC demands. "We demand no less than 180 days of school. We demand that the city, county, and state governments provide a larger share of their budgets to schools in Detroit. We demand adequate federal funding for a crash program to improve education in Detroit's schools. And we call for Black control of the schools in the Black community."

Instead of joining forces with the students, the Detroit Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, is relying on a "blue-ribbon" committee of business-

men, bankers, and trade-union officials to pressure the state legislature into finding the needed funds. When a proposal to support the student demonstration was made at an executive board meeting of the Teachers union, the leadership declined to take any action.

SAC has scheduled a news conference for Dec. 7 to announce its plans for continuing the fight to keep the schools open. It also intends to picket the federal building Dec. 11 during the court hearings on the school board's financial situation. Summing up their feelings, one student said pointedly, "If we get enough brothers and sisters in the streets, somebody is going to find the money to keep the schools open."

## Antiwar actions in Europe and Australia

From Intercontinental Press

During November, in the midst of peace rumors and the continued prosecution of the air war, demonstrations against U.S. aggression in Indochina took place in Europe and Australia.

Thousands of persons throughout France participated on November 6 and 7 in activities called by the Front Solidarité Indochine (FSI—Indochina Solidarity Front). The actions were scheduled to coincide with the U.S. elections.

On November 6, a rally sponsored by the FSI at the Mutualité in Paris drew a crowd of nearly 3,000 persons. Huynh Cong Tham, representing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, told the audience, "Since its formation, the FSI has set itself the task of building active political and material support. This activity has been invaluable encouragement for us. Through our joint actions, we will bring about peace. We know that you are with

us and we will win."

Other speakers at the rally included L. Van Sinh, of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Dr. Insokan of the Royal United National Government of Cambodia and the National United Front of Cambodia, Photsavang of the Union of Laotian Students, Jean Lacouture, Laurent Schwartz, and Wilfred Burchett. Madeleine Rébérioux, of the national office of the FSI, described the dangers facing hundreds of thousands of political prisoners in South Vietnam.

On the following day, about 7,000 persons marched through the streets of Paris in a demonstration sponsored by FSI, La Cause du Peuple, Révolution!, and other organizations.

In Rennes, about 600 persons defied a ban on demonstrations to protest the U.S. aggression. Despite police harassment, the march went off without clashes.

More than 1,000 persons marched

in Marseilles, more than 1,000 in Rouen, 200 in Perpignan (where a delegation from the Spanish Communist party and a group of Americans took part), 800 in Bordeaux, and 200 in Dijon.

In Glasgow, Scotland, on November 18 about 600 people marched in the center of the city to express their opposition to the continuing U.S. aggression in Indochina. The demonstration was organized by the Glasgow Indochina Committee in response to the call for international antiwar actions issued by the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition.

In Australia, on November 18, some 1,000 persons marched in Melbourne, 500 in Sydney, and 250 in Canberra. Other actions occurred in Adelaide and Brisbane.

On November 19, some 2000 persons from all over Belgium defied a steady rain to march in a demonstration organized by the Front Uni National Indochine.



Paris, Nov. 7.

Rouge