

Project Massachusetts referendum on war

BOSTON, April 15—There are excellent prospects that the people of Massachusetts will have the opportunity to cast their vote on a Vietnam referendum next November.

As a hundred thousand people gathered for an antiwar rally on the Boston Common today, Maurice Donahue, president of the state Senate, stood in the nearby chamber of that body and introduced a bill providing that the following question be put on the November ballot:

"Do you favor the immediate withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam?"

Donahue, who is the Democratic majority leader in the Senate and a contender for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, announced his intention to introduce the bill yesterday afternoon—less than 24 hours after a front-page Boston Globe story reported that the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was mapping a major campaign to place such a referendum issue on the ballot.

Such a referendum can go before the voters either if approved by both houses of the legislature and signed by the governor, or

by petition of some 48,000 qualified voters throughout the state. The SMC had announced April 13 that it planned to initiate a broad, united Vietnam 70 Referendum Committee to mobilize the necessary forces to put such an antiwar referendum on the ballot.

When Donahue responded the next day by announcing his intention to introduce a referendum bill into the legislature, the SMC stated it supported the action and announced it would continue with plans for its previous-

(Continued on page 5)

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April 15 demonstrations against the Vietnam war

—roundup page 5—

CAPITALISM FOULS THINGS UP

— see pages 8-10

Antiwar GIs plan 'Nine Days in May'

Fayetteville action slated for May 16

Spring Lake, N. C. An antiwar action in Fayetteville, N. C., sponsored by GIs United Against the War in Vietnam is being planned for the 16th of May. The action is part of the "Nine Days in May," a nationally coordinated program of primarily antiwar and anti-imperialism actions planned on or near military bases around the country. The primary aim of the actions is the organization and expression of GI antiwar sentiment.

Speakers for the 16th will include Rennie Davis of the Chicago Conspiracy, Jane Fonda, ex-major Gordon Livingston, and movement attorney Mark Lane. In addition, there will be a performance by the Fayetteville Theatrical Association. A program of films and workshops for GIs will follow the rally in Rowan Street Park.

D. O.

A correction

Washington, D. C.

Your article about the Baltimore pressmen's strike in the March 27 issue was incorrect when it indicated that Newspaper Guild members who were striking in support of the pressmen at the three dailies were not receiving strike benefits from the international.

They did so receive benefits. In fact, Washington-Baltimore Guild Administrator Brian Flores says in the Feb. 27 *Guild Reporter* that in the first 10 weeks of the strike Baltimore Guildsmen had received strike benefits in excess of strike assessments they had been paying since January 1968 to aid other strikes.

Guild member

Chicano GI wants subscription

Thailand

I was introduced to *The Militant* by a fellow GI from Puerto Rico, and I really enjoyed it. I have been here in Thailand and have witnessed a whole lot of racial disturbances and protest against the war.

I want the 6 months [subscription] for a dollar for GIs.

A Chicano

Postal strike a warning to Uncle Sam

San Francisco, Calif.

In the post office where I worked, the postmaster was fond of beginning every memorandum to his employees with this expression: "We are a family post office."

This is only a small example of the paternalistic attitude of management in

Letters from our readers

This 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. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

most post offices. A better term for it would be contempt.

Often the older employees bitterly compare postal labor-management relations to those between officers and enlisted men in the Army. As one put it, "The only difference between the post office and the Army is that you get to go home at night."

The so-called "professional letter carrier" realizes he is no professional; he is treated worse than most manual workers.

The national postal strike was far more than a strike for higher wages; it was also a strike for decent working conditions—a warning to Uncle Sam that postal workers will no longer be treated like cattle.

Doug Gordon

Suggestion from a conservationist

Boston, Mass.

I would like to know why you use paper to wrap your newspaper for mailing. Lumber mills make a lot of smoke and trees are cut down for the paper. Please print the address on the newspaper.

D. V.

Expose of food industry

New York, N. Y.

Until recently I was a "quality" control laboratory technician for one of the country's major food processing and packaging plants. Let me tell you about the food products being sold to the public.

First of all, the "statement of truth" on the labels of food products is a standing joke in the food industry. According to the law, you can change the constituents of the product without having to change the label until you run out of printed labels you have in stock. Naturally you have a lot of labels printed before you reduce the

quality of the constituents. For example, my company sold enormous quantities of a blended maple- and cane-sugar syrup which was labeled 85 percent cane and 15 percent maple, but which was actually usually less than 10 percent maple. By using old labels, they did this for almost two years while I worked for them.

This is the norm in the food industry. I have never analyzed a single product, either that of my employer or that of a competitor, which really corresponded with its label.

This is really small stuff though. After all, cheating you can't kill you. There are other ways of doing that. Ask your doctor what injesting quantities of activated charcoal will do to you? You get plenty of that in all kinds of products. And what makes pea soup green and potato chips brown, and so on? "Edible" food dyes. You could paint your house with some of them, but you're painting your insides instead.

Until a few years ago there was a guy in our plant whose job it was every morning to climb up on a step ladder to the edge of the great tanks which held the finished products and dip out the rats which had drowned therein during the night. This was too much even for the health inspectors, and the company had to get rid of its rats. While I was there we still found plenty of strange things in the bottoms of those tanks whenever they were drained, which was infrequently.

I once discovered a dangerously toxic content of lead contamination in one of the products. It took me all day to pester the plant supervisors into correcting the problem, or even into recognizing it. The contaminated food was not dumped, but was marketed!

W. V. S.

Militant sells well in Virginia

Chesapeake, Va.

I have been selling [*The Militant*] with two friends, and we find that servicemen, workers and blacks buy them quick. This is a military town, and we were surprised at how radical the servicemen are. Most know what the YSA is, and have heard of or read *The Militant*.

D. V.

Send sub quick

Columbia, Mo.

I've been poring over a friend's back issues and think your's is a great paper. So please send me the 3 month introductory subscription. Start it coming as soon as possible.

C. K.

Peace and pollution

Chicago, Ill.

The Establishment hopes by drawing attention to environmental problems to make the populace forget the death and horror of Vietnam and Laos. Not that ecology is not a valid issue but rather that it is an issue which is being distorted by governmental propaganda regarding the way the military-industrial complex relates to the problem. Little is mentioned in the mass media about the major causes of pollution, only about what is *going* to be done about it. An end to pollution is a noble struggle, but the drive for peace is much more vital.

William A. Pelz

[For *The Militant's* approach to the relationship between the environment and antiwar movements, see article by Robert Langston in April 10 issue.—Editor]

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Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

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Friday, April 24, 1970

Closing news date—April 16

For the most complete selection of the speeches and/or writings of:

Che Malcolm Trotsky

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Move to oust socialist prof rough going for U of Ariz.

By PAMELA STARKY

PHOENIX—Dismissal hearings for Professor Morris Starsky resumed at the Arizona State U College of Law April 6. They have received widespread publicity and caused no little consternation to the university administration.

One ASU administrator complained to the faculty committee conducting the hearings that he is forced to "have Starsky with salad, lunch and dessert" every time he goes to a mealtime meeting.

The "Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee" is examining administration charges against Starsky stemming from his activities as an avowed revolutionary socialist.

Much of the testimony in the hearings has centered around the laundry incident on the ASU campus in November 1968. At that time a mass coalition of students demanded that ASU sever its contract with the Phoenix Linen and Towel Supply.

Workers at the laundry organized a union, won a bargaining election and refused to accept a worthless contract offered by the management. An investigation by the ASU Mexican-American Organization revealed sweatshop conditions, racial discrimination and super-exploitation of the laundry workers.

The Young Socialist Alliance was instrumental in mobilizing mass support for the demand that the ASU contract with the laundry be severed. This demand was supported by thousands of students, over 50 campus organizations and community leaders.

Although the administration was aware of this widespread concern, the university president refused to meet a thousand students who marched to his office to demand that the contract be broken. A sit-in resulted.

The following day the administration announced that the contract would be terminated if the conditions at the laundry did not change by that June. Professor Starsky, YSA faculty adviser, is

charged with "inciting, urging and encouraging" students to occupy the administration building.

As a result of the student intervention in 1968, however, the laundry workers won a better contract, and the



Prof. Morris Starsky

union won a new bargaining election this year by a four-to-one margin.

At a rally in support of Starsky before the hearings April 6, Willie Lowery, a Black laundry worker who had participated in the sit-in, pledged support from the laundry workers for teachers and students who acted in the interests of workers. Lowery had been fired for union-organizing activity, and became the first Black elected union official in Arizona.

Other speakers at the support rally included members of the Young Democrats, Young Republicans, Student Mobe, RYM, Resist, YSA and student-body President John Holman.

Alan Kyman, Starsky's attorney, plans to move that the charges be dismissed for lack of evidence following the completion of testimony.

Chicago report rips Legion-cop tie-up

By JERRY DIPPOLD

CHICAGO—"IVI Claims Police Laxity in Right-Wing Crackdown," the *Chicago Sun-Times* declared in a front-page headline April 9.

The newspaper revealed the findings of an investigation into the activities of the ultraright "Legion of Justice" conducted by the Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) Commission on Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement.

Prompted by the Chicago-based Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, IVI—the Illinois affiliate of the Americans for Democratic Action—had conducted a three-month inquiry into Legion activities. This included hearing testimony by Legion members themselves.

Val Klink, a lawyer and chairman of the IVI investigating commission, stated:

"We seek answers as to why law enforcement officials are not taking action to seriously investigate Legion of Justice raids and arrest the attackers, and why, in some instances, law enforcement officials, wittingly or unwittingly, actually assisted the Legion of Justice by harassing the victims and subjecting them to arrest on obviously fallacious charges instigated by members of the Legion of Justice."

The sensational charge, fully substantiating previous complaints that have been made by victims of Legion attacks, received widespread newspaper and TV coverage in Chicago.

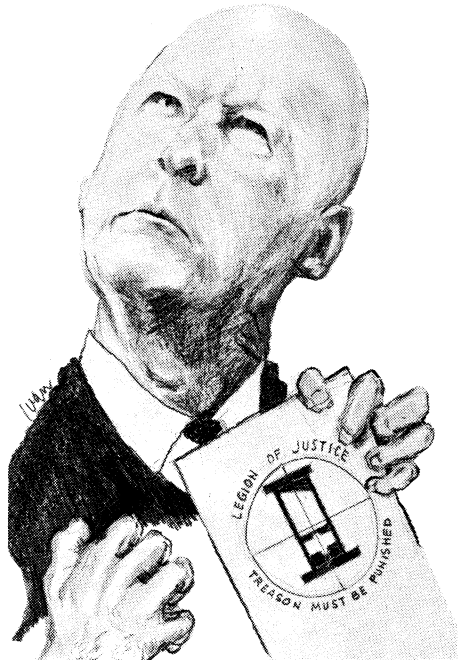
"The IVI's 3,200-word report sums up a three-month investigation of 16 incidents involving men who are allegedly members of the secret ultraconservative group. The report concludes with a demand for a grand-jury investigation of the Legion and possible links with law-enforcement agencies," the *Sun-Times* stated.

"Failure by the state's attorney, Edward Hanrahan, to undertake this investigation can have the most serious consequences for our society. . . ."

According to the *Sun-Times*, IVI cited at least five incidents concerning Legion or police harassments of members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

These were the Nov. 1, 1969, invasion of the YSA-SWP headquarters in Chicago; the Nov. 12 display at a press conference of stolen YSA files by S. Thomas Sutton, lawyer for the Legion; the Dec. 4 invasion of the YSA-SWP headquarters by about 30 police

with drawn pistols; the Dec. 6 attack on the apartment of a YSA member at Northern Illinois University by eight to 10 men armed with disabling chemical spray and tire irons; and the Dec. 10 threat against the life of SWP Chi-



S. Thomas Sutton

cago Organizer Richard Hill.

On that date, Hill received a note declaring: "Richard Hill has been found guilty of treason. Treason must be punished."

The IVI also cited Legion harassments of the Guild Book Store, a co-operative selling radical literature, and the Chicago Peace Council.

The *Sun-Times* reported that the IVI found similarities between the Legion and the Minutemen, including similar insignias which resemble the cross hairs of a rifle sight and an emphasis on military precision.

"However, regardless of this connection, there is no question that the Legion of Justice presents a real threat to our community," the IVI report stated.

IVI declared: "These facts also raise the possibility that the Chicago Police Department, either directly or indirectly, is cooperating with the Legion of Justice. From the first raid conducted by the Legion to the present, the police have refused to investigate repeated criminal acts."

Women's liberation tour by Reed well received

Evelyn Reed, a revolutionary-socialist leader of the women's liberation movement, has been receiving widespread publicity in a speaking tour of the Northwest. She has been interviewed extensively by newspapers and TV in every city. Her topic: "How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny and How They Can Regain It."

A one-hour TV-press conference April 1 in Seattle, at which she appeared with Seattle Socialist Workers Party women's liberation candidates Sue Shinn and Harriet Ashton, set the pace of Evelyn Reed's tour. It took on the tone of a class on women's liberation, as reporters asked questions about subjects ranging from the role of Black women in the women's liberation movement to the necessity for socialism if women are to be truly liberated.

On the afternoon of April 1, Evelyn Reed spoke to a well-attended meeting at the University of Washington; while in Seattle she also spoke at Edmonds Community College and the Militant Forum.

In Oregon, 200 attended a meeting at

Portland State University. The university newspaper reported, "Miss Reed felt there was hope for woman to one day achieve emancipation. She cited . . . the new standards of social morality . . . as an answer to marriage which, she stated, was 'an institution serving the purpose of capitalistic society.'"

Later that afternoon women from a Portland State University women's liberation group marched on the main student lounge where they held a panel discussion on abortions.

The highlight of Evelyn Reed's tour in Portland, according to *Militant* correspondents Niki Brorsen and Jody Heatlie, was her "meeting at Reed College where she spoke to an extremely serious audience of about 60 people, most of whom are active in the Reed College Women's Liberation Union. This publishes a large newspaper expressing many different views and aspects of the movement."

Future stops in Evelyn Reed's tour are scheduled for the Bay Area, Los Angeles, Phoenix and Austin.

Your Attention, Please

"Trotskyism" is again becoming a burning topic in the Soviet Union. We deduce this from the increased attention paid it by the Kremlin. Moreover, the "Trotskyologists" are attempting to find a more convincing angle of attack than the one used by old style Stalinism. One of the best recent examples is "The Role of Trotskyism in the Modern World" by M. Basmanov, published by the Moscow magazine *Kommunist*.

A translation of this article has been made available to the English-speaking world by *Political Affairs*, a publication of the Communist Party U.S.A. However, this presentation of Basmanov's piece is defective since no space was made available to those under attack.

We of *Intercontinental Press* believe that Basmanov's article should be brought to the attention of readers who do not generally follow the Stalinist press. But we also believe that the facts needed to judge Basmanov's production in an objective way should be equally available.

To do our part in this, we are reprinting the *Political Affairs* translation in full together with "A Trotskyist Reply: The Role of Basmanov in the New School of Stalinist Falsification" by George Saunders.

In addition, we are publishing the notes made by George Saunders while researching the sources quoted by Basmanov from Lenin, Trotsky, and the

Trotskyist publications of today, which are evidently carefully collected and studied by certain Moscow departments. These notes are more than three times the length of Basmanov's piece.

This is not a match in scholastic hairsplitting. Basmanov does his best to work up a new case for Stalinism relevant to the current issues under discussion in the left. Saunders examines this case in the light of the real situation. Here are some of the topics debated:

Youth "Infected with Leftism"; What Is Meant by "World Socialism"; "Deformed Workers States"; Stalin's "Ideological and Organizational Defeat of Trotsky"; The Outcome of a Nuclear War; Relative Importance of the Colonial Revolution; Lenin on Guerrilla Struggle; Where Ballot Boxes Come In; Guatemala and Fidel Castro's Speech; M. Basmanov and J. Posadas; "The Events in Peru"; How a Revolutionary Situation Can Develop; Did the USSR Face a Deadly Threat?; The "Second Front" and the Achievements of Earl Browder; The 1953-54 Split; The "Popular Front"; The Tactic of "Entryism"; Trotskyism and Democratic Demands; Founding of the Fourth International.

Besides these, Saunders takes up nineteen more points raised by Basmanov.

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Origins of the ALA

What direction for the unions?

By FRANK LOVELL

Under the pressure of dissatisfied and impatient workers in all industries, the union movement is experiencing great changes. This process began several years ago and is part of the general radicalization of Blacks, other national minority groups, and millions of youth. It has produced some changes in the leadership of several unions, created divisions and splits within the top leadership of the AFL-CIO, and is certain to change the present character of all unions.

Two years ago the United Auto Workers convention decided to withhold payment of the per capita tax to the AFL-CIO, setting the stage for the UAW's departure from the AFL-CIO. Formal suspension came in May 1968. One year later, at a May 26-27 founding conference, the UAW and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) joined forces to formally launch the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA).

On Labor Day 1969, Walter Reuther of the UAW and Frank Fitzsimmons of the IBT, announced that the labor alliance had embarked upon a new course. Fitzsimmons would head up a drive to organize the unorganized workers; Reuther was assigned to establish "community unions" in the landmarks of ghetto uprisings—Watts, Newark and Detroit.

This sequence of events had its roots in the entire social development of the preceding decade—a process that began after the 1955 AFL-CIO unification and before the Teamsters union fell victim to the McCarthy witch-hunt and was expelled from the AFL-CIO in 1957.

The current process of social and political radicalization really began with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1956—the event that sparked the southern civil rights movement. The subsequent growth of Black nationalist consciousness, the student radicalization, the enthusiastic response of many radical youth to the victory of the Cuban rev-

olution, and the widespread rejection of the U.S. government's war in Vietnam—all are now part of the history of the last decade.

When this vast process of social radicalization began, few would have predicted it could ever influence the decisions of such staid and tested representatives of the existing order as Walter Reuther and Frank Fitzsimmons. Certainly not them.

But it has. The radicalization has brought about political changes affecting the Democratic Party and the alliance of the union movement with that party. And this is what prompted Reuther two years ago to leave the AFL-CIO and seek a new alliance with Fitzsimmons.

Democratic Party Troubles

As the 1968 elections approached and Johnson was forced to decline renomination, it was clear that the Democratic Party was in deep trouble: Student youth refused to hear those who defended the war in Vietnam. Union members refused to rally to the prowar standard-bearers. Blacks were increasingly indifferent to the party of empty promises. Intellectuals were critical. Big-city machines, one of the props of the party, were in trouble. The "solid South" of the money interests and white supremacists was showing signs of splintering.

All this passed by the leadership of the AFL-CIO as if nothing had changed. George Meany continued to campaign for Johnson even after his declination—as if the whole thing had been an April fools' joke.

But Reuther, who is genuinely concerned about the future of the Democratic Party, knew better. Reuther has long been one of the most ardent proponents of "political realignment" which would get all the good progressive and concerned Democrats, and a few of the good Republicans, together with their labor friends to drive out the bad southern Democrats and the corrupt big-city bosses.

Reuther accurately described George Meany as "the complacent custodian of the status quo." By implication, Reuther would like to be identified as the champion of change.

Since the ALA was founded the most successful campaigns have been those in the organizing department headed by Fitzsimmons. Reuther's "community unions"—hardly more than another name for Democratic Party ward clubs—have scarcely flourished.

Organize the unorganized

The drive to organize the unorganized in Atlanta, Ga., a concentration point for the ALA, has met with considerable success. William Genoese, a young member of the Teamsters organizing staff, is campaigning with the zeal of the organizers in the days when the CIO was built. And he has more money.

Since last Labor Day he has won collective bargaining rights for more than 2,000 workers in the Atlanta area. One million dollars has reportedly been spent already. And Genoese says money is no obstacle. The important thing is to crack the open-shop pattern in the South—not an easy undertaking.

The present fight for higher wages and a better life for all workers is enlisting the support of many Black workers who know the conditions of life in the southern factory towns and can easily win the confidence of the viciously exploited southern factory workers.

The aggressive and openly crusading spirit of the drive puts the southern ruling class on the defensive. It is similar in some ways to the civil rights movement, drawing strength from the newly radicalized young workers and student youth. The effect of the drive, quite independent of the number of workers it organizes immediately, is to change old attitudes, destroy anti-union myths, and



Labor Today

New mood in union ranks

present the unions in a new light.

Atlanta strike

The ALA drive has greatly helped the month-old strike of municipal workers in Atlanta. But that strike has also revealed the most serious problem the unions everywhere are faced with. That is their involvement with the Democratic Party and their failure to build an independent political party of workers.

In Atlanta the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is negotiating directly with the city administration, which simply says it lacks money to pay living wages and insists that its employees continue to work at the poverty level.

A city administration controlled by a political party of working people would easily find money to pay decent wages by taxing the rich. But the present administration in Atlanta is controlled by the Democrats of Reuther's dreams—all "good" Democrats, progressives, "re-aligned" Democrats, who are driving out the southern reactionaries.

And in Atlanta we can see how Reuther's "dream" Democratic liberals respond to the needs of the workers.

This single example shows the futility of trying to reform the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is a political instrument of the employing class. They own it. It serves their purpose at all times. It is not possible to transform it into an instrument that serves the interests of the workers.

New mood

There is a new mood of defiance within the unions today, and among the ranks of all workers. This was demonstrated most dramatically by the postal workers who defied the U.S. government and walked out of the post offices for the first time in history. And the railroad workers will not long endure the hobbles that have been fastened on their unions.

Any union that now seeks to organize the unorganized must prove its ability to protect its members against government regulations that drive down the standard of living.

This is the key problem facing the ALA now in its southern organizing drive. But it can be overcome only by breaking with the political party that ties the ALA and other unions in with the bosses. A party based on the trade unions, challenging the political con-

trol of the employing class, is the next step the ALA must take if it hopes to succeed in its organizing efforts and avoid the traps of business unionism.

From the moment it finds organizational expression within existing unions, the concept of a labor party will serve as a rallying center around which a new revitalized union movement will be consolidated.

CALENDAR

BERKELEY

HISTORY OF SDS. Young Socialist Educational presentation. Sunday, April 26, 2 p.m. 2519-A Telegraph Ave. Sponsor: Berkeley YSA.

DETROIT

WHICH WAY FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—INTO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OR INTO THE STREETS? Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, and Zoltan Ferenzy, ex-head of Michigan Democratic Party and candidate for governor. Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. Lower Deroy Auditorium, Wayne State University. **THE CAUSE OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION.** Panel discussion with Evelyn Kirsch, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Carol Andreas, professor at Oakland University; Hilda Rangel, Chicano activist and member of YSA. Sat., May 2, 1-3 p.m. Lower Deroy Auditorium, Wayne State University. **THE STRUGGLE FOR A BLACK UNIVERSITY.** Speakers: Amar Casey, Black Action Movement; John Porter, SWP candidate for Wayne State University Board of Governors; John Hawkins, SWP candidate for secretary of state. Sat., May 2, 3-5 p.m. Lower Deroy Auditorium, Wayne State University. **BANQUET** with guest speaker Harry Ring, Editor of *The Militant*, on **MASS ACTION VS. INDIVIDUAL RESISTANCE AND TERRORISM.** Sat., May 2, 7 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Contribution. Ausp: Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For information call: (313) 831-6135.

PHILADELPHIA

EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Fri., April 24, 8 p.m. Symposium on Dynamics of Women's Liberation. Sat., April 25: 1:30 p.m.—*The Antiwar Movement and the Struggle for Socialism*; 3:30 p.m.—*Which Way for the Black Liberation Struggle?*; 6 p.m.—Dinner, donation \$1.50; 8 p.m.—*Reform and Revolution in American History.* Speaker: George Novack; 9:30 p.m.—Party. 686 N. Broad St. Donation \$2.50. Ausp: YSA and Campaign '70. (215) CE6-6998.

PHOENIX

WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Speaker: Evelyn Reed. Tues., April 28, 8 p.m. Great Hall, Law School, Arizona State University. Donation. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

ZIONISM AND THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION—A Socialist Program for the Middle East. Special two-week forum. Saturday, April 25, 8 p.m. Speaker: Peter Buch, author of "Mideast in Crisis," "Myth of Progressive Israel." Saturday, May 2, 8 p.m. Speaker: Arie Bober, four-year veteran of Israeli armed forces, spokesman for Israeli Socialist Organization. 1 University N.E. Contrib. 75c Ausp: Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION: HOW TO BE EFFECTIVE IN CHANGING SOCIETY. Speaker: Peter Camejo. Fri., April 24, 3 p.m. at American University and 8 p.m. at the New Student Center, Room 415, at George Washington University. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For information call 638-0610.

.. key issues

(Continued from page 16)

In the past—in 1936 and again at the 1951 UAW convention—when the awesome powers of government have threatened to regiment the unions, the UAW in convention has debated the need to organize a labor party that will challenge the parties and politicians of the employing class and replace them in Congress with representatives from the ranks of labor.

It is highly unlikely that any such open debate or such clear declarations of the needs and hopes of the working class in this country will be heard at this convention. Nonetheless, these are the basic issues at this convention, in whatever distorted forms they may appear: first the war in Southeast Asia which now overshadows and affects all other issues; secondly, the bedrock economic question of wages and hours which regulates and controls the standard of living of every worker; and finally the key question of independent political action of the working class, the long overdue and urgent need for a labor party.

And, harsh experience has demonstrated, the fight for such a program will not be led by union officials concerned with their special privileges and with their "good relations" with employers and government.

Regardless of the high-sounding convention rhetoric used to twist and disguise these issues they are now part of the general awareness of a new generation of workers. These issues will remain after the convention has adjourned. And soon they must be squarely and honestly faced in the period of union militancy and government resistance that is now in its opening stage.

A Political Biography of Walter Reuther

The Record of an Opportunist

By Beatrice Hansen

24 pp.

40 cents

PATHFINDER PRESS

(formerly Merit Publishers)

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

National protests say 'Out Now!'

By RANDY FURST

APRIL 15—Hundreds of thousands marched and rallied today in major cities throughout the nation in a full day of mass actions against the war in Vietnam.

More than 100,000 rallied in Boston, the biggest demonstration in the country, and in New York City, some 40,000 turned out. The message to President Nixon again resounded: Get all U.S. troops out of Vietnam now.

While disruptions by ultralefts marred the New York and Boston rallies, in other cities the actions apparently went off as scheduled.

There were several immediate conclusions that could be drawn from the outpouring today.

Mass media coverage was virtually absent leading up to the April 15 actions in numerous parts of the country, but the deliberate press blackout was not decisive.

As reports poured into *The Militant* from around the country, it was apparent that in the large cities where established antiwar organizations had mobilized for the demonstrations, the numbers often approached the size of the unprecedented Oct. 15 moratorium which received widespread publicity before the actions took place.

The Oct. 15 moratorium also had the endorsements of hundreds of prominent bourgeois politicians, which was not the case for April 15.

In New York City where 50,000 gathered in October, 40,000 converged on Bryant Park today for a late afternoon rally.

As part of the nationwide strike sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, students boycotted junior high schools and senior high schools throughout the five boroughs over demands for a high school bill of rights. Some schools were reported virtually empty. With full reports not yet in, it was estimated that more than 150,000 New York students boycotted classes today. The board of education placed the absence figure at



New York, April 15

Photo by Michael Hardy

60 percent. Some 1,000 students, a significant percentage of them Black and Puerto Rican, staged a citywide high school rights rally at New York's City Hall at noon.

A parade committee rally at the Internal Revenue Service brought out 3,500. Another 700 to 800 rallied in Battery Park while an SMC rally at Columbia University drew 300.

Some 600 gathered at the UN plaza where two trade-union speakers, Joe Carnegie of the Rank-and-file Caucus of the transit workers and Frank Donner of the United Electrical Workers spoke.

The downtown rallies fed into the main march, a massive parade of demonstrators, stretching for 20 or 30 blocks up the Avenue of the Americas to Bryant Park. The demonstrators were overwhelmingly young.

The rally—sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee—was tempo-

rarily disrupted when ultraleftists rushed the platform. After continued problems, the rally ended earlier than scheduled.

More than 100,000 gathered on the Boston Common. Demonstrators arrived from all parts of New England. A march of 25,000 came from Cambridge, and thousands more attended rallies which turned into feeder marches from surrounding communities and area campuses.

Speakers at the Boston rally included Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee, who announced in her speech a nationwide campaign of support to put a referendum against the war on the ballot in Massachusetts. The referendum was initiated by the Boston SMC.

Other speakers included Mamie Wilson of the Welfare Rights Organization; Rep. James Shea, whose bill challenging the constitutionality of the Vietnam war was recently signed into law in Massachusetts; Mike Kelly, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Massachusetts governor; Abbie Hoffman; and Ngo Vinh Long, a Vietnamese student who called on Americans to unite around the issue of self-determination for the Vietnamese.

The demonstrations were held from one end of the nation to the other. In Orlando, Fla., some 2,000 to 3,000 marched, and in Gainesville, nearly 1,000 demonstrated against the war. Other actions were staged in Miami and Tallahassee.

A New Mobilization Committee sponsored rally in Philadelphia drew 8,000, three-quarters of them high school and college students. The SMC disclosed plans to launch a campaign to end anti-personnel-bomb research at the Franklin Institute.

In Detroit where some 12,000 gathered for a rally in Kennedy Square following a march from Wayne State University, participation of Afro-Americans and trade-unionists was greater than in previous actions.

In Chicago, 25,000 marched down State Street culminating a day of antiwar actions that turned the schools into antiwar centers and the Chicago Loop into a gigantic traffic jam for peace. Following a rally at the Civic Center sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, demonstrators marched to the Federal Building for a rally sponsored by the Chicago Peace Council and the SMC. Some 15,000 participated. More than 2,500 high school students led by the High School Rights Coalition marched to the city board of education. More than 4,000 rallied at the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

In Binghamton, N.Y., 1,000 turned out for a march and rally sponsored by the SMC and the high school SMC.

Demanding immediate withdrawal as well as opposing high taxes, inflation,

and the movement of 17 trainloads of nerve gas from Okinawa for storage in Oregon, more than 3,000 protesters marched in Portland.

A rally at the stock exchange in San Francisco drew 3,000 workers from the financial district, joined by 75 marchers from a Labor for Peace rally.

The student strike in San Francisco appeared in first reports massive. Only 1,000 students crossed picket lines at San Francisco State College with a student population of more than 20,000. Attendance at Mission High and Hoover Junior High was low.

As in other cities, youth predominated in the San Francisco protests. Some 20,000 took part in a Woodstock-type rally sponsored by the New Mobe West.

More than a score of GIs attended a High School SMC rally. They gathered with some 800 persons at the entrance to the Presidio Army base to hear antiwar speakers. More actions are planned in San Francisco April 18.

At the University of California at Berkeley, 4,500 gathered in a demonstration focusing on the university's complicity with the Vietnam war. A march after the rally of some 2,000 persons to the campus ROTC building was dispersed by hundreds of policemen using tear gas and clubs.

Also in Berkeley, some 500 rallied at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory and a high school rights rally sponsored by the SMC drew 700.

Other actions in California included marches and rallies of 5,000 in San Diego and 3,000 in Los Angeles where the action was headed by the Third World Task Force of Afro-Americans, Chicanos and Asian-Americans. Students rallied at Laney Junior College and Merritt College in Oakland, the University of California at Davis, Cal State Hayward, San Jose, San Rafael and Stanford.

More than 4,000 persons participated in demonstrations in the nation's capital. The protests included an antiwar rally across from the White House sponsored by the National Welfare Rights Organization and Washington, D.C., women's groups.

More than 6,000 people—by NBC-news estimates—rallied in Houston's Hermann Park April 12 following an antiwar march through the Texas city's streets. The rally was the largest in Houston's history and the first one not physically attacked by local right-wing groups. The march included a contingent of the Mexican-American Youth Organization, MAYO. The overwhelming majority of the marchers were high school students. A student strike at the University of Texas April 15 brought out about 1,000 students and was viewed as quite successful by Houston organizers.

... Mass. referendum

(Continued from page 1)

ly announced petition drive to assure that the referendum will be on the ballot even if the Donahue bill should be blocked by the lawmakers. The student group will also seek to mobilize public pressure on members of the legislature to support the antiwar proposition.

Mike Kelly, New England SMC coordinator and Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, said such a referendum would give the voters an opportunity to deliver a massive blow to the warmakers and "deepen the traditions of democracy by letting the people vote and decide on the all-important question of war."

"When the people cast their 'yes' vote," he added, "they will be exploding the myth of the so-called silent majority."

The SMC said it was initiating the Vietnam 70 Referendum Committee to ensure that major forces in addition to the student movement would be involved in the effort.

John McCann, initiating coordinator of the referendum committee, said they expected to get two or three times the 48,000 signatures required to place the referendum on the ballot. He said area students who live outside the state would be urged to spend the summer in Massachusetts, either petitioning—or if the referendum gets on the ballot through the legislature—opening the campaign for a big yes vote.

In addition, students from other parts of the country will be invited to come to Massachusetts to join the campaign.

The New England SMC is also urging antiwar forces around the country to make a concerted effort to place similar referendums on the ballot for November in their own states.

Introduction of the referendum bill into the Massachusetts legislature comes on the heels of that body enacting into law a measure that would challenge the legality of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The new law provides that any resident of the state who challenges being sent to fight in an undeclared war is to be represented by the state attorney general.

When that bill was approved by both houses and signed by the governor on April 2, it was generally recognized as testimony to the deep, widespread antiwar sentiment in the state.

While politicians like Donahue see such a referendum as a means of striking a blow at the Nixon administration and/or their factional opponents within the Democratic party, the fact is that such a referendum provides opponents of the war with a magnificent opportunity to involve broader forces in the fight to stop the war and to simultaneously assert a basic democratic right of the population.

Indicative of the anticipated response to the campaign, 300 people at today's antiwar rally took petition sheets, each to be signed by 60 voters.

Those wishing to join in the campaign can contact the Boston SMC at these phone numbers: (617) 492-6246; 491-0456; 491-8030; 491-6717.

Campus struggle roundup

Suit for Florida YSA

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — Seventeen student leaders at Florida State University here have decided to file suit challenging the refusal of the board of regents to recognize the Young Socialist Alliance as a legitimate student group. A telegram informing regents' chairman, D. Burke Kibler III, of their decision stated, "Please be advised that students will not tolerate the restrictions of the freedom of expression of any individual or group on this campus."

In a March 6 letter to University President Stephen O'Connell, relaying the regents' decision, Kibler explained, "I am well aware that campuses have, since their existence, attracted revolutionary and anarchistic thought, and it is not my purpose to rid our campuses of people that hold these unpopular and unhealthy beliefs. However, it is my purpose to prevent the university from aiding or abetting these people in their revolutionary activities."

Kibler invoked the regents' reactionary "disruption" policy which bans, by name, SDS and Southern Student Organizing Committee and "all other like organizations." Defending the inclusion of the YSA in this category, one administration official said he saw no difference between the YSA and the Weathermen.

"Although," Kibler went on, "YSA has probably met surreptitiously on campus, this is certainly no reason to place upon them a mantle of respectability." In actuality, the YSA has always met publicly, widely advertising its meetings.

In a final flourish Kibler concluded, "YSA is, has been and apparently will be a Trotsky-oriented communist group that is dedicated to revolution. Such an organization cannot have the sanction of a state university in the state of Florida."

Frank Lord, a YSA member, called Kibler's statement "another example of the fake democracy in this country." "We have had any number of our rights violated," he said, "from freedom of assembly to due process and equal protection."

Besides the suit against the regents, the YSA has received many indications of support from student government representatives, campus organizations and editorials in the *Alligator*, the daily University of Florida newspaper.

—JOHN SUGG

U of Wisconsin

MADISON — Contract negotiations

that began last May between the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) and the University of Wisconsin and which led to a strike March 16 ended April 8 when the TAs voted 534-348 to accept a new contract proposal. The proposal, which represents a partial but significant victory, includes the following points:

- Educational planning mechanisms are to be developed by the faculty in each department in collaboration with the TAs and students.

- A university guarantee to use its good offices to get the necessary money from the legislature for a comprehensive health plan.

- No reprisals against TAs. (No such specific clause protecting research assistants and students was included in the contract.)

- A compromise agreement on "reasonable" class size.

- A contract expiration date of September 1971. (The TAA had demanded an expiration date of March 1971.)

- A management rights clause whereby the university will continue to have the same rights it now has in running the university, except for the provisions in the new contract.

Commenting on the new contract and the advances the TAs made through their strike, TAA President Robert Meuhlenkamp stated, "There's a terrible discrepancy between what that contract says and what we've done. We've created a union."

Hunter College

NEW YORK — Hundreds of students have been attending discussions at Hunter College on plans for a new governing body for the school. In response to student protests organized by the People's Coalition, classes were suspended April 13-14 by President Jacqueline Wexler in favor of the discussions.

A student-faculty committee composed of 15 students and 15 faculty has voted in favor of 50 percent student voice on all decision-making bodies at the college. This is one of the central demands in the student protests that go back to the middle of March.

City U of New York

NEW YORK — Several hundred students marched outside City Hall here April 13 to demand the abolition of all fees and tuition in the City University



Photos by Gary Jackson

Cops occupy State University of New York in Buffalo last March. Campuses around nation continue to erupt this spring.

of New York. University students, some of them from the SEEK program, a precollege program mainly for Third World students, demonstrated with signs and banners to protest the effort by city officials to raise student fees and tuition due to a \$17-million deficit in the New York City budget.

"What do you want?" shouted a march leader.

"Free education," shouted the demonstrators.

"When do you want it?"

"Now!"

The demonstration was largely organized by CUNY student government members and was preceded by a news conference April 11 where the speakers included Joanna Misnick of the New York Student Mobilization Committee; Rachel Propper, chairman of the CUNY evening student council; and William Riley of Lehman College.

Following the demonstration April 13, Richard Lucas, one of the organizers of the action, said that plans were under way to meet with city officials to discuss the proposal for a free university.

New York high schools: simmering

Hunter

NEW YORK — The faculty of Hunter College High School voted April 9 to support, in principle, a student demand for equal voting representation on governing boards at the school. This demand, along with others, was originally raised several weeks ago by the Black Society and Las Borinquenas, a Puerto Rican group.

The faculty proposal called for immediate formation of a constituent assembly to work out a new governing structure. But while its proposal agrees in principle to 50 percent student representation, in fact student representation in the constituent assembly itself would fall short of that since it would be com-

posed of 45 students, 45 teachers, 10 parents and two nonvoting administrators.

The Black and Puerto Rican students have raised two other demands, to be presented to the new governing body as soon as it is formed. They are: the exemption of Hunter students from the regents' history examination (regents' history exams are used as an excuse for not implementing a Black studies program); and the return to teaching assignments of all teachers presently doing clerical work, with their jobs to be made available to Black and Puerto Rican students in the Hunter College "SEEK" program.

—JULIE SIMON

George Washington

NEW YORK — Thirteen students were arrested and 30 suspended April 9 at George Washington High School here when they attempted to set up a grievance table in the school lobby. The table, to receive complaints and provide information and counseling, has been the focus of struggles at the school

since early February when a group of parents tried to initiate it.

Student strikes, arrests, teachers' boycotts, marches and rallies forced the board of education to agree to the table on March 10. Three days later a court injunction forced the table, manned by parents and students, out of the school.

The day after the April 9 arrests and suspensions, a fight broke out between two students in the cafeteria. Cops ran in, shoving and clubbing students, and a melee ensued resulting in injured cops and students and more arrests.

When classes resumed Monday, April 13 riot police were stationed throughout the entire school.

Overcrowding at the school has forced many students to wait in the auditorium for weeks to get incorrect programs straightened out. Students receive little or no counseling and have no way to bring up their complaints about the racism of teachers.

The response of the administration to these problems has been to call on the cops and blame the difficulties on "outside agitators."

—JOSEPH HARRIS

...and N.Y. State Assembly

NEW YORK — The New York State Assembly adopted an antistudent bill April 10 requiring colleges receiving state funds to suspend students convicted for their activities in campus struggles. In a 95-43 vote that the *New York Times* called "shameful" the Assembly passed the proposal which would suspend a student from college from one to five years, depending on the length of court-imposed jail sentences stemming from campus actions. A jail sentence of more than three months would permanently bar a student from "any institution supported wholly or in part by state funds." The bill will now go to the Senate.

In an editorial April 14, the *Times* branded the bill "patently vindictive," a "legislative absurdity," a "subversion of the law" and a "throwback to the process of banishment with which the autocrats of antiquity rid themselves of their adversaries."

It called on Governor Rockefeller to veto the bill if it "slips" through the Senate.

Life in an Auto Plant

By Tom Cagle 25c

Pathfinder Press, Inc.
873 Broadway, NYC 10003

Amnesty Int'l urges probe

Israeli gov't charged with prison torture

By ABDEEN JABARA

(The author is editor of Free Palestine and a member of the Detroit law firm of Lafferty, Reosti, Jabara, Papakhian, James, Stickgold and Smith.)

In an unusual move, Amnesty International, a private London-based organization with worldwide affiliates which investigate cases of wrongful imprisonment, ill-treatment and torture throughout the world, issued on April 1, 1970, the results of its investigation into Israeli treatment of Palestinian Arabs formerly imprisoned or detained without charge for investigation by the Israeli authorities.

The report, accompanied by photographs and medical testimonies, detailed the allegation of torture inflicted on Palestinians who had been under Israeli detention and concluded that "If these allegations are true, then extremely brutal torture is used on a not inconsiderable number of those detained. They [the tortures] would also seem to imply that such ill-treatment is continuing to the present time."

Mideast teach-in is scheduled at U of Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS—A teach-in on the Palestinian revolution will be held here April 24. Featured speakers will include Abdeen Jabara, editor of *Free Palestine*, and Peter Buch, the author of "Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis."

The teach-in will begin at 11 a.m. in 100 Anderson Hall on the West Bank of the U of Minnesota. At that time Kamal Boullata, a Palestinian artist, will read poetry of the resistance movement.

The afternoon sessions, which will begin at 1:00 p.m., will hear Abdeen Jabara who recently visited commando camps in the Middle East, speaking on Israeli repression in the occupied territories; Dr. J. H. Sigler of Macalester College on "The Present Stage of the Palestine Question"; and Kamal Boullata on "Towards a Revolutionary Palestinian Art."

At 7:30 p.m. Peter Buch of the Socialist Workers Party will speak on "The Jewish Question, Zionism and the Palestinian Struggle"; followed by Walid Husayni, Berkeley graduate student, on "The Palestinians Organize Their Struggle." All sessions after 2:30 p.m. will be held in the Junior Ballroom of Coffman Memorial Union.

Peter Buch and Walid Husayni will speak again the following evening, April 25, at the Twin Cities Socialist Forum, 1 University Ave., N.E., at 8 p.m. For further information call 612-387-1820 or 612-827-2380.

Struggle for a Proletarian Party

By James P. Cannon

An invaluable exposition of the political and organizational concepts involved in the building of a Leninist party. Leon Trotsky hailed it as the "writing of a genuine workers leader." 302 pp. paper \$2.45

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The report is couched in the most restrained language and the Amnesty spokesmen make no effort to conceal their political sympathy for Israel. Expressing their appreciation for what they see as Israeli difficulty in coping with guerrilla attacks, they are moved to add, however, that the torture charges by the Arab prisoners are of such substance as to demand a full-scale investigation.

Amnesty stated that, in deference to Israel, the issuance of the report was delayed for one year while efforts were being made on a private level to get the Israeli government to agree to and set up its own commission of inquiry with an international observer participating or, in the alternative, a further inquiry by Amnesty with an Israeli citizen participating.

Martin Ennals, secretary general of Amnesty, stated that the evidence of Israeli ill-treatment was based on interviews conducted in Jordan and Israel, with photographs being taken by an Amnesty photographer and medical reports made by a European doctor.

Israel had unilaterally, in December 1969, widely publicized a private letter by Ennals to Israel's commissioner of prisons which stated Ennals' belief that the torture and ill-treatment did not take place after imprisonment. Also, although the findings of Amnesty had not been issued, the *Jerusalem Post* of October 1969, an English-language organ subsidized by the Israeli Government, reported that the report was "generally favorable."

Faced with this unilateral disclosure by the Israelis in October and December of 1969, Ennals released a short press statement in December stating that the investigation had "revealed serious and substantial evidence of ill-treatment of prisoners in detention or under interrogation and the committee considers the reply from the Israeli authorities to the report submitted in April 1969 leaves many questions unanswered."

Amnesty barred

Immediately after this press statement, Israel announced that further visits to Israel by Amnesty representatives would be barred, and immediately launched a campaign to discredit the as yet unissued report.

The Israeli foreign ministry complained that names of the alleged victims were not used in the report, to which Ennals replied that the interviewees were kept anonymous to provide for their safety. Further, the Israelis stated that Amnesty was supposed to look into the conditions of Jews in the Arab countries. This has been a favorite ploy of the Israelis in refusing to cooperate with or allow entrance into Israel of other international investigative bodies such as that set up by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. The Israelis further stated that they were conducting their own inquiry and that Amnesty had "prejudged" the findings of the Israeli inquiry.

After the report was issued in March 1970 with the unanimous approval of the executive committee of the British section of Amnesty, the Zionist machine came into full operation. Mark Benenson, chairman of the American section of Amnesty, demonstrating what I. F. Stone has called the "moral myopia" of many American liberals when it comes to criticism of Israel, stated that his group dissociated itself from the report. Benenson stated that, while he would not be surprised if there were



DISPERSED. Palestinian refugees leaving Israel at close of June 1967 war. They told newsmen Israeli troops drove them from their homes after cease-fire was established.

cases of Israeli mistreatment of Palestinians, "this is not the issue." The "issue" was whether Amnesty had used the names of the interviewees in the report so Israel could "investigate" the facts.

The Zionist apparatus, in a further effort to obfuscate the report, criticized Amnesty for its "administrative failure" in failing to furnish the Israeli Embassy with a copy of the report in advance of its issuance. Conveniently omitted was the fact that Amnesty had supplied the Israeli government with a copy of the report in April 1969, that a number of private communications had taken place between Amnesty and Israel concerning the report, and that Israel had rejected the private Amnesty proposals that Israel conduct its own inquiry with the presence of an international observer, or that Amnesty conduct a further inquiry in the presence of an Israeli citizen.

In the interests of clarifying the issues, the Israeli ambassador in London said that he felt pressures were brought to bear on Amnesty to "give general publicity to allegations of torture and other antihumanitarian action by Israel." This statement was made in the face of the fact that Amnesty had declined a request to testify in Cairo before the UN Human Rights Commission because of the "unsatisfactory political climate" in Egypt.

Lawyers' investigation

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) in January 1968 decided to form a delegation to visit and investigate the areas occupied by Israel after the 1967 war, with specific reference to the treatment of the people in occupied areas under the provisions of the Third Chapter of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilians under occupation.

The Israeli ambassador in Belgium told Jules Chome, a Belgian lawyer, that the Red Cross in Brussels could supply him with information, knowing full well that Red Cross officials are not permitted to supply information of such a nature to outsiders without the express consent of the government in question, in this case, Israel. The IADL Mission of Inquiry was denied entry into Israel and was forced to base its findings upon testimonies by Palestinians in Jordan and the UAR and by UNRWA officials. These testimonies revealed time and time again the policies of the Israelis in confiscating property, applying torture in interrogation, encouraging emigration through psychological and material pressures, and the widespread destruction of homes, including four complete villages.

On March 3, 1969, the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva adopted a resolution condemning Israeli rule in the occupied territories based on known facts, and established a special group to investigate alleged violations of the Civilian Convention. The Special Committee created by the UN to investigate Israeli practices was composed of a Senegalese, Indian and Austrian.

The government of Israel immediate-

ly announced that it would not cooperate with this investigation and it, too, was denied entry into Israel and the occupied territories, and had to conduct its hearings in refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and the UAR. The new Special Committee established in February 1970 has also been denied any cooperation by Israeli authorities.

UN condemnation

The UN General Assembly's Third Committee, based on the findings of the Special Committee of the Human Rights Commission, on November 20, 1968, passed a resolution calling on Israel to "desist forthwith from its reported repressive practices and policies toward the civilian population in the occupied territories" and condemned the announced policy of "neighborhood punishment."

Amnesty International was the only group to receive any cooperation from the government which was attempting to project its occupation of the Palestinians as humane and benevolent. The report which Amnesty issued shatters any illusions in that regard.

On October 28, 1969, the *London Times* published a long article by its foreign editor, E. C. Hodgkin, which was headlined: "Grim Reports of Repression from Israel-Occupied Lands." The article describes the situation as follows: about 90 community leaders have been deported; 7,140 homes, including entire villages, had been blown up, "for security reasons." This means some 50,000 persons made homeless. In the majority of cases the houses were blown up because someone suspected of connection with guerrilla activity was living in them.

Suspects, Hodgkins continues, are frequently held for months at a time without trial, without their whereabouts being known, and without lawyers or relatives being able to visit or contact them.

Amnesty's report cites the use of electric shock, being suspended by the wrists and whipped, beatings with metal rods, burning on the back and hands with lighted cigarettes, knocking out teeth, water forced in the mouth and rectum with a hose, and the breaking of limbs as some of the methods of securing information from Palestinian Arabs who have been detained. In none of four case-history summaries given by Amnesty were charges preferred against the person detained.

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A MARXIST VIEWPOINT:

Is the problem overpopulation or s

By DIANNE FEELEY
[The author is the California Social-
list Workers Party candidate for U. S.
Senate.]

The mushrooming movement concerned with environmental problems has once again sounded alarm for "overpopulation." Specialists on this question cite the dramatic rise in population since the time of the industrial revolution to support their thesis that unless population growth is contained, in the future people will literally have to stand on each other's heads. As they see it, the "population bomb" is the central threat facing mankind today. Almost all other problems are related to it or seen as flowing from it—poverty, famine, pollution, overcrowded slums, sprawling ugly suburbs, the exhaustion of the world's resources.

Many of these critics clearly describe the chaos and waste of capitalist production. They correctly point out the real crisis which faces mankind if the systematic destruction of our environment is allowed to continue. But, by substituting a theory of overpopulation for an analysis of the root causes of human destitution and environmental destruction, they bring more confusion to the issue than clarity.

While the discussion is generally carried on in academic terms, it often has strong emotional—and sometimes racist—overtones. Paul Ehrlich, one of the most articulate popularizers of the population crisis theory, sets a typically frenzied tone in the opening chapter of his book, *The Population Bomb*:

"As we crawled through the city, we entered a crowded slum area. The temperature was well over 100, and the air was a haze of dust and smoke. The streets seemed alive with people. People eating, people washing, people sleeping. People visiting, arguing and screaming. People thrusting their hands through the taxi window, begging. People defecating and urinating. People clinging to buses. People herding animals. People, people, people, people."

And what is the question Ehrlich asks himself?

"Would we ever get to our hotel? All three of us were, frankly, frightened. It seemed that anything could happen—but, of course, nothing did. Old India hands will laugh at our reaction. We were just some overprivileged tourists, unaccustomed to the sights and sounds of India. Perhaps, but since that night I've known the *feel* of overpopulation."

In short, Ehrlich tells a modern tale of "the natives are restless." Yet the populations of London, Paris, New York and Moscow are far larger than those of Calcutta or Bombay. And if we consider population density, we find the relatively wealthy countries of Western Europe at the top of the list.

Belgium has a population density of 816 people per square mile; West Germany has 624; the United Kingdom has 588; East Germany has 409. Japan, another highly industrialized country, has a density ratio of 702. India's is 406.

Why is it no one ever talks of the teeming masses of Belgium or England? What is "overpopulation" anyway? Is it a real menace which threatens to destroy our very lives? Or do we hear so much about "overpopulation" now because the world's masses are increasingly demanding the right to enjoy the human existence to which they are entitled? Is it because they are threatening to take control of their lives through revolutionary action, as the Cubans have done?

An old theory

Back in 1798, Malthus, the father of the overpopulation theory, asserted that an unchecked population would outstrip food production. Perhaps reports about the French Revolution and its "mobs" who demanded bread and equality gave Malthus his first insight into "the population problem."

Malthus asserted that population increases in a geometric ratio while food production increases arithmetically. This crude, pessimistic theory has failed the test of time because Malthus, like

many capitalists today, looked at the growth of population simply in terms of its "cost"—that is, in terms of how much the additional population would consume in clothes, food, etc. He failed to take into account the relationship between people and food production. For people are more than consumers; they are food producers as well. They have the capacity to plan, to sow and reap, to work in common, to invent tools which improve their labor productivity, and develop new sources of nourishment. This capacity to improve their environment gives human beings an enormous advantage over other animals. It is possible for them to determine the quality of their lives and to plan their future.

A real understanding of population growth must take political and economic factors into account. For instance, primitive societies which were based on food-gathering, or later on domesticated herds, had limited populations. All had to work long hours simply in order to feed themselves.

What a contrast such a society makes with the United States today where one farmer feeds 25 people. Such technological skills free others to produce a vast variety of goods and services within a basic 40-hour week. A more rationally planned society, one producing to meet human needs, not to create profits for a relative handful, could extend its resources to an even greater degree. It could provide for all a standard of living undreamed of today.

In 1500, there were 27 people per square mile throughout Europe. Today the population density of the whole earth is 65 per square mile. But considering the advances of science, industry and technology in those 450 years, such a density should cause little problem.

Historically, the higher the level of technology, the greater the population required to efficiently develop and utilize it. Without the population explosion of the 18th and 19th centuries, without the creation of large and densely packed population centers, western capitalist society could not have developed a higher mode of production based on a specialized and diversified work force. Conversely, increased productivity made it possible to sustain this population growth.

Since 1850, the population has increased only eight times, while output per man hour has multiplied 35 times.

No one really knows what population level the earth can maintain because the capitalist mode of production prevents the world's food and wealth from being distributed to those who need it.

For example, fisheries in Peru do not feed Peru's protein-hungry population because the fish are sold to the highest bidder—a cat-food manufacturer in the United States. Similarly, California's San Joaquin Valley produces as much as 47 out of the 50 states, with more than 200 different foods. Farm owners average an income of \$50,000 a year. Yet the average wage for a farm laborer is slightly less than \$3,000 a year. Hardly commensurate with the abundance he produces.

Clearly these problems are not the result of overpopulation. The problem is rather who controls the distribution of food and what criterion is used to determine the mode and purpose of production.

The case against imperialism

Those concerned with the population explosion have at least emphasized the fact that neocolonialism is not bringing the same rapid industrialization in the colonial and semicolonial countries as was seen in the advanced capitalist countries during the 19th century. They point out the degree to which the colonial countries are stagnating economically, the fact that there is widespread unemployment, that there is mass famine and poverty. But, by blaming this misery on the colonial and semicolonial peoples themselves—that is on their own expanding numbers—they completely



LAND OF HUNGER. Starvation was rule and has continued since independence, how is the different development. Since its revolution, despite bureaucratic economy and eliminated mass starvation, it has taken the capitalist road, has a stagnant economy

obscure the real problems and the real culprits.

An insight into the fundamental causes of poverty, famine and underdevelopment can be gained by taking a look at the actual economic conditions in the semicolonial world. Puerto Rico, called "America's Hong Kong," is a case in point.

When the United States took possession of Puerto Rico in 1898 the island was largely divided into small privately owned plots of land, about 12 acres each. A small sugar industry flourished. But U.S. investment changed all that. The sugar industry expanded and became a monopoly controlled by absentee owners. Large plantations gobbled up the small farms and production was centralized. By the 1930s, 240,000 acres were used to grow sugar, 190,000 to grow coffee, and over 50,000 to grow tobacco. These crops, grown for export, occupied three to four times more land area than crops for home consumption. Consequently, Puerto Rico imported 60 percent of her food, at high prices, dictated by U.S. markets.

Today, manufacturing provides the largest single source of income for the island. Sugar, tobacco and coffee still largely dominate the agriculture, along with dairy and livestock products. But with an official unemployment rate that normally exceeds 11 percent and a trade deficit of more than \$500 million a year, Puerto Rico is caught in an economic trap that can only be sprung by breaking the iron grip of U.S. imperialism.

Puerto Rico is not unique. The typical colonial economy is dominated by agricultural products and raw materials produced primarily for export, with the land owned by a very few and very little industrialization. But while industrial prices rise from 2 to 4 percent each year, the price of raw materials on the world market—those commodities which underdeveloped countries produce—either remains static or declines. In other words, the rich dictate world market prices to the poor.

And the gap between rich and poor nations continues to widen. Before World War II the average income per

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Today in the United States, as in the rest of the world, millions of people are realizing that their interests collide with the interests of the tiny capitalist class that runs this country. Hundreds of thousands of young people, workers, students, women, Blacks, Chicanos, and others are moving into action against the ruling class and its policies. There is a growing interest in socialist ideas among these radicalizing forces.

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perprofiteering?



head in India during British colonial the problem is merely overpopu- narily populous China explained? leadership, China has developed a while India, which took the cap- the kind of misery depicted here.

capita in North America was 16 times that of the average Hindu. Today it is 40 times as much. Yet production of raw materials and the export of manufactured good has more than doubled in the poor countries.

Hunger, unemployment or underemployment, housing shortages, disease and high rates of illiteracy are the consequences of imperialism, not overpopulation.

And these are not the only ways in which the development of the semicolonial world is subordinated to the needs of the capitalist market. Because of the chaotic and irrational nature of a system based on production for profit, farmers in the U.S. are paid millions of dollars not to farm while people around the world starve. This madness, which is based on the need to keep up farm prices, reaches its epitome in the huge farm "surplus" storage program. It is estimated that the U.S. spends as much money storing this food as it does on the loudly touted foreign economic aid programs.

Another dramatic example of how production for profit stands in the way of meeting human needs was the reception given the recent development of new high-yield strains of rice, wheat and corn in Southeast Asia.

Robert F. Chandler, head of the Philippine research institute which has developed a high-yield "miracle rice," has stated:

"Only three years ago people were screaming, 'How are we going to feed the teeming millions of Asia?' Now some of these same people are yelling about overproduction and lost export markets." (*New York Times*, April 6.)

And it is this same subordination of the needs of human beings to the needs of a chaotic, unplanned, economic system based on competition for profit which is the cause of the destruction of our environment and resources within the U.S. today. It is not that there are just too many people, with too many needs for water, air, coal, oil and other resources, but that our basic productive system is in the hands of private corporations with the basic decisions concerning them being made solely on the basis of maximizing profits for the owners.

The way out

What is the solution to the problems of poverty and famine that plague so much of the world's population? Clearly the capitalist system, despite its tremendous increase in productivity per man-hour of labor and its amazing scientific advances, has not been able to begin to solve the problem. And it cannot. An economic system which sets as its first priority the elimination of hunger, illiteracy, disease, and the satisfaction of the basic human needs of every man, woman and child is needed; one that is based on a rational plan for diversified production and massive industrialization of the semicolonial and colonial countries, one that places human needs before production for private profit.

Once such an economic system is established, once countries stunted by imperialist domination are allowed to develop along the lines of a rational international division of labor and fair exchange, the population question will be seen in a totally different light.

In Cuba, for example, as soon as the revolution had triumphed, the problem was not overpopulation but a scarcity of labor power. In a few short months Cuba was transformed from a country in which millions were unemployed or underemployed most of the year to a country which had an almost unlimited need for labor power. And at the same time, starvation, malnutrition, illiteracy were virtually eliminated. Health care became every individual's right, not a privilege enjoyed by the wealthy few. Housing was built; rents were gradually reduced to 10 percent of a person's income, and will soon be eliminated altogether. Clearly, Cuba's problem was not overpopulation, and Cuba's example shows the direction humankind must take.

Historically, industrialization has brought first a rise, and then a decline in the birth rate. The material need for a large family is removed as industry is firmly established and birth control information widely communicated. There is no reason to suspect that the populations of Asia, Latin America and Africa will not follow the same general trend when they begin to industrialize and develop their economic resources on a planned, socialized basis.

Even in the U.S. today, where the population continues to grow by about two million every year, since 1957 the fertility rate, that is the number of babies born per thousand women, has been going down. In 1957 the fertility rate reached a high 123. But in 1960 it was down to 119, in 1967 to 98, and by 1968 to 85.7, not much higher than the rate during the depression.

And, of course, we will only be able to have a real understanding of the dynamics of population growth when women are totally free to decide for themselves whether and when they will have children—when they have free access to safe and reliable birth control techniques and free abortion on demand.

But now, the struggle is to break through the real barriers that perpetuate hunger, to eradicate the economic system which is run for the benefit of the few. The overpopulation myth-makers do not, in the main, believe that there will be a revolution, or else they live in fear of it. The solution they offer will not eradicate poverty.

Without the institution of rational planning in production and research, it is still impossible to tell what total population the earth can sustain. In the future, it is possible that population will have to be freely and rationally controlled and planned, but this is not the task before us today. Our job is to free humankind from the capitalist system of exploitation which can doom us all. And this is a fight we can win.

Israel, an analysis (III)

Is Israel a peaceable, prosperous nation?



ARTIFICIAL DEVELOPMENT. Israel freighter loads exports for Africa. Israeli economy, like its vast armaments program, has from outset been dependent on Western aid.

By NATHAN WEINSTOCK

[This is the third installment in a four-part series on the nature of the Israeli state. The author is a Belgian Marxist who lived in Palestine for many years and whose book, *Le sionisme contre Israel* (Zionism Against Israel), was published in France last year. The article, written in thesis form, was originally published in the Jan. 12 issue of *Rouge*, the paper of the French Communist League. Points one through nine appeared in earlier installments.]

* * *

10. There is no "Israeli miracle." After having benefited for several decades from the support of British colonialism, the Zionist leaders took advantage of their overwhelming technical and military superiority to impose the partition of Palestine, where the Jews constituted only a third of the population (partition plan adopted by the UN on Nov. 29, 1947).

Long before the proclamation of the state of Israel on May 15, 1948, the Zionist armed forces had already occupied a large portion of the territories that the UN had awarded to the Palestinian Arabs (occupation of Tiberias, Beisan, Safed, St. Jean Acre and Jaffe from April 13 on). In passing, it should be noted that the UN resolution was adopted without consulting the Palestinians, and despite their formal opposition to partition of the country.

Israel has been able to maintain itself since then thanks only to an influx of capital that, in 1968, amounted to 10 percent of world foreign aid to all the underdeveloped countries, or, in proportion to its population, 20 times as much as any state of the Third World received. One of the objectives of this permanent subsidy to the western showcase in the Near East is to contain the contradictions within Israel which place social classes in opposition to one another and place the disadvantaged Sephardic Jews in opposition to the relatively privileged Ashkenazim (those of western origin).

11. Israel never was a "peaceful little state." In 1947 and 1948, terrorist raids by its armed forces drove the Palestinian population from their towns and villages. It has never ceased to oppose with violence the uprooted refugees' return to their homes, and it has not hesitated to make repeated, bloody, "punitive" forays into neighboring countries to force—not without success—the Arab regimes themselves to guarantee the "policing" of the refugees. Moreover, in 1956, it participated in the Franco-British colonial expedition against Egypt to punish Nasser for having nationalized the Suez Canal, affirming on that occasion its expansionist designs.

In 1967, it succeeded in convincing world opinion that it was conducting a defensive war, while we know today that "the Egyptian military deployment

in the Sinai on the eve of the war had a defensive character" (Levi Eskhol, *Yediot Akharonot*, Oct. 18, 1967), that Nasser was "bluffing" and had no intention of attacking Israel (General Rabin, *Le Monde*, Feb. 29, 1968), and that Generals Dayan and Yaariv [military intelligence] deliberately organized a campaign of hysteria to force the council of ministers to unleash the war and also, no doubt, to form a coalition—of "national union"—with the extreme right (revelations of Moshe Guiboa, cited by Rouleau, *Le Monde*, July 3, 1969).

12. The opposition of the Arab masses to the Zionist state—pressure which has repercussions on their governments—has nothing in common with any kind of anti-Jewish prejudice. It is a simple reflex of defense and of solidarity with an oppressed, fraternal people, which is accentuated by Israel's belligerence and its expansionism, openly avowed since 1967.

This hostility is justified, moreover, by Israel's foreign policy, which has been systematically hostile to the Arab revolution (e.g., permission to the British air force to fly over Israel after the Iraqi revolution of 1958; support to France during the Algerian war; etc.). These examples prove that Israel is determined to be the West's "policeman," even when its own interests are not involved.

Further, there was no anti-Jewish current in the Middle East before the birth of the Zionist movement, which is even more remarkable in view of the fact that the colonial powers have long stirred up religious and ethnic rivalries in the region.

13. Israel is not fighting alone. It is abundantly supported with arms, ammunition, and funds—money is the nerve of war—by the United States, West Germany, Great Britain and France. (The pretended French embargo did not prevent deGaulle from authorizing the Turbomeca company to build a jet-plane factory in Israel). Even if the great powers sometimes manifest displeasure at certain Israeli initiatives which risk compromising their global interests in the region—by undermining "stability"—they support the Zionist structures of the Jewish state.

14. Israel is not a weak and unarmed country. On the contrary, it is the principal military power in the region, capable of fielding in periods of full mobilization as many soldiers as the three principal bordering states (Rouleau, *Le Monde*, July 2, 1969). It has more tank specialists and pilots than all the Arab countries put together. It possesses a formidable aircraft industry. It is able to build nuclear arms (the reactor at Dimona). Its military superiority over the neighboring countries is, as the three Israeli-Arab wars demonstrate, literally overwhelming.

(To be continued.)

To escape ecological disaster

Int'l socialist planning the ultimate solution

By ROBERT LANGSTON

There is pretty general agreement today among ecologists that the planet earth is drifting quite rapidly towards an ecological catastrophe: a sudden disruption of all or a large number of those delicately balanced systems of interaction among living organisms and the physical and chemical elements through which they live, followed by the establishment of drastically different systems of equilibrium. It is impossible to predict which (if any) of the existing species of plants and animals would survive such a catastrophe, or what (if any) new ones would emerge in its wake. But it is highly likely that the human species with its culture, its history and its still-possible future would not be among the survivors.

There is equally general agreement that the causes of this impending disaster to mankind are not to be found in any nonhuman agents—like those, for example, that caused the ice ages—but in the activities of human beings themselves. Nor is there any evidence that the drift towards the catastrophe has become irreversible, in the sense that nothing human beings might now begin to do can prevent it. Human activity is producing the disaster; a change in the character of human activity can still avert it.

At this point, however, agreement ends. What is the character of the human activity that is impelling earth towards the catastrophe; what change in its character is required; how can this change be brought about?

A sizeable popular movement based at first on a largely spontaneous revulsion at the stench and noise and ugliness inflicted on human beings in this society is assimilating the warnings of the ecologists. This movement has now become an ideological and political battleground of opposing answers to these questions.

The revolutionary socialist answers are simple and direct. The ultimate reason for the threatening ecological disaster is that production—all those activities through which human beings provide the material things they need—

is determined not by those needs themselves but by the drive for profits of the private, capitalist owners of society's natural resources and tools and machinery. To avert the disaster, it is necessary to bring production—ultimately on a world scale—under a democratically formulated plan, so that what is produced and the conditions under which it is produced correspond to the needs of people, as they define those needs—including the needs for clean air, pure water, undisturbed wilderness lands and the survival of the human species. This basic change in the character of productive activity can only be accomplished by a mass movement of the workers, the actual producers, and their allies, who can wrest control of the natural resources and tools and machines from their capitalist owners and turn them into socialized property so that production can be planned for the satisfaction of human needs.

Economic planning

The necessity of comprehensive economic planning if the disaster is to be avoided is a consequence of the complex interconnectedness of the various functional parts and geographical regions of humanity's earthly environment, of the cumulative effects of unplanned and unanticipated environmental changes brought about by human production, and of the scope and intensity of modern technology.

The natural environment consists of a myriad of ecosystems, regions in which the plant and animal life, and the physical and chemical properties of the medium in which they live, are adjusted to each other. A lake, for example, constitutes an ecosystem. The species of fish and other animals, of algae and other plants, the area and depth of the lake, and the concentration of various chemical substances in the water all condition each other.

If one of these elements is changed sufficiently, others—sometimes all—will also be changed. If, for example, there is a sudden increase in the amount of algae growth, in a relatively brief period the entire lake may be transformed. It may even turn into a clogged and slimy swamp.

Furthermore, geographically separated ecosystems are by no means hermetically sealed off from one another. Seepage of ground water, the flow of streams, the ocean currents, the winds, and the migration of animals link the various regions of the earth. The sudden increase in the lake's stock of algae might be caused by a rise in the concentration of phosphates, due in turn to the dumping hundreds of miles away of phosphate-rich detergents in a stream feeding the lake. The whole natural environment is a system of systems wherein any change in one element of one system may to a lesser or greater extent affect every element of every system.

Man and ecological systems

Such changes have been brought about by mankind's productive activity since the human race has existed. From an ecological point of view, the cycle of production and consumption consists of human beings removing matter from the environment at a certain point, transforming it's physical and chemical properties, and returning it thus transformed to the environment. The changes induced in the environment by this process may, for a long time—even thousands of years—have no consequences for man. Then suddenly, the accumulation of these small changes leads to an environmental change that is humanly important.

In Sweden, for example, the large-



Photo by Howard Petrick

April 4 New York antipollution demonstration

scale use of mercury in the production of wood pulp began some 70 years ago. The mercury-rich wastes were dumped into rivers. In 1963, large numbers of pheasants and other birds began to die of mercury poisoning. In the intervening years, the mercury had gradually concentrated in the birds' food chains. In 1963, the lethal level was reached; the birds began to die. But the cause of their death reached some 65 years into the past.

Industrial production

Both the scope and character of modern production constantly accelerates the rate at which these small changes accumulate and become large, humanly important changes. Ton for ton, more matter is probably transformed by human beings each year today than was transformed throughout the entire span of human life before 1800.

And it is increasingly transformed into substances that powerfully affect ecological relationships. The development of chemical technologies is especially important in this respect. There was no DDT in nature until human beings put it there, and many chemical processes produce either directly, or as by-products, biologically active substances never previously found in nature, or in far higher concentrations.

In short, the power of human beings over nature has become so vast that it can satisfy all the materially determined needs of human beings. Or it can destroy the natural foundation of human life. In important respects, the natural environment has itself become a product of human activity. If it is produced carelessly, blindly, without conscious planning, it will be as bad a product as a pair of shoes produced carelessly, blindly, without conscious planning. Only, this bad product will be lethal to humanity.

Ecological change cannot be halted. It can, however, be guided in ways that are beneficial, not inimical, to human beings.

The knowledge and techniques necessary to such comprehensive planning can be developed. But this knowledge cannot be utilized, these techniques cannot be implemented (and to a large extent, not even developed), without a revolution in the social organization of production.

Capitalist anarchy

Every capitalist enterprise produces in order to maximize the private, par-

ticular profits of its owners. What is finally produced, including the natural environment, is the unintended outcome of this blind play of antagonistic forces. However sincerely any capitalist or manager as a citizen and human being may wish to protect the environment, the moment that he enters his office he becomes subject to the laws of capitalist production, he must try and maximize his company's profits. And to do that, he must pollute, he must contribute to producing a natural environment that is unfit for human life, because he can thereby cut costs to his particular company.

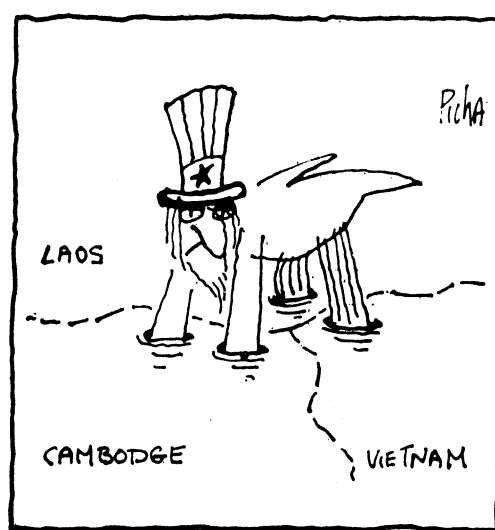
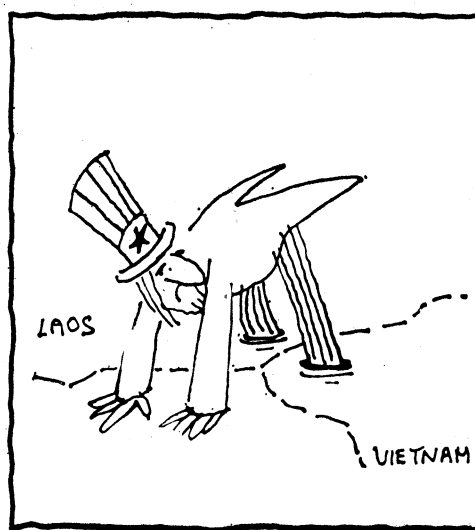
And if the state passes laws saying he may not pollute, or if it even goes so far as to adopt something that looks like a comprehensive economic plan, the capitalist must devise every possible means to evade that law. And as long as the natural resources and factories and other instruments of production are privately owned, any such comprehensive plan will in fact be far more illusion than reality. All historical experience with "capitalist planning" confirms this analysis.

The immense power over nature which human beings possess today can no longer be contained within the confines of a social order based on the scramble for profits by private interests. Until the working class and its allies succeed in transforming the means of production into social property and planning production evermore comprehensively in terms of concrete human needs, that power over nature will turn back against human beings and continue to destroy the natural foundations of human life.

That does not mean that the struggle against environmental destruction should be postponed until sometime in the socialist future. The struggle against particular capitalist interests that pollute and against particular capitalist politicians and capitalist laws that allow the polluters to continue to pollute is vitally important. Such partial struggles, when they succeed, can retard the rate at which a decaying capitalism is destroying the world. They can also help educate millions of people about the need for basic change. But only the elimination of capitalism and the building of socialism on the whole earth can, in the long run, produce a natural environment in which human beings can live human lives.



Photo by Howard Petrick



Picha in Le Special, Belgium

Ominous escalation in Cambodia

By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 15—In a dangerous new escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, the Cambodian military regime yesterday called for arms support "from any country that wanted to provide them."

The *New York Times* reveals this morning that "The State Department said the U. S. had received no request. Other sources expected one and predicted that it would be granted."

Whatever President Nixon says in his national TV speech on Indochina scheduled for April 16, it is virtually assured that U. S. arms and financial support will be forthcoming to the generals in Phnompenh.

Newsweek magazine hit the nail on the head when it commented in the issue dated April 20, "True, a Defense Department spokesman reiterated last week the administration's position that U. S. troops would not be allowed into Cambodia. But in an ominous throw-back to the phraseology of the early days in Vietnam, he admitted that 'military advisers' had been authorized to cross the border for 'protocol' meetings."

In Phnompenh, the General Lon Nol regime appears to be attempting to duplicate in Cambodia the right-wing terror that the Indonesian militarists launched in that country in 1965. That horrifying chapter of history saw the deaths of what has been estimated to be as many as 500,000 Indonesians in the name of an "anti-Communist purge."

The Phnompenh line is that the Vietnamese peoples living in Cambodia, numbering about 400,000, are "totally infiltrated" by "Viet Cong" forces. "Vietnamese—VC—same," a Cambodian police commissioner in Svay Rieng told *Newsweek* reporters.

A massacre vividly reminiscent of Songmy was reported in the border village of Prasot April 10. As a UPI photo that has been given national circulation clearly shows, at least 89 Vietnamese civilians were mowed down, including many women and children.

According to an ABC correspondent, Steve Bell, Cambodian troops told the Vietnamese civilians to run when their village was approached by revolutionary forces. Then the Cambodian troops opened fire on them.

Whatever the actual results of this Phnompenh attempt to stir up national chauvinism, there can be no denying the generals' objective: "An officially inspired campaign of hatred against Vietnamese has reached fever pitch throughout Cambodia," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm wrote from Phnompenh April 13.

"It has resulted in detentions, in disappearances and, in at least one known case, in mass killings that witnesses attributed to Cambodian soldiers. . . None of the leading figures of the new regime have said a word . . . that might inhibit those who take the official propaganda campaign as a declaration of an open season on Vietnamese."

Meanwhile events in South Vietnam continue to confirm that, despite statements to the contrary, the military balance of power in South Vietnam has not changed since President Nixon took office.

On April 5, the *New York Times* reported that an attack on a U.S. military base of the First Air Cavalry division resulted in "the worst mauling an American Army unit has taken in a single one day battle in nearly two years."

Commenting on the same offensive several days earlier, April 2, *New York Times* Saigon correspondent Terence Smith wrote, "The shellings and ground assaults proved once again that the enemy retains the capacity to inflict heavy casualties on allied troops whenever and wherever he wants."

That phrase—"whenever and wherever he wants"—has been repeated many times before in the history of this war. It is the military expression of the blunt truth that the Vietnamese revolutionaries have the overwhelming support of the population and have been able to hold at bay the murderous military machine of U. S. counterrevolution.

"Not only had the Communists proved that they could strike lethally almost anywhere at will, but on the eve of Mr. Nixon's scheduled television address this week on Vietnam, they raised serious doubts about whether his plans to turn over the war to Saigon's bat-

talions would work," *Newsweek* commented.

And in the same article, *Newsweek* revealed once again that Nixon's troop reductions in South Vietnam, such as they are, do not reflect the military situation but are the result of the pressure of the antiwar movement and are an attempt to dampen that pressure.

Reporting that further troop reductions have been strongly urged by the White House despite objections from Pentagon officials, *Newsweek* said: "This go-slow argument [of the Penta-

gon] was flatly rejected by Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird. For one thing, Laird believed that domestic politics made it imperative that the administration push ahead with its fourth-slice troop pullout."

And that is the key to follow-up action in the antiwar movement after today's demonstrations: Keep the pressure on to get every last U.S. troop out of Vietnam. Whatever Nixon says about a "great silent majority," his actions are continuously hampered by the "imperative" pressure of the antiwar movement.

State Dept. bars entry of Gisela Mandel to U.S.

By RANDY FURST

NEW YORK—Gisela Mandel, for many years a leading activist in the German SDS, was barred by the State Department from entering the United States to speak at an April 15 antiwar rally at Columbia University.

No reason was given for rescinding the visa Gisela Mandel was granted in 1968 when she visited the United States to make an extensive speaking tour of U.S. campuses, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

The State Department action drew immediate response from leading American scholars including 12 professors at Columbia University. In a statement issued to the press April 13, they termed the State Department's decision "a grave violation of civil liberties and an infringement on academic freedoms."

The barring of Gisela Mandel is clearly related to the government's refusal to allow her husband, Ernest Mandel, a well-known Belgian Marxist economist, to enter the country. Ernest Mandel was twice refused a visa last fall—once to debate liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith and once to speak at a number of scheduled campus meetings. A suit to overturn the government's decision in his case was filed March 19 by six prominent American university professors.

Gisela Mandel had been invited to speak at the Columbia rally here in New York by the campus Student Mobilization Committee. However, she was told by Sabena Airlines officials at the Brussels National Airport April 13 that she would not be allowed to board the plane. The airline officials said that they had been informed by the U.S. Embassy that her visa had been rescinded.

George Novack, author and contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, who has been active in helping organize Ernest Mandel's defense, branded the State Department decision "a further step in the revitalization of the political ineligibility clause of the McCarran-Walter Act by Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell. This part of the act," he said, "had largely lapsed under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations but has been reactivated under Nixon and Mitchell."

At a press conference held at the International Arrivals Building at John

F. Kennedy International Airport when news came that Gisela Mandel was not aboard her scheduled flight, Patricia Grogan of the Columbia SMC told reporters, "I don't consider this an isolated incident. It's part of the campaign of the government in the face of the rising protest and discontent to quell antiwar opposition in academic circles. This is a particularly blatant example of the government's efforts to deny free speech."

She added that the Columbia SMC plans to introduce a resolution into the Columbia University Senate condemning the State Department's action.

The statement by the U.S. scholars issued at the press conference read:

"We, the undersigned professors of Columbia University and members of the academic community, protest the attempt by the State Department to deny a travel visa to Gisela Mandel to enter the U. S. and address a rally at Columbia University. We consider this a grave violation of civil liberties and an infringement on academic freedoms."

The State Department has not divulged in either Ernest or Gisela Mandel's case the specific grounds of organizational affiliation or political activity for which they have been barred.

Attorney Leonard Boudin, chief counsel of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, who is handling the suit on Mandel's behalf in federal court, is considering the possibility of legal action in connection with the rescinding of Gisela Mandel's visa.



Gisela Mandel

By James P. Cannon
THE I.W.W.

Reminiscences of a participant

50c

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Armed terrorists attack L.A. store

LOS ANGELES—On Monday evening, April 13, at approximately 9:30 p.m., a group of heavily armed men, probably Cuban counterrevolutionaries, attacked the Haymarket, a radical political center at 507 N. Hoover St.

There were about 20 people in the Haymarket—staff, visitors and a theater group. Entering with drawn guns, the assailants first forced a group of people in the front room, including a four-year-old child, to lie face down on the floor, Macing and beating those who refused.

Several of the attackers repeatedly threatened to kill anyone who attempted to move or call for help. Then some of them entered the upstairs living quarters where some of the staff were. They were ordered at gunpoint to go downstairs, joining the others on the floor.

The assailants sprayed or poured a Mace-like substance, possibly nausea gas, on people. Several of the attackers were clad in military attire and carried a variety of weapons including a shotgun, rifle and automatic pistol.

Acting in an obviously well-rehearsed and coordinated manner, they then set fire to the building. Several empty gaso-

line cans were later found by firemen.

Although people were incapacitated by the gas and had great difficulty in finding exits, everyone managed to escape. Most required first aid for the effects of the Mace and gas.

The fire lasted for over an hour, destroying the building and contents with an estimated value of over \$35,000.

Previous to the attack, the Haymarket had been the target of innumerable instances of harassment, bomb threats, threatening phone calls and broken windows.

Maintained by a volunteer staff, the Haymarket housed a printshop, bookstore, coffee house, meeting rooms and offices. The local headquarters of the National Lawyers Guild and Committee on Latin-American Solidarity were located there.

In addition, it provided the regular meeting place for the Liberation Union, Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), a women's liberation group, and an experimental theater workshop.

At a press conference April 14, the Haymarket staff described the attack and declared that they would not be intimidated and that they would reopen the Haymarket.



Third World liberation notes

N.Y. Black militants framed; Chicano victories in Texas

In addition to the preliminary hearings of the Panther 21, hearings began on April 13 in New York for three former members of the Panther Party. Alfred Cain, Ricardo de Leon, and Jerome West are being framed up on charges of conspiracy to commit murder, conspiracy to commit robbery, felonious assault, and illegal possession of weapons.

It all began August 16, 1969, when a police agent in the Panther Party named Wilbur Thomas managed to convince the three that they were vitally needed in Harlem. After planting guns and a map of a Harlem hotel in the car, Thomas drove right into a police net, laid at the 125th St. exit of the West Side Highway. The three were subsequently discharged from the party.

This whole plan of entrapment was discussed before Judge Birns by defense attorneys, Conrad Lynn, Elliot A. Taikeff, and Paul Cheviigny. The lawyers argued that the weapons were illegally seized and should therefore not be entered into the trial as evidence. Birns denied the motion. The trial is scheduled to get underway on April 16 or 17. The brothers are each being held

on \$50,000 bail. Funds for bail and the expenses of the trial are urgently needed. Send to: The Cain Family, P.O. Box 2053, Brooklyn GPO, New York.

* * *

In Cotulla, Texas, where Lyndon Baines Johnson formerly taught school, a Chicano, Alfredo Zamora Jr., was elected mayor along with two candidates of the La Raza Unida Party, Enrique Jimenez Jr. and George Carpenter Sr., who were elected to the city council.

On the same day, April 4, in Crystal City, scene of many Chicano school blow-outs (strikes), three members of the La Raza Unida Party, Jose Angel Gutierrez, 25, Arturo Gonzales, 21, and Mike Perez, 31, were elected to the seven-person school board. These were the first electoral victories of the La Raza Unida Party, which has been organizing and extending its roots over the last two years. The party is now looking forward to the fall elections.

* * *

In the last two weeks of March, both Stokely Carmichael and Robert F. Williams were subpoenaed to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The committee got very upset when a Black body was found in the Potomac River on March 25, the day that Williams was going to testify. When he showed up, they offered him protection. But Williams declined the offer and stated, according to the April 11 *Michigan Chronicle*, "If I needed protection I would call on the Black community that had already offered it." Apparently, committee members had visions of Washington, D.C., aflame if Williams had disappeared.

While he was on his way to D.C. from Canada, immigration officials gave him some static by saying that they found a rifle in a box in the trunk of his car. But Williams denied putting it there. He has to appear in federal court on May 20. Thus the government continues in its drive to put Brother Rob behind bars, by any means necessary.



Robert Williams

— DERRICK MORRISON

Only two weeks to go in militant sub drive

By FLAX HERMES
Militant Business Manager

APRIL 15—We are moving into the homestretch of the subscription drive. With only two weeks left to fill our quotas, we've got to take advantage of every sub-selling opportunity *now* or it will be too late.

The sub drive is still behind schedule nationally. New subs this week tallied 587, but we must more than double this rate in the next two weeks to finish on time.

One more area—Hamilton and Clinton, N.Y.—has been added to the list of areas that have completed their quotas. Also, Austin, Texas, should be commended for the leap they made up to seventh place this week from 25th on the last scoreboard.

Ft. Wayne, Ind., has asked to be added to the scoreboard. Although no quota was suggested, we've received 14 subs so far from Ft. Wayne! And, supporters on Long Island, N.Y., have decided they'd try to sell 65 subs in the next two weeks! We got word of

this new area too late to include it on this week's scoreboard.

Some of the enthusiasm new readers have for *The Militant* is reflected in a couple of letters we received in the last few days. They should be very encouraging to sub-sellers.

From Tacoma, Wash., we received a letter which began, "A friend gave me a copy of *The Militant*. Wow! I liked it. I liked it so much I feel I must subscribe. I didn't even realize there were publications like *The Militant* or know where to get them."

The second letter came from a new reader in Belleville, Ill. He wrote that his 3 month introductory sub is expiring and he wants to renew it for a full year. He feels that *The Militant* "presents a well-organized view on many diversified subjects that are of timely interest. I hope to see *The Militant* multiply its subscriptions many times over in the future months."

The 7,500 new subscriptions by May 1 will be a good start. Let's do it!

Subscription scoreboard				
City	Quota	New subs		
Red Hook, N.Y.	15	8		
Portsmouth, N.H.	15	26		
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	51		
Albany, N.Y.	25	31		
Tacoma, Wash.	25	31		
El Paso, Texas	20	22		
Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y.	16	17		
Austin, Texas	150	120		
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	200		
Worcester, Mass.	50	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	38		
Johnson City, Tenn.	25	19		
Atlanta, Ga.	225	173		
Boston, Mass.	350	258		
Chicago, Ill.	500	365		
New Haven, Conn.	10	7		
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	219		
Detroit, Mich.	350	233		
Washington, D.C.	125	82		
Seattle, Wash.	200	130		
Providence, R.I.	80	51		
New York, N.Y.	1100	697		
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	307		
Eastern Washington State	25	15		
Paterson, N.J.	30	18		
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	15		
Kent, Ohio	75	44		
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	42		
Houston, Texas	100	57		
Berkeley, Calif.	375	200		
San Francisco, Calif.	475	250		
Cleveland, Ohio	350	171		
Gainesville, Fla.	50	24		
Oxford, Ohio	25	12		
Bloomington, Ind.	50	23		
Hoboken, N.J.	30	13		
DeKalb, Ill.	100	42		
Hayward, Calif.	75	31		
La Crosse, Wis.	15	6		
Milwaukee, Wis.	40	16		
St. Louis, Mo.	30	12		
Logan, Utah	25	9		
Columbus, Ohio	60	20		
Newark, N.J.	75	25		
Portland, Ore.	30	9		
Madison, Wis.	200	59		
Kansas City, Mo.	60	17		
Binghamton, N.Y.	120	26		
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120	24		
Champaign, Ill.	25	4		
San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25	3		
San Diego, Calif.	100	11		
Mansfield, Pa.	40	4		
Athens, Ohio	25	2		
Chapel Hill, N.C.	25	2		
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	-	14		
General	235	169		
TOTAL	7556	4514		

Interview with Atlanta strike leader

Why we are fighting

By FRANK GRINNON

[The author is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress, fifth congressional district of Georgia.]

ATLANTA—It was early on Monday morning, April 13, when Sam Manuel from the Young Socialist Alliance and Black Students United at Georgia State University and myself joined the mass picket line at the city-owned Yancey Brothers Construction Garage.

The Atlanta city government has made this construction site a depot for city trucks that are used for hauling garbage during the current city employees strike, which began almost a month ago.

The workers were trying to block the entrance with pickets. At 7 a.m., there were between 50 and 60 people on the line, the majority of them striking city employees from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644.

Suddenly the cops swooped in and arrested 36 of us, the largest bust during the strike now entering its fifth week. Thirty-three of us were charged with criminal interference with government property in violation of a state law against mass picketing, two were charged with obstructing a highway, and one with obstructing a highway and creating a turmoil.

Our trial will be on May 5.

Among those arrested were a Catholic nun, Emmett Doe, a union official, and Tom Evans, associate director of District 14 of AFSCME and an active strike leader.

While sitting in the Atlanta city jail for several hours before the union bailed

us out, Sam and I had an opportunity to talk with Tom Evans about the strike. We first asked him about the court injunction against mass picketing and conspiracy charges against union leaders.

"P.J. Ciampa is up on a charge of conspiracy to instigate a riot and a contempt-of-court charge," Evans told us. "He is an international AFSCME representative from Baltimore. During the whole strike, 100 have been busted on 200 to 300 charges. . . . About this conspiracy to start a riot and outside agitator thing, Ciampa and our international organizers are covered under an interstate organizing rule in either NLRB or Taft Hartley.

"These charges are unconstitutional, and we're going to take this case to the highest court and win, even if it takes awhile."

We asked him how the men were able to hold out for such a long time.

"About 1,100 to 1,600 strikers are paid \$25 a week," Evans said, "and they have been paid twice. No scabs are paid. We make sure of that! We also take care of emergencies like rent or hospital emergencies. We have a social worker working full time checking on these emergency-type situations."

He told us that increasing support is coming from the Black community. WAOK, a Black radio station, has provided a lot of air time and has collected food for strikers' families. A number of churches are also beginning to send in special strike collections and Black support for the boycott of downtown department stores is growing.

He said that morale of the strikers is good and that a number of the old-



Photo by Meg Rose

Atlanta municipal workers' demonstration

er workers have been active on the picket lines. He also told us that the director of sanitation, Ralph Ulsy, openly carries a nightstick with him and allows scabs to carry guns. All supervisors have reportedly been carrying guns during the strike and city cops are riding shotgun on the sanitation trucks. It is rumored that Mayor Massell carries a gun in a shoulder holster.

News coverage of the strike has been "shitty," he stated angrily. "We've been chopped up. Massell gets a 15 minute spot. They see that our equal time is broken into short spots like one minute. All the TV stations refuse to let us have one half-hour time for Jerry Wurf [international president of AFSCME]."

He also cited how the media tried to portray the strikers as violent when they disarmed a scab last week who had shot a union picket captain in the back of the leg.

We asked him about the city's latest offer to give a one-step increase to nearly 2,300 of the lowest paid workers. The union has been demanding a one-step increase for all employees. Evans said, "The raise offered by the city was actually for the 23 lowest-paying positions, and not for the 2,300 lowest-paid workers. Actually only 1,600 employees currently fill positions in the 23 lowest-paying job categories. For example, there are several financial obligations in the budget for asphalt workers but no asphalt workers employed by the city; for porters, but only one porter employed; 75 for custodial workers, and only 30 employed; and 700 for sanitation waste collector—I, and only 300 employed.

"Thus," he concluded, "the city's budget has a lot of water, and we think that they have money to meet our demands. The city has enough money for a new coliseum, a new \$4,000 addition to the civil war memorial Cyclorama."

The city won't even allow a certified accountant representing the union to look at the books, he told us. "What do you think of the demand to open the books?" we asked him. He said that it was a good demand but that even a certified accountant from the union would have trouble finding many of the hidden allocations. The only way the union was able to get as much information as it had, he told us, is from an Atlanta Urban League research report on discrimination among city employees.

We asked him about his role as a union-paid organizer for Sam Massell in the city elections last fall. He re-

plied, "That's right. I did a lot of work to get Massell in. But I will never, never again work for a liberal."

While we were in jail about 800 strikers and supporters marched downtown to the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, the city hall and Chamber of Commerce, protesting biased news coverage and the arrests. The most popular chants were "To Hell with Massell" and "We Want More Money."

Today we learned that three persons, including P.J. Ciampa and William Lucey, both officials of the international union, and Nathaniel Osby, a striking employee, were sentenced to jail for 20 days in contempt of an order against pickets and appearance at city work sites. Ten-day sentences were given to Joseph Leatherwood, a striker, and Claude Holt, president of a local union. It is not expected that these sentences or the arrests yesterday will daunt the strikers.

Money for bail and food and telegrams of support may be sent to: AFSCME District 14, 501 Pulliam Street, Room 517, Atlanta, Ga.

Baltimore hosts GI conference for East Coast

Antiwar GIs have called for support of demonstrations against the war being planned at bases around the country for Armed Forces Day, May 16. The supporting call was issued by an "East Coast GI Newspaper Editors Conference" held in Baltimore April 4 and 5.

The conference held workshops on law, organizing and journalism in seeking to improve the quality and impact of antiwar-GI papers. Roger Priest, the first serviceman to face court-martial for statements in a GI paper, was present at the conference. His trial opened in Washington April 14.

"Those present at the conference seek to encourage other regional GI groups to hold similar conferences to foster a closer relationship between bases," a press release issued by Baltimore GIs United stated.

Represented at the conference were nine GI papers from the East Coast, the U. S. Servicemen's Fund, the Guardian, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, and the GI Task Force of New Mobe.

Congress forces settlement on railroad shop workers

By PAUL CHELSTROM

MINNEAPOLIS — Special legislation fixing the wage scale of 48,000 railroad shop workers at \$4.28 per hour, forcing upon them the onerous working conditions of a contract negotiated in December 1969, and outlawing a strike at this juncture, sailed through Congress April 8 without a hitch. This swift action by the Congress had been recommended by the administration, and Nixon rapidly signed into law this enforced labor measure.

The railroad companies now have a precedent to use against other unions which have filed notices for wage adjustments far above the shopcraft settlement. For instance, the telegraphers are asking for a 57 percent increase. These unions will have to use the arbitration machinery of the railway labor act and will arrive at the same impasse the shopmen did. The Nixon formula will then be used against them in whatever way the arbitration board sees fit to apply. President Nixon will declare a national emergency and Congress will apply the modern version of settling the dispute by passing a law imposing the arbitration recommendations on the unions involved.

This situation is part of the obvious offensive of big business against the living standards of the working class; that is, the aim and determination of the employers to saddle workers with the cost of war in Southeast Asia.

However, there is one stumbling block. All actions of this nature, especially the use of force to impose terms of a contract which have been rejected, have their counteractions. These slick pressure schemes force unions to take action in spite of laws against the injustice of them. Witness the postal strike against the government. Now in Minneapolis a teachers' strike is called over wages and in

opposition to unjust government regulations.

The shopcraft dispute was peculiar from the beginning because the companies cleverly succeeded in hiding the real issues. They never clearly and directly injected the work-rules question into the negotiations. But they introduced it in a disguised form in order to more effectively divide the craft unions and prevent them from taking united action on the money question.

The company negotiators are old hands at horsetrading, offering more jobs to one craft at the expense of another. The union leaders always fall for this old trick and are trapped by it. They think negotiations are some sort of game in which they participate without power. They think a strike on the railroads is impossible, and have no intentions ever of using the strike weapon. Consequently the strike vote was just a sham and so was the voting on the contract.

The company representatives, on their side, know all this. They play the negotiations game and make up the rules as they go along, always with the government on their side.

Caught in this trap, all the demagogic statements made by the union officials were designed only for a gullible membership to swallow.

So the learning process goes on. Congress voted for the settlement. But no congressmen will ever have to work under the terms of it. None of these congressmen pay dues in the railroad unions either. Meanwhile, the members of these unions are hogtied to their jobs with neither voice nor vote.

Under existing law railroad workers in these repair shops can petition for a new contract in September of this year, possibly coordinating demands with other railroad workers in the operating department.

Israeli socialist opens speaking tour of U.S.

APRIL 13—Arie Bober, a spokesman for the Israeli Socialist Organization, has begun a nationwide speaking tour of the United States under the auspices of the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East. Bober's impact on his audiences has, in the words of one tour coordinator, been "overwhelming."

Many Arab students and some left-wing, previously pro-Zionist students, especially, have been impressed by Bober's clear analysis of the nature of the Zionist movement, his exposure of the illusion that it constitutes the "national liberation movement of the Jews." He emphasizes the necessity of building a revolutionary socialist movement encompassing the entire Middle East in which Arabs, Jews and members of other national minorities of the region can fight together against imperialism, Zionism, local capitalism and feudalism, and for a unified, democratic, socialist Middle East.

Bober's tour began in Philadelphia April 6 with his participation in a seminar at Temple University in the afternoon, and a public meeting that evening at the University of Pennsylvania. The meeting at the U of P was sponsored by the International Students Organization; attendance was restricted because practically all posters announcing the meeting had been torn down, apparently by pro-Zionist groups afraid of open debate and discussion. There were reports that the ultra-right-wing Jewish Defense League planned to disrupt the U of P meeting, but the organizers of it were prepared to maintain an orderly discussion and the attack did not materialize.

On April 8, Bober spoke at a public meeting in New Haven, Conn., sponsored by the Yale University Committee for a Democratic Palestine. There, too, posters advertising the meeting were torn down almost as fast as they were put up, and newspaper publicity arranged by the Committee for a Democratic Palestine mysteriously failed to appear.

The following day, Bober spoke in Kingston, R. I., on "Socialism and the Middle East" under the auspices of the history department at the University of Rhode Island. An organized group of about 10 pro-Zionists from Brown University in Providence succeeded in disrupting the discussion period.

Bober addressed two meetings in Atlanta, one under the sponsorship of the Georgia State University Lyceum and one under the joint auspices of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Student Senate Board at Emory University, where there was an audience of some 150 people. Pro-Zionist attempts to disrupt the Georgia State meeting, by shouting down the speaker and all discussion, failed; similar attempts at Emory were more successful.

In Gainesville, Fla., more than 120 people attended a meeting sponsored by a large number of student organizations on the University of Florida campus. The meeting was completely orderly, and the presence of a large number of both Arab students and convinced Zionists made for an intense and thorough discussion.

Despite the obviously concerted effort on the part of some Zionist and pro-Zionist groups to disrupt meetings, it is clear that Bober will receive a wide hearing across the country. There is evidently a new receptivity, especially



Arie Bober

perhaps among layers of young, radicalizing Jews, to the anti-Zionist, revolutionary socialist ideas he presents.

Bober's next stops will be in Texas and California. For more information on his tour, write to Berta Langston, Secretary, Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, 145 E. 16th St., Apt. 9C, New York, N. Y. 10003.

A special-situation request to our reader-supporters

During the momentous postal strike several weeks ago, supporters of The Militant pitched in and produced a Postal Strike Special Militant. In between two regular editions of the paper and on top of all the work that goes into producing and distributing The Militant each week, in less than 48 hours we were able to write, print and ship out more than 60,000 copies of a special four-page paper.

The papers were sent air freight to all parts of the country, so that sales and distributions could take place immediately on picket lines, at plant gates, on campuses, at meetings and on street corners.

Readers of The Militant are aware that our point of view is unique. Our message of solidarity with the striking postal workers and our socialist analysis of the strike itself was the only one to be widely circulated nationally during the high point of the strike. A number of other radical publications decided to simply stop publishing for the duration of the strike.

Though it was time-consuming and expensive we felt it well worth the extra time and financial outlay.

But we really couldn't afford to do what we did. Our finances don't match the energy and enthusiasm that our regular supporters were able to contribute.

So we are appealing to you to help—not only to help defray the costs of the special issue, but for similar times in the future which will also call for a special response beyond the ordinary.

If you agree that what we did was worthwhile, and if you want to help insure that we will be able to respond in a like manner in upcoming situations, then please send a contribution today.

If you have not yet received a copy of the strike special, let us know and we'll be glad to send you one.

Your financial contribution can be an important factor in making it possible for us to undertake such extra efforts in the future.

The address is: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

The national picket line

Teamster officials face turmoil in ranks

General Vice President Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters union, writing in the March issue of the union's magazine, says, "These are times of disunity in our land. Youth is sometimes divided against itself and the older generations. Politicians are divided on the reality of important issues facing the nation. Today is truly a time of turmoil."

That turmoil hit the Teamsters union April 2 when Fitzsimmons announced a "tentative agreement" for 450,000 drivers that raised wages only \$1.10 per hour over a 39 month period, up from the present \$4. Drivers had been hoping for \$1 an hour for each year of the contract. They were offered less than half in the proposed package.

Truck drivers walked off the job in all sections of the country: in Chicago, Kansas City, Detroit, Cleveland, Akron, St. Louis; in Irwin, Pa., Roanoke, Va., and Burlington, N. C.; and on the coast in Los Angeles and Oakland, Calif.

In Chicago, by April 9 Teamsters Local 705 and the independent Chicago Truck Drivers union representing 50,000 drivers had signed contracts well above the proposed national pattern. The Chicago contracts called for \$1.65-plus-benefits over three years, 55 cents more than Fitzsimmons had negotiated.

Big trucking firms have sought court injunctions to force their drivers back to work, and Trucking Employers Inc. promptly issued a statement that the Chicago contracts, "if applied nationally, would be a damaging inflationary device too expensive for the nation to handle."

In the Cleveland-Youngstown-Pittsburgh area, owner-operators of steel-hauling trucks are striking, refusing to accept any contract negotiated by the national Teamsters union, claiming they have never been adequately represented in negotiations, and demanding independent union status.

Entering the final stage of negotiations, as long ago as Feb. 3, Fitzsimmons outlined his goals. They were modest. He said, "Our purpose is only to seek what we know our members need to survive economically and those contract refinements which make the

job secure and dignified."

He concluded, "We know our purpose and we know our goals. Both are predicated upon the realities of life."

For Fitzsimmons and other union officials the "realities of life" dictated a modest, limited, inadequate escalator clause gearing wages in reduced ratio to the rising cost of living. Even this



Frank Fitzsimmons

appears to have been given up under pressure from the big trucking firms who worry about "inflation."

No thought was given in contract negotiations to the need of a shorter work day to meet layoffs. And furthest from the minds of such "practical" union leaders as Fitzsimmons is the idea of a labor party, which of course is not a matter of direct concern in wages and hours negotiations with the employers but which does relate to "the realities of life."

On Feb. 21, 1970, the Atlanta Federation of Teachers received its charter from the American Federation of Teachers. The proposed constitution, patterned after the national AFT, had the standard "anti-commie" clause for use against union militants. This allows for all varieties of political belief in the union except "totalitarian" varieties, such as fascism, nazism, or communism.

Very quickly a proposal was drafted by the Atlanta teachers to revise this, as follows: "No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members or applicants for membership because of race, religious faith, or political activities or belief."

Negotiations in New York between newspaper publishers and the printing trades unions are now in their final stages.

On the Pacific coast, in San Rafael, California, the eyes of the San Francisco union movement are upon the union-busting newspaper, *Independent Journal*. This small-town paper has borrowed its tactics from the Hearst paper in Los Angeles, *The Examiner*, which first provoked a strike, then imported professional strikebreakers, and has succeeded in maintaining a scab shop.

In Cleveland, Ohio, the Typographical Union No. 53 has just accepted a poor settlement from the newspapers there.

The problems of printers result in part from technological changes in the industry, but not entirely. Much of the trouble is common to all unions today, shortsightedness of the leadership.

In Arizona, there is an outfit advertising itself as the ideological leader and practical spokesman for the employing class in the field of labor-management relations. The name is Industrial Council, Inc. For a small fee it promises to break strikes and destroy unions. According to their advertising brochure, the fee is "in proportion to the number of employees. Basic rates range from \$2 down to 10 cents per employee per month."

New contract negotiations still coming up this year include: on April 20, 73,000 rubber workers; in July, over a million construction workers; on Sept. 1, 75,000 meat packers; on Sept. 14, 613,000 auto workers; on Oct. 1, 100,000 farm equipment workers.

Congress is now considering legislation to regulate negotiations, ban union membership voting rights, and outlaw strikes in all major industries.

Leon Trotsky On the Trade Unions

95 cents

PATHFINDER PRESS
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

The Great Society

Nonpolluted info—The AMA issued a press release noting the conclusion of two medical officers that "enzyme-containing detergents are as safe and mild for consumer use as the comparable nonenzyme products." In the final two paragraphs of the two-page release, the two medical officers are identified as employees of enzyme-detergent producer Proctor & Gamble.

The free society—One of the things we've always admired about the better classes is how superior their morality is to that of the common people. This is often reflected by those who cater to them and who are thereby sensitive to their standards. For instance, a Tiffany ad features a closed ring box with the quiet caption, "Hidden persuader."

Brighten the kid's day—If the tot's getting tired of that tin cup and plastic rattle stop by at Tiffany's. They're featuring a matching cup, rattle, knife, fork and spoon in sterling silver, \$63.

The hunger fighters—Last week we reported about the Kentucky task force dedicated to combating malnutrition which included a behavioral specialist with the assignment of motivating people to eat better. Which later reminded us of the depression story of the down-and-outer who approached the prosperous lady on the street with the plea that he hadn't eaten for three days. "Young man," she advised, "you should force yourself."

Our rational society—Three million pounds of potatoes were burned by

Idaho farmers in an effort to get a better price for their product.

Essential view—A *Buffalo Evening News* headline reported: "Parents' Group Opposes Bussing, Human Relations, Sex Education."

And there's a big difference—The above headline is about a Buffalo off-shot of PAUSE (Parents United Against Unsolicited Sex Education). Mrs. Janet Mellon, ideological leader of the group says: "I believe that the schools should teach children how to earn a living, not how to live."

Physically speaking, of course—A headline in the medical publication, *Pediatric News*, advises: "Pigs Born Small Never Catch Up in Their Size."

With a little help from his friends—Whatever other concerns you may have for the president, you needn't fear he'll go thirsty. Friendly California vintners restocked the White House wine cellar so amply that there wasn't room for it all. Some of the wine and champagne will be stored elsewhere for delivery as needed.

Favorite charity—Kentucky Congressman M. G. Snyder submitted a list of questions to his constituents. Question number one was: "In order to combat inflation and achieve a balanced budget, would you be willing to see cuts in your favorite government project?" Ninety-one percent responded, "Yes."

— HARRY RING

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Pamela Starsky, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Hayward: YSA, Marc Rich, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hilary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel: (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

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

San Diego: Alan Standliff, 5058 E. Mt. View Dr., San Diego, Calif. 92116. Tel: 281-7991.

Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Orlando: YSA, 762 Overspin St., Winter Park, Fla. 32789.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

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

DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Randy Green, 732 E. Atwater, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 414 George St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Tel: 462-4687.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

Worcester: YSA, c/o Alan Einhorn, Box 1388, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, #A9, St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 665 Washington Ave., 2nd floor, Albany, N.Y. 12206.

Annandale-on-Hudson: Red Hook (Bard College) YSA, c/o Lorenzo Black, P.O. Box 497 Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y. 12504.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Brian Buxton, Rt. 2, Box 125, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: 861-3862.

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Evictions hit Blacks in Daley-land

By DERRICK MORRISON

On the southwest side of Chicago, Black residents with all of their belongings and furniture are literally being seized and set out in the street.

As of April 1, Cook County and Chicago police had ejected 16 Black families from their homes. This action was prompted by efforts of the Black homeowners to deal with the blatantly racist policies of real estate agencies. And one of the measures they utilized was to withhold housing payments.

The struggle began two years ago when residents organized the Contract Buyers League. For a year, the CBL gathered information on how Blacks are forced to buy homes on contract because they are denied mortgages by the racist bank policies. To buy a home on contract means laying down close to \$200 every month for years until the balance is paid. But the trick is that if you miss just one monthly payment, you must vacate the premises, no matter how much you have paid. In addition, the real estate interests lengthen the whole payment period by adding hidden "extras" onto the balance.

With obstacles like these, a particular family may be part of a long line of families that tried to buy the house they are occupying.

As an example of payment difficulties, take the case of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Clay. In 1960, the Clays took their \$2,000 savings and made a down payment on a house costing \$22,500. The monthly payments included interest and taxes. But 10 years later, to their dismay and to the enrichment of the real estate agent, the Clays still owe \$16,000 after shelling out \$21,840! And the Clays have all of their records of payment intact.

This systematic robbery of contract buyers led the CBL to file a civil rights suit in the U. S. district court against

85 Chicago-area real estate agencies early last year. Then in July, about 200 members of CBL began withholding housing payments. As a defensive measure, the payments were funneled into a special CBL bank account.

Eviction notices were served. But sheriff's deputies and police found it impossible to evict anyone when they were confronted with neighborhood mobilizations. People would just start gathering in the street when word went out that police were attempting to evict someone. If the police took the furniture out, neighbors would just haul it back in.

This type of thing went on all last fall and winter, leading several thousand people to join the CBL. At the same time, CBL leaders filed suit in Illinois state court requesting an injunction against the evictions until the constitutionality of the state's eviction law is decided by the Illinois Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, the civil suit against the real estate agencies moved at a tortuously slow pace in the federal courts.

When the March 17 Democratic primary was over this year, the Daley machine began to move in accordance with the definition of the capitalist state, i.e., to defend bourgeois property relations.

On March 30 and 31, hundreds of deputies and police moved on a couple of square blocks of the community to conduct evictions.

In response, Jesse Jackson of Operation Breadbasket has put himself at CBL's disposal, and Rev. Charles Koen of the United Front in Cairo, Ill., has also promised help.

Mayor Daley, has been attempting to put the damper on the fires of discontent. On April 7 he convened a meeting in his office of CBL leaders and representatives of Universal Builders, one of the biggest contract sellers.

LABOR'S GIANT STEP

By Art Preis

LABORS
GIANT
STEP

by ART PREIS

Twenty years of the CIO

American labor's "great leap forward," from the atomized ineffectiveness of craft unionism to the massive organization of industrial union power under the CIO. This is the story of the initial split in the AFL, the formation of the CIO, its rise and subsequent decline leading to eventual reunification into AFL-CIO.

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A TIME OF CHANGE

Key union issues today

The 22nd Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers union convenes in Atlantic City, April 20, at a time when millions of American workers and their families are looking to the unions for economic and social improvements in their conditions of life.

Since the last UAW contract was signed three years ago, under the impact of higher taxes and growing inflation, the living standard of most workers has steadily declined. From January 1969 to January 1970, the U.S. Consumer Price Index rose 6.2 percent, more than double the rise during 1967. No significant slowdown is on the horizon.

The major cause of this inflation is no secret. Ninety billion dollars annually is pumped into the armaments industry to continue and extend the war in Southeast Asia and to prepare for more wars of the same kind in other parts of the world. This vast sum of money, nearly half the federal budget, goes to enrich a few millionaires, and some, in the form of wages, is paid to workers in the munitions and war-related industries. None of it serves to produce anything useful—like housing, clothes, food or education.

The \$90 billion for war production comes partly from taxes—most of which come out of wages—and the rest is found by inflating the currency and increasing the national debt. This ever-increasing flood of money, which represents nothing useful, gushing into the bloodstream of the national economy, drives prices up at a feverish rate.

All unions are trying to negotiate higher wages, hoping in this way to gain back what has been lost over the past two or three years. But the inflationary spiral continues. And wages, which advance unevenly and by peri-

odic adjustment, more and more fall behind runaway prices.

In addition to inflation, there is another economic curse that now plagues millions. Unemployment. The rate of unemployment, officially reported at 4.4 percent, is going up. And the official rate is deceptive. In some parts of the country, like Seattle and some cities in California, the unemployed are now more than 10 percent of the total work force. Unemployment of Black workers nationally is above 10 percent. The unemployment rate for youth in the labor market is as high as 25 percent in many cities. And these figures do not include those tens of thousands of workers who have given up looking for jobs. Black, unskilled laborers in the highly advertised auto-job-training programs are among the first to lose their jobs.

Unemployment and inflation, which hit the lowest paid and least skilled workers hardest, are the economic twin evils that union representatives try to overcome in negotiations with management.

In the 1948 GM contract, the UAW adopted for the first time an escalator clause, gearing wages to rising prices. Over the years, in addition to winning higher base wages and more fringe benefits, the clause helped keep wages more nearly abreast of prices. Despite the weakness of being tied to the inaccurate Consumer Price Index, the clause served UAW members well until a ceiling was put on it in the 1967 negotiations. Such a sliding scale of wages adjusted to rising prices has proved itself the most effective way for union members to protect their standard of living against the ravages of inflation.

For protection against the terrible blight of unemployment, UAW contracts have included the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) plan. A



New York postal workers on strike.

guaranteed annual wage and a shorter work week under the formula of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay have also been demanded. But none of these provisions are adequate.

The interests of the workers are best served by shortening the work day. But whatever the standard number of hours—whether six, seven or eight—it should be reduced in accordance with the rise of unemployment in the industry. Such a sliding scale of hours, if incorporated in the contract, would insure that the full labor force is retained at all times.

Despite phony and inadequate government programs to hire the "hard-core unemployed," Black workers and workers from other national minority groups remain the last hired, first fired, and usually the lowest paid. The UAW must recognize that these are additional specific problems faced by Black and other minority workers and fight for their preferential hiring. Such a fight would also destroy one of the key weapons used by bosses to divide and weaken the unions. And a sliding scale of hours would assure full employment for all, preventing the government and bosses from keeping the wages of both Black and white workers down by playing one against the other.

Today we have an unprecedented coincidence of growing unemployment and rising prices. Only a sliding scale of wages and hours—a demand once widely discussed in the UAW—can provide the necessary protection against both evils, and show the way for all labor.

The present coincidence of unemployment and inflation is partly the result of a conscious effort by the employing class to retain its high-level war-inflated profits. Their overall plan calls for cutbacks in government spending, especially construction, welfare programs, school aid, etc. It also calls for "holding-the-line-on wages." And in recent weeks we have seen how the federal government has forced postal workers and the railroad shopcrafts to accept below-standard wages.

There are many vital issues of importance to the unions which cannot be resolved at the bargaining table with

the auto barons. Who makes government policy? Who decides how the power of the federal government is used? Who declares war? These questions more directly affect the living standard of auto workers today than any that will be on the bargaining table in September.

Is this government controlled by the workers who are the vast majority, or is it a government of the employers who are a small minority?

Such questions have long been disguised in the form of political slogans that denounce Republicans, praise Democrats and call for the election of "labor's friends." But after decades of getting out the vote for these "friends" not one of the 535 members of Congress will support the cause of working men and women when most needed. Not one of these vote-seeking friendly politicians said a single word or lifted even a little finger in support of the postal strikers. And only three senators in all of Congress voted against the ominous precedent-setting legislation to deprive railroad workers of the right to strike and to force an unwanted contract on them.

As more and more employees of the federal, state and municipal governments are forced to battle their boss, the government, directly, the government's general role as a partisan of the employing class—not a neutral impartial force—is made clearer.

(Continued on page 4)

N.Y. Panther 21 hearings:
Lee Berry's bail reduced

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Preliminary hearings to the trial of 13 of the Panther 21 were adjourned on Wednesday, April 15, because one of the undercover agents scheduled to testify at the hearings was covering the antiwar demonstrations!

Since the hearings recommenced on April 7, a couple of undercover agents have been questioned. One of them, a patrolman Rue Williams had attended

several Panther demonstrations, and was in on the arrest of one of the defendants, Ali Bey Hassan.

The big break for the Panthers this week came when Lee Berry, a Vietnam veteran with epilepsy and one of the 21, had his bail reduced from \$100,000 to \$15,000. The bail reduction was granted by New York Supreme Court Justice Ivan Warner in a hearing at Bellevue Hospital.

When the New York Black Panther 21 were arrested and framed-up on charges of conspiracy to bomb department stores and police stations last April 1969 Berry was apprehended in Veterans Administration Hospital. He had just entered the hospital to have his epileptic condition treated. Despite his physical situation, he was in a jail cell until last November, when growing protest and the deterioration of his condition forced the courts to transfer him to Bellevue.

His lawyer, Sanford Katz, said it would take from three to six weeks to raise the \$15,000. On account of his physical condition, Berry's case was severed from that of the 13 Panthers now on trial.

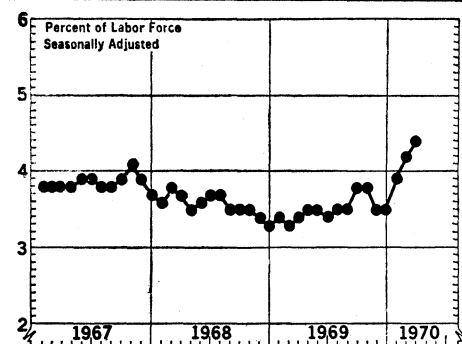
The hearings for the 13 received a set-back on Sunday, April 12, when the law offices of attorneys representing the Panthers were burned out in a fire that blazed through two buildings. The fire, which started in a bar on the lower level, caused the hearings to be postponed on April 13 and 14.

The old Militant
wrapper—going

Last week we announced that the wrapper on Militant subscriptions would disappear as of this issue in order to facilitate the processing of our growing subscription lists. We have postponed implementing the new mailing system for one week, but it will definitely go into effect with the next issue.

Any subscriber who wishes to continue to receive a wrapped copy of The Militant should notify The Militant business office and enclose \$1.00 to cover the additional mailing costs.

Unemployment Rate Up



UNEMPLOYMENT rose in March to a seasonally adjusted rate of 4.4% of the labor force from 4.2% a month earlier, the Labor Department reports.