

THE MILITANT

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

U.S. ESCALATES CAMBODIA WAR



U. S. bomber gives support to ground troops over Cambodia's Highway 4, Jan. 17, 1971. See story page 11.

Nat'l student antiwar conference called

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will hold a National Student Antiwar Conference here the weekend of Feb. 19-21. The gathering is expected to be a major political event for the entire student movement.

The country's largest student antiwar organization, SMC will work out plans at the conference for a massive spring offensive against the war. With the April 24 Washington-San Francisco national antiwar demonstrations initiated by the National Peace Action Coalition as a proposed central focus, the conference will plan a multifaceted campaign of education and mass action aimed at abolishing the draft, ending campus complicity with the war machine, and building support for the rapidly-deepening GI antiwar movement.

In a memo to SMC chapters and other antiwar activists, the SMC national office urged a concerted, organized drive to assure a maximum attendance at the conference, which will be held at Catholic University.

It was requested that the leaflet announcing the conference be reproduced for the widest circulation and that all groups opposed to the war distribute and mail it out.

It was further suggested that student governments be asked to support the conference and help with publicity and transportation costs.

In addition to securing publicity for the conference in the campus

and underground press, it was urged that wherever possible, local SMC groups send out regional travelers to spread the word about the gathering.

In preparation for the conference, and to help assure a fruitful exchange of views there, it was urged that those with particular proposals to present to the conference submit them ahead of time in writing so they can be made available to everyone who will be attending.

As previously, the conference will be open to all, and everyone will be encouraged to participate in the weekend's discussion. However, in line with the present policy of developing SMC as a membership organization, voting will be limited to SMC members. Those who are not already members will have the opportunity to join when they come to the conference. Yearly membership is \$1.

Last year's SMC conference was the largest antiwar gathering yet, with 3,500 participating. SMC is aiming to make this conference of comparable size and is urgently in need of funds to carry through the necessary organization and publicity for this.

In order to prepare for the conference and the spring offensive, the SMC national office has been moved to Washington.

Until Feb. 1, the SMC's temporary address there will be 815 17th St. N.W., Rm. 503, Washington, D.C. 20006. Phone: (202) 628-6834 or 628-5876.

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BROWN INDICTMENT WAS A FRAUD: The assistant prosecuting attorney in the trial of H. Rap Brown has confirmed, in an interview with *The Militant*, that the arson charge handed down against Brown in Cambridge, Md., in 1967 was a "fabrication." Richard J. Kinlein, Howard County state's attorney, said that the chief prosecuting attorney, William B. Yates, let the cat out of the bag during a conversation at a luncheon on or about May 7, 1970. "I was shocked," admits Kinlein. He says that Yates told him that the arson charge had been invented in order to obtain a federal unlawful-flight warrant so that the FBI could be called in—should the Black leader attempt to flee. Brown was accused of two misdemeanors, but under federal law, a flight warrant can only be obtained on a felony charge. Arson is a felony. The indictments stem from a speech Brown delivered in Cambridge in 1967. White racists in a speeding car fired into a crowd of Blacks after the rally. The attack triggered a small eruption. Brown's trial was slated to get under way last spring, but he failed to appear. Using the phony arson charge, Yates was able to launch a federal manhunt. Brown was put on the FBI's "10 most wanted" list. The national office of the Student National Coordinating Committee says that Brown is alive and underground.

ENDANGERED SPECIES: The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources lists 835 "endangered species and subspecies." Defenders of Wildlife, a Washington-based conservation group, predicts in the December issue of its publication *Wildlife News* that "based on our past and present performances, in 30 years most populations of wild animals will have disappeared. . . ." . . . **NEAR BREAKDOWN:** 17.7 percent of all Americans have experienced a nervous breakdown or felt one coming on, reports the Public Health Service. . . . **DIDN'T VOTE:** The Census Bureau estimates that 45 percent of the nation's eligible voters did not cast ballots in the November elections; 47 percent of women did not vote; and 56 percent of Blacks eligible to vote, didn't. . . . **STAY INFORMED:** If you aren't a member of the Young Socialist Alliance—yet—but want to keep up with the activities of the largest revolutionary youth organization in the U.S.A., we recommend taking out a subscription to the biweekly *Young Socialist Organizer*, which carries in-depth reports on local YSA work, national YSA campaigns, discussions on movement strategy, etc. Cost to non-YSAers is \$2.50 a year. Send to YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, N.Y.C. 10003.

NO FELONY: Remember the fake rock-throwing incident in San Jose, Calif., when Nixon showed up on the eve of the November elections? Some press reports to the contrary, it turned out that the only one who saw rocks thrown was the chief of police, hardly the most reliable source. Now, a Santa Clara County grand jury has decided that no felony charges will be filed, according to an AP dispatch of Jan. 12. . . . **SOLEDAD SUIT:** Attorneys for eight Black Soledad prisoners, including George Jackson, and a Chicano inmate at San Quentin are filing suit to challenge the constitutionality of a California law that could subject the prisoners to a mandatory death penalty. They are serving life terms, and if convicted of charges of fatal assault on prison guards, face the gas chamber.

AGED POOR SOAR: The number of aged poor in the U.S. jumped 200,000 from 1968 to 1969, says the Senate Special Committee on Aging. The poverty rate of older Blacks is 50.2 percent and for whites, 23.3 percent. "In many cases, this means that Americans over 65 are barely subsisting, barely staying alive," says Andrew Rothman, aide to Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.), who chairs the committee. In another interview, David Affeldt, counsel to the committee and part of the study team, noted that the elderly poor face "poor housing, the likelihood of malnourishment . . . and little money to do anything."

GIs IN VIETNAM: Officers returning from Vietnam confirm the reports of "fragging," says 2nd Lt. Louis Font of the Concerned Officers Movement, an antiwar group. "They even have bounties on officers. Men pool their money together—up to \$1,000," says Font, "to get an officer." Capt. Ed Fox—also of COM—says that whole companies are refusing to go into the field. "They'd rather be court-martialed than go into battle, because of the futility of the whole war," Fox observed. . . . **PAREN-ENTHETICAL PRAISE:** In a lead editorial, Jan. 16, *The New Republic* notes that despite the YSA's small membership, in contrast to the right-wing American Legion, "one Trotskyite has 10 times the political punch of one

Legionnaire." The editorial continued that "the Young Trotskyites, seen in the broad spectrum of left-wing militancy, seem to be sensible. . . ."

MARCH FOR DUTSCHKE: More than 3,000 students marched in London Jan. 17, reports AP, to protest the British government's move to deport West German student leader Rudi Dutschke. . . . **SUIT FOR JOHNSON:** The ACLU has filed a suit on behalf of Arnold Johnson, who refused to testify before the House Internal Security Committee last June regarding his membership in the New Mobilization Committee Steering Committee. Johnson, public relations director of the Communist Party, was joined in the suit by 32 persons who were also members of the Steering Committee. The ACLU is attempting to bar Johnson's prosecution.

PANTHER FRAME-UP: The armed police attack on the headquarters of the National Committee to Combat Fascism in Winston-Salem, N.C., Jan. 12, was a police set-up from start to finish, charges NCCF member Larry Little. He says a Black police agent stole a meat truck, drove up to the offices shortly before noon, parked the truck, knocked on the door, and offered the occupants some free meat. NCCF member Grady Fuller, 22, and Carry Coe, 15, accepted the meat, but knew something was suspicious when the donor turned and ran down the street. Several minutes later, 100 police had the office surrounded and riddled the office with bullets—in order, they said, to recover the meat. "No shots were fired from the office," said Little. The two surrendered and are currently imprisoned on charges of stealing the truck and the meat and assaulting an officer. Contributions to aid the defense can be sent to Legal Defense of the NCCF, 1616 East 23 St., Winston-Salem, N.C. 27105.

NIXON'S YOUTH CONFERENCE: The idea behind President Nixon's White House Youth Conference was to cool off the growing radicalization of America's youth. Now he may be wondering whether the conference was a mistake to begin with. When 120 youth met last September to work out plans for the conference, they were instead asked to rubber-stamp the administration's proposals for the conference. To their dismay, they learned that Nixon's staff had handpicked the 1,500 delegates. Radicals were excluded from the conference, says James Branscome, 24, cochairman of the task force on poverty. The conference was not even to be allowed to pass resolutions. Angered at the lack of democracy, Branscome and others threatened to organize a boycott of the conference. The latest is that the meeting has been switched from March to April and transferred from Washington, D.C., where it could be easily accessible to the national press corps—to remote Estes Park, Colo. "They are trying to defuse it," says Branscome bitterly.

FREEDOM FOR HOMOSEXUALS: A bill that would ban discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing, and public accommodations has been introduced in New York's City Council. Eldon Clingan, council minority leader and cosponsor of the bill, says that he hopes a movement can be built to end discrimination against homosexuals. "Based on the ribbing I've gotten from city councilmen," Clingan told *The Militant*, "I wouldn't say they are eager to pass the bill soon."

FREE ENTERPRISE: Instead of spending money on eliminating pollution, utility companies appear to be spending far more cash on bragging how wonderful they are. Investor-owned utilities spent eight times as much on advertising and sales as they spent on research and development in 1969, said Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) Dec. 31. . . . **KENT 25:** Ruth Gibson, one of the Kent 25 indicted for their role in the May events, surrendered herself to the Portage County sheriff Jan. 15. She maintains her innocence. . . . **TEXT:** A 269-page critique on the racist nature of public school textbooks' treatment of Native Americans has been published by the American Indian Historical Society. For a copy, send \$4.25 to Indian Historical Press, 1451 Masonic Ave., San Francisco 94117. . . . **HOFFMAN DEPORTED:** When Yipple Abbie Hoffman tried to cross into Canada Jan. 13 to keep some speaking engagements, he was interrogated for five hours and deported for purported involvement in "a crime of moral turpitude"—an apparent allusion to the Chicago conspiracy frame-up conviction. "They don't even have a law against moral turpitude in Canada," Hoffman ruefully told this column. The Canadian Civil Liberties Union is filing suit.

—RANDY FURST

Growing amnesty campaign for political prisoners in Mexico

The following statement was released Jan. 19 by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

There is a growing campaign inside Mexico demanding that the new president free the political prisoners arrested as a result of the 1968 student movement. President Luis Echeverria Alvarez is coming under pressure from important government-subsidized magazines like *Siempre* and figures like Pablo Gonzales Casanova, rector of the National University, to release the prisoners in a general amnesty. The recent amnesties granted political prisoners in Peru and Bolivia are putting additional pressure on the Mexican government to do likewise.

The expressions of support for the political prisoners from within the Mexican establishment itself indicate that the government is affected by this pressure. When a representative of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners visited Mexico recently, it was apparent that also among the people there is wide support for the amnesty demand. It is important that North Americans who believe in justice and democracy add their voices to the rising tide of protest in Mexico, writing directly to Echeverria and demanding that the prisoners be released.

The 162 students, professors and workers held in Mexico City's Lecumberri prison were arrested during the 1968 student upsurge. One of the key demands of the 1968 movement itself was the release of previously arrested political prisoners. The massive 1968 movement, which grew to such proportions that it began to mobilize broad sections of the population of Mexico City, was crushed in blood

in the infamous massacre at Tlatelolco Plaza Oct. 2, 1968.

On that day, a force of some 14,000 police and army units surrounded a peaceful rally of about 10,000 people in Tlatelolco. The rally organizers, fearing a provocation, decided to call off a scheduled march, but before they could disperse the crowd, the police and army attacked. For two hours, automatic weapon fire hit the crowd from all directions. While many managed to escape in nearby housing projects and by hiding in excavations of Aztec ruins in the plaza, some 2,500 were wounded and 500 killed in the brutal assault.

When the butchery was over, the army drove tanks over bodies of dead and wounded in the plaza, partly to prevent identification of the dead. The dictatorship prevented relatives from receiving information about persons missing as a result of the attack, and clamped a tight censorship on the press concerning the massacre. The government attempted to minimize the scope of the killing, claiming that 49 people died.

Then, making the victim into the criminal and the criminal into the victim, the government arrested leaders and supporters of the student movement on crude frame-up charges. In violation of the Mexican constitution, those arrested were not brought to trial for two years. Finally, in the fall of 1970, they were given "trials" of a completely farcical nature. The only "evidence" presented against them was police testimony concerning the political beliefs and associations of the accused. Stiff sentences were handed out.

The demand for amnesty won such wide support that the government recently attempted to create the impression that an amnesty had been granted. Headlines in the Mexico City dai-

lies *Excelsior* and *Novedades* on Dec. 16 and 17 respectively announced that "All the Prisoners from the 1968 Disturbances May Be Released," and "Eight Free on Probation from the 1968 Riots." A banner headline in the Dec. 16 *Ultimas Noticias* stated: "Fifty-Six of Those Jailed for Their Part in the 1968 Disturbances Can Get Out: Eight Acquitted and Forty-Eight Given Suspended Sentences."

The *Novedades* article reported that the 48 persons given suspended sentences of one to two years were also fined 500 pesos for alleged damage done to four buses during the 1968 demonstrations. They were also charged 2,000 pesos to cover bail.

A paragraph further on in the story gave an indication of the undemocratic practices continuing in political trials under the new president, Luis Echeverria:

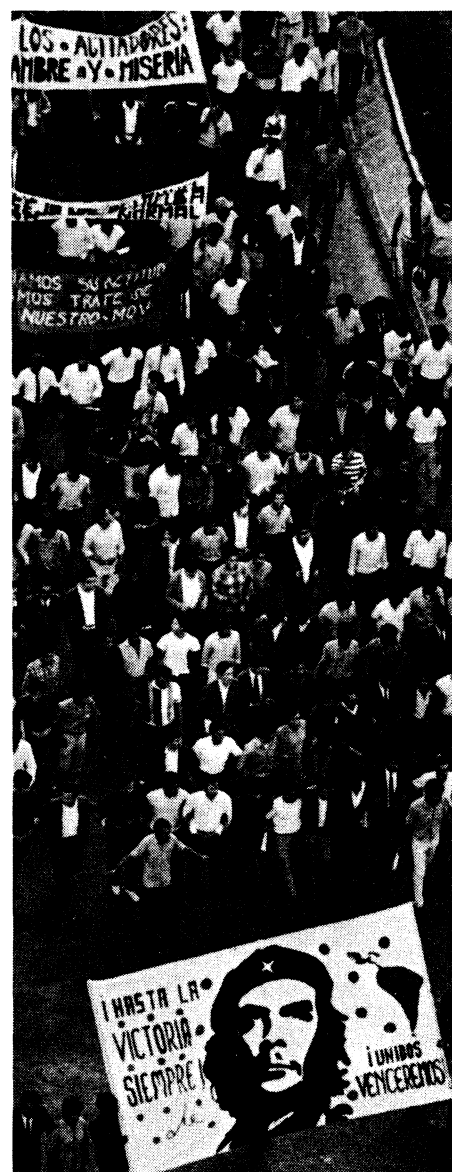
"Eighteenth penal district judge Licenciado Rafael Millan Martinez, the investigating judge in this trial, pointed out in pronouncing sentence that commission of the alleged acts had been fully proved. This was true, he noted, even though the representative of the ministry of the interior, Licenciado Joaquin Garcia Luna y Cana, had pointed out that there was no convincing evidence to assign responsibilities in the commission of these acts. As a result of this fact, the defendants were accused only of complicity."

On Dec. 17, the political prisoners in Ward M of the Lecumberri prison in Mexico City released the following statement:

"Today, the newspapers of this capital published an article according to which 56 of the prisoners arrested as a result of the 1968 movement had been released.

"This news is totally misleading, as

continued on page 22



Massive Mexican student march Aug. 14, 1968, symbolizes the upsurge brutally crushed by the massacre at Tlatelolco and waves of arrests later in the year. 162 are still held in Mexico City prisons.

Hugo Blanco thanks those who helped to free him

Intercontinental Press received the following letter, dated January 7, from Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionary leader, who was released from the prison island of El Frontón December 22 after being held behind bars for seven years and seven months as a political prisoner.

Compañeros:

I express my profound gratitude for your perseverance in the struggle for the release of the political and social prisoners in Peru.

Thanks to the campaign you waged, along with compañeros in other parts

of the world, we have won a general amnesty and pardon law for all those accused of political, social, and related crimes.

In accordance with this law, I and the majority of the political prisoners have been released. However, this measure has inexplicably not been applied to Eduardo Creus Gonzales, a revolutionary fighter active for twenty years in his native Argentina, who later continued his work in Peru, following the trail of San Martín.

Also still in prison are eight peasant leaders in Cuzco, five political prisoners in Lurigancho prison, and still others.

I am confident that you will continue as energetically as always to support our struggle for the release of Creus and the other political and social prisoners.

We believe that this is the proper time to make the maximum effort, since all we are asking for is *enforcement of a law that has been put on the books*. Moreover, now is the time when the public's attention is centered on this question.

I repeat my most profound thanks for your help in winning the freedom I now enjoy.

Signed: *Hugo Blanco Galdos*

Blanco, Bejar, Gadea issue joint appeal

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

[On January 6 the Peruvian Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (Comité de Derechos Humanos — CODDEH) appealed to its friends and supporters throughout the world to mount an emergency campaign for the release of the Peruvian political and social prisoners still being held despite the December 21 general amnesty. The statement stressed the importance of sending the largest possible number of letters and telegrams to the Lima government demanding that it observe its own law providing for the release of all those imprisoned for political, social, and related offenses.

[Messages can be addressed to Presidente de la República del Perú, Gral. Juan Velasco Alvarado, Palacio de Gobierno, Lima, Perú.

[The committee also gave international distribution to a statement, jointly signed by a number of prisoners who were released December 22, appealing for the release of all those still held in the jails of Peru because of their political views. The signers included Hugo Blanco, Héctor Béjar, and Ricardo Gadea.

[Our translation of this statement, which is dated December 23, 1970, follows.]

On this date the undersigned went to the office of the Minister of the Interior—who refused to see us—to demand that the Decreto-Ley de Amnistía e Indulto [Amnesty and Pardon Decree-Law] be carried out in full.

Our comrades Eduardo Creus Gonzales, Eduardo Espinoza Flores, Mario Cossi Pasache, César Ramos Vicente, Ernesto Alvarez Bautista, Juan Suárez Moncado, and Pedro Durand have still not been released. Besides this, other political prisoners are still suffering imprisonment in provincial jails.

We recognize that the Decreto-Ley de Amnistía e Indulto—to which we are indebted for our freedom—is a

just measure and in harmony with the government's declaration. We point out, however, that the law will not accomplish what it set out to do—and what has been repeatedly called for by professional, trade-union, and student organizations—unless it is extended to all political and social prisoners without any discrimination whatever.

December 23, 1970.

Signed: Hugo Blanco, José Fonken, Gerardo Benavides, Omar Benavides, Ricardo Gadea, Cirilo Mendoza, Héctor Béjar, Antonio Meza, José Galindo, Abelardo Collantes, Miguel Tauro, and Mario Calle.

NPAC expands its spring program

By HARRY RING

DETROIT—A well-attended, representative meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Peace Action Coalition was held here Jan. 16. The meeting further elaborated the spring action program adopted by the NPAC convention in Chicago last month and proceeded with the work of implementing it.

Two representatives of the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (NCAWRR) attended, and there was an extensive discussion with them aimed at furthering the prospects for a united spring action program against the war.

Some 120 people were present, with representation from 22 cities.

The principal report was given by Jerry Gordon, Cleveland attorney and an NPAC national coordinator.

Proposing an elaboration of the program adopted by the NPAC convention, Gordon pointed to the recent indications of a dramatic spread of antiwar sentiment within the armed forces and the greatly enhanced prospects this offers for the movement to end the war.

He also stressed the need to develop an effective program of action demanding abolition of the draft, centered around the issue of the draft law, which expires June 30.

From all the accounts of mounting dissent among GIs, he said, it is clear that it is not just a matter of war-weariness, but a deepgoing generalized antiwar sentiment. This, he said, is "a great victory for the antiwar movement," which played a major role in helping to develop and crystallize that sentiment among the troops.

The antiwar GIs themselves recognize this, he added, and that's why they so strongly favor mass antiwar demonstrations.

The antiwar movement today certainly cannot be characterized as simply middle class and student, Gordon added. The GIs, who now constitute such a potent force against the war, are primarily workers and the sons of workers—white and nonwhite. It is not accidental, he said, that a growing number of unions are taking a public stand against the war.

Similarly, he said, this is seen in the number of Black and Third World groupings now committing themselves to active opposition to the war. He pointed to the endorsement of the April



NPAC Steering Committee meeting projected campaign of solidarity with antiwar GIs.

24 demonstration by Cleveland's Black mayor, Carl Stokes, as reflective of this process.

In addition to the national demonstration April 24, and participation in the April 2-4 demonstrations commemorating the anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King, Gordon recommended on behalf of the coordinators that two additional dates be added to the spring antiwar calendar.

He proposed that on May 5, NPAC help organize campus and other local demonstrations commemorating the anniversary of the Cambodian invasion and the shooting of students at Kent and Jackson State.

He further recommended that NPAC register its solidarity with GIs through support to the May 16 actions being organized by Veterans Against the War and other veteran and GI forces.

This would involve turning out significant numbers of civilians for GI antiwar rallies, picnics, etc. at army bases. Armed Forces Day ceremonies are held at the bases May 16, but last year such ceremonies were canceled at 16 bases around the country because commanding officers feared expressions of antiwar sentiment by GIs.

Referring to the "peace treaty" with the Vietnamese people that the National Student Association (NSA) has initiated, Gordon said various antiwar forces are interested in this and that he felt NPAC could help in coordinating activities relating to the treaty. He

expressed the hope that NSA would see April 24 as an effective vehicle for promoting their activities around the treaty.

Discussing the need to try to unify all the antiwar forces, Gordon said that three of the NPAC coordinators—himself, James Lafferty and Don Gurewitz—had attended the NCAWRR conference held in Chicago the previous weekend in an effort to advance the prospects for united action between that grouping and NPAC. He was glad he said, that NCAWRR in turn had sent two representatives to the NPAC Steering Committee meeting. The two were Ron Young, a former New Mobe staff member, and the Rev. Thomas Hayes of the New York Peace Parade Committee.

Gordon also reported that there had been a telephone conference the previous evening with Young, Hayes, Prof. Sidney Peck, and others of NCAWRR. It is essential, Gordon said, that such communication continue—that there be agreement by both formations to avoid public denunciations of one another, and that there be a concerted effort to at least eliminate competitive dates where agreement could not be reached on dates for united action.

Hayes and Young were invited to present their views to the meeting. While they, too, addressed themselves to the need for unity, they seemed to be insisting that such unity could be reached only within the framework of the very vaguely defined activities pro-

jected by NCAWRR for the first week in May. These would have a heavy emphasis on civil disobedience, with an apparent consensus within NCAWRR for the major demonstration being in the middle of the week on May 5. This would severely limit participation, particularly by GIs and workers.

Young suggested an alternative of a possible "mass action" on Sunday, May 2. He was unable to provide a clear answer, however, when asked how this would relate to the May 1 "stall-in" projected by Rennie Davis and others of the ultraleft "confrontation" school.

Hayes appeared to favor—at least personally—the approach that if unity could not be achieved, there should be agreement on a common calendar of activities which would avoid competition and conflicts between the two formations.

There was an extensive discussion following their presentations, with people from many different areas and groups participating. A clear-cut consensus emerged that since no meaningful alternative had been put forward, it was essential for NPAC to continue its work of organizing the April 24 action. At the same time NPAC will explore every avenue to unity. It was generally agreed that the idea of achieving a common calendar of activities was a sound one.

There was a special report by Mike Parisi, a co-commander of the Chicago Veterans for Peace, on the projected May 16 action.

A representative of the Winter Soldier Investigation reported on the plans to hold three days of hearings in Detroit beginning Jan. 31, where some 150 Vietnam veterans would offer public testimony on U.S. war crimes they had witnessed in Vietnam.

Initial project personnel were agreed upon for the Washington and San Francisco actions. Those involved in the Washington project will begin systematic discussions with various groups in Washington to ensure the action being carried through in a manner that is consistent with the fight for home rule and community control in a city that is 70 percent Black.

Proposals regarding the technical plans for the Washington action were presented and an initial list of prospective speakers drawn up. It was agreed to hold the next Steering Committee meeting in Washington Feb. 13.

Support mounts for April 24

DETROIT—Participants in the National Peace Action Coalition Steering Committee meeting here Jan. 16 received a 10-page, single-spaced list of endorsers of the April 24 march on Washington and San Francisco.

The more than 300 endorsers include individuals and organizations from the academic world and the professions, church groups, and community organizations, as well as peace formations, Third World groupings, women's organizations, GI and veterans organizations, and representatives of organized labor.

A sampling of the endorsers list includes:

California Federation of Teachers; Leo Fenster, UAW official; Hilton Hanna, executive assistant to Pat Gorman, int'l sec'y treas., of Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkmen; Rayburn Stephens, president of Atlanta Federation of Teachers; Harold McGraw, president of Richmond, Calif., Alliance of Postal Employees.

Rev. Willie Barrows, SCLC, Operation Breadbasket, Chicago; Lonnie Bates, director of Detroit SCLC; Lonnie King, president of Atlanta NAACP; Rev. Charles Koen, Cairo United Front, Illinois; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, nat'l sec'y of SCLC; Jim Evans, chief of

staff, National Welfare Rights Organization, Washington, D.C.; Ethel Mae Mathews, president of National Welfare Rights Organization, Atlanta; Murray Sharpstein, New York Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

Daniel Berrigan and Philip Berrigan; Bishop Moseley, cochairman of Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam; Prof. Howard Zinn; Ivy Bottini, president of New York NOW; Kate Millett; Mary Terry, Phoenix Organization of Women, New York.

Concerned Officers Movement, Washington, D.C.; Sp/4 Dave Cortwright, GIs for Peace, Ft. Bliss, Tex.; Washington, D.C. Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Melvin Wulf, nat'l legal director of ACLU; Ga. rep. Julian Bond; Nat Hentoff; Murray Kempton; Dwight MacDonald.

Carl Stokes, mayor of Cleveland; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, member of presidium of World Council of Peace and publisher of the *Sun Reporter*; Clive Barnes, *New York Times* drama critic.

The list also includes a half-dozen college newspaper editors and some 25 college student-government presidents including Warren Buxton of Jackson State College in Mississippi.

Open drive for 7,500 new readers

By FLAX HERMES
and BARRY SHEPPARD

Delegates to the recent convention of the Young Socialist Alliance voted to mobilize the YSA in support of a projected subscription drive for 7,500 new readers of *The Militant*. The drive will be launched Feb. 1 and will run until March 15—an intensive six-week "blitz" of building the circulation of the revolutionary Marxist press in the U. S.

The new drive will be building upon the momentum of the very successful fall subscription campaign, which saw *Militant* supporters going way over the projected goal of 15,000 new subs to get 16,044 in a nine-week drive. The fall campaign marked the biggest subscription effort by *Militant* supporters since the 1945 strike wave. The new drive is designed to add to that success by winning 7,500 more readers before winter ends. This will place *The Militant* and its supporters in a good position to launch a really massive drive next fall.

Increasing the circulation of its press is a key aspect of building the revolutionary-socialist movement. *The Militant* is our most important weapon in all the developing social struggles in this country. The fall drive and the intensive six-week blitz now projected are steps toward the goal of making *The Militant* a mass socialist weekly.

Collateral steps in this direction have been the recent improvements in the layout of the paper and the decision to increase its size to 24 pages. These improvements will enable *The*

Militant to play even more effectively its key role of reporting on, providing a Marxist analysis of, and leading the way in organizing the student, antiwar, women's, Third World, labor, and socialist movements and all other aspects of the fight against capitalism and for a socialist future.

Beginning with this issue, the cover price for a single copy will be 25 cents. This increase will help *The Militant* to meet the new costs entailed in the recent big steps forward it has taken technically and in size and will put *The Militant's* price in line with other weekly radical newspapers.

The subscription price will remain the same, however, at \$6 per year for domestic subs. The special introductory offer of \$1 for 10 weeks, which is the offer being presented in the subscription drive, will also remain the same.

Because of the short duration of the drive, it is especially important that *Militant* supporters begin careful organization right away and plan for intensive efforts beginning Feb. 1 to reach out to new readers with the special subscription offer. Local units of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party are taking quotas for the drive, and have begun discussing plans to mobilize their members for the sub blitz.

An important aspect of last fall's drive was the number of other *Militant* readers who pitched in to make the drive a success. All *Militant* readers and supporters are urged to again



help out in this key and important job of taking another big step forward in expanding our circulation (see coupon below).

If we carry out this drive with the

Want to sell subs?

Just fill out the coupon

The *Militant* will send you a complete subscription kit. Your area will be added to the scoreboard if you wish.

I would like to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* this fall.

Please set for me a quota of (circle one) 5 10 20 30 40 50

- ☐ List the above quota in *The Militant's* weekly scoreboard.
☐ Do not publish my quota.

Name (please print)

Address

City State Zip

School

same enthusiasm and determination we did last fall, we will be able to chalk up another important success in building the best newspaper on the left in the United States.

M.-A. Waters new *Militant* editor



Mary-Alice Waters

NEW YORK — Moving ahead with plans to expand our size and circulation and to add to our quality, *The Militant* has been augmenting its editorial and business staffs and making some changes in assignment.

Mary-Alice Waters has been selected as the new editor of *The Militant*. A member of the editorial staff since December 1968, she has been managing editor since December of 1969.

Harry Ring, who has been editor since November 1968, will continue as a member of the editorial staff. Ring, who has been writing for the paper since 1952, will be responsible for the extensive coverage that will be devoted to the antiwar movement's

spring offensive. Following that, he will be undertaking a new national news assignment which will be part of the paper's further expansion plans. He will continue to write the Great Society column.

Mary-Alice Waters has been active in the Trotskyist movement since the fall of 1962. Influenced by the impact of the Cuban Revolution, she joined the Young Socialist Alliance while a student at Carleton College in Minnesota.

She was active for two years in the Berkeley YSA during the period of the Free Speech movement there and functioned for a period as Berkeley YSA organizer.

She came to New York in the fall

of 1965. She was editor of the *Young Socialist* and then served first as national secretary and then as national chairwoman of the YSA.

She has made several trips to Europe for *The Militant*. In 1966 and 1968, she covered major antiwar actions there, and in May-June of 1968, she reported from France on the historic French student-labor upsurge.

Waters is the author of several pamphlets, including: *GIs and the Fight Against War*, *Maoism in the United States—A History of the Progressive Labor Party*, and *The Politics of Women's Liberation Today*. She is the editor of the recent book *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*.

Fourth Int'l calls for antiwar actions on April 24

The following appeal for massive worldwide antiwar actions in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and the American antiwar movement was issued by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International following a meeting in early December.

The antiwar movement in the United States has decided to organize marches on Washington and San Francisco on April 24 by way of denouncing the hypocritical attitude of the Nixon government, which, under guise of a "progressive withdrawal" of the American troops and "Vietnamization" of the war, has again intensified its aggressive actions against the Vietnamese people, resuming bombings and commando raids against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In face of the obvious incapacity

of American imperialism to reduce the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against the aggression, and to undermine their resolution to win their national and social liberation, the high command in Washington is cooking up new adventures and barbarous acts to "resolve" the war in Vietnam in accordance with their own schemes.

Within this framework, the mobilization of the largest possible masses in the United States to compel the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam constitutes precious aid to the Vietnamese revolution. The fact that more and more trade-union organizations are joining the antiwar movement exposes the lies of the Nixon administration and the venal press about a "silent majority" of the American people

allegedly supporting the aggression in Vietnam while only a minority of students and intellectuals oppose it. The increased hostility of the Black masses and the Chicanos to the war is another indication of the growing cohesion among all the exploited layers in the United States in the struggle against the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam.

Under these conditions, it is the duty of all the revolutionary organizations throughout the world to mount the broadest and most active aid possible to the antiwar movement in the United States, in this way aiding the Vietnamese revolution with concrete acts of solidarity.

The Fourth International appeals to the workers, the students, poor farmers, and progressive intellectuals

of all countries throughout the world to organize powerful demonstrations April 24 in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and with the antiwar movement in the United States, through effective anti-imperialist united fronts commensurate to the needs in each country.

Let's make April 24, 1971, a day of active world solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese revolution!

Let's demonstrate everywhere April 24, 1971, showing our solidarity with the courageous antiwar movement in the United States!

For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam!

For the victory of the Vietnamese revolution — everyone in the streets April 24, 1971!

In Our Opinion

Workers' strikes up...

More American workers went out on strike in 1970 than any year since 1952, according to the U.S. Department of Labor. There were 3.3 million workers out in 1970 and 3.5 million in 1952. The record high was 4.6 million in 1946.

From postal, auto, electrical and rail workers to teamsters and public employees, these workers are showing that they refuse to be intimidated any longer by antistrike laws, government injunctions, and union bureaucrats.

Public employees, from Black sanitation workers in Jackson, Mississippi, and Atlanta, Georgia, to teachers throughout the country, have particularly demonstrated their militancy.

All of these workers are struggling to prevent further deterioration in their standard of living as war-primed inflation continues unchecked. At the same time they face the threat of growing unemployment—which soared to an admitted 6 percent last month, a nine-year high. Black unemployment officially stands at 9.3 percent.

Millions of American workers have proven in action that they reject the idea that they should sacrifice their real wages for Washington's interests in Southeast Asia. They refuse to sit passively by while their standard of living deteriorates. They refuse to accept the lie that their needs are the cause of inflation and that the government will end inflation if only the workers will keep wage demands down.

So far the only steps Nixon has taken to try to end inflation have led to greater unemployment; and those steps that he has taken to reduce unemployment have accelerated the continual rise in prices. There seems to be no solution to his dilemma. U.S. imperialism cannot abandon its interests in Southeast Asia; American workers refuse to pay the cost of Washington's war.

Already in the first three weeks of 1971, there have been numerous strikes throughout the country. Newsmen this week were even referring to New York City as "strike city." Telephone workers are out on strike in most parts of New York State, vegetable and fruit produce markets were shut down by a Teamsters strike, taxi drivers have been staging quickie actions, and the sanitation workers and firemen have been on the verge of going out since Jan. 1, when their contracts expired.

The new winds blowing in the labor movement indicate that 1971 may exceed 1970 in the scope and intensity of labor struggles.

...but a cop is a cop

In addition to sharpening opposition from labor, the capitalist rulers in New York City are having difficulty keeping one arm of their own repressive apparatus, their cops, in line. Over 85 percent of New York's police force refused to report for duty for six days when their demand for more money was refused.

The cops, paid to protect capitalist property and defend capitalist rule, are not part of the labor movement, and their difficulties elicit no compassion from the American workers.

The duty of cops is to take orders from their capitalist masters, which means breaking strikes, smashing demonstrations, and beating Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano heads. The New York cops are not asking for an end to these duties. That would mean an end to their jobs. Rather they are asking for more money to compensate them for carrying out these actions, and more leeway to flaunt constitutionally guaranteed liberties.

In the early summer of 1967, many Detroit cops, who were demanding higher pay, began a slowdown and started calling in sick. They quickly returned to work without a pay increase, however, in order to savagely suppress the Black uprising that occurred there in July.

A day before the New York cop walkout began, a group of cops attacked a demonstration of striking telephone workers, arresting six of them.

Cops are not like rank-and-file GIs who are forced into the Army. There is no law that says a person must be a cop. They willingly choose to be cops. They ask to serve as armed protectors of the ruling class and rapidly become corrupted.

It is well known that the mercenary wages cops receive are supplemented by bribes and payoffs, often received from the very racketeers they are supposedly protecting the people from. Their privileged status gives them considerable immunity from legal action.

The fact that New York City's cops engaged in a form of struggle used by sections of the mass movement in battles against their oppressors does not change their fundamental social role one iota. A cop is a cop!

Letters

Volunteers for Aztlan

I am indeed happy with the coverage *The Militant* gives Raza Unida. *The Militant* is the only newspaper I know that reports news of the Chicano struggle for self-determination with accuracy and interest.

A few months ago, a few of us formed a volunteers brigade to help Raza Unida in South Texas accomplish its goals. There are already a few volunteers working with Jose Angel Gutierrez, and more are needed. In behalf of the brigade and as one of its founders, I would like to ask *The Militant* to publicize the brigade's activities.

Congratulations on your expanded newspaper and for the additional news that you are able to provide all the readers.

*Reymundo Marin
Pullman, Wash.*

[A press statement released by Voluntarios de Aztlan (Volunteers for Aztlan) says, in part, "We seek creative, imaginative people who are willing to use whatever skills and talents they possess to advance the goals of Raza Unida, irrespective of ethnic background." One of the basic objectives is "to provide desperately needed manpower to solidify and ensure Chicano control of those areas of South Texas where we are the majority."

[Volunteers who are accepted are expected to pay their own travel expenses to Crystal City, Texas. Raza Unida will provide room, board and basic living expenses during the term of service.

[For further information write: Jose Angel Gutierrez, Voluntarios de Aztlan—Raza Unida, 1316 North Ave. A, Crystal City, Texas 78839. — Editor]

From high school student

I have been reading *The Militant* for about a year and a half. I enjoy it very much, because it has helped me to see the true nature of capitalism. I now consider myself a socialist, and I have passed on copies of the paper to my fellow high school students and discussed socialism with them. Though I have not joined the YSA, I am in full agreement with its program.

*L. D.
Chicago, Ill.*

Equal pay for equal work

Over 400 students and employees at the University of California's Berkeley campus picketed the administration offices Jan. 7 in support of demands by dormitory maids for equal pay for equal work, year-round employment, and recognition of AFSCME [American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees] Local 1695 as bargaining agent. Local 1695 has been conducting an intensive organizing drive on the campus.

Maids and janitors, the majority of whom are Black, have been receiving \$130-\$250 per month less than custodians and matrons who carry out identical functions. They are subject to summer-long layoffs without unemployment compensation. The maids have taken

the initiative in fighting to end these unfair practices.

The protest was given added impetus by the duplicity of university officials, who refused to carry out an agreement reached last November granting temporary increases of 5 percent to janitors and 7.5 percent to maids, pending agreement on all disputed issues. But no increase appeared in January paychecks, and university officials denied any agreement had been reached.

The massive and spirited picket, occurring on the second day of classes at the supposedly "dormant" Berkeley campus, apparently caused the university to reconsider its provocative stance. At an afternoon bargaining session, the university agreed to reinstate the wage increases, retroactive to Dec. 1, and to put the agreement in writing.

A meeting attended by 90 AFSCME members that evening voted to request strike sanction from the Alameda County AFL-CIO Central Labor Council to enable the union to strike if the university again breaks its promises. The meeting also voted to hold daily informational pickets on the campus to explain the issues and report the progress of the negotiations.

*Pat Wolf
Berkeley, Calif.*

Hunting

Kendall Green's letter (*Militant*, Jan. 22) defending hunting ignores several ecological facts.

First, man- and womankind have never played a key role in preserving the balance of nature and most likely never will (aside from undoing the ecological damage already created).

Second, his belief that controlled slaughter of deer will not affect the birth rate of the deer population is incorrect. Unlike human hunters, the natural predator of the deer kills only the weak, ill and old. This leaves the healthiest for breeding. The instruments of destruction used by humans are not able to distinguish the weak from the healthy. They destroy countless numbers of healthy deer, leaving the weak to breed sickly herds which eventually die out.

I concur completely with reporter Randy Furst's opinion that "sports enthusiasts" who hunt animals and birds ought to have their heads examined.

*Nancy Uhl
New York, N. Y.*

Front page aids sales

The new *Militant* is a great improvement. I hope you will continue to list on the front page the articles on Blacks, Chicanos, women and students. Having the list on the outside is very helpful in selling the *Militant*. Keep up the good work!

*Irv Hall
Riverside, Calif.*

The Great Society

New flag for So. Bell

Recently Southern Bell workers were fixing telephone cable at 79th St. and Biscayne Blvd. in Miami. A flag on one of the wooden horses carrying red flags and warning flashers was decorated with a peace symbol.

When I saw the men who were doing the repairing—both young, one Black, one white—I said to myself that even in Miami the young oppose the war and are finding a way to demonstrate it.

D. B.
Miami, Fla.

Prof. Lipset

I just finished reading your editorial, "Calculated Deceit," [*Militant*, Jan. 15] and I enjoyed it tremendously. It is certainly a courageous, correct and unwavering answer to the sick, pseudoliberal logic of Lipset & Co. Professor Lipset's feeble attempt to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism is a testimony to his shallow reasoning and is an insult to the intelligence of all revolutionaries, Jews and non-Jews alike.

E. A. N.
Emmitsburg, Md.

The Berrigans

An opportunity has been presented to the peace movement in the United States by J. Edgar Hoover, John Mitchell, and Nixon & Co. These men have conspired to put down the peace movement once and for all! However, they are outnumbered. The fantastic conspiracy charges against the Rev. Philip Berrigan and others have arrived at the right time, a time when the movement is at a quiet and reflective point.

We can now move to show the world where the power really is in this country. We have people power, and a majority at that. We must rally behind the cause. The Berrigan brothers, the hundreds that have died and the thousands more, mostly unknown, under indictment or in prison for antiwar activity, would want it that way. Let's move!

Sheldon Ramsdell
New York, N. Y.

Pleased with 24-pager

Please send me some *Militant* subscription blanks and a couple sample copies so I can sell subscriptions. I know some people who are interested in the YSA and socialism and who might subscribe.

I was glad to see a bigger *Militant*. It will be a big help in selling subs.

C. V.
Portsmouth, N. H.

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

Like coals to Newcastle—A group of southern farmers protesting low pork prices tried, unsuccessfully, to deliver several hundred pigs to the White House.

No-nonsense congressman — F. Edward Hebert (D-La.) who replaces Mendel Rivers as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, takes a dim view of relaxing military rules to permit longer hair and beards. "I'm afraid they're trying to make it into a country club," he explains. The good congressman also says he favors "destruction of . . . North Vietnam if it serves our purposes to win."

On separate clouds?—The Vatican will put out a stamp with a Black angel symbolizing equality before god.

Something to swear by—A Toledo judge couldn't lay hands on a bible to swear in a county official but finally turned up an official looking black book for the ceremony. Afterward, the judge revealed it was a copy

of "Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex and Were Afraid to Ask." We haven't read either, but we've been advised the original's just as informative on the question.

Where else but America?—Delaware motorists can now use their credit cards to pay police fines.

The good life?—A Johns Hopkins researcher says steady churchgoers may have a lower incidence of such diseases as heart ailments, cirrhosis of the liver, TB, cancer of the cervix, and bronchitis. Godly folk will no doubt see this as confirming the worth of righteous living. But as the patient responded to the doctor who told him he would live longer if he stopped drinking, "No, doc, it will just seem that way."

Gesundheit!—Federal officials recalled 116,700 tins of ground pepper manufactured by the Frank Tea and Spice Co., because of salmonella contamination. Officials assured, however, that

it was not a significant health hazard since the deadly bacteria does not multiply rapidly in black pepper.

Fish story—Janet Alexander, of the Morgan money, and Christopher Pell, of A&P and Lorillard money, had a bash of a wedding. Highlight was a dinner of bongo bongo soup (?) and roast lamb, with the big surprise being finger bowls with live goldfish. The fish deal was arranged by the groom's dad, Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island.

The enforcers—Federal officials were gratified to announce that inspection has verified that most hot-dog manufacturers are abiding scrupulously by a recent regulation imposing a 30 percent limit on fat content in franks. Tests were made on samples provided at plants. Officials had originally considered checking such samples against random selections from retail stores but apparently decided this might produce the wrong results.

— HARRY RING

♀ The Insurgent Majority

The impact that the women's liberation movement is having on the trade unions was made clear by a recent conference on "Sex Discrimination and Women's Rights" sponsored by the American Newspaper Guild. The Guild, which is affiliated with the AFL-CIO, passed a resolution affirming that the struggle against sex discrimination "is not a woman's fight; it is a Guild fight."

A series of recommendations were adopted—including child-care centers in Guild shops, an end to barring women from press clubs and sports press boxes, special recruitment of women, no more relegating women's news to the "ghetto" of the society pages, and health insurance coverage of abortions where legal.

Especially notable at the conference was the impact the rise of feminist consciousness has had on female reporters.

A Madison, Wisc., woman reported that Guild members there circulated a letter of protest against a reporter's use of the phrase "broad-beamed women one couldn't stand downwind from," in writing about a women's liberation demonstration. And Vancouver, British Columbia, newswomen said they observed Aug. 26 by submitting stories describing men in the news with expressions such as "robust and well-equipped." Women on the staff of the *Ottawa Citizen* forced the paper to stop treating wedding announcements as news and to charge for them as paid ads.

The conference sent a telegram to AFL-CIO president George Meany, urging the AFL-CIO to reconsider its opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. A second telegram of protest was sent to Florida's Governor Kirk, who recently challenged the competence of a female reporter to cover a speech he made. "The editor of the newspaper ought to care a little about the fact that the governor is here to talk about education," Kirk had said. "But the local *Daily Journal* sends a lady to report the most important facts."

Virginia Woolf once said that Anonymous was probably a woman. The January issue of *Art News*, on women's liberation and art, and the winter *Aphra*, which focuses on women writers, elaborate on the pressures that have kept women out of the mainstream of art and literature.

The lead article in *Art News*, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" by Linda Nochlin, attacks the "artistic mythology" that promotes a male monopoly on genius. She points out that the fault lies "not in our

stars, our hormones, our menstrual cycles, or our empty internal spaces, but in our institutions and our education." As an example, Nochlin cites the historic exclusion of women from nude-model drawing classes (except as models), which deprives women of important training and limits them to painting landscapes, still lifes, and portraits.

Taking a first step towards writing women back into art history, the issue points out that a recent cleaning exposed the fact that a famous Franz Hals painting, "The Jolly Toper," was actually the work of one of his female students. Similarly, some paintings attributed to Tintoretto were the work of his daughter-in-law, Marletta.

The *Aphra* issue has articles on three famous couples—Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Zelda and Scott Fitzgerald, and Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill—and points to one way men and women have often worked together. The man takes credit for the woman's ideas.

Zelda Fitzgerald's life and writings fed F. Scott Fitzgerald's novels. *Tender Is the Night* is based, in many places word-by-word, on letters she wrote him from a mental institution. Another *Aphra* article, by Alice Rossi, asserts that the famous essay on "Enfranchisement of Women," attributed to Mill, represents a more radical position on women than he ever took, and was actually the work of Harriet Taylor.

That certain forces are growing worried about the future of the family was expressed at the recent White House Conference on Children.

A major report there noted that one out of every four marriages in the U. S. ends in divorce, with the rate rising dramatically for marriages consummated in the last few years. The report concluded, "America's families are in trouble—trouble so deep and pervasive as to threaten the future of our nation."

Participants were forced to note the impact the women's liberation movement has had on women in driving them to seek an identity outside the narrow confines of the family.

As sociologist Andrew Hacker pointed out, "The major change in the family in recent years, and the problems of the future, are both summed up in one word: women." He went on to point out, "The institution we call marriage can't hold two full human beings—it was only designed for one and a half."

— DEBBY WOODROOFE

SWP opens municipal campaigns

Socialist enters D.C. race

By CALVIN ZON

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Supporters of James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the newly created post of nonvoting delegate to U.S. Congress, have obtained 4,000 of the required 5,000 signatures of registered voters to place his name on the ballot for the March 23 election.

The filing deadline is Feb. 23, and no difficulty is expected in obtaining the remaining signatures.

The special election is the first time Washington residents have been permitted any kind of congressional representation since Reconstruction, following the Civil War. The last time Washington, D. C., had a representative on Capitol Hill was in 1875, when Norton Chipman, a Black Republican, held the post.

The crushing of Reconstruction reforms throughout the South also brought an end to representation and voting rights by Washington, D. C.'s Black community, which today is 70 percent of Washington's total population. It wasn't until 1968 that residents of Washington could even vote for President.

The move to establish the post of nonvoting delegate is a sign of the pressure that Washington's congressional overlords feel from the city's rebellious Black population. Although forced to make this modest concession, they are still unwilling to concede Washington's congressional representative a vote in Congress.

In addition to Harris, other candidates in the race are: Rev. Walter Fauntroy, a former aide to Rev. Martin Luther King and the recent victor

in the Democratic primary; John Nebius, the Republican candidate and the only white in the race; Rev. Douglas Moore, head of the Black United Front in Washington, D. C.; and Julius Hobson, candidate of the Statehood Party, which calls for Washington, D. C., to be established as a new state.

Major issues in the race are the demand that Washington's representative in Congress be entitled to a vote like other representatives, and the meaning of the popular demand for "home rule."

Harris is promoting the view that genuine home rule for Washington, D. C., means the right of Black people to have primary decision-making power in a city in which they are a large majority.

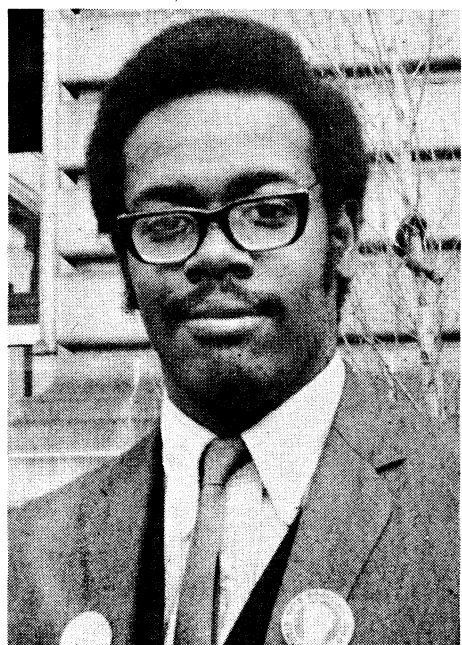
"Blacks in Washington live in horrible conditions," Harris states. "Housing is unsafe, schools are inadequate, and transportation is designed to serve the senators, congressmen, and other government functionaries rather than the needs of Blacks."

"Blacks have no control over any of these services or institutions which most directly affect our daily lives. For us real home rule must mean Black control over these institutions."

Harris appeared with Democratic candidate Fauntroy at a recent news conference in support of attempts by the Washington Peace Action Coalition to get an antiwar referendum on the ballot in the March election.

Harris, who has been active in the Black student movement, is on the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Campaign supporters who have been petitioning to get Harris on the ballot report that those who sign most readily are young Blacks between 18 and 21 years old. The new legislation giving this age group the vote in federal elections has made it easier for Harris to get on the ballot and will certainly be a big boost to the success of his campaign.



James Harris



Linda Sheppard

Sheppard to oppose Daley

CHICAGO, Jan. 20—The Illinois Socialist Workers Party announced today that it is running Linda Sheppard against Democratic Mayor Richard Daley in Chicago's mayoralty election. Sheppard has been active in both the antiwar movement and the women's liberation movement in Chicago and plans to make support for these movements a central part of her campaign.

Also running on the SWP ticket in the municipal elections to be held on April 6 are Willy Petty for treasurer and Mark Ugolini for city clerk.

The election laws for city office in Chicago are very discriminatory. For independent candidates to obtain ballot status, they must collect, by Feb. 1, signatures from 54,000 registered voters who did not vote in the last Democratic or Republican primaries. Candidates for the Democratic and Republican primaries are required to collect less than 5,000 signatures.

These restrictive laws have been challenged in federal court by Jesse Jackson, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's "Operation Breadbasket." He has hinted that he may run for mayor on the ticket of the newly formed Bread and Butter Party. Jackson's suit challenges the Feb. 1 filing date, the exorbitant number of signatures required, and the provision requiring that those signing independent nominating petitions cannot have voted in the last primary elections.

The SWP candidates support Jackson's suit and are also planning a legal challenge to these requirements.

The SWP had previously announced that it is running two candidates for Chicago's Board of Aldermen. The election will be held on Feb. 23. Cynthia Burke is the candidate in the 5th Ward and Naomi Allen in the 43rd Ward. Also running in the 43rd Ward is Ted Pearson of the Communist Party.

Schools are focus in L.A. race

LOS ANGELES—Baxter D. Smith, a Black militant who is active in the Los Angeles Trade Tech Black Student

Union and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, has announced his candidacy for Los Angeles Board of Education.

As one of his first activities, he is planning a tour to examine the conditions of high schools in the Black community, and he intends to present proposals to a meeting of the Board of Education to show how the badly needed funds for L. A. schools can be raised.

Smith attended the United Front for Survival Conference in Carbondale, Illinois, in October and participated in a demonstration in nearby Cairo in support of the struggle by the Black community there. He has spoken at a number of meetings in California about the struggle in Cairo, helping to build support for it. He has also been organizing support for the Jan. 23 Black Moratorium against the War in Vietnam which is to be held in Riverside, Calif.

Also running as SWP candidates in the April 6 nonpartisan election are Barbara C. Peterson and James Little, who are running for the Los Angeles Community College Board of Trustees positions one and five respectively.

Peterson is a student at Cal State (L. A.) and is a founding member of the Sisters United Group on that campus.

Little, who was elected as a representative to the student government at Cal State (L. A.) on a socialist program, is a leader of the antiwar movement on the campus.

Supporters of the candidates are petitioning to obtain the necessary 500 signatures per candidate which must be filed by Jan. 30.

Campaign announced in Denver

DENVER—At a news conference held here Jan. 14, the Socialist Workers Party announced four candidates for the 1971 municipal elections. They are Bill Perdue for mayor; Carolyn Jasin for city councilwoman, 10th District; Al Rosenthal for councilman-at-large; and Mary Walters for school board.

The candidates outlined their plans for major investigations of the horrible conditions at Denver General Hospital; police brutality, especially against Denver's large Chicano community; and the reactionary policies of other city agencies.

The candidates presented their programs for solving Denver's most serious problems at the Militant Forum Jan. 15.

Vote totals for 1970 Socialist Workers candidates

Most of the final election returns for the 75 Socialist Workers Party candidates who ran in the 1970 elections are finally in.

In New York, the results were: Clifton DeBerry and Jon Rothschild, governor and lt. governor—5,766; Kipp Dawson, U.S. senator—3,549; Miguel Padilla, attorney general—14,306; Ruthann Miller, comptroller—14,071; and Paul Boutelle, U.S. Congress (18th C. D., Harlem)—218. On-

ly four votes were recorded for Eva Chertov, write-in candidate for U.S. Congress (19th C. D.), which obviously showed that the election board refused to report most of her votes. Far more than four people informed the New York SWP campaign headquarters that they had cast write-in votes for her.

In Illinois: Lynn Henderson, U.S. senator—8,859; Naomi Allen, state treasurer—13,119; and Kim Allen,

superintendent of public instruction—13,931. Mark Ugolini, Debbie Notkin and Nancy Cole, candidates for University of Illinois Board of Regents, received the following votes respectively: 14,024, 16,266, and 20,846. No votes were officially recorded for Willy Petty, write-in candidate for Cook County sheriff.

In Minnesota: Nancy Strebe, U.S. senator—6,122; and Derrel Myers, U.S. Congress (5th C. D.)—783. No

official vote is available for Mimi Harary, write-in candidate for governor.

In Rhode Island: Daniel Fein, U.S. senator—996; John Powers, governor—1,372; and Joseph Traugott, lt. governor—2,016.

In Washington: Bill Massey, U.S. senator—8,386; Stephanie Coontz, U.S. Congress (1st C. D.)—4,097; Rick Congress, U.S. Congress (7th C. D.)—2,240; Harriet Ashton, state

continued on page 22

Blacks organize against the war

By IRVING HALL

RIVERSIDE, Calif.—A Black Moratorium against the war in Vietnam will take place here Jan. 23.

The Moratorium, initiated by Black students at the Riverside campus of the University of California (UCR), will take place in the Black community at Bordwell Park. Black Student Unions from as far away as Stockton, Stanford, San Diego, and San Francisco have promised to send contingents to the demonstration.

To get a closer look at the forces behind the Moratorium, *The Militant* talked with three of the activists who are building it: Lita Pezant, Roy McKnight, and Jeff Higgins.

All three are students at UCR and members of the Riverside Black Alliance. Pezant is also a member of the Black Women's Study Group at UCR. Higgins is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Student Mobilization Committee at UCR.

Higgins began by explaining the Moratorium. "It will be a march and rally by Black people to express through mass action our demand to exercise control over our own lives. It will not only be an expression of solidarity between Black GI's and Black civilians but also a demonstration of the connection between the right of self-determination for Third World people in the United States and Third World people in Indochina."

In showing how the Vietnam war intensifies the oppression of Black people, Pezant pointed out that "Blacks constituted more than 30 percent of the deaths in Vietnam since 1961, with 12,000 dead. At the same time, Blacks comprise about 12 percent of the American population.

"In 1966," she continued, "when Blacks comprised about 9 percent of the 3.3 million American servicemen, less than 2 percent of the officers were Black, 10 percent of the enlisted men were Black, and 16 percent of the battle deaths were Black."

McKnight expanded on this: "Only 6 percent of the undergraduate college students are Black; Black unemployment is twice that of whites; 47 percent of Black Americans earn a family income of less than \$5,000 and 71 percent less than \$8,000 a year. The unemployment plight of the returning Black GI has been widely publicized. These are the statistics we have been



Lita Pezant

revealing to the Black community, which already knows that the war like everything else in this society discriminates against Black and other Third World people."

When asked how the idea for the Black Moratorium first arose, McKnight explained, "We first got the idea about two weeks before the Oct. 31 antiwar march in Riverside when we were organizing the Black contingent for that demonstration. The Blacks who participated on the 31st felt the need for a Black Moratorium similar to the one Chicanos had organized a little earlier in Los Angeles.

"Our demonstration would be organized by Blacks and composed of Blacks, because both in terms of the brother in the military and the draft-age Black on the corner, our problems are different from whites who find themselves in the same situation."

The main mover of the Black Moratorium has been the Black Alliance. The BA grew out of a split in the Black Student Union at UCR last quarter. It is composed of those Black students who wanted to engage in political activity, and it meets off campus in the community.

In the effort to build the Moratorium, the BA has been able to hook up with the Black Student Union at Riverside City College, which has a large Black student population.

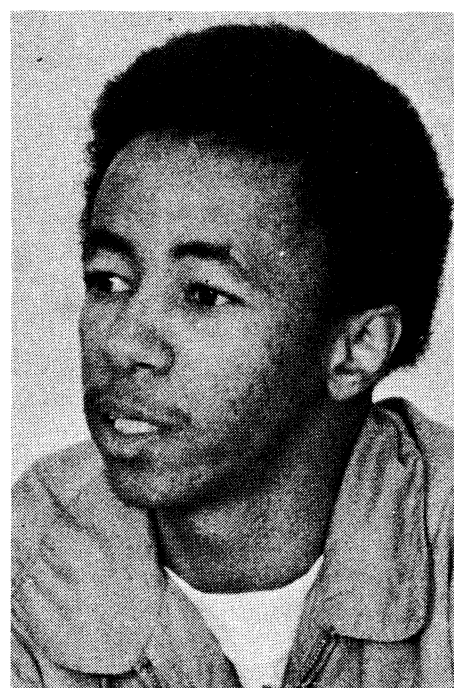


Jeff Higgins

In respect to the efforts to reach Black students around the state, McKnight commented, "The cooperation which has developed among Black students on campuses throughout the state has no precedent. We seem to be witnessing the same kind of dynamic which unified and continues to unify Chicanos through the medium of their antiwar moratorium."

However, obstacles have been encountered. The chief one is inadequate funds. Higgins commented, "Especially since the Cambodian upsurge, the university is very narrowly applying the rule against the use of university funds 'for political purposes.' We know this is completely hypocritical, and I'm sure the administration, the regents of the University of California, and Ronald Reagan know this is completely hypocritical. UC has always been intensely political, but its 'political activities' have generally been in the service of the enemies of the people rather than the people themselves."

McKnight, in further explanation, said, "As a consequence of the arbitrary application of university policy in response to Moratorium activities, we have been unable to free funds allotted to the BSU, despite the democratic decision of Black students to use their funds for that purpose. The administration has also applied a variety of other subtle pressures in an



Roy McKnight

attempt to crush the projected demonstration.

"We relate all of these actions to the major issue of self-determination for Black people," McKnight said. "That was also the major issue last year when the chancellor here at UCR arbitrarily abolished our Black Studies Department after brothers and sisters began to formulate a structure whereby Black students would determine the nature of the department."

Pezant pointed out that the Moratorium has also been "hassled about the use of Bordwell Park for the march and rally. Bordwell Park is right in the middle of the Black ghetto, but Black people do not determine how the park will be used. But we have secured the park, and we have organized our own means of raising funds for the Moratorium. Despite the difficulties, the Moratorium is going to take place on Jan. 23."

The three activists explained that all Third World people are invited to attend the Moratorium. Whites in support of the action are also invited to attend.

In summing up the prospects of the Moratorium, Higgins stated, "We hope that the Riverside Black Moratorium will function as a nationwide consciousness-raiser similar to the effect that the Chicano antiwar moratoriums have had within the framework of Latino nationalism."

Denver forum builds defense for Corky Gonzales

DENVER—John Haro, vice-chairman of the Denver Crusade for Justice, a militant Chicano community organization, and activist in the Colorado Raza Unida Party spoke at the Militant Forum here Jan. 8 on the defense of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. Gonzales is a founder of the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party and is one of the national leaders of the Chicano liberation movement.

Along with Al Gurule, Colorado Raza Unida Party candidate for governor, Gonzales was charged with illegal possession of a firearm after the Aug. 29 Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles. Gurule, who is from Pueblo, was acquitted on Dec. 4. The jury hung on the charges against Gonzales, and he now faces a retrial on Feb. 4.

The phoniness of the police claim that they found Gonzales with a gun at the Moratorium, Haro pointed out, was revealed by their arrest of 23

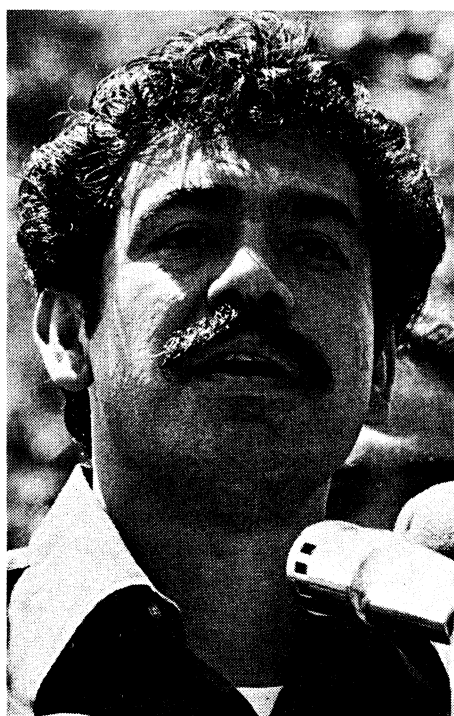
Chicanos from Denver, most of whom had mustaches like Gonzales, because they didn't know which one was Corky Gonzales. Later all but Gurule and Gonzales were acquitted. Haro said that "Al Gurule . . . had a gun cocked at his head and they threatened to blow his brains out because they thought he was Corky Gonzales."

When the jury acquitted Gurule and divided 10-2 in favor of acquitting Gonzales, Haro said, the judge called the lawyers into his office and asked that charges be dropped against Gonzales, as is the usual procedure with a hung jury. While the prosecutor at first agreed, that decision was later reversed.

Jack Marsh from the Colorado Socialist Workers Party linked the attacks on the Crusade for Justice headquarters on election night, Nov. 3, to the Gonzales trial: "The police raid against the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice, the main center for

the Raza Unida Party in Denver, came on election night—an important time in the life of any political party. The Aug. 29 National Chicano Moratorium included leaders of the Chicano movement from all over the country, but the ones arrested and indicted were Chicano leaders from Denver and Pueblo, Colo., involved in organizing the Raza Unida Party. The attack on the Chicano movement, symbolized in the trial of Corky Gonzales, is an attack on the Raza Unida Party."

John Haro stressed the vital need for financial and political support for the coming trial. In the first trial, the defense ran up a bill of over \$6,900 in transportation and lodging for defendants and witnesses, not to speak of legal fees. He called on "people who believe in our cause and want to help" to send their money to the Chicano Legal Defense Fund, c/o Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing Street, Denver, Colo., 80218.



Corky Gonzales

Vietnam vets expose U.S. war crimes

By RANDY FURST

For more than a year, the U. S. armed forces high command shrouded the Mylai massacre in secrecy, hoping the facts of the atrocity could be suppressed.

It didn't work.

And in the wake of the revelations on Mylai—in which a shocked American public learned how some 140 men, women and children were gunned down in cold blood—the floodgates have opened showing that atrocities like Mylai are an everyday occurrence.

There have been several important developments:

- A three-day public hearing in Washington, D. C., the first week in December, where Vietnam veterans testified about atrocities as monstrous as those at Mylai. Countless witnesses argued that war atrocities were part of U. S. government policy.

- In Detroit, a public hearing will open Jan. 31, called "The Winter Soldier Investigation" which could have explosive repercussions. Some 150 Vietnam veterans will detail U. S. war crimes in Vietnam. About 130 of them have never spoken out before. Several of the GIs have been stationed in Vietnam in 1971.

- Five officers in the armed forces—four from the Army and one from the Navy—have made an official written request to the Secretaries of the Army and Navy for the convening of a court of inquiry to investigate U. S. crimes in Southeast Asia.

Increased concern with U. S. war crimes comes as the Army presses its case against Lt. Calley et al., accused of directing and committing the massacre at Mylai.

By their own admission, most of those on trial are guilty of committing mass murder. But they are not the only criminals. Responsibility also rests with the highest levels of the military command and the government.

On the closing day of testimony at the hearing conducted in the nation's capital, former Army captain and West Point graduate Robert B. Johnson of Annapolis, Md., pointed out

that he and other witnesses "have developed substantial evidence that war crimes are not aberrant isolated acts, that war crimes are a way of life in Vietnam, that they are logical consequences of our policies."

The Citizens' Commission of Inquiry is a private antiwar group that has held 12 public hearings throughout the U. S. during the past year. The Washington hearing was a culmination of that effort and drew reporters from most of the major newspapers.

William E. Marhoun, a 30-year-old Sp/5 who served in the 173rd Airborne Brigade, described the massacre of 24 women and children by a company of the 2nd Battalion in August of 1968 on a beach near Bong Son. The massacre, said Marhoun, occurred without reason and without warning.

At a Commission press conference Jan. 12, five young military officers reported that they have asked the Secretaries of the Army and Navy to convene formal courts of inquiry into war crimes in Vietnam.

The five are members of the Concerned Officers Movement (COM), an antiwar group that claims 600 members, ranging from second lieutenants to several colonels.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Capt. Edward G. Fox, 25, said that the group has members in the U. S., Iceland, and Korea and "more than 20 members in South Vietnam."

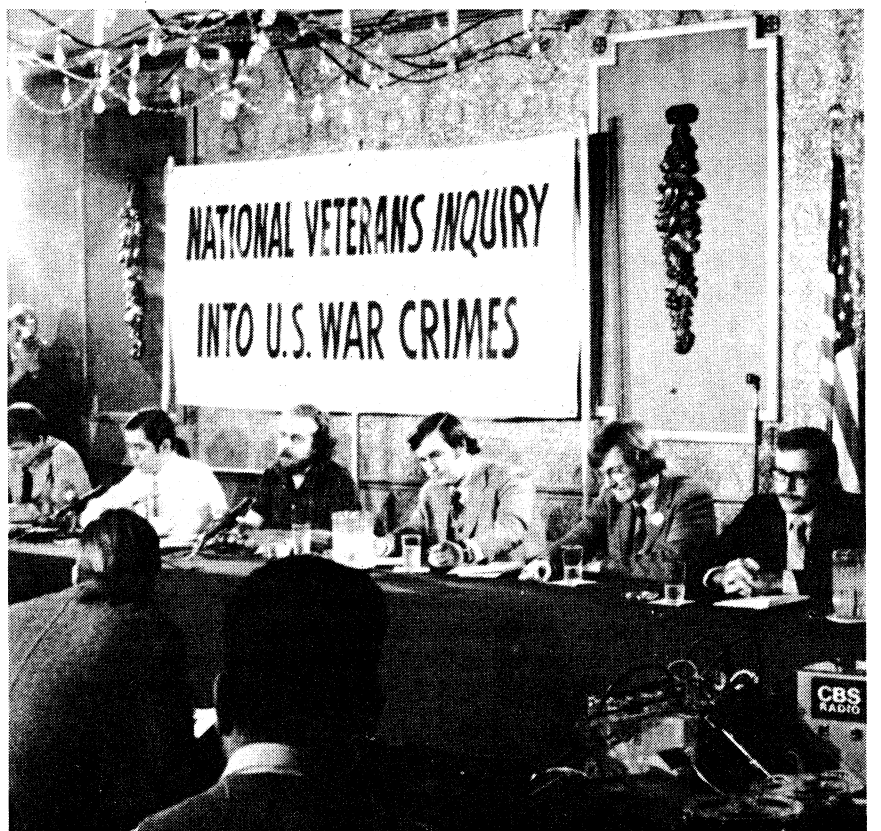
Fox is one of the five officers asking for the court of inquiry.

He said that COM grew out of conversations between several officers who participated in the Nov. 15, 1969, mass antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C.

"Most officers will agree that the war has been disastrous," said Capt. Fox. "Even career officers will admit the war is wrong and we should get out."

Fox defends his right to speak out. "I was commissioned by the president to defend the Constitution," said the captain, "not necessarily the Army."

Meanwhile, the most extensive revelations of war crimes yet reported may evolve from the Winter Soldier Investigation slated to begin Jan. 31



Citizens' Commission of Inquiry

Vietnam veterans testifying at public hearing sponsored by the Citizens' Commission of Inquiry in Washington, first week of December.

in Detroit under the sponsorship of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Vietnam.

Mike Oliver, a member of the Winter Soldier steering committee, says, "The purpose is to make the American public aware of exactly what is going on in Vietnam and why. We are going to firmly establish that it is the policy of the U. S. government that causes incidents like Mylai, rather than the aberrant behavior of the individual."

One aspect of the testimony is likely to have extraordinary coverage. Oliver says that approximately five former prisoners of war will talk about their treatment as captives of the National Liberation Front and the Hanoi government. "We will have testimony," says Oliver, "from pilots, members of special forces, members of psychological warfare teams, members of different military intelligence groups, and members of the Army, Navy, Air

Force and Marine Corps.

In addition, five Vietnamese will speak through closed circuit television from Windsor, Canada, on atrocities they saw committed by U. S. forces.

The office of the Winter Soldier Investigation is at 967 Emerson Street, Detroit, Mich. 48215. Phone: (313) 822-7700. The three day investigation will begin Jan. 31 with hearings each day from 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., open to the public—at the Howard Johnson New Center Motor Lodge at West Grand Blvd. and Third Ave. in Detroit.

The National Committee for a Citizens' Commission of Inquiry on U. S. War Crimes in Vietnam is located at 156 Fifth Ave., Rm. 1003, New York, N. Y. 10010. Phone: (212) 242-7440.

The Concerned Officers Movement publishes a newsletter, obtainable by writing P. O. Box 21073, Kalorama Station, Washington, D. C. 20009.

Protest mounts over arrest of Catholic activists

By LEE SMITH

Wide opposition has been provoked by the federal government's Jan. 12 indictments of six Catholic antiwar activists, including one of the imprisoned Berrigan brothers, on charges of "conspiring" to kidnap presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger and blow up the heating system of federal buildings in Washington, D. C.

Protest has come not only from the antiwar movement. Such major newspapers as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have editorially ridiculed the fantastic charges.

According to the indictments, Daniel and Philip Berrigan, two Catholic priests serving prison sentences in Danbury, Conn., for pouring blood on draft files in Maryland in 1968, "plotted" together with 11 others to blow up the heating systems and to kidnap Kissinger on Washington's birthday and then hold him for ransom until the U. S. stopped bombing Vietnam.

Six persons, including Philip Berrigan, were actually indicted. The other five are Joseph Wenderoth and Neil McLaughlin, two Baltimore Catholic priests; Anthony Scoblick, a former Catholic priest in Baltimore who is now married; Elizabeth McAlister, a nun; and Egbal Ahmad, a fellow of the Adlai Stevenson Institute for Inter-

national Affairs at the University of Chicago.

Seven others, including Daniel Berrigan, are named in the indictment as "co-conspirators," but have not been charged.

Six weeks earlier, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover had charged, in testimony before a congressional committee, that the Berrigans were involved in such an outlandish plot. At that time, Hoover was criticized by Rep. William Anderson, a Democrat from Tennessee, for his "scare dramatics."

At that time also, the Berrigans issued a statement denying Hoover's smear and challenging him to prosecute them if it were true. In its editorial on the case Jan. 14, *The Washington Post* observed, "The underlying fear of those most critical of the indictment is that it is merely an attempt to justify retrospectively the premature and indiscreet charges made against this same group by J. Edgar Hoover before a congressional committee two months ago."

On Jan. 13, Wenderoth, McLaughlin and Scoblick issued a statement denying the charges against them. "As priests," they said, "we have been joined in a conspiracy for many years, a conspiracy to foster life. . . . To at-

tribute kidnapping and bombing to priests who have neither the philosophy nor the resources to support such activity must spring from the desperation of men who have decided to stop at nothing in order to crush the antiwar movement. . . ." The Berrigans have also reaffirmed their innocence.

The only two overt acts charged in the indictment which amount to any more than letters, phone calls, and conversations are the alleged visit last April to the underground tunnels hous-

ing the government heating system by Wenderoth and Philip Berrigan and the obtaining of the plans for the heating system tunnels by another member of the group.

The government's indictment does not even specify the date on which the bombing and kidnapping were to have taken place. The indictment reads only "Washington's birthday." This holiday, traditionally celebrated on February 22, will be observed this year on February 15, according to a new law.

NPAC letter to Berrigans

CLEVELAND, Jan. 14—The National Peace Action Coalition announced today that the coalition's five national coordinators had sent a message of solidarity to Daniel and Philip Berrigan condemning the "conspiracy" charges lodged by J. Edgar Hoover.

NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon said the message to the Berrigans declared that "the incredible charges, unequivocally denied by you, are clearly an attempt to place the blame for violence in this country on those opposing the barbarous war in Vietnam."

The NPAC message noted that Hoover's use of Congress as a forum for publicizing the charges constituted a serious violation of the right to a fair trial and that the nature of the charges signaled a further attack on the antiwar movement. "We pledge ourselves to mobilize the antiwar movement and all those concerned with constitutional rights to fight back this latest attempt," the NPAC coordinators declared.

U.S. helicopters in Cambodia combat; bombing of North Vietnam escalated

By ED SMITH

JAN. 19— The Pentagon admitted yesterday that U. S. forces are being used on an escalated scale in Cambodia. The heightened U. S. intervention occurred as South Vietnamese and Cambodian troops with heavy U. S. air support intensified the effort to open Route 4 linking Pnompenh to Kompong Som, Cambodia's only deepwater port.

The new U. S. escalation took the form of direct U. S. helicopter involvement in the combat operations along Route 4.

"Jerry W. Friedheim, a Pentagon spokesman, said this included the use of American-flown helicopters to ferry South Vietnamese troops into combat—even under hostile ground fire," the *New York Times* reported Jan. 19.

The Associated Press reported from Pnompenh Jan. 18 that "American helicopter gunships flew at least three air strikes today in support of Cambodian troops trying to reopen this key overland supply route to the sea.

"Mr. Friedheim conceded here today that American air crews might sometimes leave their craft while on the ground in Cambodia in the course of moving supplies or troops to support South Vietnamese forces there," the *New York Times* Washington dispatch explained.

Reporting on the same incident, as described by the U. S. briefing officer in Saigon, *New York Times* correspondent Ralph Blumenthal wrote Jan. 18: "The U. S. command said today that two American helicopter carriers had taken up positions off the Cambodian coast and were staging missions for the 'interdiction' of enemy lines and the supplying of allied forces fighting in Cambodia.

"'Interdiction' is the term the Pentagon uses to describe all U. S. bombing and strafing in Cambodia," Blumenthal noted, "even when it has seemed to observers on the scene that the aircraft were providing direct combat support for allied troops."

Blumenthal stated that while the U. S. briefing officer still maintained that there were no U. S. advisers in Cambodia outside of Pnompenh, "he said that he was unable to say whether there might be 'technicians' in the country."

As the U. S. military intervention in Cambodia escalates step-by-step to rescue the tottering Lon Nol regime from the advancing revolutionary forces, the Nixon administration is also undertaking a step-by-step reescalation of the bombardment of North Vietnam.

There have been reports this week of further U. S. bombing attacks on North Vietnamese "missile sites"—the

so-called "protective reaction" of U. S. bombers when these bombers are being tracked by North Vietnamese radar.

These attacks began shortly after the elections last November when it was "discovered" that Hanoi was tracking U. S. "armed reconnaissance" missions—as though it was something new.

But an attack on "missile sites" on Jan. 16 was reported to have taken place when Hanoi radar tracked a U. S. bombing mission against Laos. Thus, stated the *New York Times* of the same date: "The B-52s reportedly were raiding Ho Chi Minh Trail supply routes on the Laotian side of the border when sensing devices aboard the escorting planes reportedly picked up indications that missile sites on the North Vietnamese side of the border had begun tracking the aircraft preparatory to firing.

"The United States command said two F-105 fighter-bombers fired three Shrike air-to-ground missiles at the three North Vietnamese positions. These positions did not fire, it added, and there was no damage to the American planes."

Even Superman, so far as one recalls, could not tell by his X-ray vision what thoughts were in the minds of the people he could see through concrete walls. But—if the Pentagon is to be believed—the U. S. Air Force now possesses "sensing devices" which reveal the intentions of those who are detected, for example, if they are "preparing to fire."

This is a considerable technological advance over the intelligence devices presumably used before the raid on the Sontay POW camp only two months ago. . . .

Beneath the Pentagon double-talk about bombing "missile sites," however, there is also the real danger that Washington is actually bombing civilian population centers and that it intends to reescalate this type of bombing.

One should remember that for almost two years, the Johnson administration bombed North Vietnamese cities and villages under the pretense of bombing "military targets." It was not until after Harrison Salisbury's revelations in late December 1966 about the widespread destruction of North Vietnamese cities that the Pentagon finally was forced to drop its pretense about bombing "military targets."

Meanwhile the administration appears to be making a special effort to emphasize that the policy of "Vietnamization" does not mean and never has meant total withdrawal of U. S. forces from Southeast Asia. Nor does



Cambodian town devastated during U. S. attack last May. Nixon is now taking steps for increased use of U. S. forces to rescue Pnompenh regime.

it even mean an end of U. S. casualties.

At a press conference at Tansonnhut Air Base in South Vietnam, Jan. 11, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird was asked to clarify statements he had made several days earlier in Paris that following May 1 of this year, U. S. troops would assume a "security role" in South Vietnam.

"I don't want to give anyone the impression here that the security forces which are stationed with American logistics, artillery, and air units will not be used to protect the lives of Americans stationed here," Laird replied.

Alvin Shuster, a *New York Times* correspondent in Saigon, explained that Laird "thus made it clear that the security forces would be involved in at least minor sweeps and searches around American installations, actions that could be labeled 'defensive' or 'protective' even though they would be little different from what goes on during the present low level of military activity in Vietnam."

In plainer words, U. S. military forces will continue to occupy South

Vietnam, and by the inevitable expansion of the war, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand as well.

Indefinite military occupation, the stabilization of pro-imperialist regimes in Saigon, Pnompenh, Vientiane and Bangkok, and the liquidation of popular revolution throughout Southeast Asia remain today—as they have throughout the post-world-war period—the paramount objectives of U. S. policy in Indochina.

Concomitant to this policy is the continuous attempt on Washington's part to bludgeon Hanoi into ceasing to aid the revolutionary fighters. This is why a drastic reescalation of the bombing of North Vietnam can never be ruled out as long as U. S. forces remain in Southeast Asia.

Clearly there is only one guarantee of peace to this war-torn subcontinent: the immediate and total withdrawal of all U. S. forces. Unless and until that occurs, fighting and dying and destruction will continue. It is the incontrovertible logic of the imperialist counterrevolution.

Demonstration to protest sentencing of Juan Farinas

NEW YORK—A rally to defend Juan Farinas will be held outside the federal courthouse at Foley Square in New York City Jan. 29 from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. This is when Farinas, a 23-year-old supporter of the Workers League, is scheduled to be sentenced for his conviction on frame-up charges of violating the Selective Service Act.

Farinas was convicted Dec. 11 for allegedly refusing induction and disrupting the induction process at Whitehall Induction Center in August 1968. The "disruption" consisted in Farinas' passing out leaflets and talking to his fellow inductees about the war in Vietnam. For passing out leaflets, Farinas was asked by officials at the induction center to leave. His compliance with this request to leave is

the basis for the phony charge of "refusing to accept induction."

The testimony of both government and defense witnesses at Farinas' two-day trial Dec. 10 and 11 made clear the frame-up nature of the case and the lack of any real evidence against Farinas. The trial proceedings are summarized in a brochure published by the defense committee.

Retired lifer Elias J. Bereza, a government witness who spent 23 years in the Army and who was in charge of processing at Whitehall in August 1968, admitted during cross-examination that the "smooth flow" of the induction process had not been disrupted by Farinas.

Two other government witnesses, an Air Force captain and a former Army

intelligence officer now working for the Treasury Department, insisted that Farinas had shouted loudly and made statements that he would refuse to serve in the armed forces. While both of them seemed to have crystal clear memories on these points, crucial to the prosecution's case, during cross-examination they became confused and forgot nearly everything else.

Friends and associates of Farinas who testified provided convincing evidence that he had made all the necessary preparations for entering the service before reporting to the induction center.

Farinas' conviction will be appealed on a number of grounds, according to defense attorney Sanford Katz. The appeal will challenge the consti-

tutionality of the Selective Service regulation which requires inductees "to obey the orders of the representatives of the armed forces" and of the Selective Service law which makes violation of this regulation a crime. It will challenge the government's interpretation of the Selective Service law in Farinas' trial, and it will contend that there was insufficient evidence for conviction.

The Jan. 29 rally is being sponsored by the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., Sixth Fl., N.Y., N.Y. 10011. The committee has called on "all those who oppose the government's political attacks" to join the demonstration "irrespective of agreement or disagreement with Farinas' political views."

ROOTS OF MIDEAST CONFLICT

The bourgeois Arab regimes:
A history of political bankruptcy

By GUS HOROWITZ and BARRY SHEPPARD
(Eighth of a series)

The problems of development in the Arab world today are basically the same as those in all the long-overexploited countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The specifics vary, but all these countries are faced with the economic, social and political problems that flow from years of imperialist domination.

In Iraq, Jordan, Syria, and the U. A. R., for example, the national income per capita is less than \$300 per year, while in Lebanon, a country portrayed as the stable and well-off "Switzerland of the Mideast," the figure is only a little above \$300.

Nor do these countries have the worst standards of living in the Arab world. In Yemen, for example, on the eve of the 1962 civil war against the monarchy, the average per capita income was \$70. There was not a single railway or industrial factory in this country of 4.5 million people. "It was a society overwhelmed with misery," said one writer.

"In 1962, there were only 15 doctors—all foreigners. There were 600 hospital beds in the whole country. Fifty percent of the population had venereal diseases. Eighty to 90 percent suffered from trachoma. The government spent no money on education, and less than 5 percent of the children attended the existing Koranic schools." (Fred Halliday, Counter-Revolution in Yemen, New Left Review, September-October 1970.)

Writing in 1962, an American professor described the conditions in Egypt's countryside in terms that are not much different. He summed up the results of a four-year survey by medical experts in this predominantly agricultural country: "They found that in 1948 one 'test' village of about 4,200 people harbored an extraordinary amount of disease. Half of the people were infested with lice, three-quarters with fleas. Nine out of 10 suffered from some degree of trachoma, and one in 12 was blind in one or both eyes. Bilharziasis, the debilitating disease that is the scourge of the Egyptian irrigated areas, afflicted no less than 95 per cent of the boys and men in the village. These statistics represent the worst conditions of a decade ago; since then, there has been some improvement. In the rest of the Near East, health in the rural areas is poor by advanced standards, but not so bad as

it is in much of Egypt." (Monroe Berger, The Arab World Today, p. 193)

It is clear that it will be an immense task to solve the problems of economic backwardness in the Arab countries, without which none of the other problems can be solved adequately either.

It is just as clear that the ruling regimes in the Arab states have not been able to break out of the heritage of imperialist domination and take steps to provide adequate solutions to these problems.

Much of the Arab world is ruled by reactionary monarchies, like those in Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Jordan, and the small principalities on the Arabian peninsula. There are conservative republics in Tunisia and Lebanon. These regimes all remain closely tied to imperialism and offer no serious prospect of basic social change.

The so-called "revolutionary" regimes in the Arab world have not been able to provide adequate solutions either. This includes the military-reformist regime which has held power in the U. A. R. for nearly two decades, as well as the "socialist" Baathist regime in Syria and the regime in Iraq. Recently, military-reformist regimes have come to power in Libya and the Sudan.

These regimes have undertaken, in varying degrees, to nationalize industry, introduce some measure of state economic planning, and institute a type of land reform. But these measures have been accompanied by a deliberate policy of preventing the independent mobilization of the masses and crushing any independent developments that occur.

Revolutionary tasks

The revolutionary mobilization of the working class and poor peasant masses is essential for solving both the democratic and socialist tasks of the Arab revolution. A few examples are the following:

Land reform, a key task, is not simply an administrative measure, and it cannot be carried out effectively by bureaucratic procedures. It requires the mass mobilization of the poor peasantry to insure that this measure will benefit the masses and result in increased productivity in the agricultural sector. The dispossessed rich landlords must be prevented from draining away much needed capital through "compensation" schemes which

amount to state guarantees of continued landlord profits.

A crash program in the fields of health and education, as Cuba has shown, can be accomplished through mass mobilizations. These measures are a key to increasing productivity.

The emancipation of women, a central task of the Arab revolution, requires revolutionary measures to destroy the basis for the extreme oppression of women. This struggle will have a revolutionary impact on all social and political attitudes and will open the way to the utilization of tremendous human resources.

An end to the oppression of national and religious minorities can only be accomplished by a revolutionary government which is resolute in its determination to eliminate all such forms of discrimination, and campaigns to eradicate institutionalized oppression and mass prejudices which hold back economic, social and political progress.

The balkanization of the Arab world, which inhibits economic and social advance, can only be overcome by governments freed of particularist bourgeois interests. Arab nationalist consciousness and the aspiration for Arab unity are strongest among the masses, and the real unity of the Arab world will be achieved by a revolutionary movement capable of mobilizing these masses in anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggle.

To free resources for the urgent task of industrial development requires nationalization of industry without "compensation" schemes that maintain the power of the native capitalist class or foreign imperialism; state control over foreign trade to prevent an outward drain of resources under imperialist pressure and to prevent the "free" world market (which favors imperialism) from working to perpetuate a situation in which it is "unprofitable" to develop needed domestic industries; centralized economic planning to develop the most needed industries and to insure an optimum balance between long-range investment and immediate increases in consumption and social welfare.

To implement these measures adequately requires democratic control over the state by the working class and poor peasantry. This can only occur through a revolutionary process culminating in the creation of a workers state.

Finally, to prevent imperialism, in collusion with internal reactionary forces, from turning back the revolutionary process through military intervention, an adequate system of armed defenses based upon and integrally linked with the masses is required. Cuba provides a good example of how this can be done.

The so-called revolutionary regimes in the Arab world have not undertaken these tasks, and have not been able to solve the basic problems. Nasserism provides a good example, because Egypt is in many respects one of the most important Arab countries and the developments there have been influential in shaping the political outlook of many groups in other Arab states.

Nasserism

The Nasser regime grew out of a military coup which overthrew King Farouk in 1952. These "Free Officers" called themselves nationalists, but their nationalism was limited to the interests of the national bourgeoisie—or more precisely, to the interests of a section of the national bourgeoisie in Egypt. This officer caste, and the state apparatus which it developed, represented those sections of the Egyptian bourgeoisie which wanted to industrialize the country but found themselves too weak to do so without utilizing the apparatus of the state.

Table with 7 columns: Country, National income per capita, Average life span, Illiteracy rate, Infant mortality per 1,000 births, Persons per hospital bed, Persons per physician. Rows include Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Kuwait, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, South Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen, United States, Sweden, Israel.

n. a. — not available
* because of the high oil production and relatively small population, the figure for per capita income is much higher than the actual average standard of living
Source: New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac, 1971

State intervention was necessary to curb the power of the landed aristocracy and the urban commercial sectors of the capitalist class, both of which found it far more profitable to work within the framework of total imperialist domination than to invest in local industry in competition with imperialism. The "statification" of the economy was also necessary to provide the large investment sums necessary for industrial development and public works needed by industry; these sums could not be generated by the slow process of individual capital accumulation. The confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Mideast also gave this aspiring national bourgeoisie a certain degree of freedom to maneuver in the international sphere. Thus, conditions were as favorable as possible for economic development within the framework of capitalism. But it has not worked.

Precisely because the state remained a capitalist state, the measures undertaken by the Nasser regime were limited in scope. The land reform (with "compensation") was intended primarily to crush the power of the old landed aristocracy, not to mobilize the peasants in support of measures that would have a far-reaching impact on their lives.

As one writer has described it, "Despite the agrarian reform, great inequalities remain: 80 percent of the peasants remain without land, or almost without any, and only about one-third of their labor power is employed. The political power of

of the population—quasi-permanent unemployed, small craftsmen, subproletariat—are likewise condemned to absolute misery, and only one-third of their labor power is employed." (Riad, loc. cit.)

In carrying out its statist measures, the Nasser regime did not spare the use of rhetoric designed to appeal to the working masses and rural poor. Nasser portrayed himself as the foremost champion of Arab nationalism, and in the important Charter of National Action, adopted in 1963, it was stated that "socialism is the way to social freedom" for Egypt. This rhetoric was designed to win mass support, which the regime needed as a counterweight to imperialist pressure and internal opponents of Nasserite policy, i.e. to give itself some elbow room.

Fear of mass mobilization

However, what this bourgeois nationalist regime feared above all was the actual mobilization of the masses in struggle, even for its own proclaimed goals. Because, once set into motion, the independent action of the masses would have threatened to get so out of hand that it could have swept away the Nasser regime too, beginning the process of socialist revolution. For that reason, the statist economic measures and the socialist rhetoric adopted by the regime were accompanied by brutal repression of strikes and independent mass actions and by the suppression of left-wing organizations.

not to mention the socialism that Nasser talked about. The vast state bureaucracy, in which corruption flourished, could only undertake tentative and limited half-measures in dealing with these problems.

This was not only true in land reform and nationalization. Fearing the masses, the Nasser regime was unwilling and unable to call for the tremendous mass mobilizations that could have led to serious progress in the fields of education and health, as Cuba has achieved. Riddled through and through with upholders of an outmoded social order, the state apparatus could not contemplate the revolutionary steps required to begin the emancipation of women. Here, too, Cuba provides an alternative example.

Nor could Nasser, an unceasing spokesman for Arab unity, accomplish this task either. One of the key reasons that the unification with Syria in the early 1960s fell apart was because the particularist interests of the national bourgeoisie in both countries overrode their interests in Arab unity.

Similarly, in the civil war in Yemen, the question of federation was raised when the U. A. R. came to the aid of the new republican regime against the royalists (who were backed by Saudi Arabia, Britain, and the U. S.). But the extent of the Nasser regime's policy of Arab solidarity was limited by the particularist interests of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. Thus, the U. A. R.'s army forcibly prevented the mobilization of the Yemeni masses in the struggle against the royalists.



"The Nasser regime did not spare the use of rhetoric designed to appeal to the working masses and rural poor. Nasser portrayed himself as the foremost champion of Arab nationalism. . . . This rhetoric was designed to win mass support, which the regime needed as a counterweight to imperialist pressure and internal opponents of Nasserite policy."

the aristocracy, which was formerly based on the intermediate layers, has merely been replaced by that of the state bureaucracy, which still bases itself on this relatively privileged minority." (Hassan Riad, *L'Egypte Nasserienne*, 1964, pp. 223-224.)

The nationalization of businesses (with "compensation") was quite extensive in the U. A. R., but it was intended to centralize capitalist decision-making, not to institute workers control and a socialist form of planning. Furthermore, elements of those dispossessed layers were integrated into the bureaucratic state apparatus.

An Egyptian leftist, Anouar Abdel-Malek, has written a detailed account of developments in the U. A. R., in which he concludes that the economy "is still, in many ways, capitalistic: the land remains nearly untouched by nationalization; the public sector, though under the direction of managers (technocrats), is still regulated by the market demands and (public) profit incentive; planning, and foreign aid, particularly, tend to strengthen this pattern, at least in the short run." (*Egypt: Military Society*, xvii-xix, 1968 preface.)

Evidence of the long-term goals that the regime had in nationalizing industry can be found in the Dec. 28, 1970, announcement by Nasser's successors that they would return (an unspecified number of) nationalized businesses to private owners.

Economic advances have been made under this capitalist form of state intervention in the economy. But these advances fall far short of what is needed and what other countries have been able to achieve after abolishing capitalism altogether.

As with the peasantry, the conditions of the urban masses have also not been of primary concern to the Nasserite regime. "In the cities, more than half

Malek explained what Nasser's version of Arab socialism really meant:

"The evolution into socialism was supposed to occur without class conflict. Immediately the class-struggle organizations of the working class and peasants were destroyed: there was neither a Communist party nor trade unions created and led by the workers themselves. The left was enjoined to fuse itself into the single party, by way of the concentration camps; and the dissolved trade unions were reorganized by the state in the form of a single union for each craft or profession, their leaders were selected and appointed by the government, their function was conceived to be essentially that of supplying the government with a task force to be maneuvered against imperialism, not against the class in power. Earlier, the Agrarian Reform, which was imposed from the top, had neutralized the direct action of the peasants.

"The effects of this paralysis were especially damaging on the cultural front. The leashing of the universities, the 'positive' censorship of the press, the suffocation of any thinking except the government's brought on the 'crisis of the intellectuals,' which was made public because it threatened to compromise the construction of the new state." (Malek, p. 379.)

Balancing between various social forces, the capitalist regime was able to act with a certain measure of independence from particularist bourgeois interests. But its long-term strategy was in the interests of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie as a whole, rather than the working class and peasantry.

This meant, however, that the Nasser regime was unable to take truly effective steps to solve the uncompleted bourgeois-democratic tasks facing Egypt,

From particularist interests, it tried to bypass the creation of a Yemeni armed resistance (the Yemeni army actually declined from 20,000 in 1962 to 7,000 in 1967, the years of U. A. R. intervention). In 1967, the U. A. R. pulled out of Yemen — after negotiating a deal for financial aid from Saudi Arabia to help cover Egypt's losses in the June war.

Defense

The same class limitations were placed on the Nasser regime's ability to defend the U. A. R. from imperialist and Israeli aggression. Corruption and inefficiency in any government are always revealed most dramatically in times of acute crisis, as these features of the Nasser regime were revealed during 1956 and 1967. Even Nasser had to admit in 1967 that widespread corruption and inefficiency in the army were key reasons for the defeat.

Moreover, from the point of view of advanced military technology, the imperialist and Israeli armies were far superior. An adequate defense therefore required, in addition to a regular armed force, the involvement of vast masses in the military sphere. Cuba has also shown the effectiveness of measures along this line. Yet, for the reasons that the Nasser regime feared any independent mass mobilizations, it feared an armed population even more.

For these same reasons, too, the Nasser regime feared the independent action of Palestinian resistance fighters. Prior to 1967, the Nasser regime made sure to maintain tight control over the Palestinian organizations which it sponsored. Only after 1967 did an effective Palestinian resistance

continued on page 22

Letter demands release of Czech socialists

The following open letter to the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, dated December 14, 1970, has been released to the press by the signers. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

A year ago sixteen young comrades were arrested in your country, including Petr Uhl and the West Berlin student Sibylle Plogstedt. They have been kept in prison since that time. The official press in your country has accused them of being members of the "Revolutionary Socialist Party" and of undermining the collectivist social order by their activity.

An attempt was made in the Czechoslovak press at the time to impute a criminal character to the activity of these comrades, to blame them for acts of sabotage, and create the impression that they were working for "foreign services." For example, in an article in *Rudé Právo* of January 17, 1970, the attempt was made, among other things, to besmirch these comrades' earnest efforts to discuss social problems and contradictions on the basis of Marxist and Leninist theory.

We believe that the deepgoing crisis in which Czechoslovakia found itself at the time of these arrests made it urgently necessary to overcome these difficulties by means of a broad mobilization of the working masses and not least of all the youth. In such a process, errors are inevitable. However, the working class has the right to learn from its own errors and this is a basic precondition for its emancipation.

By this we are not appealing for any unlimited freedom. Naturally, under socialism there can be no freedom for those who seek to restore capitalism.

We have read the publications of the

Revolutionary Socialist party. According to all we have been able to find out about this group, it is slanderous to accuse these young comrades of counterrevolutionary activity. Even though we do not fully agree with their views, we believe that these views must be open to public discussion in a socialist country.

In our opinion these young Czechoslovak comrades express a correct point of view in two aspects important for all communists:

1. In their program they propagandized for an organization of the working people and above all the proletariat at the base, that is, at the point of immediate production. And they were ready to struggle to give a centralized expression to these bodies. In this, they took a position in the best traditions of the great October socialist revolution.

2. Of no less importance for all anti-imperialist forces in our countries is the unstinting solidarity of these young Czechoslovak comrades with the anti-imperialist movements in the third world and the capitalist centers.

In the meantime a year has passed since the first arrests. Nobody discussed anything with these comrades. Rather, they were kept in prison and are to face trial. Not only this. These young comrades, some of whom have spent their twentieth birthday in prison, are paying the price for the Czechoslovak leadership's inability to decide whether or not it should stage political trials. Moreover, the already repeatedly announced trial is being postponed from month to month, which can also have the effect of breaking down the physical and moral resistance of the prisoners.

Furthermore, some signs indicate that new and still more absurd accusations are to be fabricated at the hear-



Before Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, a mass rally in support of democracy, organized by youth of Prague, May 4, 1968.

ings in order to justify the long pre-trial detention of the prisoners.

Neither progressive public opinion in West Europe nor any honest communist or socialist can fail to speak out on this matter.

We demand that you release the imprisoned young comrades immediately and let a public political discussion be held on their activities and views.

Signed: Ernest Bloch, Tübingen; Margherita von Brentano, Berlin; Ken Coates, Nottingham; Lucio Coletti, Rome; Chris Farley, London; Pino

Ferraris, Turin; Vittorio Foa, Rome; Erich Fried, London; Ekkehart Krippeendorff, Bologna; Alain Krivine, Paris; Ernest Mandel, Brussels; Lucio Magri, Rome; François Maspéro, Paris; Klaus Meschkat, Medellín, Colombia; Aldo Natoli, Rome; Oskar Negt, Frankfurt am Main; Bahman Nirumand, Berlin; Luigi Nono, Venice, Luigi Pintor, Rome; Claudie Pozzoli, Frankfurt am Main; Bernard Rabehl, Berlin; Rossana Rossanda, Rome; Jean-Paul Sartre, Paris; Bala Tampoe, Colombo, Ceylon; Jakob Taubes, Berlin; Klaus Wagenbach, Berlin.

New data on economic status of working women

By DICK ROBERTS

"One of the most important domestic problems facing the nation in the 1970s is how to improve the economic status of families headed by women. . . .

"Historically, the employment and income situation of such families has generally been bleak. Most of the women are ill-equipped to earn an adequate living. Many suffer from one handicap or more to successful competition in the labor market—lack of sufficient education or training, irregular and unstable work histories, sex or racial discrimination in hiring, ill health, and the difficulty of arranging for satisfactory child care."

The quotations are from "The Economic Status of Families Headed by Women," an article in the December 1970 *Monthly Labor Review* published by the U.S. Department of Labor. The article contains useful data on sexual and racial discrimination.

It emphasizes that families headed by women are forced to live on minimal incomes; that working mothers get the lowest-paid jobs; and that racial discrimination significantly worsens the already bad situation for Black women and the families they are forced to support.

Author Robert L. Stein, a Labor Dept. economist, writes: "By March 1970, about three-fifths of the 3.4 million families with children headed by women were already on welfare and the rolls were still rising."

Of these 3.4 million families, 1.5 million lived at incomes below the government-selected "poverty line" (which was roughly \$3,700 for a family of four in 1969). "The median income of the families of 8 million children who were being brought up by their mothers—or other female relatives—was \$4,000 in 1969. This contrasts with a median family income of \$11,600 for the 61 million children living with both parents."

The large number of Black families headed by

women and living at these totally inadequate income levels sharply underlined class, racial and sexual oppression: 33 percent of all families with children headed by women were Black; 41 percent of all families with children headed by women and living below the poverty line were Black; 67 percent of all Black families with children headed by women lived in poverty.

The report focused on the increasing number of women supporting families who are also working. According to Stein: "The proportion of women holding paid jobs outside the home has been climbing steadily for 25 years, and by March 1970, 43 of every 100 women 16 years of age and over were in the labor force (that is, either employed or seeking work)."

"The typical pattern has been for a woman to enter the labor force after completion of her education and prior to marriage, to leave after starting a family, and to reenter the labor force as family responsibilities diminish. During the last 10 years, however, there has been some modification of this pattern with the increasing entry into the labor force of mothers with children. . . .

"From 1950 to 1969, the rate for mothers with children under 6 years of age increased from 20 percent to 30 percent, while for mothers with children 6 to 17 years of age it increased from 43 to 51 percent."

But when they enter the working force, women face a prospect of getting the lowest-paid and most unstable jobs. A detailed study of working mothers age 16 to 44 years, cited by Stein, revealed that "70 percent worked at some time during the year, but only 38 percent worked throughout the year at full-time jobs."

Working only part of a year in the low-paid jobs most women get is not enough to support a family. But "Half of all female heads of poor families did not work at all during the year so that any skills or experience they might have were not being used."

"Of those who did work, nearly half had low-paid service jobs such as kitchen helpers, maids, hospital attendants and aides, and laundry workers. A fifth held semiskilled factory jobs. Only one-fifth of those with any employment experience (one-tenth of the overall total) worked at some time during the year in the better-paid white-collar occupations."

The overall median weekly earnings for all women full-time workers in May 1969, according to this Labor Dept. study, were \$87. "Even among white women with high school diplomas, who were employed mainly in clerical jobs, usual weekly earnings were only \$88." (In 1969, the average weekly earnings for all workers in manufacturing industries was \$129.51; for all workers in contract construction, it was \$181.16.)

The accompanying table, reproduced from the *Monthly Labor Review* article, shows the influence of race and "educational attainment" on weekly earnings for women.

Table. Educational attainment of women heads of family (16 to 44 years of age), of poor families, and usual weekly earnings of full-time women workers in May 1969

Educational attainment by race	Heads of poor families		Usual weekly earnings of full-time workers (median)
	Number	Percent	
Total.....	1,025	100	\$87
White.....	556	54	88
8 years or less.....	140	14	70
9-11 years.....	188	18	76
12 years.....	163	16	88
13-15 years.....	53	5	100
16 years or more.....	12	1	138
Negro and other races.....	469	46	74
8 years or less.....	147	14	54
9-11 years.....	212	21	66
12 years.....	97	9	80
13 years or more.....	13	1	115

Texas fight for abortion reform

By MARYBETH PREJEAN

AUSTIN—Texas lawmakers are finding out that the abortion issue—like an unwanted pregnancy—cannot be wished away.

When the Texas legislature meets in Austin this month, abortion law reform will be one of the primary issues on the floor.

Appearing as part of a revised penal code to be submitted for approval, the new statute, if accepted, will add Texas to the small list of states which have adopted liberalized abortion laws.

Action is underway to demand passage of the liberalized law. The Texas Abortion Coalition (TAC), made up of concerned organizations from across the state, voted to support the proposed legislation last November at its founding conference in Dallas. While not the ultimately-envisioned repeal, the abortion proposal would be a significant gain over the 114-year-old present antiabortion law. It would allow women to obtain a legal abortion by a physician with (a) the consent of the woman if she is 18 years of age or over, (b) the consent of the woman and her parents if she is between the ages of 16 and 18, and (c) with the consent of her parents or guardian if she is below the age of 16 or is mentally incompetent.

While supporting the general thrust of the pro-

posal, TAC has submitted an amendment which would place consent solely in the hands of the woman whether or not she has reached "the age of majority" and would allow the abortion to be performed by a trained paramedical or with the aid of prescribed self-abortive agents, should either or both become available.

The Coalition, which has the backing of the Texas Medical Association, plans a major action on Jan. 30 in Austin. TAC is organizing a "citizens hearing" which will include individuals nationally prominent in the fight for legalized abortions. Roy Lucas of New York, the nation's leading abortion lawyer, and Dr. Jane Hodgson, a Minnesota physician accused of violating that state's abortion law, have both agreed to testify at the hearing. A march to the capitol grounds and a rally featuring speakers from the various TAC member groups will follow the hearings. Invitations have been sent encouraging legislators to attend.

A right-wing fundamentalist group calling itself the Solid Rock League of Women has provided the most vocal opposition to the proposed liberalized law. Claiming 10,000 supporters statewide, its members have appeared on several radio and television talk shows opposite representatives of

TAC, but because of apparent widespread support for the proposed legislation—and because of the League's petty name-calling tactics against many county officials and members of the press as well as against TAC—most of the extensive press coverage has not been in the League's favor.

The Texas Bar Association, which is responsible for the proposed revised penal code, fears that the penal code may be threatened by the storm aimed only at the abortion question and has submitted a more conservative alternative. This would allow an abortion only if the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest, or if the health of the woman is severely threatened.

Should the legislature refuse to act on the abortion issue, there is a very real chance that the U.S. Supreme Court will wipe out the present statute within the year. A Texas case is now on appeal to the Supreme Court, but lawyers on the case do not expect a ruling before the current session of the Texas legislature ends.

Physicians estimate that an abortion in a Texas hospital would cost the patient between \$200 and \$250. Should the law pass with the proposed amendment from the Texas Abortion Coalition, the Texas statutes would be the most liberal in the United States.

'Abortion—Women's Right to Choose'

By NANCY STREBE

MINNEAPOLIS—On very short notice and in snowy, below-zero weather, Twin Cities women from several women's liberation groups picketed an antiabortion banquet in St. Paul Jan. 12. The Minnesota Committee Concerned for Life (sic) had invited Minnesota legislators to hear George St. John-Stevass, Conservative member of the British Parliament, speak on the "horrors" of the liberalized abortion law in Britain.

The demonstration of about 40 women, very militant and spirited, drew hostility from attendees, who numbered about 900 including some 100 state legislators. As they emerged from taxis straight from the Capitol or from MCCL-paid-for buses, those attending the meeting pushed the women and mouthed such "concern for life" remarks as "drop dead" and "I wish your mother had had an abortion." The women replied in unison with the chant, "Women, Unite, Stand Up and Fight—Abortion is Our Right!"

There were several confrontations with annoyed and patronizing male chauvinists who took women's liberationists' elbows or whatever in attempts to move us out of their way. Their arms were swiftly removed, and the men were exhorted to keep their hands off all women, unless individual women indicated they wished to be touched. One man became so incensed at this "insolence" that he threatened to physically attack the woman who removed his arm from hers, but he was dissuaded by the militant feminists.

Several young "liberal" Catholic priests attempted to argue their position with the feminists. They retreated under a barrage of arguments by the feminists that the church has no right to control the lives and bodies of women. The brilliant response of one young priest, as quoted in the Min-



Women in Twin Cities picket British speaker who is a leading Conservative opponent of women's right to abortion.

neapolis *Tribune*, referring to one feminist with whom he had had an exchange, was, "I guess she doesn't go to church anymore."

Two TV stations and the two major Minneapolis dailies carried the story. One quoted St. John-Stevass: "I've been pursued since arriving on this continent by members of the women's liberation front."

This demonstration was just the beginning of the fight for total repeal of Minnesota's backward abortion laws. A meeting has been called for Jan. 25 at 7:00 p.m. in the Main Minneapolis Library to discuss further actions on abortion-law repeal. The meeting is open to everyone who wants to work for repeal of the deadly antiabortion laws. For further information, call 374-4386.

N.Y. women demonstrate for community center

By LORA ECKERT

NEW YORK—Over 175 women demonstrated here Jan. 16 to protest their eviction from the old Women's Shelter building on New York's Lower East Side. New sheets of tin had been nailed across the building's doors and windows to prevent the women from reoccupying it.

Owned by New York City and abandoned for four years, it had been taken over on New Year's Eve by women from a variety of groups who intended to make it a women's community center. Two weeks later, 24 women were arrested and charged with trespassing; four were charged with assault and battery. A woman lawyer assisted in getting them released on their own recognizance.

One of the signs carried by the protesting wom-

en was: "Women—Our Community Center has been taken away from us! We demand that the police get off our property and the City give the women of this community immediate access to the building." Another proclaimed, "Our building had free food—and good cheer."

The chants of the marchers were feminist: "Power to the Women, Freedom to the Women" and "Our hands, our feet, our minds, our bodies are tools for change."

Before the eviction, the women's center had begun to carry out some of its many projected goals. In spite of no heat, it had been functioning as a food cooperative and a clothing and book exchange center, with some child care available.

Although the women wanted to move back into the building, no future plans were outlined at the demonstration.

A leaflet issued to passersby stated, "We have been arrested and harassed for making a safety hazard into useful space. We know that the City of New York is the criminal. City government is not providing for the needs of the people, and when the people try to provide for themselves, they are arrested and beaten."

And as one Black woman going by commented, "Anyone who wants to stop women from having a day-care center, from having a building not in use—what kind of selfishness, what kind of sickness is that?"

SMCer appeals to Supreme Court

By LAURIE PERKUS

CLEVELAND — Lawyers for Tom Guzick, a student at Shaw High School in East Cleveland at the time he was suspended in March 1969, are appealing to the Supreme Court to review the decisions handed down by two lower courts.

If the court rules favorably, it could be a landmark decision on the rights of secondary school students to speak out against the war in Vietnam.

On March 10, 1969, Guzick reported to school wearing an SMC button. The button publicized the April 5 GI-civilian antiwar demonstration in Chicago.

Other students were curious about the button and the demonstration and asked him about it. That was all.

On March 11, Guzick and a friend went to the principal's office to inquire about the right to pass out SMC leaflets. The principal said that they would be suspended if they passed out the leaflets and that if Guzick did not remove the button, he would be suspended for that.

Guzick had read about the Supreme Court decision on the Tinker case, handed down in February 1969, establishing the right of high school students to wear armbands in school as long as it did not cause disruption of the educational process. The Su-

preme Court ruled that wearing a black armband is "the type of symbolic act that is within the free speech clause of the First Amendment."

Guzick refused to remove the button and told the principal about the Tinker decision, at which time Guzick was told the Supreme Court ruling did not apply to Shaw High School. Guzick was suspended.

Shortly thereafter Guzick's father filed action in U. S. district court. He asked that Tom be reinstated with the right to wear the button, for a judgment that would void any Board of Education ruling abridging his right to wear the button, and for damages of \$1,000 a day for every day he missed school.

The principal and school board maintained that the wearing of the SMC button by students at Shaw High School could have led to a disruption.

The district court, however, even while ruling against Guzick, said that the message on the button did not cause disruption nor was it likely to do so.

If Guzick had been wearing an armband instead of a button, the Guzick case and the Tinker case would have been identical.

Based on these facts, it is clear that the ruling in the Tinker decision

should have applied. In another, similar decision, the Supreme Court stated that a state could only regulate the expression of First Amendment rights if they would "materially and substantially interfere with the requirements of appropriate discipline in the operation of the school."

The only thing which substantially distinguishes the Tinker case from the Guzick case is the racial composition

of the high schools. Shaw is 70 percent Black.

The unconstitutionality of applying a decision to an all-white school and denying First Amendment rights to students in an integrated school is clear.

The attorney handling the suit is Cleveland civil liberties lawyer Jerry Gordon, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.



Cleveland student strike in 1969 typified high school militancy which is the target of legal harassments.

Militant sellers challenge Cambridge law

The Socialist Workers Party of Boston is going into federal court to halt continual police harassment of *Militant* sellers in Harvard Square.

Attorney Francis Stolarz of the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union plans to file a complaint in U. S. district court Jan. 18 charging that a Cambridge peddling ordinance is "unconstitutional on its face."

Police have ordered *Militant* salesmen and saleswomen to stop hawking the *Militant* in 10 to 20 separate incidents since last June, threatening them with arrest if they refuse to comply.

All of the incidents of harassment

have happened in Harvard Square, a center for students throughout Boston and one of the best places in the city to sell *Militants*. Police harassment has curtailed sales in the square considerably.

According to Attorney Stolarz, police are applying a general ordinance that has been on the books in Cambridge for some time. The ordinance reads:

"No person shall hawk or peddle . . . newspapers, ice, flowering plants, and such flowers, fruits, nuts and berries as are wild or uncultivated, until he shall obtain a permit and badge

from a Board of Licenses Commissioner." The police seem to be applying the ordinance only in the square and then only selectively.

The special badges, only a few of which are issued at a time, cost \$.75 each.

Sellers of the Black Panther newspaper and Progressive Labor Party literature have purchased the badges, whereas the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance have not—on the grounds that the peddlers ordinance is a violation of First Amendment rights.

The city holds that the number of sellers must be limited or the square

becomes "impassable."

Attorney Stolarz says that only newspapers like *The Militant* have been subject to police harassment. "Major newspapers are sold in Cambridge on the street, and as far as I know, there have been no requirements to obtain permits to hawk or peddle, nor have they stopped them from selling in Cambridge."

Dave Wulp, Chris Hildebrand and Sarah Ullman are plaintiffs in the suit, and it is hoped the issue will be resolved before spring, when the warm weather increases possibilities for sales in the square.

U.S. military aid: 'Food for Peace'

Here's how *New York Times* reporter John W. Finney explained it in an article written from Washington Jan. 5:

"Under the Food for Peace program, foreign countries deposit local currency with the United States in payment for food. With the approval of the United States, the foreign countries can then use this currency for domestic purposes, and one purpose specifically authorized under the law is the purchase of military equipment needed for defense, including internal security."

It turns out that nearly \$700-million worth of military equipment has been channeled to foreign governments through this "Food for Peace" program in the last five years. The disclosure came in hearings which Wisconsin Democratic Senator William Proxmire is conducting on the various ways Washington arms foreign regimes.

U. S. controller general Elmer B. Staats, head of the General Accounting Office, told Proxmire's subcommittee that the government has no clear idea about the amounts spent to arm

foreign powers with American weapons.

"He [Staats] guessed it is in the range of about \$5.1-billion for this year—about the same as his hunch about last year's spending," *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent William C. Selover reported from Washington Jan. 11. Selover believes that "Not even the Defense Department knows for sure."

Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, estimated that total military assistance in the current fiscal year would reach an even higher \$7-billion. Fulbright told Proxmire's hearings: "Those who believe that military assistance consists largely of the military component of our foreign aid program, amounting to something in the neighborhood of \$375- to \$400-million for the current fiscal year, are only dimly perceiving the tip of this particular iceberg."

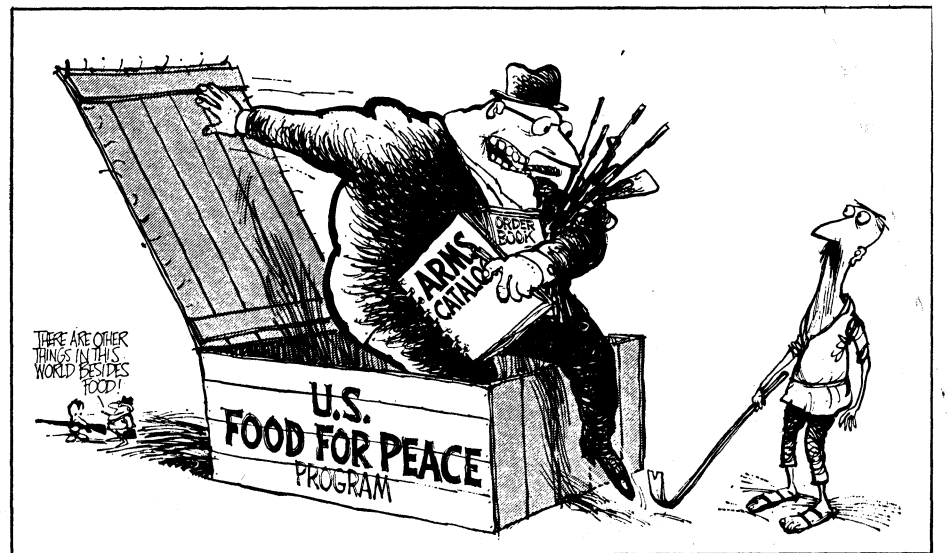
Even Fulbright seems to be a little dim about the iceberg. According to *New York Times* reporter Finney, in a second article on the subject, written from Washington Jan. 10, Fulbright

"said he was unaware that food-for-peace funds were being used for military purchases."

"But as Armistead I. Selden Jr., a Defense Department official and former congressman, pointed out to the subcommittee, the Fulbright committee in 1966 approved a foreign aid bill

containing a provision specifying that no military grants could go to a country which had not agreed to use food-for-peace funds for 'common defense' purposes."

Myriad are the ways of the ruling class in pursuing its own foreign policy interests.



"Greetings, sir—what, you may ask, am I doing in this crate? . . ."

California high school student fights harassment for radical political views

ORANGE, Calif.—Roger Merrick is a senior at Orange High School—or he was until recently when his beliefs ran square up against the school administration's views. Now a Committee to Defend Roger Merrick has been formed to fight for his rights, and the case has gone into the courts.

Merrick was "punished" by being transferred to a half-day continuation school last fall called Richmond High.

Merrick's crimes include editing a newspaper that criticized the school administration, activities in the Student Mobilization Committee, and the legal dissemination of handbills for antiwar demonstrations.

"We've had too much protest, and we're going to put a stop to it," the principal had said when Merrick's parents demanded an apology for the latest outrage against their son.

"We can't have rabble-rousers like you around," the principle said.

The incident directly preceding Merrick's transfer to Richmond took place on the opening day of school, Sept. 14.

In an Orange High School ritual to which all male students must submit, Merrick was inspected for hair length before officials would admit him.

He passed the inspection, received his schedule, and started for his first class when he remembered that he had left something that he needed with a friend.

Merrick's friend had not passed the inspection, however, and had been put in the teachers' lunchroom with more than 100 similar violators.

When Merrick entered the lunchroom and got what he wanted, the teachers guarding the room would not let him out. Even when he showed them his schedule to prove that he had passed

the inspection, a teacher told him, "Your hair's too long."

It might be added, parenthetically, that the teacher involved was aware of Merrick's political history at Orange High.

Meanwhile, students were being sent in groups of fives to the vice-principal's office to be suspended.

Merrick and some other activists called a meeting of all the students in the lunchroom to organize some type of resistance.

All the students decided to unify in protest and noncompliance. Finally the students were moved to a grassy area outside when the small lunchroom got stuffy. There the students assembled and would not move.

Principal Merril Townsend walked up, pulled Merrick out and told him to go to his office. On the way, Townsend asked Merrick's name, but Merrick refused to answer. For this he was told to leave the campus, but instead Merrick went back to the group of students in the grassy area.

Looking back, Merrick says, he now sees that there was no purpose in refusing information, but he was excited at the time and felt discriminated against.

Despite the fact that Merrick was an honor student whose political activities had always been open and legal, the administration decided to punish him. He was transferred to the continuation school until he "showed signs of improvement."

The administration's idea of "improvement," says Merrick, was an end to his political activities.

"My transfer represents an attack on the right of all American citizens to hold dissenting views and organize around them," Merrick charges. "It is an attack on the First Amendment



Part of high school moratorium rally in New York, October 1969. Politicalization of high school students disturbs administrators all over country.

right of free speech. For too long, school administrators have tried to use their authority unjustly and have suppressed basic Constitutional rights."

Merrick gained school and community support through petitions circulated to have him reinstated. He appealed the transfer decision at the subsequent school board meeting and was refused reinstatement.

"There was no other alternative,"

says Merrick, "but to take these men to court."

The fight goes on. A lawsuit has been filed by Merrick's attorneys, Stephen Shatz and Allan Rader, in Superior Court of Orange County.

The Committee to Defend Roger Merrick is raising funds for legal fees and publicity. For more details and to help the cause financially, write the Committee at P.O. Box 464, Orange, Calif. 92666.

N.Y. civil liberties groups oppose restrictions

By RANDY FURST

"It is legal because I wish it."

So spoke Louis XIV.

Royal absolutism may no longer be in favor, but more than three centuries later, U.S. judicial bodies are handing down rulings that could vie in their autocratic features with some of the "laws" of the French monarch.

One such ruling, promulgated last year by a New York court panel, could close down every civil-liberties law firm in the state.

"It's very serious," asserts Edith Tiger, acting director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

She calls it the biggest attack leveled against the ECLC in its 20-year history.

The rulings were handed down by New York's Appellate Division, First Department, and are currently the subject of a major lawsuit by the ECLC and other organizations.

The ECLC wants the new rulings, patently unconstitutional, erased from the books.

If the regulations were applied, says the ECLC, this would be the effect:

- Legal-service organizations would be placed under the auspices of the Appellate Division, which would determine the legal groups' right to exist. There are no guidelines or criteria for making such a determination.

- Civil-rights law firms would have to apply to the Appellate Division every three years for permission to practice law in New York State. The application can be denied—after no-

tice and a hearing—for any "appropriate" reason.

- Legal-service organizations would be prohibited from providing legal advice or services to other corporations, associations or organizations except in cases in which every member of the group would be eligible to receive legal services as an individual.

- The law groups would be prohibited from "any political, lobbying or propagandistic activities."

- Legal-service groups would be prohibited from advertising or giving public notice of their legal services beyond giving their members the name, address and phone number of the lawyer retained by the law group.

- The new law would bar legal-service groups from receiving any fee or compensation paid by, or on behalf of, persons for whom legal services are provided.

- The law groups would be prohibited from making referrals to other attorneys except through authorized referral services.

- The groups would be required to have a board of directors of no more than 30 members, of which two-thirds must be attorneys and a majority of these admitted to practice law in New York.

- An annual report would have to be submitted containing the following: a summary of all proceedings of the board of directors that affect the practice of law; the terms and conditions

of employment of all attorneys hired by the organization; and summaries of all cases handled by the organization.

- Law-service organizations would also have to submit special statements in connection with cases involving social, economic and civil rights movements, or protests, setting forth the nature of the case and a description of the involvement of the legal-service organization in the particular protest or movement and the results obtained.

- In addition, the groups would have to supply the Appellate Division with a description of the structure and operation of the legal service office, the qualifications of directors, facts concerning any referrals, and full information concerning the organization's financial receipts, disbursements and liabilities.

"These rulings would put every law organization out of business," Edith Tiger said in an interview with *The Militant*. "They just couldn't function."

In addition to representing itself, the ECLC is representing the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation, Inc., the Bill of Rights Foundation, Inc., the Center for Constitutional Rights, Inc., the New York City chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, Mass Defense Office, and Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union of the AFL-CIO.

A number of organizations that have benefited from the services of the legal-

rights organizations have also joined the suit, including the Young Lords Party, the War Resisters League, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The rulings gain special significance in the light of recent cutbacks in New York in funds for legal services for the poor. Many such law offices have closed down. As a result, poor people and others challenging oppressivelaws must turn to civil-liberties law firms for assistance.

The civil-liberties law firms handle the cases at rock-bottom fees or free of charge. They exist mostly on membership dues and contributions.

With New York State often viewed as one of the more "liberal" states, the Appellate Division's efforts to undermine the constitutional rights of law groups could set precedents nationwide for attack on civil-liberties organizations.

No hearings preceded the ruling, nor were the views or advice of numerous legal-service organizations subject to the regulations solicited. The ECLC reports that the restrictions were imposed "apparently without any public consultations whatsoever."

Tiger said she had no idea when the suit, which was filed in New York's Southern District Nov. 25, would be heard by the federal court.

Attorneys handling the case are Leonard Boudin, Victor Rabinowitz and Michael Standard.

Behind the steel price increases

By DICK ROBERTS

Bethlehem Steel's move to raise prices on major steel products by 12.5 percent—the highest price rise in steel in two decades—may not result in price increases quite that high.

The normal pattern is for one of the steel giants to announce a price increase; for the president to rap the fingers of the steel company; for the remaining steel companies to raise prices not quite so much; and for the first company to back down to the new higher level.

So far all has gone according to tradition. President Nixon did not even voice his "criticism" personally; it was relayed through White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler. According to Ziegler, the president was "deeply concerned."

Spokesmen for Bethlehem officially replied with suitable indignation. But the Jan. 13 *New York Times* also reported: "Unofficial reaction in the steel industry yesterday to the White House denunciation of price increases was a feeling that President Nixon must have been imperfectly briefed on the reasons and the need for the rises."

The *New York Times* did not explain whether this meant that Nixon had got his facts mixed up or that the president was getting his nose into business that did not concern him. In any event, the public charade between steel company executives and the White House is not nearly so significant as the powerful economic forces that lie behind the steel industry's price moves.

A quick glance at Bethlehem Corp.'s "Annual Report" for 1969 reveals that its owners have not fared as badly in the last decade as they frequently imply. Between 1961 and 1969, Bethlehem paid its stockholders a total of \$715-million in dividends. The company's sales increased from \$2-billion to \$3-billion—50 percent.

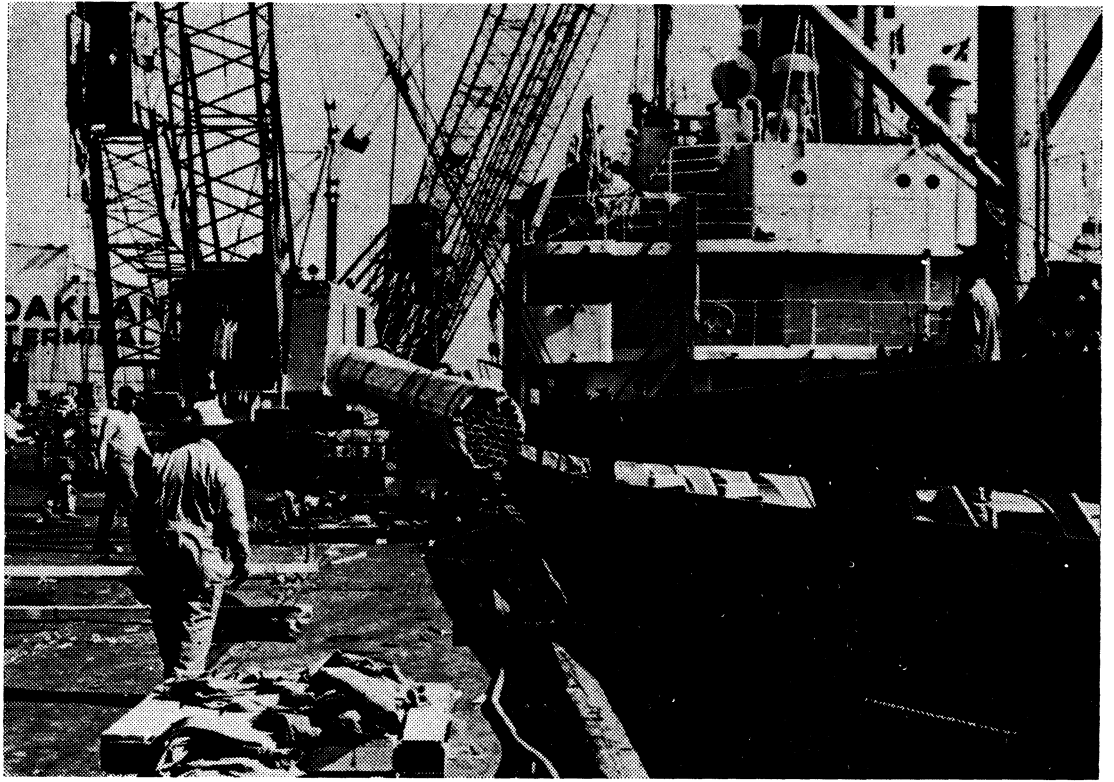
But other figures in the report indicate a different trend: Raw steel produced by Bethlehem has not significantly increased since 1964, averaging about 20 million tons annually. Net profits have also increased only slightly in the last six years, and over the decade, while Bethlehem's profits increased 28 percent. This compares to an average profit increase for all U.S. corporations of close to 80 percent.

These figures reflect a deepgoing crisis of the U.S. steel industry, caused by a sharp increase in foreign competition. Today, some of the biggest and technologically most advanced steel combines are in Japan and Europe, not the U.S.

According to the 1969 *UN Statistical Yearbook*, total production of crude steel in the U.S. wavered around a level of about 119 million tons between 1964 and 1968. In the same years, however, world steel production increased from 438 million tons to 529 million tons, an increase of 21 percent; steel production in Japan increased from 40 million tons to 67 million tons, an increase of 68 percent!

The Nixon administration came to the rescue in 1969 when a "voluntary" quota on steel imports to this country was negotiated with Japan and the European Common Market countries. Since then, U.S. steel producers have been protected against a potential flood of lower-priced foreign steel imports.

Thus, U.S. steel companies are producing for a



Japanese steel being unloaded at U.S. port. Conspiracy between steel monopolies and government to protect U.S. market against flood of foreign steel lies behind inflationary price rises of the steel industry.

saturated market largely protected against foreign competition. It is this situation which makes it possible for U.S. steel monopolies to raise their prices while production remains relatively stagnant.

This illustrates an aspect of the inflation in this country which is completely hidden from the American people. Price increases partially result from the fact that the government is protecting the profits of certain key industries against foreign competition.

Artificially imposed higher prices shift steel's problems from its owners to the consumer. As already pointed out, the Bethlehem Steel Corp. has poured millions and millions of dollars in dividends into the pockets of its owners over the past period. Whatever they might say, the imperialists are hardly losers in an inflation kept within "tolerable" limits.

But the rapidly rising cost of living does rob the workers. In fact, the real wages of most American workers have gone down since 1965.

It is doubly important to keep this inflationary swindle in mind when there is increasing talk in ruling-class circles and in the capitalist news media about the so-called "wage-price spiral" and the "necessity" of imposing wage controls in order to slow down the inflation. Considerable hypocrisy is involved!

The day before Bethlehem announced its price increases, the following sentences appeared in a small article in the *Wall Street Journal* (Jan. 11):

"SAN FRANCISCO—The chief executive of Bethlehem Steel Corp. said he might favor temporary federal wage controls. . . .

"Stewart S. Cort, chairman, remarked approving-

ly on a recent suggestion in a national publication that Congress ban for two years any wage and fringe-benefit increases exceeding 3 percent yearly. . . .

"Mr. Cort said price controls aren't necessary even if emergency, temporary wage controls are imposed."

Cort was asked about the impending steel industry negotiations with the United Steel Workers. (The labor contract expires July 31.) "We're going to try as hard as we can to get as noninflationary a settlement as possible," Cort replied.

This, be it repeated, the day before Bethlehem announced its sharpest price increases in two decades! Not only that, but price increases designed to extract the maximum profits to steel owners from an inflationary situation partially brought about precisely by policies designed to ensure steel profits.

More does not need to be said, but it should be pointed out that Nixon's "intervention" into steel price-setting is a charade with a purpose. This was explained by the *Wall Street Journal* Jan. 14: "Indeed, one steel management source sees the price move as the administration's opening shot in a broader anti-inflation battle. . . .

"The source adds: 'The Administration is making its first move, not only to control prices, but more importantly, this is the first setting of the stage to control the exorbitant demands of labor. By hitting the Bethlehem price move, Mr. Nixon is setting the stage for controlling wages.'

"To have meaningful leverage against wage increases, he had to challenge the major price increase that appeared first, the source adds."

— Jan. 16

Survey reveals harsh facts about jail conditions

An explosive new government study has found that 52 percent of inmates in city and county jails across the nation are being held for reasons other than conviction of a crime.

About 85 percent of the jails surveyed had no recreational or educational facilities of any kind. More than a quarter of the cells were constructed more than 50 years ago. Four jails still in use in New York State were built before George Washington's inauguration.

The federal study was conducted by the Census Bureau for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), an arm of the Justice Department. Released in Washington

Jan. 6, it was described as "the first accurate measurement of jail population" in the United States.

The study also found that 35 percent of the 160,863 inmates being held in local and county lockups as of last March 15 had been arraigned and were awaiting trial and 17 percent were being held for other authorities or were awaiting arraignment.

"It's an alarming finding—that half the people in the nation's jails haven't yet come to trial," said Tony Turner, who headed up the study team for the LEAA.

"We had no conception of what the survey would produce," Turner told *The Militant*. He said that the statistics were preliminary ones. A com-

plete report will be issued later this year.

The jail census found that prisoners, whether convicted or not, were living in "less than human conditions."

Some 500 jails now in service were built in the nineteenth century and six in the eighteenth century. The oldest jail still in use was in Albemarle County, Va., built in 1705.

The survey covered 4,037 jails, in which persons were incarcerated for more than 48 hours. The census achieved a 100 percent response.

About 50 percent had no medical facilities, and about 25 percent had no visiting facilities.

"There are many cases where in-

mates—children, mental incompetents and hardened felons—are all lumped together in less than human conditions of overcrowding and filth," said Richard W. Velde, LEAA associate administrator. He was quoted in the Jan. 8 *New York Times*.

Texas has more jails than any other state, with 325. Georgia was second with 240. Florida has 167, California was fourth with 166, and Ohio had 160.

California had the largest jail population, with about 28,000 inmates. New York had the second largest jail population, with 17,399.

—RANDY FURST

Culebrans: U.S. Navy must stop using island

By DERRICK MORRISON

The Jan. 12 *New York Times* contained an article headlined "Navy's 'War' With Culebra Ends in a Truce."

The article, datelined Jan. 11, began, "The 18-month-old 'cold war' between the Navy and the tiny island of Culebra ended in a truce today as Secretary of the Navy John H. Chafee signed an agreement that surrenders most of the Navy's control over the island."

It went on to say, "Under the terms of the agreement, the Navy said it would continue to use the northwest side of the island for gunnery practice while it took what it termed a 'reasonable time' to find an alternate target impact area. Once it finds such a site, the Navy said, it will leave the island completely."

Jose Torres, a columnist writing in the Jan. 16 *New York Post*, had a different story as to what Navy Secretary Chafee meant by "reasonable time." Torres was there when the document was signed and had the opportunity to talk with Chafee after the ceremony.

According to Torres, Culebra mayor Ramon Feliciano told an assembly of some of the 700 residents how the Navy will phase out its operations in the northwest section of the island. He talked in Spanish, the language of the residents. Chafee, upon reading the speech in English, bluntly said to the mayor before reporters and television cameras, "Does the mayor fairly understand that the Navy has made no commitment to get off the northwest peninsula in a *reasonable time*?"

"Now Chafee looked straight into Feliciano's eyes. 'Mr. Mayor . . . you understand that?'"

"I understand," the mayor answered.

"It was sad. The mayor had said that the Navy would get out eventually and now he was saying that wouldn't happen. He simply signed the 'document.'"

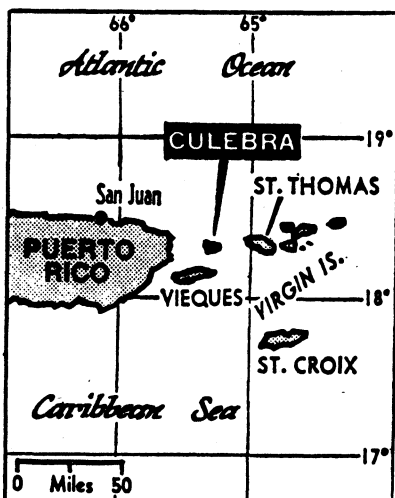
Torres continued, "Now walking toward the airport, Secretary Chafee reaffirmed what he had said. 'The reasonable time has nothing to do with our getting out. The reasonable time just deals with their hopes . . . that is, the hopes of the mayor, the governor and the senator. We made that clear and as the Governor (Ferre) said in his final speech, it is indefinite.'"

So, contrary to the optimistic report in the *Times*, the Navy has no intention whatsoever of leaving Culebra. But why is it that the Navy is clinging so stubbornly to this piece of real estate, 20 miles off the Puerto Rican mainland and comprising only 7,000 acres?

Seeking background to the recent controversy over Culebra, I talked with a young Puerto Rican film-maker, Diego de la Texera. De la Texera was in Culebra last July, making a film about the island, which will appear next month.

Conquest of Culebra

He explained that Culebra was invaded like the rest of Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War in 1898. Puerto Rico and Culebra are important for the United States because the two islands command the Atlantic entry to the Caribbean. "As you come in from the Atlantic from the east, the first thing you hit is Puerto Rico. That's even east of Culebra. Culebra has a beautiful, natural harbor. It is very deep and can contain a whole fleet of ships."



Puerto Ricans fill the Plaza de Armas in San Juan to demand immediate withdrawal of U.S. Navy from Culebra.

Claridad

After the Spanish-American War, de la Texera explained, "Admiral Dewey wound up in Culebra. He liked the harbor very much and so decided to make a base in Culebra."

"There was a town on a hill there by the name of San Ildefonso. Dewey decided to make his base where the town was situated. So he proceeded to kick the people out of San Ildefonso."

U.S. naval troops ran through the town, shooting up the livestock in the corrals and forcing the several hundred inhabitants out of the town. As compensation for this eviction, Dewey had the townspeople drain a nearby swamp on which a new town was built, called Dewey!

De la Texera reported, "If you go there, you can't even talk like I'm talking to you now, with the bombs exploding, jets flying really very low, the sonic booms, and the firing of the cannons of the ships. It is really impossible to live there, impossible to sleep. They don't care when they shoot. They shoot at dawn, they shoot during the night. The U.S. Navy has totally disrupted the life of the people."

For this reason, Culebrans are constantly leaving the island. The population was about 700 when Dewey arrived in 1899 and hovers around the same figure today.

The bombs don't always hit the target area, but sometimes land in the inhabited areas of the island, killing and maiming Culebrans. Even Navy personnel in "safety" zones have on occasion been blown to bits by bombs and rockets.

In 1936, the Navy began to use the northwest section of the island—about 2,600 acres, or a third of the island—for bombing and strafing exercises by naval airplanes and battleships. To install the target-impact area, the Navy relocated hundreds of Culebrans in St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands. Ever since then, the U.S. Navy has been bombing and strafing the island. A standing defense department order dating from WW II provides that no one, including the Culebrans, may enter or leave Culebra, or the airspace above it, without Navy permission.

To aggravate the situation, the U.S. Navy has invited navies of other countries to get in on the act. De la Texera says that an Indonesian ship was spotted on the scene a week before his arrival.

The Phantom jets and battleships that practice on Culebra are subsequently sent to Vietnam. Before the U.S. battleship *New Jersey* went to fire its guns on Vietnamese, they were first tested on Culebra.

Protest grows

The recent Culebran protest began in early 1969 when the Navy began to surround the island with target areas for bombing and strafing. The targets were to be the coral reefs. In addition, the Navy wanted 2,000 more acres for bombing sites. This would bring two-thirds of the island under their direct control.

In opposition to these moves, the *Comite Pro Rescate de Culebra* (Committee for the Rescue of Culebra) was formed by the islanders. The committee received the blessing and participation

of the mayor of Culebra and the verbal support of Luis A. Ferre, the governor of Puerto Rico.

The forces on the Puerto Rican mainland that lent active support to the committee were the Partido Independista Popular (PIP, Popular Independence Party) and the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence).

The committee's aims were not just to stop naval expansion but to remove the Navy completely from the island. The Navy labeled the committee activists as either "land speculators that wanted to develop great hotels" or "communists." A curious combination.

The committee began by writing letters and sending petitions to the imperialist government in Washington, D. C. During the campaign, the mayor of Culebra obtained for the committee the services of a young Washington lawyer, Richard Copaken. Copaken eventually helped organize the compromise with the Navy.

Last fall, former senator Charles Goodell of New York sought to get an amendment to the recent military construction bill banning the Navy from Culebra after Jan. 1, 1972. That failed.

After taking these steps, the committee organized a mass demonstration of 600 to 700 Puerto Ricans in Washington, D. C., on Dec. 12, 1970. This demonstration was organized by the New York-based committee, as well as by the one on Culebra. The demonstration received the backing of many Puerto Ricans in the trade unions and antipoverty organizations. According to de la Texera, who filmed the demonstration, Puerto Ricans came from all over New York and New Jersey to participate.

On Puerto Rico itself, over 3,000 people were organized by the PIP to go from the mainland to Culebra last July 25, where a demonstration in the target area on Culebra was planned. But because of intervention by the U.S. Coast Guard and the Puerto Rican government, only 1,000 were able to go to the island, leaving 2,000 stranded on the docks.

The mounting protests, especially the one in Washington, finally forced the Navy's hand. According to reports, the document signed prohibits Navy expansion but makes no provision for Navy withdrawal. The Navy agreed to stop firing Wall-eye missiles, and to restrict its control to the shoreline around the target area rather than to the whole island.

The role of the mayor in signing this compromise document is unclear at this point. Some reports say that he was under heavy sedation due to illness. But in any event, there is no question about the role of Governor Ferre in forcing the compromise. Ferre, who favors Puerto Rico becoming the fifty-first state, threw a party for Copaken at his mansion on the eve of the signing.

In opposition to the governor, Ruben Berrios, president of the PIP, has called for a continuation of the protests until the Navy is expelled. Representatives of the New York branch of the committee had yet to return from Culebra at the time of this writing. But from talks with a few Puerto Rican activists around the committee, the struggle will continue.

In Review:

Pamphlets

Come Out! Times Change Press. New York, 1970. 63 pp. \$1.25.

This pamphlet consists of a selection of more than a dozen articles, poems, and leaflets and as many photographs from the New York gay liberation newspaper *Come Out!* The paper is published by a collective of the Gay Liberation Front.

"Does society make a place for us . . . as a man? A woman? A homosexual or lesbian? How does the family structure affect us? What is sex? What does it mean? What is love? As homosexuals, we are in a unique position to examine these qualities from a fresh point of view," asserts the September 1969 editorial launching the paper.

A discussion of these and other questions (homosexuality in Cuba, lesbianism and women's liberation, humansexuality, sex roles, potential allies in the struggle for fundamental social change) is included in this anthology.

The method employed by the contributors is not analytical. What discussion of theoretical questions there is (class and sex, socialism and communism) suffers from the ideological weaknesses prevalent in the new left. The selections do present a concrete, sometimes moving, description of gay oppression and gay pride.

The articles span less than a year of the gay liberation movement. Many communicate the rage of people who are not only aware of their human dignity and worth but are ready to fight to be regarded as human beings. One article describes the new-left organizational forms—or lack of them—of the Gay Liberation Front. Various points of departure within the gay movement (male homosexual, lesbian, drag) are represented.

One of the most forceful articles, entitled "The Woman-Identified Woman," is by the Radicalesbians, a group of women in the GLF who decided to organize independently. It contains a challenging discussion of sex roles and the differences between lesbianism and male homosexuality.

The primary focus is on lesbianism and women's liberation. "Until women see in each other the possibility of a primal commitment which includes sexual love, they will be denying themselves the love and value they readily accord to men, thus affirming their second-class status," the article contends. And further: "As long as women's liberation tries to free women without facing the basic heterosexual structure that binds us in one-to-one relationship with our own oppressors, tremendous energies will continue to flow into trying to straighten up each particular relationship with a man, how to get better sex, how to turn his head around—into trying to make the 'new man' out of him,

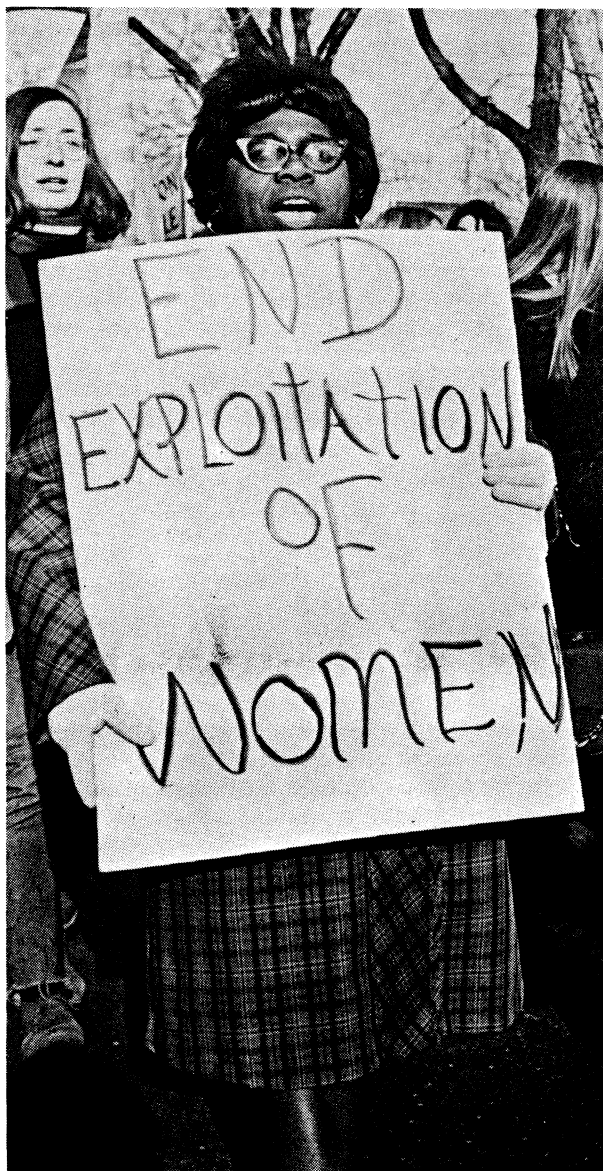
in the delusion that this will allow us to be the 'new woman.'"

Although the underlying equation of women's liberation with lesbianism is false, the ideas put forward in this article are thought-provoking.

The quality of the writing is uneven, with the poems being the low point. The photographs, on the other hand, are excellent. All in all, *Come Out!* makes easily accessible the dynamism and authenticity of the still new but rapidly growing gay liberation movement.

Copies may be ordered from Times Change Press, 1023 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10018.

—DAVID THORSTAD



Black Women's Liberation by Maxine Williams and Pamela Newman. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1970. 15 pp. 25 cents.

In spite of the growing identification on the part of the Black woman with the women's liberation movement—with its demands and its sisterhood—her participation is being challenged from many sources.

Government sociologists are hawking the theory of the Black matriarchy, which claims that because Black women head up so many Black families, they somehow have a position of power and have used it to "emasculate" Black men. Some men in the Black movement tell Black women that because of this alleged power they have had over them, they must step aside and let the men lead the struggle for Black liberation. The *New York Times* recently ran an interview with Black women who claimed feminism was "a white thing," diverting energy from the Black struggle.

The two articles in *Black Women's Liberation* ("Why Women's Liberation Is Important to Black Women" by Maxine Williams, and "Take a Good Look at Our Problems" by Pamela Newman) represent a head-on attack on these arguments. They reflect what has been one of the most powerful recent developments in the radical movement—Black women speaking for *themselves* and asserting that they intend to fight their oppression both as Blacks and as women.

As Newman points out, "Black women's liberation could not and will not be a diversion for the liberation of our people. The organization of Black women to fight for our needs as well as the needs of all Black people will help intensify the struggle."

One of the most interesting parts of the pamphlet is Williams' attack on the concept of the Black matriarchy—on the idea that "the oppression of Black people was partly caused by the chief victims of this oppression—Black women." Williams uses historical data from slavery through the present day to examine the real condition of the so-called dominant Black woman and concludes that power is something the Black woman has never had in this white, patriarchal society.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

Film

La Hora de los Hornos (Hour of the Furnaces). Produced by Grupo Cine Liberacion and directed by Fernando Solanas. Distributed by Third World Cinema Group. Spanish with English subtitles.

In a country like Argentina, ostensibly an independent country, the people in fact live in a state of total economic and cultural dependence. Nationalism is, in such a case, generally synonymous with popular resistance to economic and cultural imperialism. Against the neocolonialism imposed by daily violence, there is, according to film director Solanas, only one weapon: violence.

La Hora de los Hornos is a 4-hour-and-20-minute documentary in three parts. Part one, "Neocolonialism and Violence," is a prologue and consists of notes on the kernel of the Argentine situation: its economic and cultural dependence.

Argentina, like the rest of Latin America, experiences all the evils that come from imperialist oppression: the daily violence of hunger, illiteracy, alienation, the destruction of national values, the hidden violence of pseudo-peace, pseudo-order, pseudo-normality. Rebellion, for the Argentine and Latin-American people, is the only way out.

Part two, "Act for Liberation," is a collection of notes, testimonials and debate on the recent liberation struggles of the Ar-

gentine people. It is dedicated to the Peronist proletariat, seen as the forger of Argentine national consciousness.

This part presents first of all a critical analysis of the 10 years of Peronism (1945-1955), years which saw an eruption of the exploited classes into the political process and which the film views as a prelude to the struggles of that great motor of history that is today called the Third World.

It then moves into an account of the struggles of the Argentine proletariat during what it refers to as "The Violent Decade" (1955-1965). This account includes data, reports and interviews that review the most significant events of that period. Those interviewed vary from an anonymous metalworker activist to the general secretary of the Central Obrera (Workers Federation).

The final part of this trilogy, "Violence and Liberation," is dedicated to the New Man born out of this war of liberation. It is a study based on testimony (letters, interviews, reports) concerning the meaning of violence in the process of national liberation. It also provides for the incorporation of "new testimonies of combatants," which is meant for audience participation and discussion in the yet unended debate concerning tactics in the Argentine liberation struggle.

—CANDIDA McCOLLAM

YSA fights for rights on Florida campuses

By JOHN VOTAVA

TAMPA, Fla.—An appeal was filed Jan. 8 in the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals against the dismissal of a suit challenging the Florida State University Board of Regents' decision to bar the Young Socialist Alliance from all campuses in the state.

The case goes back to last spring when the acting vice-president of FSU, Robert Kimmel, denied the YSA recognition as a student organization. Kimmel based his decision on a letter by D. Burke Kibler, chairman of the Board of Regents, stating that the YSA had no place on any campus

in the state because it is a revolutionary organization.

Kibler banned the YSA despite the fact that the FSU student government approved recognition, and although he himself states in his letter that "It certainly can be argued, and perhaps persuasively, that the university never should have been in the business of recognizing campus organizations." Kibler argued that since the YSA holds "unhealthy beliefs," permitting it to exist would lead to the "destruction of the total educational process on your [FSU] campus, and every campus."

The reactionary atmosphere at Flor-

ida universities is well known. Kibler's letter is full of prejudiced statements about the left. For instance, he refers to "that confused group of liberals that are only too eager to side with the 'new left' on every issue. . . ."

Robert Kohler of the FSU Office of Continuing Education argues in a letter to FSU student body president Chuck Sherman that if the university recognized the YSA, the left-wing students would "look upon you [the administration] as weak and decadent and proceed to take a mile."

While the legal arguments are being made in the courts, an active defense

is being built throughout the state. Even the conservative Tampa *Times* wrote an editorial Jan. 11 implying that the YSA should be recognized. "When it [YSA] surfaces and clearly defines its purposes. . .," the paper argued, "it tends to isolate itself."

This case is very important because a successful attack on student rights by the Florida Board of Regents would set a dangerous precedent, particularly in view of the Nixon-Agnew-Hoover-Internal Revenue Service offensive launched last fall against students involved in political activity on the campus.

Highland Park students force administration to retreat

DETROIT — Students at Highland Park Community College won a partial victory this month against the administration's attempt to restrict political rights on campus.

The Young Socialist Alliance along with the Black Student United Front, the Student Mobilization Committee, and the Student Council mobilized opposition to new restrictions placed on literature sales early in January and forced the college to withdraw the restrictions.

On Jan. 5, the YSA was obliged to move its literature table from the Main Building to a remote location

where there were few students and slim prospects for sales. On the following day, the Black Student United Front suffered the same treatment.

Representatives of the four groups demanded an explanation from the administration. They were told that limited space and the noise of selling literature made tables disruptive in the Main Building, which is "an academic building."

The four groups issued an open reply to the administration, contending that the Main Building afforded adequate space for tables and that literature sales were not disruptive.

The statement charged that the administration was attempting to "shut down freedom of expression" on the campus.

The four groups circulated petitions and called a rally for Jan. 13 to coincide with a meeting of the Student-Faculty Administration Assembly (SFAA). Speakers at the rally explained that the administration's move was part of the Nixon-Agnew-Hoover crackdown on student dissent and stressed the need for building a broad-based and vigorous defense movement to protect and extend the political rights of students.

Students from the rally then attended the SFAA meeting where they pressed for a statement condemning any interference with literature sales.

The SFAA passed a motion which the students consider to be a partial victory, recommending that no action be taken "to stop the sale of literature in the school buildings until the Student Activities Committee has had a chance to study the problem." The united-front coalition will continue to organize opposition to any restrictions on literature sales and hopes to convince the Student Activities Committee to recommend such a policy.

The National Picket Line

Strikes in 1970 were up. The Labor Department reported that 3.3 million workers went out during the year, the most since 1952 and a near record for any year since World War II. In 1952, 3.5 million workers struck. The 1946 strike wave set the high of 4.6 million.

There were long strikes in 1970. The GM strike of 350,000 lasted 10 weeks. The longest major strike, called by construction workers in Kansas City, lasted six and one-half months. The Northwest Orient Airlines strike affected workers in many cities and lasted for more than five months.

Strikers were tenacious in 1970, unwilling to settle for poor compromises. Striking locals of the Teamsters union rejected a national settlement, forcing renegotiation of a higher standard wage scale. In many other less-publicized strikes, weak settlements were turned down. In Seattle, Wash., Local 2519 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers union struck a small operator there July 7, and they were still out in December even though the question of wages had been settled.

The mill owner refused to rehire some of the strikers, among them workers with 20 years seniority who were ready for retirement. A picket captain told local reporters, "We'll hold out until we get the strikebreakers out of there."

Rank-and-file revolt against incumbent union officials hits the lower echelons first. In some unions, such as the United Auto Workers and the United Steelworkers, there is now a big shift in local union presidents every time an election is held. The change of faces has not yet produced any basic change of policy. But the replacement of union officials appears to be on the increase all over. A recent survey of 172 unions conducted by the Labor Department showed that 40 percent of the presidents had been elected since 1966.

Some union officials arbitrarily choose to delegate authority and responsibility to others outside the union. Seven unions, most of them in the AFL-CIO, recognized by the reorganized U.S. Postal Service as the authorized representatives of postal workers, have engaged an attorney as their spokesman in bargaining sessions beginning Jan. 20. He is Bernard A. Cushman, described

as a Washington labor lawyer and arbitrator, never employed as a postal worker, never an active union member, never elected by the membership of any union to any position of responsibility.

Three independent postal unions on Jan. 5 challenged the right of Congress to appoint exclusive bargaining agents. The three unions (not AFL-CIO affiliates or part of the seven "in group" unions conducting negotiations) are the 80,000-member National Postal Union, the 40,000-member National Alliance of Federal and Postal Employees, and the 27,000-member Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union.

These three unions, frozen out of the bargaining sessions, are seeking an injunction from a federal district court in Washington to prevent their exclusion from bargaining that affects their members.

Postal workers not represented in the bargaining sessions talk about "job action" if the court appeal fails.

Even though few union demands have been won in the courts, a legal action may serve to publicize the injustices against workers and their organizations. The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has filed a suit in Los Angeles accusing the U.S. Defense Department of bailing out the scab lettuce grower, Bud Antle, Inc., by buying large quantities of lettuce at prices higher than the market rate. Melvin Laird, secretary of defense, is named as one of the defendants. Damages of \$45,000 for each and every one of the thousands of deprived agricultural workers in California and Arizona are being sought.

Nixon started out the new year by condemning to low wages 800,000 government workers who do janitorial, mechanical and other labor, mainly in defense installations. He vetoed a miserly congressional wage increase of 4 percent for these lowest paid workers, saying it "is too costly and unwarranted."

—FRANK LOVELL



U.E. News

Workers walked out at the United Shoe plant in Beverly, Mass., in sympathy with the big strike against GE which initiated strike-filled 1970.

...70 vote

continued from page 8

senator (32-A Dist.)—507; and Susan Shinn, state rep. (32-B)—291.

In Pennsylvania: Robin Maisel, U. S. senator—3,932; Fred Stanton and Mark Zola, governor and lt. governor—2,153; and Arnold Terry, state rep. (198th Dist.)—33. Carol Lisker, write-in candidate for state rep. (187th Dist.), had no recorded votes.

In Wisconsin: Samuel Hunt and Peter Kohlenberg, governor and lt. governor—888; Martha Quinn, U. S. senator—580; Patrick Quinn, state assembly (2nd A.D., Madison)—391; and Peter Manti, state assembly (3rd A.D., Milwaukee)—21.

Write-in votes for SWP candidates were not counted in Texas, Florida and California. In California, high fees are required to qualify as legal write-in candidates (for example, \$982 for governor).

However, in three states—Georgia, Massachusetts and Ohio—at least part of the write-in votes that SWP candidates received were counted. Particularly significant were the write-in votes for Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia, and Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for senator from Massachusetts. Jenness received 543 votes and Camejo 451.

These totals are noteworthy because technical difficulties and lack of information about how to cast write-in votes, as well as intimidation faced by those asking for write-in ballots means that even most campaign supporters are discouraged from voting for write-in candidates.

The fact that Jenness and Camejo's names did not appear on the ballot and they still received as many votes as they did is testimony to the fact that their campaigns were well known throughout their areas. It's possible that the 18-year-old vote in Georgia was a factor in Jenness' total.

In Massachusetts, 107,000 'blank' votes for U. S. senator were reported by the election board. The SWP there claims that many of these votes were for Camejo and points to the fact that in certain precincts votes were known to be cast for Camejo, but the election board recorded none. The blank votes were burned before an investigation could be made.

In Massachusetts, write-in votes were also recorded for Mike Kelly, governor—78; Toba Leah Singer, attorney general—24. None were recorded for Joe Miles, U. S. Congress (9th C. D.).

In Georgia, no write-in votes were recorded for Joe Cole and Frank Grinnon, U. S. Congress (4th and 5th C. D.'s).

In Ohio, the results of write-in campaigns were: Marcia Sweetenham, governor—106; Herman Kirsch, lt. governor—92; Al Budka, attorney general—94; and Syd Stapleton, U. S. Congress (22nd C. D.)—49. No vote was recorded for James Harris, write-in candidate for U. S. senator.

The final returns for SWP candidates in Colorado and Michigan are still unavailable from the state election boards.

The Communist Party also ran seven candidates in the 1970 elections. In New York, their totals were: Arnold Johnson, U. S. senator—4,097; Rasheed Storey and Grace Mora Newman, governor and lt. governor—7,760; and Jose Stevens, U. S. Congress (18th C. D.)—313.

In Minnesota, Betty Smith, CP candidate for state auditor, received 12,753 votes.

No figures are available for CP write-in candidates Frances Gabow and Caroline Black, who ran in Illinois for U. S. senator and statesuperintendent of public instruction respectively.

...Mideast

continued from page 13

movement develop, and one of the main reasons was because it developed independently.

Another factor in the defeat was the narrow-minded outlook of the Nasser regime toward the political aspects of defense. Propaganda threatening to drive all the Israeli Jews into the sea was utilized by the Zionist regime to whip up a patriotic hysteria under the guise that the entire population of Israel had no alternative but to unite behind that regime. A revolutionary government would have offered the mass of Israeli Jews a genuine opportunity to ally themselves with the Arab masses, thereby weakening the ability of the Israeli state to play its

counterrevolutionary role in the Mideast.

Finally, the Nasserite regime has failed to take Egypt out of the imperialist-dominated capitalist world. Under the policy of maneuvering between the Soviet bloc and imperialism, it has left open the possibility of new and expanded imperialist penetration at a later stage.

Thus, in all spheres, the capitalist regime in the U. A. R., considered by its supporters to be one of the most progressive in the Arab world, has been incapable of providing adequate solutions to the problems facing that country. This incapacity is not peculiar to Nasserism, but reflects the impossibility of solving these problems within the framework of capitalism. The same failure is evident in the other countries in the Arab world which are ruled by "revolutionary" regimes such as the Baathists. None have gone beyond the boundaries of capitalism.

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ATLANTA

THE GROWING OPPOSITION IN THE U.S.S.R. AND EASTERN EUROPE. Speaker: Kendall Green, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 29, 8 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (at 14th St.). A Militant Bookstore Forum.

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT (Formerly Militant Labor Forum of the Air): Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tues., Jan. 24 and Sun., Jan. 31: U.S. Involvement in Southeast Asia. Guest: Russell Johnson, AFSC. Tues., Feb. 2 and Sun., Feb. 7: Legalized Abortion in Massachusetts?

THE UPRISING IN POLAND: A MARXIST ANALYSIS. Speaker: Robert Galloway, member of the Socialist Workers Party and a student of Eastern European politics. Fri., Jan. 29, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 536-6981.

LOS ANGELES

THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Speaker:

...Mexico

continued from page 3

not a single one of the 162 political prisoners has been released in recent months.

"The persons so cleverly referred to by the dailies have been out on bail since 1968. Their situation has not been changed in the least. The fact that after all this time they are only now being sentenced reveals yet another violation of the constitution, whose provisions require that sentence be pronounced within 12 months after the initiation of court cases."

Appeals on behalf of the Mexican political prisoners should be sent immediately to President Luis Echeverria, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F., Mexico.

The USLA Justice Committee requests that copies of statements be sent to the USLA Committee, P. O. Box 2303, New York, N. Y. 10001.

NEW YORK

SEXUAL POLITICS: A PANEL DISCUSSION OF KATE MILLETT'S BOOK. Panelists: Evelyn Reed, Eva Chertov, Dianne Feeley and Kipp Dawson. Fri., Jan. 29, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. 4th St.). 8th fl. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT: 1971. Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Jan. 29, 8 p.m. 686 N. Broad St. (Broad and Ridge). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c, unemployed free. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

RIVERSIDE

BLACK NATIONALISM. Discussion leaders: Jeff Higgins and Madelyn Reel. Tues., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area), U of California at Riverside. Aup. Revolutionary Socialist Forum. For further information, call 683-7863.

SAN FRANCISCO

SEMINARS FOR WOMEN: "WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM." Thurs., Jan. 28, 8 p.m.: The Family—Revolutionary or Obsolete? Sponsor: YSA and SWP. 2338 Market St. THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: WILL IT HELP OR HINDER THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION? A panel discussion. Fri., Jan. 29, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

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THE MILITANT

GIs in Saigon: 'Free Angela Davis!'

SAIGON, Jan. 15 (UPI)—A group of about 40 U.S. Army soldiers chanting "Free Angela Davis" and "Stop Racial Discrimination in the Army" marched on American headquarters today—Martin Luther King's birthday—in the first such strong demonstration of Black power by GIs in South Vietnam.

The Black power march in Saigon Friday began at the Newport military dock facility on the east side of town, led by a group of 20 Negroes clad in Army fatigues and carrying a sign that read "Honor Dr. Martin Luther King," a tricolored Black power flag, and a three-foot wooden cross.

The demonstrators hitchhiked along the 10-mile route to Long Binh, site of U.S. Army Headquarters and the Long Binh jail, which houses

delinquent GIs. It is known among troops as the "LBJ."

The Blacks were joined by about 20 more Negroes from among men stationed at Long Binh, and the group arrived at the headquarters building about 1:30 p.m.

The demonstrators stood in front of the building for about a half-hour, chanting slogans.

U.S. Army spokesmen said the demonstration was peaceful throughout and apparently organized in honor of King, the Negro civil rights leader who was assassinated in Memphis, Tenn.

Official directives had authorized observances by GIs Friday in honor of King, and the demonstrators said they considered the march as a memorial for him.

Reprinted from the Daily World

Cairo: Black United Front leader is arrested

Stemming from a Dec. 5 attack by police and deputized white vigilantes on a United Front picket line in Cairo, Illinois, four Black men have been indicted by a grand jury for conspiracy to commit murder. During the Dec. 5 attack, a deputy sheriff was somehow shot.

One of those indicted was James Chairs, chief of staff of the United Front.

The man behind the indictments is Peyton Berbling, state's attorney for Alexander County. Berbling is the organizer of the White Hats, a white vigilante group formed four years ago to terrorize the Black community.

To dramatize the gross illegality of Berbling's operations, United Front officials took Chairs, after a warrant was issued for his arrest in early January, to the state capital at Springfield. The other three, who had been indicted earlier, were already out on \$27,000 bond.

Rev. Charles Koen, executive-director of the Front, in explaining the

move in a Front press release, said, "We are bringing this judicial problem where it belongs—to the governor. Since Mr. Chairs is to be arrested on this frame-up charge, he chooses to be arrested in the governor's office. If the county police or white vigilante-controlled Cairo Police Department want to arrest our chief of staff, let them do so in the State House. Let them do it at the time the governor tells of the state of the state. Maybe this will help dramatize that the state of things in Cairo, for Blacks, is desperate, and the governor, for the most part, has ignored our critical plight."

On Jan. 6, two state policemen arrested Chairs in the reception room of Governor Richard B. Ogilvie's office. Chairs was later released on \$10,000 bond.

To keep the issue before the state government, the Front indicated they would continue to have their people who are indicted in Cairo arrested in Springfield.



Carl Hampton, United Front

Cops watch over march of the Cairo United Front.

New York faces mounting pressure of angry workers

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, Jan. 19—Mayor Lindsay's labor problems continue as city sanitationmen and firemen this week rejected the city's second pay offer. The strike of New York telephone installers and repairmen has entered its second week. And striking Teamsters successfully shut down the city's wholesale produce markets for several days this week to back wage demands.

Firemen were the first city workers to take action after contracts for 94,000 city workers expired Dec. 31. They began a slowdown which lasted seven days and ended only after the union leadership agreed to order the 11,300 firemen back to work in exchange for the beginning of serious bargaining and the city's dropping of charges against the union under the Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public workers. The union retains its suit against the city for not bargaining in good faith.

A sizeable number of men at the Jan. 7 membership meeting of 5,000 where this deal was voted on did not want to go back, but the vote was not counted—only a voice vote was taken.

Negotiations, which had been broken off during the job action, resumed after the meeting but were broken off

a week later by the union, which charged the city was again not bargaining in good faith. Negotiations have formally been in session since Oct. 8.

The head of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, John DeLury, has set a deadline of Feb. 1 for the city to present an acceptable offer. On that date, the USA, which represents 11,000 workers, will have a membership meeting, and DeLury said he "will go along with whatever the membership wants." They are now asking for a 50-percent raise with a cost-of-living clause, better pension plan, and improved sanitary conditions at work centers. They have threatened to set up "hearings" involving hundreds of men if improvements in work centers are not made soon.

The city made its second pay offer Jan. 17—17 percent over three years. It was rejected by both unions. Firefighters are asking for a 30-percent raise with a cost-of-living clause plus retirement at full pay after 25 years' service. Their base pay is \$10,950. For the sanitationmen it is \$9,871. These figures are much less than the modest budget of \$12,134 a family of four living in New York City needs, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Members of both unions are placing

strong pressure on their leadership to win their demands. There is a good possibility of further job actions or a strike if a settlement is not reached soon.

The question of "parity" is central in these negotiations. Parity refers to the clause in many city contracts which requires that certain pay differentials between various jobs be maintained. The city had maintained that no economic questions could be discussed until parity was settled but has now begun to talk money under threat of further walkouts.

The majority of the city workers not in uniformed services are represented by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Both AFSCME and the city are waiting to see the outcome of the negotiations with the uniformed services, and there have not been serious negotiations for other city workers. Social workers in Local 371 were offered a raise of 10 percent over three years, which was rejected. No further offers have been made.

NEW YORK, Jan. 18—Protesting preferential overtime for out-of-town workers, New York Telephone Local 1101 hit the bricks Jan. 11, sparking a statewide strike by other locals of the Communications Workers of

America. As of Jan. 17, the picket lines of the 37,500 workers on strike were being honored by 5,000 AT&T long lines workers and 6,000 workers at Western Electric, AT&T's manufacturing subsidiary.

Members of the Teamsters Union are also respecting the lines, refusing to deliver food, fuel, supplies and equipment to the beleaguered supervisors inside. Unfortunately, operators and commercial workers (organized in independent unions) have not honored the picket lines.

Despite the lack of solidarity of the independent unions, the heavy fines being slapped on Local 1101 and its president, Howard Banker, and a back-to-work order by federal district judge Cannella, the strike continues to spread.

Several mass meetings and demonstrations (the largest one over 4,000-strong held at the Manhattan Center on the 13th) testify to the fighting temper of Local 1101. A lot of this fighting spirit was displayed by the large number of young workers who have come into the industry in the last five or so years. Whatever the outcome of this particular job action the long-range result will be an increase in confidence and experience which will come in handy in future struggles.