

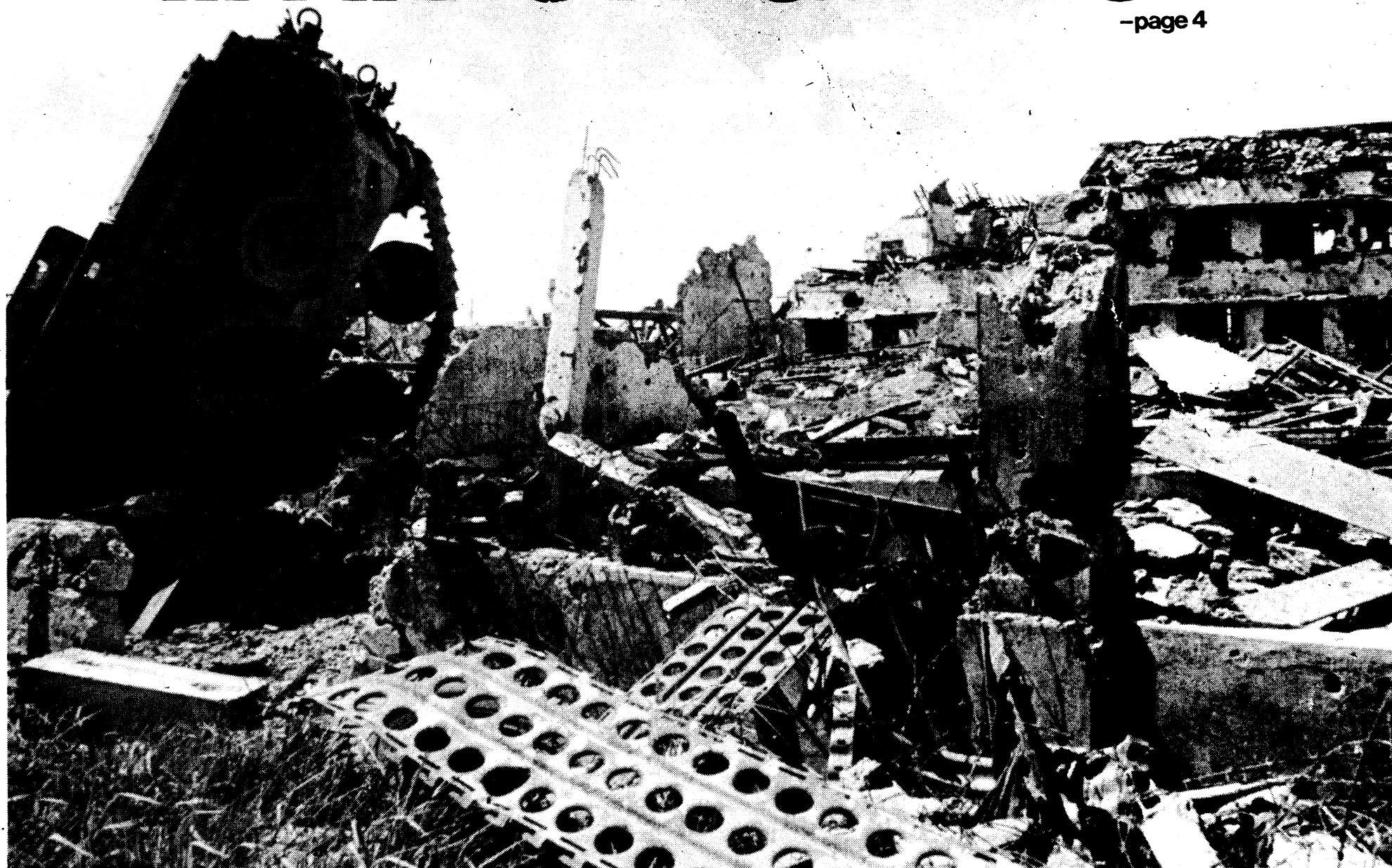
THE MILITANT

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

President Nixon:

'There will be no limit on air war'

-page 4



--The Munich killings--

The deaths of 11 Israeli participants in the Olympics on Sept. 5 brought forth a hypocritical uproar of indignation from government officials and news media in capitalist countries around the world. The purpose of this campaign is to make the criminal look like the victim: to make Israel appear as the victim of Arab violence rather than the criminal oppressor of the Arab peoples.

Leaving aside for a moment an evaluation of the terrorist tactics used at Munich, it is imperative that all supporters of human rights should stand squarely on the side of the real victims: the Palestinian people who are struggling to regain their homeland

against the Zionist state of Israel.

The campaign to whip up anti-Arab hysteria began immediately after the incident, with banner headlines condemning "Terror at the Olympics" and "Murder in Munich." President Nixon called the guerrillas "international outlaws," and a State Department statement labeled them "outlaws, brigands, murderers and an intolerable affront to human society." Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern joined in the chorus, urging international sanctions against Egypt and Lebanon to "root out these international outlaws."

The entire publicity campaign is designed by the capitalist rulers to

bolster the image cultivated by Israel as a small, defenseless country at the mercy of the Arab people. The reality is the opposite.

The state of Israel—backed to the hilt by U.S. military might—is based upon the brutal suppression of three million Palestinian Arabs. The Israeli government expelled hundreds of thousands of Arabs from their homeland, expropriated their land and property, and condemned them to miserable lives in refugee camps. The Israeli state's wars of aggression have cost the lives of many thousands of Arab civilians. The "humanitarian" Israeli state tortures Arab liberation fighters that it captures, uses napalm against

Arab civilians, and destroys entire villages as retribution for acts of resistance by Palestinian liberation fighters.

Such Israeli atrocities against the Arab people do not produce headlines or condemnations from capitalist government officials and politicians.

No. The uproar over the killings at the Olympics has been consciously manufactured by the imperialist powers and the media they control in order to try to turn public opinion against the Palestinian liberation movement. The enormous publicity cannot be explained simply because the killings occurred dramatically at the

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"A VENGEFUL SENTENCE": That's what Father Philip Berrigan and Sister Elizabeth McAlister said about the two years handed to the priest and the year and a day handed to the nun Sept. 5 in Harrisburg, Pa., federal court by Judge R. Dixon Herman.

When the government's attempted frame-up of the pair and five other antiwar activists fell apart in court last spring, the prosecution managed to wrench from the jury convictions of Berrigan and McAlister for smuggling letters to each other in and out of Lewisburg prison in 1970. The Justice Department dismissed all the other elaborate and outlandish conspiracy charges against the two and their codefendants after the pair was sentenced on the letters charge Sept. 5.



Sister McAlister and Father Berrigan: 'a vengeful sentence' for writing letters.

Berrigan's sentence would run concurrently with the remaining three years he is presently serving in Danbury prison for burning draft files in Catonsville and pouring blood on draft files in Baltimore. Should he receive parole for the draft board offenses, he would also be paroled on the letters conviction.

Because her sentence exceeds one year, McAlister would become eligible for parole immediately upon her imprisonment.

But attorneys for the two Catholic activists have already moved to appeal the convictions on the grounds that the law against "contraband" under which they were found guilty should not apply to letters.

PRESIDIO BRASS SUED: Last week's *In Brief* reported the efforts of the brass at the Presidio military base in San Francisco to circumvent the Supreme Court's ruling in *Flower v. U.S.* The Flower decision upheld the right to leaflet on public streets in military installations. But at Presidio, three members of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors were arrested for such leafletting on July 25. Rather than go to court and lose, the Army dropped charges and barred the three from returning to the base.

Now the three are suing. On Aug. 31, a group of civil liberties attorneys in the Bay Area filed suit seeking injunctive relief for the three from further interference with their rights. They are asking that the order barring them from the base and the regulation under which the three were arrested July 25 be declared unconstitutional. A hearing on a preliminary injunction is scheduled for federal court Oct. 2.

CINCINNATI DEFENSE: A Black youth police had attempted to victimize after a Cincinnati antiwar action on Aug. 5 was successfully defended by the movement there, according to *Militant* correspondent Mike Hoffheimer. After the demonstration, organized by the Cincinnati Peace Coalition, the cops arrested Walter Gaffney. Gaffney lives near Washington Park where the action was held, and had been attracted to it by the crowd. Cops charged him with using obscenity to an officer.

When the youth was arrested, 50 of the 300 demonstrators marched to the City Hall where they arranged for his bail. At the trial on Aug. 24, the sole prosecution witness was a cop who claimed Gaffney had called him a "pig mother fucker." Five defense witnesses swore that Gaffney had said no such thing and he was acquitted of the charge.

MORE COLLEGE GRADS: The percentage of Americans who have completed at least four years of college rose from 4 percent in 1960 to 10.7 percent in 1970, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

CHICANOS UNDERREPRESENTED: A survey of five states in the Southwest by the College Entrance Examination Board shows that 144,000 Mexican-Americans were undergraduates in the fall of 1971 in these states. The figure was up 14 percent from the fall of 1970, but still 100,000 short of what would be proportionate with the

college-age population of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

YELLOW THUNDER: About 10 years ago, a Maryland tobacco heir named William Zantinger caned a Black woman to death out of sheer perversity and got a six-month sentence. This case was brought to the attention of millions by a song written by Bob Dylan.

News from Nebraska brings word of a similar case today. Two brothers, Leslie and Melvin Hare, have been convicted of manslaughter in the death of Raymond Yellow Thunder. Yellow Thunder, an Oglala Sioux, was seized by the Hares and others for no apparent reason last February in Gordon, Neb. The 51-year-old Indian was stripped, thrown on the floor at an American Legion dance, and beaten. He died of his injuries. Melvin and Leslie Hare have been given sentences of two years and six years, respectively.

PLAY ABOUT HOMOSEXUAL LIBERATION: A play produced by the New York Gay Activists Alliance called *Coming Out* will be performed at 8 p.m. at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 W. 4th St., Sept. 7 through Sept. 17, except on Sept. 11. Written by Jonathan Katz and directed by David Roggensack, the work is billed as a "documentary play" about homosexual liberation.

JOSEPHINE VS. JOSEPH: Josephine Monserrat, a school counselor at P.S. 85 in the Bronx, N.Y., responded angrily to charges by the city school board that teachers are wasting time during their preparation periods. The board "doesn't know what it's talking about," she said, according to the Sept. 5 *New York Times*. "A teacher's job is very difficult," Monserrat said, arguing that a teacher needs to get out of the classroom every so often. "So what if they smoke or have a cup of tea on their prep periods?" she asked.

Monserrat's husband, Joseph, is head of the school board. Reminded that her views are directly opposed to his, she said: "Until the members of the Board of Education go into the classroom for a few weeks, they will not know what it's like to be a teacher."

SCHENLEY TO CASH IN ON PAN-AFRICANISM. Schenley Industries is going to import some 32,000 cases of Moroccan wine. According to the July 29 *New York Times*, the wines will be sweetened and sold in the "pop" wine market, i.e., "they are being directed toward the black community."

The wines, which will be given Swahili names, will not be sold as Moroccan, but instead as "Authentic African Wines of Quality." "We are aiming for a Pan-African appeal," a spokesman for Schenley's advertising agency is quoted as stating.

SPREADING THE WORD: A predominantly Black college in Detroit has ordered 1,825 pamphlets from Pathfinder Press. Among the titles requested were "Lenin as Election Campaign Manager," "La Raza Unida Party in Texas," and "The Case for an Independent Black Party." They also ordered a number of titles on the women's liberation movement.

Warren K. Billings

Warren K. Billings, who was framed up with Tom Mooney for a bombing in San Francisco in 1916, died Sept. 4 at the age of 79. The Mooney-Billings defense case was one of the most prominent in American labor history. Next week we will carry a special feature on Billings.

HE SHOULD KNOW: The spring 1972 issue of the social-democratic journal *Dissent* contains an article by Joseph Buttinger on "How We Sank Into Vietnam." Buttinger, in addition to being a member of the editorial board of *Dissent*, was also a key figure in the "Indochina lobby."

In 1954 and early 1955 this lobby successfully promoted Ngo Dinh Diem as an anticommunist "nationalist" leader of Vietnam.

Buttinger also participated in the 14-member executive committee of the American Friends of Vietnam. This group was formed in 1955 with the objective of committing the United States to a massive aid program on Diem's behalf. John F. Kennedy and Norman Thomas are also listed on the letterhead of the American Friends of Vietnam.

Buttinger wrote many of Diem's speeches during the latter's visit to the U.S. in 1957. Unfortunately, he fails to inform *Dissent* readers of these unique qualifications for writing a critique of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

—LEE SMITH

The Militant gets around...

BUNDLE INCREASES TOTAL 2,500: Supporters all across the country are going on a campaign this fall to increase the circulation of *The Militant*. The subscription drive is one aspect of this effort, and single-copy sales the other.

From our end, we've lowered the price for bundle copies from 17 to 12.5 cents to make it easier for all areas to raise their bundles. Now it's up to our supporters to get out the paper. Many areas have already responded to our fall sales campaign, and the total increase in bundles so far is approaching 2,500.

A few increases worth special note are: Detroit, from 500 to 700; Chicago, from 250 to 450; and San Francisco and the Oakland/Berkeley areas, both from 300 to 450. Most areas indicate that this is just the beginning.

20 OR 25 MILITANTS JUST AREN'T ENOUGH: The three-week vacation period in August when *The Militant* did not publish presented some of our salespeople with a problem—they ran out of *Militants*.

From Catskill, N.Y., a supporter writes, "I just had the most satisfying and fulfilling Saturdays of this summer. I had ordered a bundle of 25 *Militants* to last me the three weeks that you were going to be on vacation. The response though in Woodstock was so good that I sold all 25 in only two hours.

So I immediately called your office in New York City to get another bundle—but this time one for an order of 50 as my wife got encouragement from the fast sales and has decided to join me in selling the best damn newspaper in this capitalist country."

And another salesman from Arlington, Texas, reports, "I received my bundle of 20 yesterday and sold out in one and a half hours. At one point, I hawked six in a period of 10 minutes inside a lounge. People up here in Arlington are really hungry for national and international news on the socialist revolutionary movement. . . . Papers like *The Militant* really help out in radicalizing a campus. . . . I would appreciate it if you would increase the bundle to 35, and we'll see how it goes up here."

THE MILITANT GETS TO AT LEAST FIVE NEW PLACES: During the last month we've received orders for bundles from many places, some

of them where people are already selling *The Militant* and some where *The Militant* has been sold in the past. In addition, at least five new places have requested bundles: Allentown, Pa.; Alfred, N.Y.; West Warwick, R.I.; Bethlehem, Pa.; and Richmond, Va.



From one of the places where *The Militant* has been sold for some time—Tucson, Ariz.—a supporter writes, "I get your paper very often, and I think I can sell it or get you very many subscriptions. . . . So if you could trust me with around 25 copies, I will sell them for you and spread the word. . . . P.S. You already send issues to my uncle, but I don't think enough people are getting the word."

If you want to spread the word in your area, send in the coupon below. The cost for bundle copies is now only 12.5 cents each, and we bill you once a month.

—NANCY COLE

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In subscription drive Bloomington points way with head start

By NANCY COLE

SEPT. 4—With almost two weeks to go before the subscription drive for 33,000 new readers officially begins, supporters in Bloomington, Ind., have sent in more than 15 percent of their 350 subscription quota.

With what can be considered a modest understatement, Dennis Drake from Bloomington writes, "Enclosed are 55 *Militant* subs and two combination *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* subs. There seems to be a good response to the sub drive."

Other areas should now be in the early stages of organizing their subscription drives. Since the 20-week special introductory offer began with the first week in September and subscription drive promotional materials have been sent out to many areas, we expect subscriptions to start coming in before the opening date of Sept. 15.

Areas don't have to wait until campuses open to start the preliminary subscription drive activity. Sub get- ters in Brooklyn have posted the two new *Militant* posters (available from the business office) throughout the Brooklyn College campus in preparation for registration, which opens tomorrow. Then for the rest of the week they plan to have literature tables up on campus during the day and at night.

Subscription efforts this fall will be directed primarily to the college campuses and high schools, but areas will also sell subscriptions at work places. *Militant* readers are especially encouraged to sell subscriptions to their co-workers. Already some supporters who are members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)

have sold five subscriptions to their co-workers in Cleveland. Subscription sales will also be organized for move- ment meetings and demonstrations throughout the fall.

As experiences from past subscrip- tion drives indicate, the areas that have the most success in making their quotas start early and obtain the bulk of the subscriptions in the first half of the drive. This will be especially important this year, since readers who subscribe early in the drive will have the opportunity to read about the Socialist Workers Party presidential cam- paign. Many campuses will open in the next few weeks, and this will be the best time to organize subscription blitzes at registration lines and through the dorms.

The 15 regional and three national Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) teams are now being organized, and most plan to be out on the road selling subscriptions by the last week in September. During the eight weeks these 18 teams of four people each will be touring the coun- try, they will travel through every state except Hawaii and Alaska.

In addition to selling subscriptions and single copies of *The Militant*, these teams will distribute SWP campaign literature, obtain campaign endorsers, raise money for the campaign, set up meetings for themselves and candidates or campaign speakers, and publicize the upcoming Young Social- ist national convention.

A priority in their schedules is visit- ing areas where YSJP groups are al- ready established. In addition, they plan to help establish many new YSJP chapters all across the country this fall.

Black strikers in Atlanta fight racism

By LYNN HENDERSON

ATLANTA, Sept. 5—Following in the wake of a successful strike more than a month ago by predominately Black Sears and Roebuck workers, Atlanta employers have been hit by a growing number of militant strikes. These strikes have been organized and led by Black workers and have received significant support from organizations and churches in the Afro-American community.

As of this date, the strikes have involved the Mead packaging plant, which is the largest box manufactur- ing plant in the world, employing more than 1,400 workers of whom more than 70 percent are Black; the large Nabisco biscuit plant; the At- lanta Hospital; and the Martin Luther King Memorial Center, another hos- pital and nursing home.

While the four strikes have been called and organized by their own leaderships, they all have important characteristics in common with the earlier Sears strike and an even earlier successful strike at the Holy Family Hospital, a Catholic hospital located in the Black community. That strike was won after the hospital's chief ad- ministrator was arrested for the sni- per-shooting and serious wounding of a strike leader on the picket line.

The demands in all these strikes have centered on racist hiring and promotion practices; racism on the part of supervisory personnel on the job; working and health conditions

on the job, especially with regard to speedup and safety; and arbitrary fir- ing and disciplinary practices con- sciously used to intimidate workers.

In all the cases where unions al- ready existed, as at Holy Family Hos- pital, Sears and Roebuck, Mead, and Nabisco, the strikes have taken place outside of and in opposition to the unions. Newly created rank-and-file committees have organized and led the strikes.

Without exception, the strikes have charged the unions with having a long history of failing to represent the work- ers or their grievances. The most com- mon terms by striking workers in de- scribing these unions are "racist," "sweetheart" unions.

Another common characteristic of these strikes has been the attempt to seek the support of the Black com- munity as a whole in the struggles. This has met with some significant results, including the involvement of a number of Black churches and or- ganizations such as SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and the Metropolitan Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference.

Over the Labor Day weekend a con- certed effort was made to smash the Mead strike. Mead spent more than \$2,000 a day on spot announcements on television and on Afro-American- oriented radio stations. The announce- ments consisted of a combination of threats, red-baiting, and promises de-

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Nixon at San Clemente

'There will be no limit on air war'

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 6 — In a hospital in South Vietnam's Dinh Tuong province, an American reporter jots down notes on the victims of United States bombing raids:

"● A 14-year-old peasant boy is rushed into the emergency room. Half of his left arm has been blown away and the other half is wrapped in a blood-dripping bandage. Three hours earlier, he had been walking his family's water buffalo in an open field when B-52 bombs rained down near by.

"● Bui Van Si, a 58-year-old rice farmer, was cutting rice with 10 other men in Sam Giang district several weeks ago. About 11 a.m. several B-52s dropped bombs in the field. Eight of the men were killed outright. Only Si and one other made it to the hospital. 'I heard nothing,' he says. 'Then the loud, shaking sound of the falling bombs. I dived. The others were killed instantly.'

"● Le Van Du, 12, resembles an Egyptian mummy, wrapped from head to foot in bandages. The boy's father says that there had been fighting in the area three days before, but after the soldiers passed, he allowed his son to leave the house. The boy was walking in a field near home when the bombs fell."

Time magazine reporter Tom Fox no longer believed the official U.S. lie that the tons and tons of bombs raining down on Vietnam daily claim no civilian casualties. His account of the death and destruction in one Mekong Delta province is carried in the Sept. 11 issue of Time. It is only a glimpse of the horror.

From the Mekong Delta in South Vietnam to the Chinese border of North Vietnam, 1,000 miles away, the U.S. is pounding the Vietnamese countryside. The war is also raging in Cambodia and Laos. Thailand is being converted into a nation of gigantic U.S. airbases. There are more U.S. troops in Thailand now than in South Vietnam.

A New York Times reporter interviewed top military officials in Saigon, Aug. 30. "Almost all South Vietnamese and American military planners agree . . . that the end of the war is nowhere in sight," Malcolm W. Browne wrote. "It has been five months since the North Vietnamese offensive began, and the fighting is now looking increasingly like a draw." Browne noted that already "more than 100,000 people have been killed in South Vietnam since the offensive began . . ."

Despite this apparent military standoff, a negotiated settlement of the war on terms favorable to Washington

cannot be ruled out. President Nixon is exerting immense pressure on Hanoi. This includes not only the heaviest bombing in the history of warfare and the naval blockade of North Vietnam but also pressure on Hanoi achieved in the summit agreements with Moscow and Peking.

Nevertheless, a settlement acceptable to Washington has not yet been achieved. The central objective of the Pentagon remains to bludgeon Hanoi into a compromise. "Unless there is progress on the negotiating front which is substantial," Nixon stated at the San Clemente news conference Aug. 29, "there will be no reduction of the bombing of North Vietnam and there will be no lifting of the mining. . . . I am not going to put any limitation on when the U.S. activities in the air would stop."

In a report on the U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese dikes reprinted by the New York Times Sept. 6, Yves Lacoste, professor of geography at the University of Paris, states, "From April 16 to July 31 (and the bombing continued into August), more than

ing enemy threat in the Delta, the U.S. has apparently decided on a policy of massive and calculatedly destructive firepower as a substitute for manpower.

"The most heavily hit region of the current campaign has been Dinh Tuong province, where 600,000 Vietnamese, mostly small farmers, are crammed into a tiny area one-third the size of Rhode Island."

Fox disputed the U.S. military's contention that there were only a few civilian casualties from such bombing. After describing the victims in the hospital, he wrote, ". . . bombs are dropping night and day on the friendly Vietnamese of Dinh Tuong, who can only do their best to stay out of harm's way."

Area weapons

What Fox found out in his visit to the Mekong Delta has long been known to students of the war. The massive bombing of the United States Air Force is aimed at terrorizing the populace. It is a total myth that these attacks are largely "military," directed

official reports, has estimated noncombatant casualties through April, 1971, from military action by the United States and the Saigon Government at a minimum of half a million persons, about one-third of them killed, a percentage of population that is more than double that suffered by German civilians under Allied bombing in World War II."

Today, according to Kleiman, the total number of B-52s in use against Vietnam is some 200, about half the Strategic Air Command (SAC) force, "a fivefold increase since February and twice the peak number engaged pre-1972."

Time magazine stated on Sept. 11 that "The South Vietnamese are no strangers to bombing. Since 1966, an estimated 65% of all American bombs have been dropped on the South, making the mighty B-52 an object of dread and fear."

" . . . the unstated conclusion that shrieks out of Cornell's deadpan study," Kleiman wrote, "is that the American air war in South Vietnam has included a long list of both officially-sanctioned and officially-ignored aerial Mylairs."

Battlefield standoff

Anloc, Quangtri province, and Binh Dinh province have been converted into "free-fire" zones for U.S. naval artillery and aerial warfare in the last five months. Fleeing refugees are unable to describe the agony they have suffered. But this has not turned back the revolutionary offensive launched in March.

"[The Saigon forces] have not yet mounted a successful counter offensive or recaptured Quang Tri city or any other significant part of the northern province that fell in April and May," Time magazine reported on Sept. 11.

"They have not reopened Highway 13 between Saigon and An Loc, and the task was finally abandoned altogether last week as the two divisions assigned to it were regrouped in an effort to head off Communist units that are believed to be moving toward Saigon. The North Vietnamese are still staging ambushes on the road between Kontum and Pleiku in the Central Highlands, and there is sharp fighting in Binh Dinh province on the central coast. Worse still, the South Vietnamese suffered a major defeat three weeks ago south of Danang in the Que Son Valley, losing between 1,000 and 2,000 men."

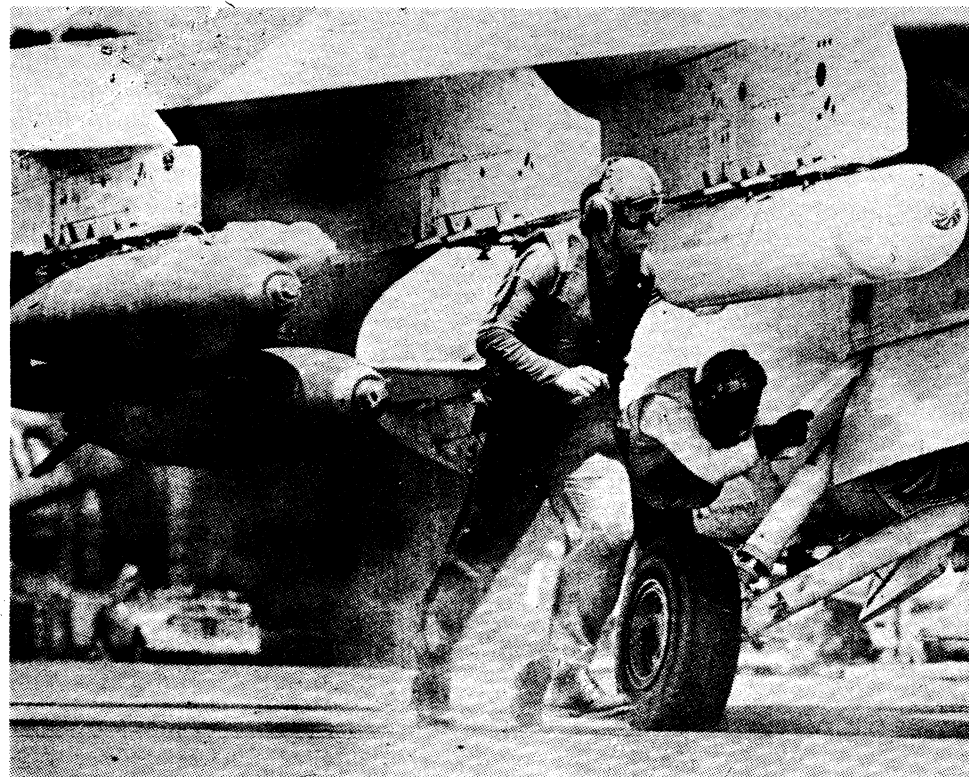
Time's Saigon Bureau Chief Stanley Cloud remarked, ". . . the North Vietnamese military position in the South is vastly better than it was a year ago and is virtually unchallenged in Laos and Cambodia."

Their inability to crush the revolutionary offensive in five months of ferocious warfare is making the U.S. military brass talk about indefinite extension of the war. In Saigon, New York Times correspondent Craig R. Whitney reported Aug. 31 that "high-ranking American officials . . . are talking privately not of a breakthrough in the peace talks, but, rather, of the possibility of unending war."

A "senior U.S. official" told U.S. News & World Report for its Aug. 21 issue, "The fact is we could not have kept Saigon from going down the drain and continued to withdraw our forces from Vietnam without the assistance of Thailand. There was just no place else to go."

Buildup in Thailand

The machinery for maintaining an "unending war" of aerial genocide is being built up in Thailand. "As of



U.S. bomber loaded on the Constellation

Der Spiegel

150 attacks were made on the whole of North Vietnam's canal system, causing heavy damage in 96 places. The International Commission on War Crimes made a special study, among others, of the effects of the bombing in the Red River delta. The bulk of the population is in fact here; and it is also this region which suffered the greatest number of hits (58 out of 96)."

As deadly as this bombing of North Vietnam is, however, it is only part of the story.

Bombing the Mekong Delta

Time magazine reporter Tom Fox visited the hospital at Dinh Tuong because extensive U.S. bombing began in the Mekong Delta. "Though most attention in recent weeks has focused on the air war over North Viet Nam," Time stated, "there has also been a dramatic step-up in the bombing of the South. In the single month of July, American B-52 bombers flew 900 missions over South Viet Nam—111 missions more than were flown in all of 1971. For the first time the big B-52s flying out of Thailand's Utapao Air Base are striking the heavily populated Mekong Delta. With ARVN forces deployed elsewhere to counter the North Vietnamese offensive and unable to cope with the grow-

only against "selected targets."

"The Air Force is under pressure from ground units to use area weapons, such as napalm and cluster-bomb units, even against snipers. Area weapons, by definition, are indiscriminate," New York Times editorial board member Robert Kleiman wrote in an Aug. 13 review of *The Air War in Indochina*. This is the book version of the Cornell University Air War Study Group report on the U.S. bombing of Southeast Asia.

"One of the extraordinary discoveries of the Cornell researchers," states Kleiman, "was that in the end less than 10 per cent of the United States fixed-wing air activity in South Vietnam went into close air support of troops in combat. More than 90 per cent was used for 'interdiction,' a term that has been stretched far beyond attacks on supply routes to encompass harassment, reprisal, area saturation in Communist staging zones and, in regions where the Vietcong has been predominant, attacks 'to influence the population: to cause them to move into areas under government control, or to make them stop supporting the insurgency.'"

This bombing had already had staggering effects before the present escalation. In South Vietnam, states Kleiman, "Senator Edward Kennedy's Subcommittee on Refugees, relying on





Vietnamese made homeless by U.S. bombs

August 11," states *U.S. News*, "official records showed 44,600 U.S. troops in South Vietnam, 45,000 in Thailand. . . .

"It is from seven bases in this country that the bulk of U.S. aerial firepower is being directed at the Communists in Indo-China. . . .

"Total U.S. aircraft in Thailand are estimated at between 600 and 700. . . .

"The Air Force, carrying out the bulk of the bombing, has about 400 combat planes in the country, including 50 to 100 B-52 bombers and four wings of F-4 Phantoms and F-105 Thunderchiefs."

U.S. News believes this occupation of Thailand is semipermanent. " . . . Saigon's air forces are years away from being able to handle a massive invasion from the North on its own. That means the U.S. will have to keep a presence somewhere."

What about the people of Thailand? *U.S. News* dismisses the problem as insignificant. "There are critics of the American presence here, but they number only a few. Intellectuals and some newspapers voice opposition, as do some foreign-ministry officials at the middle and lower levels. But there is no criticism from the top—and in Thailand, that's where it counts." It is the kind of government Washington likes to do business with.

Cambodia

The prospect for an early end of the fighting in Cambodia and Laos is even dimmer than in South Vietnam, measured in military terms. *Newsweek* magazine estimated the situation in Cambodia, Aug. 14. " . . . with most of Hanoi's forces tied up in the big offensive next door in South Vietnam, the Cambodian Communists, known as the Khmer Rouge, have clearly been holding their own in battles with the government troops. Indeed, despite the Cambodian Army's solid edge in both numbers and firepower, the Khmer Rouge units appear to be getting ever stronger.

"What makes that strength remarkable is the fact that only two years ago, the Khmer Rouge hardly existed at all. . . . Today, the expanding rebel force numbers an estimated 30,000 troops, and backed up by North Vietnamese firepower, the local Communists now control roughly 50 per cent of Cambodia's population and no less than 85 per cent of its territory."

Is it so remarkable? Before Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in 1970 that country was relatively free from the

area-destroying weapons of the U.S. military arsenal.

Laos

Veteran war correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, Jack Foisie, summed up the situation in Laos Aug. 7. "American involvement in South Vietnam may be winding down, but in Laos it continues to grow.

"The significance is not yet in increased numbers, but in more far-ranging roles. The newest one is remodeling of the royal Laos army in the U.S. format. . . .

"As noted, the numbers of official Americans reported in Laos is up only slightly—from 1041 in 1970 to 1190 last year. Now it totals 1250. But that does not count daily commuters from Udorn, Thailand, a 30-minute flight away. There the Central Intelligence Agency, The U.S. Army and Air Force, and the chartered U.S. airlines Air America and Continental have their Laos-operation headquarters, their logistical base and many of their aircraft."

In certain ways the war in Laos epitomizes the terror of the whole United States aggression in Southeast Asia. Laos has been secretly bombed by the U.S. since 1962, for an even longer time than Vietnam, and a whole civilization, the peoples of the Plain of Jars, have been decimated.

Fred Branfman wrote in *Voices from the Plain of Jars: Life under an Air War*, "Every day for five and a half years, the reconnaissance and electronic aircraft would film and track the people below; the jet and prop bombers would bomb them with white phosphorous, fragmentation, ball-bearing and flechette anti-personnel bombs, immediate and delayed-action high explosives; the gunships and spotter planes would strafe them with machine-gun fire."

Branfman quoted a villager whose home had been extinguished. "Four planes of the jet type dropped their bombs together to destroy my village and returned to shoot twice the same day. They dropped eight napalm bombs, the fire from which destroyed all my things . . . as well as maiming our animals. Some people who didn't reach the jungle in time were struck and fell, dying most pitifully. . . .

"We were all heavy-hearted and mournful almost to the point of losing our minds. From a state of complete happiness we had passed into misery and poverty."

The unutterable terror of the U.S. bombs is today at its most intense level in the history of the war.

Work on fall antiwar actions underway

One month after the Aug. 5-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day antiwar demonstrations, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) is once again in the midst of organizing major national actions against U.S. aggression in Indochina.

An attractive brochure containing a brief explanation of the role of the antiwar movement and of NPAC, along with information on the upcoming fall antiwar actions, is now available from the NPAC national office.

Also available are stickers, posters, and buttons publicizing the demonstrations scheduled in 18 cities on Nov. 18 and the picket lines at federal buildings on Oct. 26, which will serve as a buildup to the November actions.

Antiwar coalitions in those cities planning demonstrations for Nov. 18 are also planning to have regional conferences during the last two weeks in September. These will combine educational programs with organizational work for the coming actions.

The Minnesota Peace Action Coalition, for example, is planning to hold a Vietnamese cultural exhibition in conjunction with its regional conference in Minneapolis on Sept. 30.

As part of its ongoing educational program, NPAC is planning to bring out an impressive list of pamphlets this fall. It will be producing a history

of the puppet dictatorships in South Vietnam, and pamphlets on the war, the economy, and the air war.

In addition, NPAC is compiling an educational resource pamphlet that will list films, slides, books, pamphlets, periodicals, and speakers on the war and its different aspects, along with information on where to obtain them.

A special workshop on education will be held at the NPAC steering committee meeting that will take place in Boston, Oct. 8.

While much of the work that will be necessary to build the fall antiwar actions is only beginning, NPAC coordinator Katherine Sojourner reports that new NPAC affiliates were formed during the summer in Orlando, Fla.; Hyannisport, Mass.; and St. Louis, Mo.

The formation of antiwar coalitions in additional areas will be greatly aided by the new brochure put out by NPAC on "How To Put It Together." It consists of a series of questions and answers on organizing local peace action coalitions.

Materials for the fall actions can be ordered from NPAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 437, New York, N.Y. 10011. Brochures—\$2/100; stickers—\$1/100; posters—25c each; buttons—30c each.

SMC activists look to opening of schools

Fred Lovgren, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), will be doing his best this fall to help get a big turnout of students across the country for the fall antiwar actions. Lovgren will tour 17 cities between Sept. 18 and Nov. 18 speaking on "The Air War in Southeast Asia" and "The Student Antiwar Movement in 1972."

In addition to sending its national coordinator on tour, the SMC has prepared a special issue of its newspaper, *The Student Mobilizer*, for the opening of school. The SMC is planning another issue on U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, which will be available by the time of the Oct. 26 demonstrations.

A poster building the fall actions will be out by the time of the SMC's expanded national steering committee meeting, scheduled for Oct. 7 in Boston. This meeting, which will be open to all antiwar activists, will include an evaluation of where the student movement stands and workshops on

the fall actions, on organizing SMCs, on fund raising, and on monitoring demonstrations.

SMC activists were deeply involved in building the Aug. 5-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day antiwar demonstrations this summer. At the demonstrations at the Republican Party national convention in Miami Beach, people signed up to build SMC chapters from areas all over the country, including Tuscaloosa, Ala.; Short Hills, N.J.; Marietta, Ga.; Dallas, Texas; Seneca Falls, N.Y.; Naples, Fla.; Lompoc, Calif.; Lincoln, Neb.; Sheboygan, Wis.; and Indiana, Pa.

SMC staff members are confident that activities this fall as schools open up will far exceed those of the summer. Many areas have already planned to have speakers, films, and literature tables to greet returning students.

Materials for the fall actions can be ordered from the SMC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 437, New York, N.Y. 10011.



Aug. 5 demonstration in San Francisco

Militant/Dave Warren

In Our Opinion

...Munich killings

Continued from page 1

Olympics. This can be seen by comparing the media response to the killings at this year's Olympics with the response to the massacre of Mexican student protesters just 10 days prior to the opening of the Olympics in Mexico City in 1968.

On Oct. 2, 1968, the Mexican government sent 5,000 troops and 300 tanks against a peaceful mass rally protesting political repression in Mexico. At least 50 young people were murdered and 1,000 wounded.

When that happened there was no international protest from capitalist heads of state. Even news coverage on this cold-blooded massacre was suppressed. The U. S. State Department stated only that "The disturbances in Mexico City affected only a small part of the population and order is now restored."

Another pernicious feature of the anti-Arab campaign over the Munich killings is blatant racism. For example, the *New York Times*, an influential mouthpiece for a section of the capitalist class, called the guerrillas "fanatics" who had "plumbed new depths of criminality." The editorial continued, "These criminals have much sympathy in Arab nations." It concluded that "The primary responsibility for ending these crimes is that of the Arab states."

The liberal *New York Post* said the incident showed how "a fanatic idea can push men to the depths of inhumanity, where they betray what is human in them."

The racist implication in all this is that all Arabs are criminals and fanatics, less civilized, and perhaps not quite human. In this way the capitalist media attempts to divert attention from the actual reason why Arab liberation fighters are led to sacrifice their lives in desperate terrorist attempts. The cause of terrorist acts is not "criminality" but the brutal oppression, human degradation, and suffering inflicted by Israel on the Arab people—oppression that calls forth all forms of resistance.

The danger is that Israel will now use the Munich incident—as it has used other guerrilla actions—as a pretext for intensifying its aggressive acts against the Palestinian liberation movement and Arab civilians. Even before the news of the death of the nine Israeli hostages, the Israeli newspaper *Davar* wrote: "As far as Israel is concerned this is an act of war, not only by members of the terrorist organizations, but also by Arab countries whose open support for the murderous terrorists made possible this deed. . . . If they do not now eliminate the terrorist bases within their borders, Israel will undertake the task."

Among supporters of the Palestinian struggle, it is necessary to oppose terrorist tactics as ineffective and in fact harmful to the Palestinian struggle.

Such acts of assassination or kidnapping of individual Israeli citizens play into the hands of the Zionist state by enabling it to pose as the innocent victim of violence. Terrorist acts place obstacles in the way of the Palestinian guerrilla movement by providing a pretext for Israeli retaliation.

They are also an obstacle to supporters of the Palestinian struggle within Israel itself—those who are trying to win over the masses of Israeli working people to support for the rights of the Palestinians. And they are an obstacle to the international movement in defense of the Palestinian struggle because such terrorist acts make it more difficult to expose the Israeli state as the real oppressor and the source of violence.

Secondly, kidnapping is simply ineffective in forcing concessions, as demonstrated in the Munich incident. The response of the capitalist rulers to kidnappings throughout the world is increasingly to refuse the kidnappers' demands and to sacrifice the hostages in order to capture or kill the kidnappers.

Thirdly and most important, individual terrorist acts are a diversion from the task of mobilizing the Arab masses in struggle. A handful of revolutionists cannot substitute their own action for action by the masses. Rather, revolutionists must be present wherever there is potential for mass struggles, exposing the Israeli state as the source of violence and injustice, and helping to demonstrate the power of mass action.

In this regard it is instructive to compare the effectiveness of the Mexican students' tactics in 1968 with the terrorist tactics of the guerrillas at Munich. The mass actions by the Mexican youth won international sympathy, whereas the Munich kidnapping has created more sympathy for the state of Israel than for the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Letters

Cars needed

The Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign Committee is launching 18 teams of Young Socialists who will travel to every area of the country this fall. These teams will canvass for Jenness and Pulley, sell thousands of subscriptions to *The Militant*, and help to build and publicize the Nov. 23-26 convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Three of these teams will be special national teams—a team of Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley who will visit Black campuses in the South, a team of Chicanos for Jenness and Pulley who will visit campuses in Aztlan, and a special Midwest YSJP team.

Three cars in good condition are urgently needed for these three teams. If any *Militant* reader is able to donate a car for the eight weeks each team will be on the road (Sept. 25-Nov. 17), please contact the SWP '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. Telephone (212) 989-7676.

Janice Lynn
New York, N. Y.

Militant first

I wish to thank you most heartily for your kindness in sending me *The Militant* for so many months.

The Militant has all the features of a first-rate publication. I like it most for its hard-hitting factual material on prisoners and the Black movement. Since I am a Black man this is most important. I think I would place *The Militant* above the two or three other socialist publications I read.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

U. S. in Thailand

Following is an excerpt from the Aug. 20 issue of *Parade* concerning U. S. troop levels: "By Sept. 1, if not already, the U. S. will have at least 10,000 more servicemen in Thailand than in Vietnam."

"At this writing approximately 49,000 U. S. forces are stationed in Thailand. President Nixon has pledged, come September, that U. S. troop strength in Vietnam will be reduced to 39,000.

"Most of the U. S. military personnel in Thailand are airmen. Our fliers operate from Korat, Udorn, Takhli, Nam Phong, Ubol, Kanorn Phanom, Bangkok, and Utapao.

"If President Nixon decides that he needs more than the 700 aircraft we have been using, including 88 B-52 bombers, to destroy the North Vietnamese, there is a further airstrip, built by the British, available at Non Han.

"How much the U. S. is paying the Thai military junta for the use of Thai airfields and facilities is unknown at this time. But surely it must be a large fortune, especially since the Thais can tell the U. S. to leave at any time."

Perhaps we should begin building another demand: U. S. OUT of Thailand NOW!

Craig Canan
Wichita Falls, Texas

Family, abortion

Your position on the family and on abortion seems to me partially correct, but one-sided and over-simplified.

The patriarchal family has kept

women subordinated and denied them their full human development. In this it was bad. The family has also satisfied basic human needs for belongingness and emotional closeness. In this it was good.

If the family were abolished, some other equivalent institution would be needed to satisfy these same needs. But why do away with the family just because the patriarchal form of it has been oppressive? Why not a democratic family, based upon full equality of the sexes?

Regarding abortion, you are quite right that it should be available on demand because that is the only way women can be guaranteed control over their bodies and their lives. But in upholding this principle, it is not necessary to deny that abortion involves killing a living creature. Whether or not the fetus is labeled a "human being" is a matter of arbitrary semantics, but it cannot be denied that the fetus *is alive* and is *potentially* a human being.

To recognize this fact in no way constitutes an argument for forced motherhood. It is a sad fact that sometimes a choice must be made between lives. A society that accords women their full human rights must allow them to decide whether or not an embryonic life would be destructive to their self-actualization if carried to term.

Abortion on demand must be supported on the basis that the needs of a developed adult human being are judged more important than the needs of an embryonic, potential human being.

Georgia Murray
Santa Maria, Calif.

Entombed

The following are rules at the Tombs [Manhattan House of Detention for Men].

1. Inmates may not have pens. (The pencil sharpener does not work.)

2. One phone per 50 inmates to call for bail or attorneys. (The phones are sometimes turned off for as long as a week at a time by the prison switchboard.)

3. The diet is substandard. (The commissary stocks nothing nutritional.)

4. Inmates now have access to the "new" warden. (No one has ever seen him or knows what he looks like.)

5. The administration is good enough to supply inmates with a radio speaker in the cellblock. (It is too bad that they use this as an instrument to aggravate inmates by altering its volume to too low in the day, changing its stations every three minutes at night, and playing it at full blast at 5:30 in the morning.)

6. Prisoners are afforded due process. (But they are herded into a single cell, with others left empty to coerce them into guilty pleas when innocent, to seek the comparative "ease" of the prisons upstate as compared to the misery of the subhuman existence at the Tombs.)

It should be understood by the people out there that we are one and the same. In this society members of the Third World are "people in prison, people just released from prison, and people who are (unknowningly) waiting to go to prison."

A prisoner
New York, N. Y.

Let prisoners vote

As readers of *The Militant* know, the Socialist Workers campaign heartily supports the struggles of prisoners for their democratic rights. The regularity of prisoners' letters on *The Militant* letter page reflects the fact that it is widely read in the prisons today.

Since prisoners make anywhere from six to 25 cents an hour, we were tremendously excited when a prisoner from a Rocky Mountain area penal institution sent the Colorado SWP campaign a contribution of \$100.

That contribution will go some way in allowing us to get the truth out about the rotten conditions that have sparked the courageous struggles of prisoners, struggles that continue unabated in this election year. The tinsel promises of George McGovern are totally exposed by the hard reality of oppression that stalks the prisons.

Eugene Debs ran for president from prison in 1920. In the biggest socialist campaign since Debs, the SWP campaign regards the contributions of prisoners as having far greater worth than the millions of dollars from the real criminals that support the candidates of the twin capitalist parties of jail-keeping. Let the prisoners vote in 1972!

Colorado Socialist Workers Campaign
Denver, Colo.

Volunteer Army

Campaigning Dick Nixon says he is going to end the draft by July 1973. Sure—like he ended the war. The Republicans and Democrats have imposed conscription on us since they started the cold war 25 years ago. But antimilitary sentiment is now so strong that they are attempting to head it off by disorienting people, talking of "an all-volunteer Army."

Nixon's plan, Secretary of Defense Laird recently said, depends on Congress appropriating enough money to lure men in, and equally important, on the favorable disposition of the population toward the military. The latter contingency is especially dubious. Moreover, and this is key to the deception, Nixon doesn't plan on letting the conscription law lapse; he needs to keep it in reserve. There is a 2-million-plus man military to replenish, not to speak of any future Vietnam-type contingency developing in the colonial world.

Louisiana Congressman Hebert, who knows about these matters, has frequently stated, "The only way we are going to get an all-volunteer Army is to draft it." At least he is candid.

Michael Smith
New York, N. Y.

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

The Great Society

A lemon for Brezhnev?—Reporters are speculating about the political significance of Brezhnev's failure to appear publicly in the Cadillac Nixon gave him as a parting tip during his visit. But when we read that a number of 1972 Cadillac limousines have been recalled for defective axles, we assumed Brezhnev got exactly what he should have expected from America's most famed used-car dealer.

Capitalist realism—A California department store is offering \$24 nylon half-slips featuring an embroidered apricot donkey or a pink elephant. Both identically bordered in gold.

Misreading history—The mayor of Miami Beach organized a rap session between "2,000 eager involved youths," senior citizens, and himself. Only the mayor and 35 of the elderly showed up. "If it's true that of all the youth contacted, no one found this session worthwhile to attend," the disturbed mayor said, "then we are doomed to extinction."

Good news for shoppers—Our Neiman-Marcus Xmas catalog hasn't arrived yet with its anticipated listing of such off-beat stocking-stuffers as gold-plated potties, etc. But we do have an advance notice that "Neiman-Marcus supports the President's program of price stabilization and has taken

effective steps to assure compliance." Which is very comforting. We'd hate like hell to think that a store noted for sound values was beginning to overcharge.

Schmitz goes ape—A reader who provides us with dunce-of-the-week nominations has thrown the cap in the ring for John Schmitz, the John Birchler running for president on the American Party ticket. Schmitz recently disclosed that Nixon has done more for the socialist cause than any other man in the country.

World series special—The hottest current fashion item, we're advised, is the baseball warm-up jacket. Available in a variety of styles and prices, including a Danish import made of Spanish lamb. \$450.

Suggestion dep't—Advertising for the full-sized 1973 Ford notes the out-sized glove compartment but doesn't mention it was originally intended for an air bag safety device that buyers won't get this fall. Maybe the extra space could be used to store emergency medical supplies.

Pick your subject—A New York shop offers a 14-karat gold toothpick for only \$7.50. (\$18 with initial and a diamond added.) The ad describes it as "a real conversation piece."

Can impede your progress—Coffin nails can be bad for the feet, according to Dr. Ernest Weiner, past president of the American Podiatry Association. People who have poor circulation, he explained, will find the problem aggravated if they're on the weed. Poor circulation increases susceptibility to infection and consequent danger of gangrene, as well as slower healing of bruises, cuts, and wounds.

— HARRY RING



"They can't argue with success! . . . I told 'em 85 billion for defense may be a lot of money but no one's dropped a bomb on us yet!"

Women: The Insurgent Majority

NEW YORK GARMENT FACTORIES EXPLOIT CHINESE WOMEN WORKERS—A 66-year-old Chinese woman, who came to New York from Hong Kong in the 1950s, has worked in the same Chinatown garment shop for the last 20 years. Until the U.S. government recently intervened, she was taking home only \$60, or \$1.20 an hour, after a 55-hour workweek.

A seamstress at another Chinatown garment factory earns between 17 and 25 cents for each skirt she turns out. She worked about 50 hours a week to make \$75, before federal investigation. When possible, she places her three children in a day-care center, but occasionally she is forced to bring at least one child with her to the factory.

These are two examples of the sweatshop conditions some 7,500 Chinese garment workers face in New York's Chinatown. Many of these workers have immigrated from Hong Kong; almost all are women. Their little-known situation was revealed in an article in the Aug. 5 *New York Times*.

According to the *Times*, there are about 250 garment factories in Chinatown. Most of the factories pay by piecework at rates so low that the women have to work long hours just to earn enough to barely get by.

Chinese women immigrants are a cheap source of labor for the garment industry. Many of the women cannot speak English and are forced to take whatever jobs they can get. Thus they are exploited not just as women and as workers but also as members of an oppressed minority.

More than 4,000 Chinese garment workers are members of Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The *Times* does not mention what efforts the union has made to improve the scandalous conditions under which these women work.

Recently the U.S. government served injunctions on 52 garment shops in Chinatown for violations of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. "Not only were the women putting in 50-hour work weeks," says the *Times*, ". . . but they were being paid less than half of the Fed-

eral minimum wage of \$1.60 an hour."

The *Times* reports that "most" of the factories cited have now instituted 9-5 workdays and have ended weekend work. But since many of the women are still paid by piecework, they make even less money than before. And the U.S. government can hardly be relied upon to guarantee decent wages and working conditions to Chinese women garment workers.

Federal agencies may occasionally be forced to take action against the most blatant forms of sex and race discrimination in employment. But the government's real interests lie in perpetuating practices that allow the capitalists to squeeze extra profits out of women workers, especially Asian-Americans, Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans.

— CINDY JAQUITH



7,500 Chinese, virtually all women, work in 250 garment factories in New York's Chinatown.

Corporate profits soar

First year of wage controls

By DICK ROBERTS

When President Nixon announced the "New Economic Policy" (NEP) Aug. 15, 1971, he pretended that prices and wages would be equally controlled. NEP will combat inflation, the president promised. Everyone will be the beneficiary.

It is one year later. How is NEP faring?

There is one economic fact that stands above question. The profits of U.S. corporations today are at a historic peak. *Business Week* magazine heralded the news in its Aug. 12 issue: "U.S. business put together a truly dazzling profits performance in the second quarter of 1972. Not only did after-tax earnings spurt at least 15% ahead of the year-ago period but profit margins also firmed markedly during the quarter [April, May, June]."

Business Week estimated that these second-quarter profits would be at an annual rate of \$52-billion—"more

prices, rose at an annual rate of 2.5 percent in the second quarter this year compared with 3.8 percent in the second quarter last year. But this statistic, as will be seen, is open to interpretation.

Closer examination of the domestic impact of the first year of NEP underlines that it made gains for the American ruling class at the expense of American workers, as it was designed to do. (The effect of NEP on international trade and finance will be discussed in future articles.)

When Nixon proclaimed "wage and price controls" last year, the United States economy was in the midst of a recession. The enormous unemployment levels caused by this recession have to be taken side-by-side the New Economic Policy as laying the basis for the present surge of profits.

Some years ago, during the Democratic administration of John Kennedy, the ruling class largely succeed-

creases at contract time for fear of imminent layoff.

The recession also improves profit margins because it results in fewer workers putting out more goods. The bosses call it "trimming the fat." As layoffs begin in a plant, those who remain are forced to work harder, and productivity is increased. Furthermore, as the economy picks up and plants increase production to meet new demand, the hiring of new workers tends to lag behind the increase in production. This all the more raises productivity levels.

U.S. News & World Report echoed the results in its Aug. 21 issue: "Productivity, measured in output per man-hour, rose at a yearly rate of 6 percent in the April-May-June quarter. That's about twice the usual rate.

"Productivity increases, in fact, had averaged only 1.7 per cent from 1966 through 1970."

scribed how small the commission's impact really is. The magazine noted in a table Aug. 21 that of 4,547 requests for price hikes that had been acted on by the Price Commission as of early August, only 7.6 percent had been flatly rejected. The commission "scaled back" 17.9 percent of the increases and fully approved 74.6 percent.

The fact that prices rose more slowly in early 1972 than 1971 is due more to the impact of recession than this fake government price board. In the period of recession and early recovery from an economic slump, prices rise more slowly because of slackened demand. With full recovery the price increases will resume their upward spiral, particularly with the huge government deficits anticipated for this year and next. The upward spiral is already underway.

In July, wholesale prices shot up at an annual rate of 8.4 percent, a whopping increase that will soon hit consumer prices. Food prices have been galloping up at the rate of 8 percent for the last half year. These figures guarantee that the slow price rise of the consumer index this year compared with last will be a short-lived phenomenon.

Profit controls are next to nonexistent. *New York Times* correspondent Michael Jensen noted Sept. 4 ("Labor Day"), "Most businessmen and economists say that they are unconcerned about the Nixon Administration's controls on profit margins. . . ." Jensen found that of the 3,100 companies whose profits are supposedly monitored by the Price Commission, action had been taken against only 42 companies so far—less than 2 percent.

But the wage scale is a different story. The level of wage increases has declined this year. Results were summarized in the September issue of *Fortune*: "After going up at an annual rate of 7 percent over a four-year span, hourly compensation (including fringe benefits) went up 6.2 percent from mid-1971 to mid-1972 . . . and the rate dipped well below 6 percent in the early summer."

Unionized workers naturally fared better in the struggle against wage controls than the 75 percent of American workers who are not in unions. *Fortune* listed the rate of wage increases for nonunion wages at "around 4 percent." These increases are far from sufficient to keep up with rising prices.

But union officials have also been backing down under the bipartisan pressure of the government Pay Board. *Fortune* stated that "So far this year, settlements in what the Bureau of Labor Statistics calls 'major collective-bargaining situations' have shown considerable shrinkage. These settlements called for average increases of a little over 8 percent for the first year (down from an average of 13 percent for 1970 and 1971) and 7.5 percent for the life of the con-

Continued on page 22



New York workers demonstrate Oct. 13, 1971

Militant/Ellen Lemisch

money than U.S. business has earned in any quarter in history."

Typical of booming U.S. business are the profits of the auto trusts. According to the Aug. 7 *Newsweek*, "... General Motors' earnings increased 28 per cent over a year ago, while Ford Motor's profits leaped by 43 per cent, Chrysler's earnings more than doubled and American Motors' jumped 99 per cent." *Business Week* placed the first-half profits of General Motors alone at \$1.4-billion.

These immense profits are a result of the government's wage-control machinery coupled with the "normal" functioning of the capitalist economy when it recovers from a recession. High profits have been accompanied by a shrinking level of wage increases for American workers.

Newsweek magazine admitted in the Aug. 7 issue that "... the economy is locked into a system of price-wage controls which, by all indications, has been holding down wage increases and personal income fairly effectively, while exercising virtually no restraint on corporate income."

Apologists for the president's wage-control policies have been able to single out only one statistic to justify the scheme to the voting public. Prices were rising at a slower rate in the first half of 1972 than they were in the first half of 1971 before the NEP.

According to the Aug. 21 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, prices in general, as contrasted with food

ed in selling the idea that a 4 percent unemployment level is normal in America and represents good times. Unemployment has been above 4 percent since February 1970—for two years and seven months. For the 17 months between January 1971 and May 1972, the unemployment rate hovered around 6 percent.

During this long period, close to five million workers were "officially" unemployed every month. In addition, millions of others were virtually unemployed. The official statistics do not include: those so discouraged at not finding work that they have stopped looking for jobs; those working part-time but wanting to work full-time; and those with full-time jobs whose earnings put them below the official "poverty level" of \$4,000 a year for a family of four.

"When all these groups are put together," A. H. Raskin, the labor editor of the *New York Times*, wrote June 25, "... the ratio of workers who are not making it . . . is more than three times the 6 per cent officially counted as unemployed. That would mean 15 million workers, or better than one out of every six in the national work force. . . ."

These millions of unemployed workers help boost capitalist profits because they dampen the levels of wage increases sought by employed workers. Those who have jobs are willing to settle for less-than-needed wage in-

Nixon consequently ordered the wage freeze last year when millions of workers were out of jobs and when profits were already beginning to increase. The policy of controlling wages while pretending to control prices added momentum to the profit-upsurge.

Every time the Price Commission obtains a token cutback in price increases it receives so much news you could get the impression it did something. But *U.S. News & World Report* de-

How socialists viewed freeze

"President Nixon's sudden imposition of a freeze on wages for at least a 90-day period, coupled with his attempt to abrogate the right to strike, is a direct assault on the rights and living standards of the American working people. . . ."

"With the support of virtually every Democratic and Republican politician, including the so-called friends of labor in Congress, the Nixon administration is attempting to make the workers and poor bear the brunt of the severe economic problems faced by American capitalism. . . ."

"Nixon's 'price freeze' is a fake. The government hasn't even set up any machinery to attempt to control prices, and if it had, it would

be neither capable nor willing to impose a 'freeze' on prices. The corporations will find thousands of ways to circumvent the price 'freeze'—and the workers will find prices rising while their wages remain frozen. . . ."

"Both the Democratic and Republican parties stand clearly revealed for what they are: parties of, by, and for big business. These parties can never represent the working people or any sector of the oppressed and exploited in this society." From the statement issued Aug. 24, 1971, following the announcement of Nixon's "New Economic Policy," by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate.

Radical journalist is victimized by police

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—As the result of a police vendetta against him, radical journalist Ron Ridenour faces the prospect of two prison terms on trumped-up charges.

On Sept. 19 he will be sentenced for "interfering with an officer." He was convicted Aug. 17 and faces a possible year in prison and \$1,000 fine.

Meanwhile the state appellate court is considering whether it will review an earlier conviction resulting from his participation in a strike-support picket line.

The recent conviction stemmed from a demonstration by peace activists at Nixon campaign headquarters here after the announcement of the mining of Haiphong harbor. Protesters staged a lie-in on the sidewalk at the Nixon office. They were dispersed by police, who beat and arrested Ron Kovics, a paralyzed Vietnam veteran in a wheelchair.

Ridenour was covering the demonstration for his paper, the *Los Angeles Free Press*, an underground weekly not well-regarded by the police. While photographing the beating of the veteran, Ridenour was seized



Militant/Harry Ring

Ridenour was arrested while photographing police beating of Vietnam veteran Ron Kovics (above).

from behind and arrested. He was charged with unlawful assembly, failure to disperse, and interfering with an officer.

The failure-to-disperse charge was dropped, and after a five-day trial, a jury acquitted him of unlawful assembly but convicted him of "interfering."

The significance of arresting a reporter covering a news event was underlined by Dwayne Johnson, who offered expert testimony for the defense. A member of the editorial staff of the *Los Angeles Times*, Johnson is president of the Southern California Sigma Delta Chi, the journalism society.

Describing the rights and duties of reporters, Johnson testified that, as described to him, Ridenour's conduct at the demonstration was consistent with his responsibilities as a reporter.

Meanwhile, in a particularly mean act of petty vindictiveness, City Attorney William Reider utilized a legal snarl to jail Ridenour for three days.

In November 1970 Ridenour had been arrested on a picket line at a struck garment shop. The strikers were enjoined from picketing, and supporters, including Ridenour, came forward in their place.

A group of Chicanas, who did not realize the situation, were being brought in as scabs. Ridenour, who speaks Spanish, tried to persuade them to stay out. He was rushed by an Anglo scab-herder and almost simultaneously was seized from behind. His assailant from behind was a plainclothes cop who did not identify himself but then charged Ridenour with "resisting arrest."

Ridenour was convicted and sentenced to six months in jail, nine months suspended, and three years probation.

This August Ridenour learned that his lawyer had failed to file notice of appeal within the required period, and he was ordered to surrender. He persuaded the appellate court to consider reviewing his case despite the time lapse because of the extenuating circumstances.

The court is still weighing whether it will review the case and has ordered two stays pending its decision. The city attorney seized on the technical lapse of the first stay to imprison Ridenour for three days before his present attorney, Neil Herring, won his release.

N.J. farm owners rob migrant workers

The Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey, a major Puerto Rican group in the state, has issued a research report exposing the inhuman conditions in migrant farm-worker camps. The report is part of a series of recommendations sent to New Jersey Governor William Cahill, state legislative leaders, and the New Jersey congressional delegation in Washington, D. C.

According to the Aug. 27 *New York Times*, the report indicated that although there are "clean, healthy, well-ventilated and properly sanitized camps in the state," there are also "armed concentration camps of human degradation."

The *Times* reported that the study revealed how "deductions" for expenses robbed the farm workers. Two photostats of the pay envelopes of two farm workers were included in the report. "On the first envelope, the farmer had calculated that the migrant's pay totaled \$57.20 for the

week. But after deductions, the worker received only \$1.46. On the other envelope, the salary totaled \$58.93, but the worker received only \$12.90 after the farmer had made his deductions."

Although the minimum wage for migrant workers is \$1.50 to \$1.70 an hour, the report said, "we found 14 percent of our sample to be earning less than \$1 an hour; these men were found to be averaging 73 cents per hour."

Despite the fact that the study was well documented—based on interviews with 72 migrant workers on 17 different southern New Jersey farms—Herbert Heilmann, assistant state commissioner for labor standards, and the New Jersey Farm Bureau have attacked the report and the Puerto Rican Congress. Heilmann was even bold enough to assert that "within the framework of existing laws, migrant camp conditions were good."

Protests hit killing of Black labor organizer

By JEAN SAVAGE

PHILADELPHIA—On Aug. 28, Norman Rayford Jr., a Black organizer for Local 1199C of the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees, was shot and killed at Metropolitan Hospital here by Sergeant John Daniels, a security guard at the hospital.

Members of 1199C were on strike against the Delaware Valley Hospital Laundry that is jointly operated by Metropolitan and four other hospitals. The 55 employees at the laundry, who get an average wage of \$2 an hour, have been trying to obtain a contract for a year without success. The strike started July 28.

A union spokesman said that Rayford and other union organizers were watching the hospitals to find out where they were trucking their laundry when Rayford was shot.

Rayford's murder sparked off a series of demonstrations that lasted the entire week, following a decision by the police to release Daniels without charge.

On Aug. 29 about 300 hospital workers rallied at Metropolitan demanding justice in the case. Following this demonstration, Common Police Judge G. Fred Dibona Jr. issued an injunction barring the union from picketing, demonstrating, massing, or meeting within one mile in any direction from the hospital.

Despite the injunction, more than a dozen unions and community orga-

nizations joined the hospital workers in a demonstration of more than 600 people held the morning of Aug. 30 at Metropolitan Hospital.

The groups supporting the hospital workers included the Retail Clerks, Sanitation Workers, Municipal Employees, Electrical Workers union, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), and the Black Economic Development Conference.

The angry and spirited demonstrators marched to City Hall following the arrest of Henry Nicholas, secretary-treasurer of the 8,000-member local, making it clear that they did not intend to be intimidated.

The next morning, Aug. 31, the Reverend Wycliffe Jangdharrie, president of the metropolitan council of the NAACP, and Muhammed Kenyatta, executive director of the Black Economic Development Conference, were also arrested for defying the injunction against demonstrating at the hospital.

On Sept. 1, more than 500 people attended Rayford's funeral in North Philadelphia.

Although protests are continuing, the board of directors at Metropolitan Hospital has agreed to begin negotiations with Local 1199C, following a meeting between Mayor Frank Rizzo, the hospital administration, and representatives of the union.

Columbia maids win trade-union support

By RUTH CHENEY

NEW YORK, Sept. 4—On Aug. 25, Matthew Guinan, international president of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), notified Columbia University that Local 241, representing 500 custodial workers at the university, would call a strike on Aug. 28 over the discriminatory layoff of 25 maids last January. This was a reversal of the union's previous stand.

As a result of this strike threat, the university backed off and agreed to extend the maids' jobs until Sept. 8. The union has threatened another strike if the maids are not permanently rehired and granted equal pay with men plus other contract demands.

In November 1971 Columbia feminists organized the Women's Affirmative Action Coalition to fight Columbia's discriminatory pay rates, hiring practices, promotion policies, and the lack of abortion and child-care facilities for all women at the university.

In January 1972, when the university initially fired 30 Black and Latin maids at Columbia, the coalition organized picket lines, news conferences, demonstrations, and meetings of campus women in support of the maids' right to work and to equal pay with janitors. (Janitors' job duties are the same as the women's but they are paid \$18 more per week than the maids.)

The maids, as part of this coalition, filed suit against the university and the TWU and have kept the case in court since then. They obtained a temporary restraining order against the layoff as violating Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

Only women were being fired, and both the union and the university maintain separate seniority lists for men and women performing the same



Militant/Julie Simon

Columbia maids demonstrate for jobs and equal pay.

job ("maids" and "janitors"). If the seniority lists were merged and the university again chose to lay off 30 custodial workers, 27 men and only three women would be fired. Even though the university said the layoff was for "budget cuts," it actually was still hiring janitors.

After the union threatened to strike, the maids initiated a call for a rank-and-file meeting of union members because the university has reportedly offered the union the maids' jobs in exchange for firing 13 janitors. At the meeting Sept. 2, the maids told the janitors that they would fight just as hard for the men's jobs if the men would back the women's right to equal pay. A general rank-and-file meeting is being considered to put muscle behind the members' demands.

ARGENTINE PARTIES PREPARE FOR COMING ELECTIONS



General Alejandro Lanusse

By PETER CAMEJO

Key to the electoral maneuver of the Lanusse dictatorship in Argentina is the Peronist movement. The Peronists control the powerful trade-union federation, the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Federation of Labor), and Juan Perón remains the only capitalist politician with influence among the masses.

In an attempt to take advantage of Perón's popular support, General Alejandro Lanusse offered the former dictator a chance to return to Argentina from exile in Spain. However, the mass mobilizations of workers and students in past months have made it difficult for Perón to make a deal with Lanusse without losing his standing among the masses.

Perón chose not to return to Argentina by Aug. 25, the deadline set by Lanusse for residence in Argentina for anyone desiring to run in the 1973 elections.

Lanusse is also seeking to come to an agreement with the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy.

After the general strike of Feb. 29 of this year, Perón sent a letter to his followers urging them to cool things down until after the elections. The top Peronist leaders have adopted Perón's orientation, but the secondary trade-union leaders and rank-and-file workers are not so easily controlled.

The Peronist movement is entering a crisis because of the pressures of the mass movements and the continued compromising stands taken by its leadership.

The Peronist movement is composed of various groupings, including some leftist trends. The Peronists have participated in negotiations and blocs at the highest levels of the capitalist governmental circles. At the same time they have used trade-union action and even terrorist acts as levers in their maneuverings.

Thus in Argentina there are guerrilla groups, trade-union bureaucrats, rank-and-file workers, ultrarightists, and major capitalist politicians, all claiming to be the followers of Juan Perón. They function as a kind of coalition under the label of Partido Justicialista (Justicialist Party).

Guerrilla groups

Another component of the Argentine political scene is the guerrilla groups. Their response to Lanusse's promise of elections has been such, ultra-left slogans as "Neither coup nor elections—revolution!" and "Against the electoral farce, revolutionary war."

Armed groups have existed sporadically in Argentina since the overthrow of Perón in 1955. After the Cuban revolution, small groups attempted rural guerrilla warfare but were wiped out.

Then, after the Onganía coup in 1966 and the general decline in the class struggle that followed, the frustrations felt among radicalized middle-class layers created new interest in guerrilla warfare. After the Cordobazo (the massive workers' uprising in the city of Córdoba in 1969), the guerrilla groups have oriented toward urban guerrilla warfare.

The guerrilla groups' only answer to the Lanusse government and the projected elections is to continue what they call "revolutionary war"—that is, armed actions by small groups such as disarming policemen, expropriating banks, kidnapping, and lately, assassinating hated officials.

None of the groups participating in armed actions have any influence in the organized working class—with the possible exception of the Peronist guerrilla groups that are part of the broader Peronist movement. This is partially due to the totally clandestine conditions under which they must function. But in addition, they have no program for the day-to-day struggles of the masses.

The guerrilla groups have suffered terrible repression in the last two years. The most active group, the People's Revolutionary Army (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—ERP), has some 150 members in prison.

Class collaboration

The two major capitalist political formations cooperating in the GAN (Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement, Lanusse's name for the preparations for the elections) are the Peronists and the Radicals. In addition, all other capitalist political parties have joined in, from the Christian Democrats to the various split-offs from the Radicals.

To try to project the elections as the solution to the problems facing Argentina, the Lanusse dictatorship has organized conferences to show the nation how all sectors of Argentina are supposedly sitting down together and working things out. At such conferences all the procapitalist groupings—with the possible exception of the rightist New Force led by Alvaro Alsogaray—hold discussions with the Peronist labor leaders and Socialist and Communist leaders.

The Communist Party has attempted to organize a popular front with "progressive" sectors of the

capitalist class in a grouping called the National Encounter of Argentines (ENA—Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos).

The ENA has participated in the Frente Cívico (Civic Front), a formation representing "prodevelopment" sectors of the capitalist class and designed to promote the elections. Sections of the Peronist movement are also working within the Civic Front.

The Communist Party has attempted to maintain an image of opposition to the government. However, its policy through the ENA has been to give legitimacy to the politics of Lanusse and to the notion that Argentina's problems can be solved by the collaboration of the exploiters and the exploited.

Only one political party has rejected this class-collaborationist policy, and that is the left wing of the Socialist Party of Argentina (PSA) led by Juan Carlos Coral. The PSA was one of the parties legalized under Lanusse's call for elections.

The PSA

The Socialist Party (SP) in Argentina once had an important influence in the trade unions. But after the Peronist era, the SP was essentially reduced to an electoral formation. It split in 1958 into right and left social democratic parties.

The left-wing group, called the PSA, began to radicalize under the impact of the Cuban revolution in the early 1960s. It received a substantial number of votes in the mid-1960s, at times carrying districts in Buenos Aires.

In 1965 the PSA split again. The strongly pro-Cuban youth were expelled by the more conservative elements, in spite of the fact that the left had a majority of the membership. The 1965 split resulted in two PSAs, one led by Coral and the other by Jorge Selsar.

The Selsar PSA has since united with a populist group and changed its name to the Popular Socialist Party (PSP). It has joined in building the GAN and supports the popular-front strategy of uniting with "progressive" capitalist politicians. Some members of Selsar's group have gone over to the Coral PSA in protest against these policies.

After the 1965 split the PSA-(Coral) moved further to the left. It rejected any blocs with capitalist parties. It declared against the Communist Party's theory of a two-stage revolution—that is, the theory that Argentina needs first a capitalist-democratic revolution and then, later, a socialist revolution. The PSA instead calls for a socialist revolution in Argentina.

The PSA has called upon all working-class organizations to refuse to participate in the conferences organized by the military dictatorship and to oppose all blocs with any sector of the capitalist class. Instead, it has characterized the coming elections as a farce that cannot solve Argentina's problems and has urged all socialists to unite to form a socialist pole, or socialist alternative, against the capitalist pole of the GAN.

Airmail subscriptions to Avanzada Socialista, weekly newspaper of the Argentine Socialist Party, are available for \$5 for six months or \$10 for a year from: PSA, 24 de Noviembre 225, Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The PSA has taken the lead in urging socialists to take full advantage of the openings presented by the elections to reach the working class on a mass scale. It plans to run candidates against all the procapitalist candidates, calling for a workers government as the only government that can begin to meet the needs of the masses.

PRT(La Verdad)

The call for a socialist alternative in the elections and the recent rapid growth of the PSA is partially due to an agreement reached between the PSA and the PRT(La Verdad) (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Party).

The PRT(La Verdad) is a Trotskyist party that has recently been growing rapidly among both students and workers. Organized underground because it is considered "illegal" by the government, the PRT(La Verdad) has been able to gain influence in important trade unions, maintain a clandestine weekly newspaper, *La Verdad* (The Truth), and even lead some of Argentina's most important strikes in the recent period.

The PRT(La Verdad) position is that Argentina has entered a prerevolutionary situation since the Cordobazo in 1969. It holds that the Cordobazo revealed the key to Argentina's revolution: that the urban workers, especially the industrial workers, are the vanguard of revolutionary change.

This group believes that the crucial task in Ar-

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Nixon on hot seat

GOP officials aided Watergate snooping

By DAN ROSENTHINE

SEPT. 5—On June 17, five men were caught red-handed attempting to plant electronic listening devices in the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the plush Watergate apartment complex in Washington, D. C. The revelations surrounding what has come to be called the "Watergate caper" have now mushroomed into a major national political scandal.

At first, because of the obvious lack of professionalism employed in the raid, many commentators dismissed the idea that the White House or top Republican officials were involved.

But the identities of those arrested on June 17 indicated that they were the type of unsavory characters who usually act as the hirelings of higher authorities. Four of the arrested men were from Florida, where they are active in counterrevolutionary Cuban exile organizations. One of these, Bernard Barker, was involved in planning the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, organized by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) under John Kennedy, in a futile attempt to overthrow the Castro regime.

The fifth, James McCord, was under contract when arrested to both the Republican National Committee and Nixon's campaign organization, the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, as a "security consultant." McCord is a 19-year veteran of the CIA.

Within days, a sixth figure was implicated—E. Howard Hunt, who was in charge of the CIA's operations in the Bay of Pigs invasion. Hunt has worked as a part-time White House "special consultant," although administration spokesmen claimed that he had ceased his work there this spring.

On July 7, the *New York Times* quoted friends of Hunt as saying that he had been employed in the White House right up to the time of the Watergate raid.

The following exposures by the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and a Florida state attorney have directly implicated top officials of the Republican National Committee and Nixon's re-election committee in the planning and financing of the raid:

- On July 25, the *New York Times* revealed that Bernard Barker, the on-the-spot leader of the raid, had made at least 15 telephone calls to numbers located in Nixon's campaign headquarters in the weeks before the raid. One of the committee's lawyer's, G. Gordon Liddy, was quietly dismissed days after the raid when he refused to answer FBI questions about the raid.

- On Aug. 1 the *Washington Post* revealed that a \$25,000 check to the Republican campaign effort was channeled through the Nixon committee's offices into Bernard Barker's bank account in Miami.

- Following the Watergate arrests, Richard Gerstein, Florida state attorney for Dade County, launched an independent investigation to determine if a conspiracy had been organized in Miami.

On Aug. 23 and 24, during the Republican convention in Miami Beach, Gerstein questioned high Republican officials, including Maurice Stans, a former Secretary of Commerce who is now the chief fund-raiser for Nixon's presidential campaign. Gerstein established that an additional \$89,000 received by the Republicans from anonymous contributors had been turned over to Barker.

This made a total of \$114,000 that Barker had received from Nixon's campaign committee. Stans denied any knowledge of the disbursement of the funds. But within days, the committee's treasurer, Hugh Sloan, resigned for "personal reasons."

The dismissal of Liddy and the resignation of Sloan drew attention to the fact that ex-Attorney General John

Mitchell had resigned as head of the Nixon campaign committee on July 1, also for "personal reasons." The press noted that Mitchell's resignation had followed the Watergate incident by only a few days.

The information revealed by the *Washington Post* and Gerstein forced a further investigation by a congressional watch-dog agency called the General Accounting Office. The GAO report, released on Aug. 26, showed



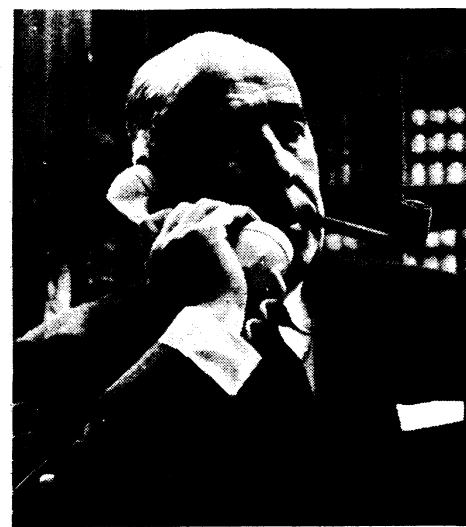
Maurice Stans: "Knew nothing" about money given to Watergate snoopers.

that the \$114,000 turned over to Barker was part of a special \$350,000 cash reserve kept by the Republicans and not reported to federal authorities. This is a clear violation of new election laws that require campaign organizations to report all income and expenses.

We can expect to see further revelations about the Watergate caper as the presidential election campaign unfolds. This is particularly true since sources involved in the government's investigation are apparently leaking information to the news media.

The Democratic Party is doing everything it can to milk the Watergate raid as a campaign issue. But government electronic surveillance didn't begin with Watergate; nor has its use been restricted to the Republicans.

It was widely used during the Democratic administrations of Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson. Since the end of World War II it has been constantly employed by both Democrats and Republicans against movements for



John Mitchell: Was his resignation due to Watergate affair?

social change, including Black and Chicano organizations, antiwar groups, labor unions, and radical political organizations.

The facts about the Watergate affair, if fully exposed, can go far to educate the American people against the use of such pernicious and anti-democratic methods.

But for the Democratic Party to cry foul after Watergate is like the pot calling the kettle black. The truth is that, from a capitalist point of view, the Republicans were wrong only for getting caught in the act.

Palestinians demand return of villages

By TONY THOMAS

Despite statements by defenders of Zionism that Israel is not a settler-colonialist state, the controversy that has arisen in Israel over the expulsion of the Arabs of the villages of Berem and Ikrit exposes this to be a myth.

During the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the inhabitants of these villages—all Maronite Catholic Arabs who supported Israel against the Arab peoples—were expelled from their villages. The villages are on the border of Lebanon—a location that the Zionists claimed would make them vulnerable to infiltration by Arab liberation forces.

The villagers were told that they could return in 15 days. But they have been exiled from their homes ever since on the basis of Israeli "security needs." In 1952, in the interests of this "security," both villages were razed to the ground by Israeli troops.

In the last few months the exiled villagers have mounted a campaign to be allowed to return. According to the Aug. 28 *Christian Science Monitor*, more than 2,000 villagers now want to return. They petitioned the Israeli government—which most of them still support—for their right to resettle. On July 23 the government turned down their request.

On Aug. 7, according to the Aug. 9

New York Times, "Policemen forcibly ejected about 300 Arabs and their sympathizers from the ruins of Berem. . . . The Arabs had tried to reoccupy some of the ruined houses. Several Arabs and policemen were slightly wounded. A priest said that he had been roughed up, and 18 arrests were made."

On Aug. 8, Archbishop Joseph Raya



Palestinians were expelled from their homeland in 1948 and again during 1967 June war.

met with Israeli Premier Golda Meir, who turned down his demands. The *Times* reported that "about 100 leftists" demonstrated in support of the villagers outside Meir's offices.

According to the *Times*, the Arabs have won support from "New Leftists," the Communist Party of Israel, and other radicals. This incident has also caused broader segments of Israeli society to question Israel's "security" policies. This sentiment is so strong that Israeli Deputy Premier Yigal Alon has tried to demagogically identify himself with this opposition.

Twenty well-known Israeli writers, including Amos Elon, Abba Kovner, Amos Oz, Haim Hefer, and Yoram Kaniuk, appealed to Meir to allow the villagers to return.

Henry Kamm, writing from Jerusalem in the Aug. 20 *New York Times*, explained that Meir's attitude was that resettlement of these villagers would "expose Israel to so grave a threat to her internal balance that any thought of it must be rejected until a peace agreement for the Middle East has been concluded [that is, until all threats to Zionism from the Arab revolution have disappeared]."

Kamm reported that "The Government is worried that the return of the expelled Arabs to Berem and Ikrit—they would be the first displaced Arabs

to be allowed to resettle—would set off a chain of 'thousands and thousands' of demands from other Arabs who lost their villages in 1948.

"And not just villages," a ranking [Israeli] official said. "Think of such towns as Lydda, Ramle and Jaffa." They are among the originally Arab towns that are now predominantly Jewish.

The problem for the Israelis is not, however, limited just to these specific towns. *All of Israel* was "originally Arab" but is now "predominantly Jewish" because of the expulsion of Arabs. The Israeli state is built on denial of the right of the majority of three million Palestinians to live in their homeland. This question has gained added impact since Israel occupied additional Arab territories in the 1967 war with the Arab states.

The opposition to the Berem and Ikrit expulsions reached a high point on Aug. 23 when a demonstration of 3,000 Arab and Israeli supporters of the villagers marched through the streets of Jerusalem. The demonstrators were led by Archbishop Raya, Israel liberal Uri Avnery, and by representatives of the Moslem Arabs. The demonstrators carried signs saying "Justice for Arabs as well as Jews in Israel," and "We don't want to be refugees in our own country."

Victory in seven-year fight

Vietnam Caucus wins 'Ou vote at nat'l teachers conv

By JEFF MACKLER

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) met here Aug. 21-25. It discussed the important political issues, including the war in Southeast Asia, facing teachers in this election year.

On the final day of the convention, the AFT ended its seven-year debate on the war with the passage of the Minnesota Resolution on Southeast Asia calling for the "immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. troops and military materiel from Vietnam and Indochina."

The resolution condemned the wage controls of the Nixon administration and stated that the war, not wages, is the major cause of inflation.

It noted that so-called price controls were "virtually unenforceable" while no limits were placed on profits and interest rates.

While the final resolution did not endorse the fall demonstrations against the war called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), it did call attention to the fact that many AFT affiliates had endorsed the "massive, peaceful, and legal assemblages" of the American people against the war.

The resolution called for AFT officials to affiliate with the recently formed trade-union antiwar organization, Labor for Peace. It also mandated them to call for the immediate withdrawal position at the next national convention of the AFL-CIO.

It was clear that the great majority of the 1,508 delegates opposed the war

The AFT Vietnam Caucus mobilized support for the strong antiwar resolution adopted by the convention. Those who want to learn more about the caucus can write to: 2520 Stevens Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. 55404.

and were prepared to break with the prowar Meany supporters in the AFT on this question. However, there was little evidence that opposition had developed on several other key questions facing teacher unionists and the labor movement as a whole.

While there is an increased receptivity to the concept of independent labor political action and the formation of a labor party, interest in these ideas has yet to pass beyond the level of curiosity.

Following a keynote speech by Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern, the delegates voted overwhelmingly to endorse his campaign. Well over two-thirds of the delegates supported the motion. The only real opposition came from pro-Meany elements who would have preferred no endorsement at all.

The latter position was represented by Albert Shanker, president of the AFT's largest affiliate, the 70,000-member New York City local. He counterposed to the McGovern endorsement a motion for an advisory membership referendum. Shanker's motion was seen more as a delaying tactic and a token statement of support for the Meany position than as a serious alternative to McGovern.



Raoul Teilhet, president of Calif. Federation of Teachers, speaks at Vietnam Caucus meeting. Clear majority of delegates endorsed Minnesota antiwar resolution before it came to the floor.

The sole delegate who spoke for a labor party was poorly received. Nevertheless, the past year has witnessed some dissatisfaction with the traditional pro-Democratic Party orientation of the AFT. At the state convention of the California Federation of Teachers, for example, more than 35 percent of the delegates voted for a motion favoring the formation of a labor party. The very same day, however, the same delegates voted almost unanimously to endorse McGovern.

Such contradictions are not uncommon in the AFT. At a meeting of an opposition grouping at the St. Paul convention, the United Action Caucus (UAC), a platform statement was passed that held that the AFT must oppose candidates who favor a wage freeze, compulsory arbitration, and who reject the right of public employees to strike.

It further stated that the AFT should support only those candidates who favor the immediate withdrawal of all forces from Southeast Asia. But the concluding paragraph of this section called for support to the McGovern-Shriver ticket to implement these ideas.

Leaders of the United Action Caucus did not explain why they endorsed a candidate who opposed the essential features of the caucus platform on the issue of political action.

Merger debate

A major debate at the convention centered on the AFT's attitude toward the possibility of a future merger with the National Education Association (NEA). For the past several years, NEA affiliates have moved steadily away from their formerly well-deserved reputation as company unions. The NEA has conducted statewide strikes, favored collective bargaining, and otherwise rapidly moved in the direction of teacher unionism.

In New York, for example, the 95,000-member state affiliate merged with the 90,000-member state AFT federation. Similar merger negotiations are under way in Illinois and Michigan. It is not unlikely that the next few years will see the unification of both major teacher organizations

into the largest national union in the United States.

The mounting government attacks on public employees in general and teachers in particular has brought into focus the need for teacher unity and joint action. Although the promerger forces in the AFT, led by President David Selden and Albert Shanker, see merger only as an opportunity to build a stronger Democratic Party lobbying apparatus in the state legislatures and Congress, the unification of teachers offers militant trade unionists opportunities that go far beyond the narrow conceptions of the present bureaucratic leadership. The movement toward merger is a clear reflection of the desire by teachers to better defend themselves against attack.

The opposition United Action Caucus completely cut itself off from this current when it built its entire campaign around opposition to merger. The UAC's attempts to cover its anti-merger rhetoric with charges that the NEA is still a company union did not hold water with the hundreds of delegates who have witnessed the growing

trend toward militant union action by teachers, regardless of which organization they are affiliated with.

Since the UAC was not able to offer an alternative program to the AFT, its opposition to merger with the NEA drew its strength from simplistic antileadership sentiment. That is, it appeared that the UAC's opposition was not so much to the concept of merger itself as it was to the fact that merger was not being conducted under its leadership.

Neither of the contending power caucuses in the AFT offered a real alternative to teachers seeking a program to meet the challenge of the massive attacks being waged against the trade-union movement. The Shanker-Selden Progressive Caucus represents the most conservative, narrow interests in American trade unionism.

Tied to the Democratic Party, opposed to the struggles of the Black and Puerto Rican communities to control the schools, and firm supporters of U.S. imperialist policy in Vietnam, the Progressive Caucus leaders have opposed every attempt to mobilize the AFT and the labor movement around a program of action independent of the political parties that every day join in attacking labor.

The opposition caucus unfortunately had little more to offer than platitudes about "new ideas" and "new leadership." The UAC's platform was almost identical to the Progressive Caucus's on the issue of community control of the schools. Both groups prefer to remain on the safe ground of vague phrases about "parent-student involvement." Both caucuses favor support to the Democratic Party in general and McGovern in particular.

Although the UAC opposed the war and called for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam, its candidates did not make the war more than a minor issue in their campaign. The UAC played almost no role in the fight to oppose the war at this convention.



Endorsement of upcoming fall antiwar actions was deleted from Minnesota resolution by narrow vote, but resolution as passed mentions AFT participation in "massive, peaceful, and legal assemblages," such as the one above in San Francisco.

World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 15, 1972

Sri Lanka

Rising protest over witch-hunt trials

By Fred Feldman

The trial of forty-one Sri Lanka youths accused of participating in the April 1971 uprising is continuing despite protests by defense attorneys and growing opposition by trade unions and civil libertarians to the United Front government's effort to railroad them to prison. The forty-one are the first contingent to be singled out for public trial. Of the 18,000 youths who were seized for allegedly engaging in the uprising, at least 10,000 are still in jails and detention camps.

Among those now on trial for conspiring to "wage war against the queen" (Ceylon's "socialist" government remains in the British Commonwealth) is Rohana Wijeweera, leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the radical youth group that headed the uprising.

According to the August 17 *Ceylon Times*, only three of the thirty-two prisoners who appeared for trial (nine are reportedly still "at large") pleaded guilty to the charges. Attorney General Victor Tennekoon charged in his opening argument at a hearing August 10 that the youths were responsible for civilian deaths during the uprising. The government apparently hopes to use the trial to shift the blame for the massacres committed by Bandaranaike's security forces on to the young rebels.

At the August 10 session, H. N. G. Fernando, president of the Criminal Justice Commission, specially set up to try these cases, overruled defense objections that the act creating the commission was illegal, that the alleged offenses are not now punishable by law, that the suspects should not be required to plead, and that evidence should not be heard regarding suspects who are missing or dead. Fernando refused to hear any defense arguments in support of these objections.

In protest against Fernando's arbitrary rulings, five defense attorneys (G. D. C. Weerasinghe, Edmund Samarakkody, Lakshman Guruswamy, M. B. Ratnayake, and Harischandra Mendis) withdrew from the trial. This act, plus efforts by defendants to make statements in their own defense, led Attorney General Tennekoon to directly threaten defendants and attorneys who oppose the procedures of the com-

mission.

According to the *Ceylon Times*, Tennekoon said:

"While we pay all respect to the presumption of the innocence of the accused until they have been proven guilty, these very incidents are proof of their guilt. . . . I should not be surprised if last night they conspired to do this."

The *Ceylon Times* report continued: "He added that it might be well to remember that some of the lawyers who appeared for them were themselves declared revolutionaries without revolutionary parties and they would very willingly join this kind of conspiracy."

Wijeweera charged that he had not been permitted to see a lawyer who attempted to visit him.

Although Fernando promised shortly after the defense attorneys' walkout that "in the interest of justice we will permit them [defendants] to cross-examine witnesses, to call evidence and to address when necessary," it remains to be seen whether these concessions will prove real. Only prosecution arguments and witnesses have been heard so far. The attorney general's threats against attorneys and

defendants justify skepticism about the reliability of Fernando's promises.

The increasingly isolated United Front Government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike is seeking to placate opposition by promising large-scale releases of detainees in the near future. Felix Dias Bandaranaike told a gathering that 7,000 will be released "very soon." A later statement from the Justice Ministry asserted that 4,000 would be released by mid-October. Those released would be "required to report to Rehabilitation Committees regularly."

Despite such promises, Prime Minister Bandaranaike has been making frequent speeches denouncing the island's young people and blaming them for many of the economic and political troubles faced by her government. According to the *Ceylon Times* of August 10, in one such oration Bandaranaike "appealed to youth to change their values and attitudes. . . . Referring to the insurrection she said a band of impatient men who were misguided wanted instant socialism. All they did was to put the clock back and wreck what was already achieved."

"Don't keep blaming the government and attempt revolution," she warned. "We admit our failings but we expect you to point it out to us through your MP's." To make certain that the MP's jobs would not be threatened by such "pointing out," Bandaranaike's parliament recently extended its term of office until 1978.

A recent indication of rising opposition to the seventeen-month-old state of emergency is a leaflet issued July 20 entitled "Against Repression!" The statement is signed by Prins Gunasekera, general secretary of the Human and Democratic Rights Organisation, Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (Tampoe is also the attorney for several defendants in the current trial), Keerthie Seneviratne, president of the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union, Leslie Fernando, joint secretary of the Central Council of Ceylon Trade Unions, and M. S. Sellasamy, general secretary of the Ceylon Workers' Congress.

The leaflet calls for a one-day hunger strike to demand repeal of the Public Security and Criminal Justice Commission Acts, and the end of repression against dissenters. It represents the first such call for mass protest action issued by prominent political figures since the state of emergency was instituted in March, 1971.

The leaflet also informs readers of the July 7, 1972, resolution passed by the General Council of Advocates of Sri Lanka denouncing the Criminal Justice Commission Act, under which the current trials are taking place. □



Pickets march outside the Sri Lanka embassy in Tokyo. They demanded restoration of democratic rights in Sri Lanka, the repeal of all undemocratic laws in that country, and the immediate release of some 11,000 political prisoners held by the Bandaranaike government. The Tokyo demonstration was sponsored by the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign in Japan.

Australian Aborigines: the new Black militancy

[The following article is reprinted from the Aug. 24 issue of *Direct Action*, an Australian biweekly published by supporters of the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance.]

[A new Black liberation movement has arisen in Australia, fighting for the rights of the 150,000 aborigines who occupy the lowest rungs of Australian society. The aborigines, original inhabitants of Australia, were massacred, persecuted, and herded off the best lands and into "reserves" by the British settlers.]

[In February a group of young aborigines set up tents on the lawn across from the Australian parliament house in Canberra, declaring themselves the Aboriginal Embassy. The Embassy was established as a protest against the government refusal to recognize land claims of the aborigines.]

[The Embassy was an acute embarrassment to the Australian government—receiving international press coverage—until police were sent in July 20 to tear down the tents and forcefully disperse the protesters. On July 23 an attempt to set up tents to reestablish the Embassy was brutally defeated by police.]

[In response to this attack, more than 2,000 people, including some 500 Blacks, came to Canberra from across the country to protest. The demonstration was supported by trade-union officials and a Labour Party member of Parliament.]

[The Black Moratorium referred to in the article was a day of protest July 14, when demonstrations by Blacks took place in most major cities of Australia demanding aboriginal land rights and an end to repression and discrimination against Blacks.]

By John Sims

Events over the past two months, including the Black Moratorium and the period of organisation leading up to it, and the upsurge around the Black Embassy in Canberra attest to the crystallisation of a clearly defined black liberation movement which is ably led and enjoys wide support from the black community. Both the Black Moratorium and the events around the Embassy provided for the first time a national focus for the demands of black people.

Both events saw more black people prepared to demonstrate for their

rights than at any previous time. Both events also saw black people prepared to resist intimidation by the forces of the capitalist state.

In Darwin, where the march was banned, 200 black people marched on July 14, and in Sydney and Melbourne the marches and rallies proceeded despite police attempts to provoke confrontations aimed at smashing the demonstrations.

In Sydney especially, black demonstrators were singled out for special attention by the police.

Despite such provocations and attempts at intimidation, the July 14 marches were peaceful, largely due to the awareness by the black people that violent confrontations with the police would serve the interests of the state, not the black movement. July 14 and the Embassy events revealed a deep feeling in the black community that the problems facing black people had to be tackled vigorously and that militant extraparlimentary action was the only course open after decades of genocidal policies handed down by the various governments.

The demands raised by the Black Moratorium varied slightly from state to state. However, the demands raised in Melbourne contain the essence of the most important demands raised in other centres. The Melbourne demands were:

1. Absolute ownership, including mineral and forestry rights, over all reserves and traditional areas to be vested in the black communities associated with these areas.

2. Full compensation for all land seized since 1770.

3. The right and power of black communities to control their lives and land.

4. Support for all black struggles for: a) an immediate and massive health programme to eliminate infant mortality; b) full employment on at least award wages; c) decent housing and no evictions; d) black studies and culture in education; e) real equality of opportunity in education; f) an end to all discriminatory legislation (e.g., Queensland Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Act 1971); g) free legal aid.

5. That an Aboriginal Claims Commission be set up and be controlled and elected by Black People.

6. That all government bodies concerned primarily with Aboriginal Affairs be reconstituted so that they are directly controlled by black people.

7. A Commonwealth Grant Fund be established under black control such



Police attack Aboriginal Embassy during demonstration. Australian blacks set from the parliament house in Canberra to protest government refusal to recognize

that blacks will control a proportion of the Gross National Product equal to the black proportion of the population.

These demands encompass the basic needs of the black people and provide a basis for ongoing campaigns which will further the advancement of the black struggle.

Land rights

In 1968, when the Gurindji people walked off Wave Hill cattle station and took possession of their traditional lands at Wattie Creek, they set an example which has provided a focus for black struggles and an inspiration to black people ever since.

More recently the black people of Yirrkala in Arnhem Land took Nabalco (a Swiss mining consortium) and the Australian government to the High Court to fight a wholesale takeover of their land for mining purposes. Predictably, the Yirrkala lost—basically because they could not prove proprietary rights (i.e., economic ownership) of the land, although they could prove a social and ritual relationship predating the European arrival in this country.

In his judgment of the case, Justice Blackburn produced his famous statement that: "The (Yirrkala) people belong to the land but the land does not belong to the people."

The land rights demand has gathered impetus to the point where it is now probably the major demand of the black movement.

At the present time, the most influential forces opposing the granting of land rights to black people are the mining companies and the international pastoralist companies which support the Country Party and in turn are supported by it. The present in-

crease in mining activity makes it inevitable that the land rights demand will probably receive no more than token recognition by the capitalist governments.

The mining companies oppose black ownership and control of the mineral interests on black reserves, but with the demand for land rights growing, the governments may be forced to resort to manoeuvres such as granting land and mineral rights in such a way that the blacks would find it necessary to sell their mineral rights cheaply to the mining companies. Such manoeuvres have succeeded in robbing the black people of their rights in the past, but the growing political awareness of black people is limiting the government's scope for such manoeuvres.

Civil rights

Demands for the right to employment, adequate housing, equal educational opportunities, adequate health facilities, elimination of discriminatory legislation and practices, etc., are being increasingly raised by blacks living in urban areas. It is they who suffer most directly and consistently from unemployment and victimisation by the police. As a result of the urban blacks taking up such demands, rural blacks also are beginning to mobilise around the civil rights issue.

Some of the circumstances which are leading black people to struggle for civil rights are: the infant mortality rate among blacks in the north and west of Australia is over 100 per 1,000 (the average for the whole population is 18 per 1,000); blacks in most jobs (but particularly the pastoral industry) are usually the last hired and first fired, and in Western Australia



the Embassy on lawn across
aboriginal land rights.

Direct Action

Yugoslavia

Belgrade students sentenced to prison

By C. Malagnou

Miko Tripalo, the former leader of the League of Communists in Croatia who was deposed for having permitted and fostered the nationalist explosion of last November-December, has asked that he be retired at the age of forty-five. It is not likely that he will be brought to trial.

But other trials have taken place recently, several of them aimed at leftist opponents or critics of the Yugoslav political system.

Mihailo Djuric, professor of law in Belgrade, was sentenced to two years in prison for having stated—a year ago—that the new constitutional reform threatened to reshape the country along simple geographical lines. At that time *Annals*, the law faculty review, published his remarks, and this was enough for the magazine to be seized. Today Djuric has been sentenced, even though events in Croatia

have proved him correct.

This sentencing, in Serbia, of an internationalist Communist militant and editor of the magazine *Praxis* on charges of Serbian "nationalism" is no doubt intended as pressure on the authorities in Zagreb to deal severely with "their" nationalists.

Around the same time, three Belgrade students accused of reconstituting the Fourth International in Yugoslavia were also brought to trial. But in large part the trial had already taken place. For all practical purposes, the press had already found the defendants guilty. This was so flagrant that the Belgrade newspaper *Student* protested against the way the weekly *Nin* had printed, in its March 5 issue, "the secrets of 'our' Trotskyists."

According to the indictment, the defendants had written a call for an "initiative group for the creation of a revolutionary party" whose principles were set down in an article (unpublished) on "the political system of a completely self-managing society."

The defense tried to explain that mere possession of books or pamphlets proves nothing, that the accusation was based on allegations and not on proof. But in vain.

The defense tried—also without success—to get the trial postponed so as to be able to hear testimony from Predrag Vranicki, newly elected rector of the University of Zagreb, a member of the *Praxis* editorial board, and an expert on questions of Trotskyism. (Vranicki published a six-volume set of works by Trotsky in Yugoslavia.) When the attorneys for the nationalist students in Zagreb requested a postponement of their trial, it was granted.

The question of Ernest Mandel came up during the trial. In November 1971 he had been invited to speak on the subject of Trotskyism at the "Red Horse" student forum in Belgrade. Through some curious mistake, the press had earlier implicated one Heinrich Mandel, who does not exist.* The advantage of this was that a "subversive" Mandel was dragged in without naming the Mandel, who is well known in Yugoslavia since he has been invited there officially on several occasions. In the trial, of course, such an "insertion" could not be upheld.

In his last speech to the court the defendant Pavel Imsirovic said, "Power in Yugoslavia is not in the hands of the working people . . . It is not a government of the working class." The prosecutor took this opportunity to file a new charge against him.

Two of the defendants, Milan Nikolic and P. Imsirovic, were sentenced to two years in prison. The third, Jelka Kljajic, got a year and a half.

They listened in silence to the pronouncement of the sentences, holding in their hands red carnations, the symbol of the June 1968 student revolt, the first mass protest against social inequalities and the tendencies toward capitalist restoration in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav bureaucracy is hitting at the right and the left. It does not want any force to appear further left than itself. But through the trials of the leftists, the Yugoslav leadership's struggle against the right is shown up for what it is—a sham battle. □

* Ernest Mandel's father, long dead, was named Henri.

48 percent of all convictions in the courts are against black people, who make up three percent of the population. (Queensland apparently has similar figures.)

Some of the civil rights demands may be granted under capitalism, others will not be—for example, the right to employment. As a whole, the demands for civil rights bring the black movement into head-on confrontation with the capitalist system. The demands, which call for massive reallocation of resources (it would require \$250-million to provide adequate housing alone, for aborigines), attack the very system which creates the inequalities and discrimination from which black people suffer.

Where now for the black movement?

Following the upsurge around July 14 and the Black Embassy, the way lies open for the black movement to build upon the support it has already won, to build further mass actions in an ongoing campaign for black rights. Failure to define clear perspectives for struggle employing the support which exists could lead to dissipation of the movement.

None of the demands of the Black Moratorium have been won, nor will they be won unless a vigorous ongoing campaign is waged. The aim of the black movement should be to involve ever growing numbers of people directly in the struggle for black liberation. Out of the movement thus created will emerge the black cadres necessary to carry the struggle further, to tackle the task of creating a black party, the tool which the black people can use to seize control once and for all, of the factors which control their everyday lives. □

Argentina

Demand for investigation of massacre

[The following front-page editorial on the August 16 murder of the guerrillas in Trelew by the Argentine military appeared in the August 23 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, published weekly by the Partido Socialista Argentino (Argentine Socialist party). It was entitled "Repudiate the Massacre: We demand an investigation and punishment of those responsible." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Our party, which has stated its opposition to the mistaken methods of the guerrillas, shares the angry suspicion of the workers and the people that the fifteen* revolutionists killed in the Almirante Zar Base were viciously murdered by the navy, which was responsible for guarding them. The official explanation is full of unanswered questions and points that need clarification, yet the bloody repressive and political meaning of this deed is clear. The armed forces and the government cannot expect the country and the people to be satisfied with the explanation that has been offered.

This explanation raises certain questions that are today being asked by the

entire country. How did the officer on duty and in charge of guarding the nineteen most important politico-military prisoners in the country come to find himself alone with them, in a corridor, at 3:40 a.m. with a machine gun in his hands? How did the guerrillas manage to get weapons for the subsequent shootout? How did it happen that all of the prisoners and none of the jailers were killed or wounded in the shootout and that the hostage emerged alive and unhurt? What could have driven the prisoners to such a preposterous act as that of confronting 400 watchful soldiers, on a military base in the middle of the desert, with no hope of escaping, when just a few days earlier, in circumstances where the possibilities for escaping were better, they surrendered unconditionally?

The fraudulent nature of the official version in face of these basic questions is obvious. No decree or clampdown can overcome the suspicion that this was a premeditated massacre—a massacre that could have expressed the military's hatred for the guerrillas and its thirst for vengeance against them, or that could in addition have had a coup d'etat as an ultimate political objective.

It is the government itself that is attempting to cover up these doubts by limiting itself, late on Bloody Tuesday and then in a lengthy session of the military chiefs, to placing a ban on any information from the guerrilla groups and stating that the process of democratic normalization leading up to elections [next year] would continue its course.

If the hunger and poverty of the workers, together with the biased and repressive character of the military government, were decisive obstacles, limiting the process of restoring civil institutions, the unexplained killing of

fifteen revolutionists on a naval military base can end the government's control over this process.

The Argentine Socialist party will continue its stubborn struggle to defend even the most minor vestige of constitutional political rights and the most modest civil rights won by the working-class and popular masses. In defending them, we call for denunciation of the Trelew massacre and for its investigation by a commission consisting of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and the working-class and popular political parties. We call for punishment of those responsible to the full extent of the law. This is the way to halt the sinister escalation that the repressive forces are embarking on, and to block success for any attempt at a military coup by the far right against the masses. We must alert the working people, and especially the workers' movement and its class organizations, to the need to compel trade-union and political leaders to speak out against the Trelew massacre and call for a clarification of the matter and the punishment of those responsible; to denounce any attempt at an ultrareactionary military coup; and to place no confidence in the present military government, which must be replaced by a workers' and popular government.

Regardless of what comes out of this necessary investigation, the Argentine Socialist party repudiates the bloodbath, the responsibility for which lies with the military dictatorship that took power six years ago. □

* This was the number at the time the editorial was written. Later, another of those wounded died, bringing the total to sixteen. Whether the other three who were wounded survived remains to be seen.

Peking denies Bangladesh United Nations seat

China, in its first use of its Security Council veto, voted against a resolution to admit Bangladesh to the United Nations on August 25. The resolution, which was submitted by the Soviet Union, India, Yugoslavia, and Great Britain, was supported by eleven of the fifteen members, with three abstentions. Although only China voted to oppose the entry of the new country, its vote constitutes a veto since it is a permanent member of the Security Council.

"My delegation cannot compromise on important questions of principle," explained Huang Hua, chief delegate of a regime that supported Yahya Khan's brutal efforts to suppress the revolt that led to the creation of Bangladesh, a regime that chose, in the midst of the savage bombing raids against North Vietnam last June, to begin to deliver \$300,000,000 in economic and military aid to Pakistan, including sixty MIG-19 jet fighters badly needed in Vietnam for use against American B-52s.

The formal reasons that Huang gave for his government's action were that Bangladesh was defying two United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Bangladesh and for the repatriation of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva conventions.

"Empty promises are not enough. Applicants for membership have to show their willingness to abide by the obligations contained in the charter," Huang asserted the day before the vote, suggesting that more stringent rules hold for applicants than for a member like the United States that regularly violates the charter of an outfit that it helped create and that it dominates.

Huang preceded his veto with a bitter attack on the Soviet Union. He charged that "the sole purpose of Soviet socialist imperialism is to further control India and Bangladesh, to expand the spheres of her influence and to bully Pakistan at will." He accused the Kremlin of following a policy of "honey in mouth and dagger in heart" in its aggressive designs on many countries, "including those in Africa and the Middle East." Some of these aggressions were "about to be revealed," he predicted.

Bangladesh's foreign minister, Abud Samad Azad, responded to the veto by describing the Peking regime's role as that of "a preacher of hatred and confrontation." "It is obvious," he charged, "that China is following a deliberate policy calculated to create tension and instability in the sub-continent."

Soviet UN representative Viktor Issraelyan sharply denounced the Chinese veto and accused Huang of "repeating the approach by the late John Foster Dulles, who also saw Soviet influence everywhere." The Soviet press agency, TASS, accused the Peking regime of following an "obstructionist policy" with regard to Bangladesh. "Other Soviet media contended that this stand showed China's claim of support in third-world countries was a false one," wrote *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith from Moscow August 26.

While the Kremlin is trying to take advantage of China's veto to discredit it in the "third world," an intensification of polemics against the policies of the Peking regime has been underway for several weeks in Moscow. "Peking has also come under fire here in the last 10 days," Smith reported, "for allegedly putting financial profit

ahead of political principles by letting the British retain control of Hong Kong, which, the Soviet press contend, is a major headquarters for Asia for Asia for the United States Central Intelligence agency."

According to Smith, a "particular target" of Soviet attacks was the recent visit to Peking of Gerhard Schröder, vice chairman of the West German Christian Democratic party. The trip was described in *Pravda* as evidence of Peking's willingness to cooperate with "the most reactionary" elements in Western Europe.

Such a charge is hypocritical, of course, coming as it does on the heels of the spectacle of the archreactionary Richard Nixon being wined and dined in both Moscow and Peking while he was subjecting Vietnam to the heaviest bombing of the Indochina war. The Kremlin's criticisms of Peking are hardly persuasive in view of the fact that it is no more committed to the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism than is the Mao regime.

Peking's veto clearly violated Bangladesh's right to self-determination. For while it might be asked what workers states like China and the Soviet Union are doing in the imperialist-dominated United Nations in the first place, any country that wants to join it should be allowed to do so.

This point was not overlooked by the editors of the *New York Times*, who wrote August 26 that "the self-styled champion of the 'Third World' betrayed the principles of self-determination and independence that Peking professes to support. Ironically, the veto rejects the concept of universality of U. N. membership which was a principal argument in favor of China's own belated admission to the world organization last year." □

Japan

'Greatest pollution in the world'

"Kogai"—environmental pollution—has become a widely discussed topic in Japan. Jun Ui, writing in the July 1 issue of the Osaka periodical *Shin-sayoku*, states, "We Japanese are living in the most heavily polluted country in the world." He charges that the growing economic power of Japan's ruling class is costing the Japanese people a heavy price in illness and lowered quality of life.

In recent years, new fatal diseases have appeared, stemming from the pollution of Japan's waters by giant corporations. Minamata disease (a nervous ailment caused by methyl mercury), Itai-Itai disease (cadmium poisoning), and the Kanemi Rice Oil disease have already claimed many lives. The demands by victims and

their families for compensation are having repercussions in Japanese politics.

Ui points out that Japan's favorable position in the world market and the profits raked in by the capitalists depend on low wages, protectionist policies, and "kogai." The minimally effective waste treatment processes used in the United States are only beginning to be introduced in Japan.

Ui takes a dim view of the government's new pollution control legislation, drafted in response to widespread protest demonstrations. "The processes involved in the preparation of pollution control laws indicate that the major aim of these laws is simply to control the antipollution movement."

That this skepticism is well founded is indicated by the response of one government official to a group of Minamata victims who had come to Tokyo to demand action. Pointing out the window, he said, "In that five-story building over there many doctors from Tokyo University are doing research and they say that your claim about the waste from the factory is groundless." The doctors, the research, and their findings were all fictional. As Ui notes, "This shows that our bureaucrats are easy liars, when they think that the victims do not know the truth." □

In our September 11 issue, *Intercontinental Press* will carry the full text of the oppositionist leaflet which was recently circulated in Moscow.

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t Now' ention

A newly formed caucus, the Vietnam Caucus, did succeed in attracting the attention of a large number of delegates who sought to put the AFT in clear opposition to the war.

The work of the Vietnam Caucus began some five months before the convention when the Minnesota Resolution on Southeast Asia was introduced at the Minnesota State Federation of Teachers convention. After it passed this convention, the resolution was eventually endorsed by the state federations in California and Michigan, as well as several locals of the AFT.

More than 250 delegates formally joined the Vietnam Caucus at the St. Paul convention. Several of these helped in securing the written endorsements of some 820 convention delegates for the Minnesota Resolution.

The fact that a clear majority of the delegates attending the convention endorsed the resolution before it came to the floor was largely responsible for its passage. It was nearly impossible for the prowar officials of many of the large delegations to again impose unit-rule votes on their delegates.

The Vietnam Caucus published its own newspaper for the convention. It contained a series of articles linking the war to the problems facing teachers in public education. The Vietnam Caucus distributed the newspaper and many leaflets explaining the link between the war and wage controls and calling for the AFT to support the antiwar actions called by NPAC for the fall.

This important proposal was unfortunately deleted from the Minnesota Resolution by a one-vote margin in the international relations committee. Because the antiwar resolution was kept from the floor until the last hour of the convention, supporters of the Vietnam Caucus were not able to amend the proposal to include support for the fall demonstrations. The prowar officials purposely delayed the motion until they were assured of the most favorable outcome for their position.

Nevertheless, opposition to the war was so great that the Shanker forces were unable to weaken the resolution further.

In other convention activity, the delegates in a roll-call vote overwhelmingly endorsed the merger course. David Selden was reelected by a better than 2-to-1 margin, and the Progressive Caucus slate won all 20 vice-presidential slots.

The AFT went on record in favor of maternity leave, reversing last year's position. It came out in favor of supplying women students with information on abortion and contraception. And it adopted a resolution opposing various forms of sexism in textbooks.

Final action on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), taken in the closing minutes of the convention, retained a weakened version of the position adopted last year, which hinged support of the constitutional amendment to retention of state protective laws for women. This was adopted despite the Women's Committee demand for unequivocal support to the ERA.

Community fights to keep N.Y. Puerto Rican principal



Militant/Flax Hermes

Conditions in New York City public schools are among the worst in the country.

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK, Sept. 3—On July 19, Manhattan's Lower East Side District 1 School Board appointed Luis Fuentes the new superintendent for the district's 20 schools. As early as October 1968, during the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) anti-community-control strike, Fuentes's name had been suggested by community parents to fill the District 1 position.

At that time he was known as the first Puerto Rican principal in the New York school system and the first to establish a bilingual school. He was one of the main targets of the UFT's charges of "mob rule" and the teaching of "race hatred" in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville demonstration school district.

From the time of the strike until he was fired as principal of P.S. 155 in September 1971, anti-community-control forces made much of his alleged anti-Semitism and alleged use of ethnic slurs against all groups, including Puerto Ricans. These same anti-community-control elements, led by the UFT and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), have now formed an alliance demanding the removal of Fuentes from his new position on the basis that he is a "racist."

These charges are based on a report made three years ago, entitled "Anti-Semitism in the New York City School Controversy." In the report, Fuentes is alleged to have told two Jewish assistant principals in 1967 to change their names to "Gonzales" if they hoped for promotions in the school system. Fuentes has denied making these alleged statements.

The *New York Times* and the *Daily News* have editorially supported the attack launched by the ADL, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the American Jewish Committee (which later dropped

out). In a letter to Harvey Scribner, school chancellor, and State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist, these four groups demanded a hearing on their charges that would lead to the removal of Fuentes.

The *Times* called Scribner and the city's Board of Education to exercise their good judgment and broad powers in overruling the decisions of the unreliable local boards. In an Aug. 8 editorial the *Times* stated: "The integrity and workability of decentralization has always depended on the capacity and willingness of the central Board of Education to prevent the community boards from abusing their newly acquired powers. Unless the city's schools are to be abandoned to racial and ethnic power plays, Chancellor Harvey Scribner and the central board have an immediate obligation to investigate the charges against Mr. Fuentes and review the appropriateness of his appointment."

If one had any doubts about the *Times'* assumption as to what should be done about this, its editorial further states, "So extensive have been the complaints against Mr. Fuentes that local and state authorities in both education and human rights should have initiated their own investigations long ago without any need for outside prodding."

Before any hearing on the charges had taken place, Joseph Monserrat, president of the Board of Education, came out solidly for the UFT-Anti-Defamation League position in a guest editorial in the Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*. He called on Fuentes to issue apologies to the Jewish, Italian, and Puerto Rican communities after he affirmed that "the record shows that he is a racist." Monserrat represents the conservative old-line leadership of the Puerto Rican community.

Monserrat heads the city's team in

the current contract negotiations with the UFT. Some have suggested that his attack on Fuentes is inspired by a desire to get the UFT to soften its economic demands in exchange for a display of a hard line against local-board decisions.

A slightly more civil-libertarian position was taken by Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal and the *New York Post* when they entertained the possibility that a hearing might establish Fuentes's innocence. However, other elected officials, including Assemblyman Antonio Olivieri and Congressmen Mario Biaggi and James Scheuer, make it clear that they see an investigation simply as window dressing for removing Fuentes quickly.

By far the most virulent attack on the District 1 action has come from Albert Shanker, president of the UFT. He has found in the appointment of Fuentes confirmation of "the fear that decentralization could lead to the capture of school districts by unrepresentative extremist groups and to the employment of racial bigots." According to him, despite all the safeguards of bureaucratic veto over the local boards' decisions, "in Community District 1 . . . the outrageous has happened."

In trying to commit the UFT to a smashing operation in District 1, Shanker, in his "Where We Stand" column in the July 30 *New York Times*, called on "all those who oppose racism and bigotry to speak up . . . there should be no place in our school system for Fuentes or for the community school board which finds in him the embodiment of its ideals."

In response to the unity of the UFT leadership, the Anti-Defamation League, right-wing politicians, and the big press, the Puerto Rican community has come to Fuentes's defense. Numerous street rallies have been held throughout the district, and organization for his defense is increasing in the city-wide Puerto Rican community.

A mass display of solidarity was shown at the last monthly meeting of the local school board, during which community residents took the floor in his support. Because the board meetings are open and conducted in Spanish, Chinese, and English, they have become major political mobilizations in the Lower East Side. In the past they have been scenes of confrontation between the community and the Jewish Defense League, the Italian-American Civil Rights League, and other reactionary groups.

On Aug. 31 local residents held a conference to draw up a program of community control to be mass distributed and presented to the local board. It calls for a fully bilingual and bicultural school district to put an end to the treatment the 14,000 students (80 percent of the district's students) who speak Spanish or Chinese receive. So that the parents can be politically active, it calls for day and night child-care and the opening of the schools 24 hours a day.

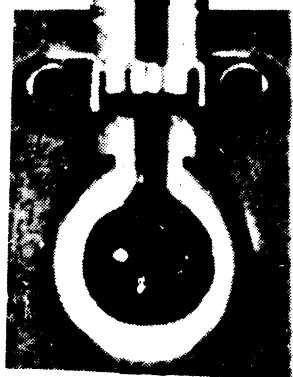
New York State's Human Rights Commission set up a special committee Sept. 1 to investigate the charges against Fuentes. This action bypassed procedures outlined in the so-called decentralization law, which calls for an appeal to the local board to reconsider its action before going to the city and state bureaucrats.

The commission will submit its findings to Commissioner Nyquist and Chancellor Scribner. Presumably, these two men will then rule on the removal of Fuentes. Should he be fired in the context of a UFT strike, there is the potential of a repeat of the 1968 crisis.

\$40,000

20,426

10,213



Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund

First week's donations total \$200

Contributions during the first week of the Campaign Matching Fund brought the 1972 Socialist Workers' campaign \$400 closer to its fall goal of \$40,000. Twenty-three contributions, totaling \$206.13, were received in the mail this week.

The Campaign Matching Fund has been made possible by several campaign supporters who have agreed to match all contributions to the Jenness-Pulley campaign up to \$20,000. The drive ends on election day. The first \$10,000 was contributed at the Aug. 18 Cleveland campaign rally.

For the drive to successfully reach its goal, an average of more than \$1,000 a week must be raised between now and Nov. 7. Many of the fall activities of the Jenness-Pulley campaign will depend on income from the Matching Fund. Your contributions are needed.

() I can contribute \$_____ to the \$40,000 Matching Fund.

() I can contribute \$_____ in three monthly installments (Sept., Oct., & Nov.).

Name

Address

City

State Zip

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

SWP wins place on New York ballot; 73,000 signatures filed

By HELEN SCHIFF

NEW YORK, Sept. 5—The Socialist Workers Party has won a place on the New York ballot this fall. No challenges to its signatures were filed within the three-day time period allowed.

Presidential nominating petitions with 38,453 signatures were filed in Albany on Aug. 28. The state requires 20,000. The SWP was the first of the smaller parties to file and will therefore appear first among these parties on the ballot.

The signatures were filed in Albany by Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for Congress from Manhattan's 20th C.D. Media coverage of the filing appeared on three local TV stations as well as in the three main Albany papers and on several radio stations. Those delivering the news release to the media in Albany saw a poster of Linda Jenness on the bulletin board of the Associated Press office.

In New York City and Long Island, nominating petitions were filed for six of the party's eight congressional candidates, representing the largest socialist slate in New York in more than 25 years. A total of nearly 35,000

signatures were filed for these congressional candidates, although the law requires only 3,500 for each candidate.

Today's *New York Post* responded to the filing with a story covering each of the SWP congressional candidates.

The SWP's New York ballot effort, totaling 73,396 signatures and involving arduous paper work, is the second biggest petitioning effort in the history of the SWP. It was topped only by the recent successful drive to get 100,000 signatures in Massachusetts.

The Socialist Labor Party filed 26,780 signatures on presidential nominating petitions. The Courage Party, New York's section of Wallace's American Party, was ruled off the ballot when it filed only 18,000 signatures, less than the number legally required.

The Communist Party filed 37,000 signatures for Hall and Tyner, and 5,500 signatures for José Stevens, their candidate for Congress from Harlem. Stevens is the only local CP candidate in New York. The number of signatures they filed contrasts sharply with their previously an-

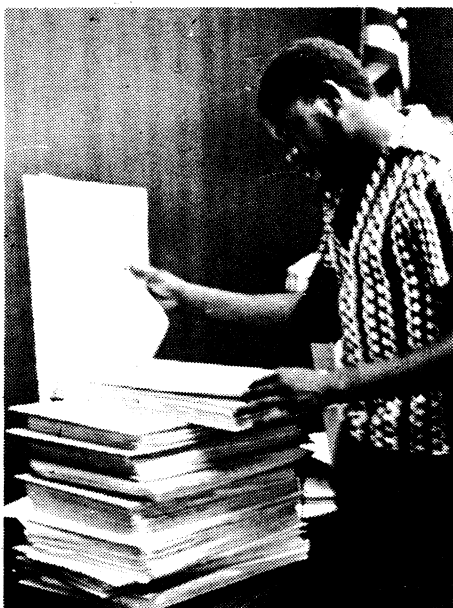
nounced drive to obtain more than 100,000 signatures "as a political and social demonstration" of their strength.

The CP had originally vowed to collect 120,000 signatures in New York. This goal was reduced to 110,000 in an article in the July 15 *Daily World*, which said that the "110,000 figure demonstrates the sparkling confidence of the Communists and their friends." By July 29, the target was down to 107,000; but no explanation was offered for the failure to come anywhere near this revised target.

The People's Party, running Dr. Benjamin Spock for president, apparently made no ballot attempt.

The SWP congressional candidates who will appear on the ballot are: Joanna Misnik, 20th C.D.; Rebecca Finch, 18th C.D.; Hedda Garza, 5th C.D.; John Hawkins, 12th C.D.; James Mendieta, 14th C.D.; Bobby R. Washington, 19th C.D.

In addition, write-in campaigns are being conducted for Susan Winsten in the 17th C.D. and Dianne Feeley in the 16th C.D., and for David Keepnews in the 66th Assembly District.



B.R. Washington (l), SWP Harlem congressional candidate, leafs through nominating petitions. Petitions are filed (r) by candidates (from left) James Mendieta, B.R. Washington, Rebecca Finch, petition-drive coordinator Helen Schiff, and candidate Joanna Misnik.



Militant/Sara Gates

Six speakers to stump country this fall for Jenness and Pulley

By JANICE LYNN

The Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley will be moving into high gear this fall. With 18 teams of young socialists visiting every major campus and city in the United States, the socialist campaign will be a visible force on the political scene.

The presidential and vice-presidential candidates will have a rigorous and ambitious schedule of campaigning, stumping the country during the 10 weeks preceding the elections. Although their schedules take them to every part of the country—from Seattle to San Diego, Houston to Minneapolis, and Atlanta to Boston—the SWP campaign committee expects to receive more speaking requests than can be filled.

To supplement the tours of Jenness and Pulley, the SWP National Campaign Committee is also organizing speaking tours of members of the SWP National Campaign Committee. These speakers will represent the SWP campaign at meetings across the country. They will address audiences on campuses and in cities that the two can-

didates will not be able to visit this fall.

These campaign speakers include George Novack, Evelyn Reed, Peter Buch, Fred Halstead, Stephanie Coontz, and Paul Boutelle.

● George Novack, secretary of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, is one of the outstanding socialist scholars in the United States today. Author of more than 20 books and pamphlets, Novack will speak on "Politics and Philosophy," an analytical view of the relation between philosophy and politics throughout history.

● Evelyn Reed, the well-known feminist and anthropologist and author of *Problems of Women's Liberation*, will speak on "Feminism and Woman's Biology."

● The SWP campaign's position on the Middle East will be represented by Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues in the Mideast Crisis*. Buch, recently returned from a Palestine Week Conference in Algeria, will speak on "Zionism and the Palestinian Struggle for Self-Determination."

● Fred Halstead, a well-known figure in the antiwar movement since its

inception, will speak on "Vietnam and the Crisis of U.S. Imperialism," and "The Coming American Revolution." Halstead was the SWP presidential candidate in 1968 and is currently running for the U.S. Senate seat in Illinois.

● Stephanie Coontz is a former national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. She recently returned from a two-month speaking tour of Europe as a representative of the American antiwar movement. Coontz will speak on "What's Wrong With the Democratic Party?" and "Why Socialism?"

● Paul Boutelle was the 1968 vice-presidential candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. He has been an active participant in many organizations of the Black community. Boutelle will speak on "Black Nationalism and Socialism," and "Black Americans and the 1972 Elections."

To arrange speaking dates and fees for any of these speakers, contact the SWP '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676.

'Too young,' says NBC

Jenness to picket NBC; asks equal time

By CATHY PERKUS

NEW YORK — Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness will lead a picket line on Tues., Sept. 12, outside the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) headquarters in New York City. The picket line will protest the network's refusal to provide her equal television and radio time to answer an August campaign speech by Senator George McGovern.

The 5 to 6 p.m. picket line will assemble on 6th Avenue between 49th and 50th streets.

The New York Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley is encouraging everyone "who supports the right of the American people to hear all the presidential candidates and the right of all the candidates to be heard on TV and radio" to march in Tuesday's protest.

The SWP '72 Campaign Committee applied to all four networks for equal time after they each suspended regular programming on Aug. 5 to broadcast McGovern's speech announcing Sargent Shriver as his running mate.

Such applications for equal time are

provided for by Section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934, which says, "if any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office. . . . a 'legally qualified candidate' means any person who has publicly announced that he is a candidate . . . and who meets the qualifications prescribed by the applicable laws to hold that office. . . ."

Section 315(a) also stipulates that newscasts, news interviews, and on-the-spot coverage of news events are exempt from equal-time challenge.

The SWP maintains that McGovern's Aug. 5 appearance does not fall into any of these exempt categories. In response, ABC offered a segment on the Oct. 8 "Issues and Answers" program as a substitute for equal time, which the campaign committee accepted. CBS has not yet answered.

Both NBC and Mutual Broadcasting refused Jenness's application. Mutual claimed that McGovern's broadcast was a news event, exempt from

the equal-time provision.

In a letter to SWP Campaign Manager Larry Seigle denying equal time, NBC Vice-President Benjamin Raub maintained that because Jenness is 31 years old "she has not established that she is a legally qualified candidate for the presidency of the U.S. . . . and therefore is not entitled to claim equal opportunities under Section 315(a)."

NBC has recognized that the equal-time provision does apply in this case. For example, on Sun., Aug. 27, in response to requests for equal time, NBC broadcast a special program featuring brief statements by Communist Party presidential candidate Gus Hall and Socialist Labor Party presidential candidate Louis Fisher.

The SWP '72 Campaign Committee has appealed for rulings from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in both the Mutual and NBC cases and expressed its intent to take court action against both networks, if necessary, to win equal time. The FCC has indicated it will rule on these questions by mid-September.

According to Seigle, "NBC's deci-

sion is an outright attack on Jenness's constitutional right to run and her right to be heard. It infringes on the American people's right to hear all the candidates and will hinder young people from seeking political office. It's no less an attack on democratic rights than Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown's attempt to rule Jenness and Pulley off the ballot on the basis of their ages."

The equal-time provision, insufficient as it is to guarantee minority-party candidates a fair hearing, is under attack from Senator McGovern. Eager to draw President Nixon into debate, without the "distraction" of including candidates from the other parties, McGovern has several times urged the House to repeal Section 315(a). The Senate voted for repeal in March.

Whether or not equal time is repealed, McGovern and Nixon are assured maximum media exposure before the election. If Section 315(a) is repealed, NBC, ABC, and CBS have promised to provide the two capitalist candidates with a total of \$1.2-million worth of free media time.

The SWP fights for right to ballot status

Illinois

CHICAGO, Sept. 4 — A panel of three federal judges has intervened in the fight over the Illinois "loyalty" oath. The panel will rule on the constitutionality of the state's attempts to bar candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party from the ballot. The candidates have refused to sign the oath.

The three-judge panel has set a hearing on the CP's case for Sept. 11. Since the same panel has been appointed to hear the SWP's challenge, it is possible that the two challenges will both be heard on that date.

Meanwhile, state election officials continue stalling tactics in an attempt to delay a federal court ruling on the constitutional questions. When 40,300 signatures on SWP nominating petitions were presented to election officials in Springfield on Aug. 2, they were not accepted without the signed oaths. The SWP then obtained a federal court order forcing the state to accept the signatures pending the outcome of the challenge to the oath.

The State Electoral Commission set a hearing for mid-August to consider the validity of challenges filed by "independent" voters to the SWP petitions. The challenges were based on the loyalty-oath requirement.

However, the hearing was postponed, and a new date was set for Sept. 6, only one day before the commission must by law announce the makeup of the Illinois ballot. Since the federal courts will not hear the SWP's case until the State Election Commission has ruled, these delaying tactics have had the effect of pushing the federal hearing closer to the election date, making appeals more difficult.

If necessary, the SWP will seek an injunction preventing the state from printing the ballots until the case is resolved. The Communist Party has already filed such a motion.

from the Tennessee ballot. When Ben Harris, Tennessee ballot director for the Jenness-Pulley campaign, tried to file nominating petitions for the Socialist Workers candidates, the Davidson County Election Commission in Nashville refused to accept them.

Sam Wallace, chairman of the commission, claimed that the petitions are unacceptable because the Socialist Workers Party is not recognized in Tennessee. Harris replied that "the petitions are for independent electors pledged to Jenness and Pulley" and that "nominating procedures for independent candidates in the Tennessee law have been carefully followed."

The real motivation of the election commission was revealed in a statement by Wallace quoted in the August 29 *Nashville Tennessean*. After studying the method in the Tennessee code for placing independent candidates on the ballot, Wallace said, "What really floored me . . . is that if this is the way it can be done then there's nothing to prevent splinter groups all over the country from getting on our ballot."

A meeting of the election commission on Aug. 30, which took place while several anticommunists picketed outside, upheld Wallace's decision to keep Jenness and Pulley off the ballot.

The Communist Party also tried to file a slate of independent electors, pledged to Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner. Their petitions were rejected on the same grounds as the Jenness and Pulley petitions.

"We do not accept this ruling by the election commission," said Harris. "They are ignoring their own laws. We have asked the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CODEL) to help us prepare a legal challenge to this blatantly illegal attempt to keep us off the ballot."

Wash., D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 6 — The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CODEL) held a news conference here today protesting an attempt by the D.C. Election Board to rule

the SWP presidential ticket off the ballot.

Election Board Executive Secretary Norval Perkins informed the SWP in a letter dated Aug. 31 that the number of petition signatures submitted was insufficient. More than 26,000 signatures were turned over to the board,



Militant/John Gray

Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for D.C. nonvoting delegate.

nearly twice the 13,010 required.

Perkins said his office had conducted a survey of the signatures and that "the results indicate clearly that the petition does not contain the minimum number of valid signatures required by law."

The board's survey was based on a sampling of only 199 signatures from the 26,000 submitted.

In addition, Perkins charged the SWP with the submission of "questionable" signatures. The signatures were turned over to the police department, he reported, and according to the report of the chief document analyst, "there are a great many other signatures on these forms that are not genuine."

Linda Jenness sharply attacked the board's accusation. "We've collected nearly 500,000 signatures across the country," she said, "and never have

we been accused of fraud. It's an insult and a travesty of the supposed function of this board to raise such charges.

"Even the chief analyst admitted that his test would not stand up in court and was based on a very superficial examination of the signatures," Jenness said. "We demand an immediate retraction of this unsubstantiated charge."

Jenness was joined at the news conference by Chuck Petrin, representing CODEL, who criticized the minimal sampling offered as evidence of insufficient signatures. Petrin pledged the committee's assistance and support for all three small parties facing a denial of ballot status in D.C.

Petrin said that the Communist Party had been denied ballot status on a technicality, and the D.C. Statehood Party had not submitted the required 5 percent of the registered voters on petitions.

Ohio

As *The Militant* went to press, no decision had yet been handed down by the federal judge considering the legality of Secretary of State Ted Brown's ruling that Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley cannot appear on the Ohio ballot because they are "too young." However, the judge returned from vacation on Sept. 5 and is expected to rule soon on this case.

Attorneys for the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CODEL), which is handling the case, were encouraged by Brown's decision to list Jenness and Pulley on the sample ballots sent out by Brown to the county clerks who are responsible for printing the ballots.

Since Jenness and Pulley are listed on this official state sample that must be followed by the county clerks, the attorneys point out, Brown would have to issue a special order to have their names removed. There is no provision in Ohio law for removing names at this stage, except in the case of the death of a candidate.

Why McGovern can't be trusted to end war in Southeast Asia

The following are excerpts from a speech on "A Socialist Appraisal of the McGovern Campaign" given at the Chicago Militant Labor Forum Aug. 11 by Harry Ring of The Militant's Southwest Bureau.

By HARRY RING

The main argument many people give for supporting George McGovern's presidential campaign is that he promises to end the Vietnam war and cut the arms budget. Let's take a look at McGovern's actual position on these two questions to see whether he merits the support of antiwar activists.

Regarding McGovern's proposals on arms spending, let me quote I. F. Stone, who has done some serious research on this matter. In the July 20 *New York Review of Books* Stone—himself a McGovern supporter—writes:

"The picture created by campaign propaganda is that the choice between Nixon and McGovern is a choice between a moderate strategic arms limitation and a radical recasting of the American military posture. On careful examination it will be seen that the choice really is between a further escalation of the arms race under cover of the SALT accords and a moderate revision downward of the Pentagon budget. While the Nixon program offers no hope of arms reduction and little prospect even of a freeze in the areas which count, the McGovern program implicitly accepts the same doctrines which have fueled the arms race through several administrations, Democratic and Republican. . . . Nixon's program is nine-tenths fakery. McGovern's program is far from radical."

Later, Stone continues: "Some of those, including myself, who see McGovern as our best and only hope for a recasting of national priorities, have hesitated to say this frankly and openly until it was clear that he had the nomination in his grasp. As between McGovern and Nixon, the former offers a real choice in terms of expenditures but not yet of doctrine."



Militant/Mark Sotinoff

Linda Jenness at rally in defense of Harrisburg antiwar defendants April 1.

Stone goes on to show this with facts and figures. He quotes how McGovern himself describes his arms program as based on "assuming that the major communist powers, China and the Soviet Union, will remain actively hostile to US interests, and that there is a real risk of confrontation if one or the other can expect military advantage as a result" (Stone's emphasis).

Cold-war fraud

That is, if the U. S. does not outarm China and the USSR, McGovern sees the danger of a Soviet or Chinese attack on the U. S. This assumption is the same fake and fraud that has been the foundation of the whole cold war.

There is a reason why McGovern takes this stand on the need for a competitive arms program and why he commits himself, as he did in his acceptance speech, to keeping the U. S. a "first-rate" military power. The reason is that George McGovern is committed to the interests of U. S. imperialism. That is why I have no confidence whatever in his promises to end the Vietnam war if he is elected.

If the situation of the U. S. changes in Vietnam in such a way that McGovern is persuaded it is better for the interests of the U. S. capitalist system to maintain a military presence there, he will find all the reasons and pretexts in the world for doing so. Just as John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson did before him.

I think it is far better to rely on those forces that oppose the Vietnam war because they support the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese,

and because they feel the U. S. never had any business in Vietnam and should simply get the hell out and get out now!

Those are the forces that I'll give my support to in fighting to end this war—not the people who say: we're spending too much there; it's becoming impractical; we can't win a military victory right now; it's costing too heavy a social price in Vietnam, in the U. S., and throughout the world; or that the U. S. should be building up its forces in the Middle East instead, because maybe that's where the real confrontation will be.

No, I say a candidate who takes the latter position—like McGovern—cannot be relied upon to end the war. The candidates who call for Out Now and who tell people to organize and fight for an end to the war are Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party.

The reason antiwar activists should support Jenness and Pulley instead of McGovern is not simply that they favor immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the U. S. from Vietnam. What is most important is that the SWP candidates are not tied or committed to the interests of the capitalist class. Rather, they are working to help organize the one force—along with the Vietnamese liberation fighters—that is going to get the U. S. out of Vietnam, and that is the organized power of the American people themselves.

'Peace' presidents

Eisenhower was elected president on the promise that he would end the Korean war, and he ended it. He kept his promise—with a divided Korea, and with U. S. troops still stationed in Korea 20 years later supporting a tyrannical puppet regime. And lodged within the situation is the ever-present prospect of a new conflagration in that area.

John F. Kennedy was the one who sent troops to Vietnam to bolster the "advisers" Eisenhower sent. And LBJ was another liberal "pro-peace" candidate. Richard Nixon himself ran on a "peace" program four years ago. He had a secret plan for ending the war.

The fact of the matter is that from the moment the French imperialists were driven out of Indochina in 1954, U. S. imperialism was prepared to move in and replace the French in their domination of the area. And this is a part of the drive of U. S. imperialism for domination of the world.

That is the central fact of world politics today and has been since the time of the Second World War. The United States went to war with Japan to decide the question of who was going to dominate and exploit the vast colony of China and all of Southeast Asia.

The U. S. imperialists won the war, but they "lost" China. That's how they looked at the Chinese revolution, which took a whole chunk of the world out of the sphere of imperialist exploitation.

The phenomenon of McCarthyism developed in the 1950s around the question of who was responsible for "losing" China. And the Democrats have been trying ever since to explain how they "lost" China and how it wasn't really their fault.

The Indochina war is part of the policy of the U. S. rulers to encircle China and the Soviet Union. Ultimately they want to reverse the revolutions in those countries and reestablish the old colonial relationship.

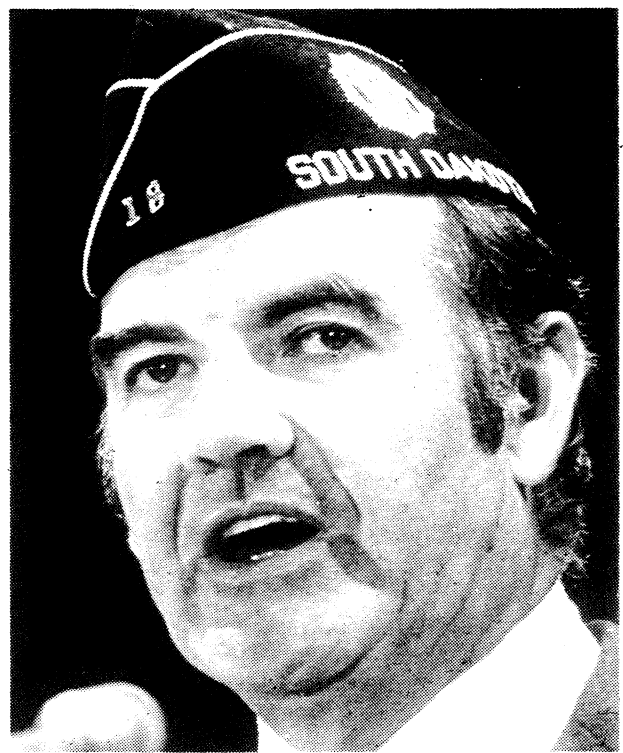
You may say it sounds like a nightmare fantasy. And that's just what it is. It's a nightmare fantasy that drives them to the kind of nightmare destruction they are carrying on today in Vietnam.

Those who got us into Vietnam—the Republican and Democratic parties, on behalf of the capitalist economic and political interests they both represent—cannot be relied upon in any way whatsoever to get the U. S. out of Vietnam.

Ruling class split?

Now, it is true that there are differences within the ruling class on perspectives and tactics in Vietnam. They have different evaluations of whether U. S. military victory is possible. Some of them think the war is not worth the social cost in terms of its effects on the U. S. economy and the profound radicalization the war has caused both in this country and around the world.

We should be aware of these differences and do everything we can to exploit them. These differences within the ruling class have helped legitimize dissent against the war, thus facilitating the work



Speaking at American Legion convention, McGovern stated: "I intend to remain a member of this outfit for as long as I live. . . . you can't disown me." With his declarations that the U. S. must remain a "first-rate power," McGovern has attempted to assure the ruling class, and jingoists like many Legionnaires, that he fully supports the arms race and the bipartisan cold-war foreign policy responsible for U. S. intervention in Korea, Lebanon, the Congo, Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and other places.

of building a mass antiwar movement in this country.

However, I think it is an over-simplification to speak of a split in the ruling class over Vietnam in the sense of two clearly defined wings, one favoring victory in Vietnam and the other favoring withdrawal.

It is impossible to point to any clearly defined wings or any particular sectors of the ruling class that line up for and against the war. What banking and financial interests? What industrial interests? What manufacturing interests favor the hawk policies, and which favor the peace policies? There are no such clearly defined divisions.

It's true that most of the people who act like hawks are in the Republican Party, and most of the people who act like they're pro-peace are in the Democratic Party. That is registered by certain votes in Congress.

But on the other hand, the two most influential newspapers that generally share the McGovern position on the war are the *New York Times*, which supports both Republicans and Democrats, and the *Los Angeles Times*, which is a straight Republican, pro-Nixon newspaper.

But what about all the Democrats who vote for so-called end-the-war resolutions in Congress? I think a very large element of those votes is pure fraud, designed for vote-getting purposes and nothing else.

For example, about two weeks ago I read a front-page account in the *Los Angeles Times* about how the U. S. Senate voted for an amendment to call on Congress to end the war in 90 days, pending only release of U. S. prisoners of war.

But when I read further—you know, continued on page 28—down at the bottom of page 28 it said there was a rider adopted to this amendment. And this rider said that the amendment would obtain force and effect only when the North Vietnamese government has accounted for all U. S. missing in Vietnam. And that was adopted 95 to 2.

These "doves" favor the U. S. getting right out—with only a small proviso that the North Vietnamese government account for each and every one of the missing U. S. troops in Vietnam.

I say that is the worst and most contemptible kind of fraud upon the American people and a cheap attempt to exploit sentiments for peace in this country.

Did George McGovern expose that for the fraud that it was? No, he was one of those who voted for it.

Navajos take over Indian Bureau in Ariz.

By ERNEST HARSCH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — In a surprise announcement on July 17, Tony Lincoln, the Navajo director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), declared that the Navajos themselves were taking over control of all the bureau's operations in the area of Window Rock, Ariz. This would include, he said, control over the use of the \$110-million annual budget allocated to the Navajos.

The turning over of operational control to the tribe itself had been tried before on a much smaller scale with the Miccosukee tribe of Florida and the 3,000-member Zuni tribe. But this take-over by the Navajos has far greater implications since the Navajos, numbering 134,000, are the largest tribe in the U. S., with a reservation the size of West Virginia.

This is also one of the most significant moves toward gaining control of their own lives since Native Americans have come under the control of the federal government.

The take-over move was spearheaded by a group within the BIA calling themselves the Young Indians. This group has criticized the bureau as being a mere pawn of the Department of the Interior, which, they said, "was more interested in the other Western groups they represented—oil, ranching, timber, parks, and recrea-

tion—than in Indians."

They also said that "older white and Indian civil servants in the BIA had become more interested in their pensions than in progress for Indians."

When the news reached Washington, the bureaucrats protested that the Navajos wanted "too much, too soon." The BIA summoned Lincoln to Washington, threatening to fire him. Secretary of the Interior, Rogers Morton, issued a news release stating that the take-over would take "a long time" because of "limitations of legislative authority."

"Additionally," he said, "the Bureau and the department have the usual responsibility to see that taxpayers' money duly appropriated by the Congress is applied to the purposes for which appropriation is made." Lincoln replied that "What they were really worrying about was what area office would be next."

Some of the Navajos are worried about the possible response of the federal government. They remember that during the Eisenhower administration a disastrous program called "termination" had been tried with the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin. The government simply cut off all funds to the Menominees, forcing them to re-buy their homes and pay property taxes, thus wiping out their small incomes.

Although the federal government has given no indication that funds

"PROPERTY RIGHTS
AND HUMAN RIGHTS
ARE INSEPARABLE..."



may be cut off to the Navajos if they go through with the take-over, the threat of imposed limitations on self-control still hangs heavy.

Characterizing the take-over, Lincoln said, "for 100 years the government has operated on the premise that they know what's best for In-

dians. Well, I've lived under that situation, and I know they aren't always right about what's best for Indians. It's time to let Indians decide for themselves. This is no panacea. It's just a first step." He added, "I guess a lot of revolutions start that way."

N.Y. officials cut jobless workers' benefits

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK CITY—While record-breaking unemployment brought the official number of jobless workers in the state to 545,000 in July, New York joined 9 other states in cutting off emergency unemployment checks to workers with unemployment insurance.

Two programs that had made it possible for insured unemployed workers to continue receiving compensation beyond the regular 26 weeks were terminated in New York July 23.

One program, a federally funded emergency unemployment compensa-

tion plan, provides for an additional 13 weeks of benefits. The plan is "triggered" if the rate of unemployment in a state reaches 6.5 percent.

Reporting on the termination of the plan, the Aug. 10 *New York Times* explained that New York no longer qualified because its rate is 5.93 percent. However, the Aug. 24 *Times* reported statistics released by the state labor department the previous day showing that New York's unemployment in July "totaled 545,000, or 6.5 percent of the work force, the highest for the month since 1958." (Emphasis added.)

Why was the emergency compensation ended in July based on a rate of 5.93 percent if the rate that month was actually 6.5, the highest in 14 years and precisely the figure that is supposed to trigger the emergency program?

The reason, State Deputy Industrial Commissioner Gerald Dunn told *The Militant* Aug. 30, "is that the formulae used to compute the rate for both the temporary extended benefits program and the emergency program differ from the formula we use to arrive at a rate for total unemployment in the state." The basic difference is that the

rate that triggers extended benefits is the rate among workers covered by unemployment insurance. The 6.5 figure is the rate for the whole work force.

The formula for the second program, the Federal-State Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1970, is more complicated. This plan is triggered when a state's unemployment rate (among insured workers) goes above 4 percent and is also 20 percent higher for a given 13-week period than for the same period in the previous two years.

Continued on page 22

The National Picket Line

PEGGED TO GOLD: Rules of all kinds are first invented and then changed or disregarded by the employers to suit their needs. A gold mine in Lead, S.D., pays wages and regulates hours of work according to the fluctuation in the world price of gold. This unique arrangement came about under a contract between the United Steelworkers and Homestake Mining Company.

The 1969 contract specified that wages would rise commensurately if the price of gold on the world market rose above \$36 an ounce. The company had inserted another provision, however, that specified that if the price of gold went above \$49 an ounce, this provision would not apply.

When the contract expired in July of this year the company wanted to knock out this escalator clause because the world price of gold has soared at times above \$70 and the workers demanded to be paid according to the price of gold.

After a five-week strike, the 1,100 gold mine workers went back Aug. 28 under a new four-year contract. This time wages are not pegged to gold. They will rise a modest 5 percent each year beginning in August 1973. However, the hours of work will be regulated according to the fluctuations in the world gold market.

A report of the new arrangement in the Aug. 29 *Wall Street Journal* says the present 48-hour workweek will be reduced to 40 hours every other week with no reduction in pay.

A company representative says the new con-

tract must be approved by the government Pay Board.

A JUDGE'S RANDOM REMARKS ON WOMEN WORKERS: Some women workers with civil service status were summarily discharged by the Chicago Board of Education on June 26, 1970, and replaced by six of Mayor Richard Daley's patronage workers, all male. The women, members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, appealed to the courts.

Their appeal was heard by Judge James Parsons in the U. S. Court of Appeals. Parsons made random remarks on many current issues during the proceedings.

To get matters clear, he asked, "Am I dealing with a union or with people?" The attorney for the women explained that the case involved people.

On the school crisis: "I have a basic concern about education over and above my position as a judge. I am just a wise old man. I see so much. I see New York City, where a cutback of 20 percent has thrown every fifth teacher out of a job, and almost half of their otherwise civil service employees out of employment entirely because of the absence of money with which to meet the growing demands inspired by labor organizations which take over in a field in which there should be a simple dedication to the responsibility of serving children."

On the union movement, teachers, and the Rus-

sian revolution: "That movement has gotten ahold of teachers. First it got ahold of just the employees and then the teachers—it is a wonder that even boards of education aren't unionized now—all since the Russian revolution of 1918 (sic) and the impact of Marxism upon American thinking, unfortunate impact of it."

On women's liberation: "I like women; I am in favor of women's lib up to a certain point. . . . By the very fact they are women certain problems present themselves. You will never be able to convince me that a woman should be down there lifting giant boxes and shoving them around until you convince doctors that women are not the most vulnerable individuals to cancer as a result of pressure or injury, particularly of the breasts, or until you can convince me that women should have the privilege and duty of working right straight through pregnancy and birth of a child if they are going to be equal to men because men don't have to quit when the child is born. . . ."

What about the women who were unjustly and illegally fired?

"If the demands are very modest," he said, "I believe they will be accepted."

" . . . I want it settled in 10 days or I will throw it out," he continued, "and I will write a very good opinion and I will have a good reason for doing it."

That's even-handed justice.

— FRANK LOVELL

Company uses scabs and injunctions

Dow's union-busting moves fought by Texas strikers

By TOM LEONARD

SEPT. 4—A meeting of 4,000 strikers from eight craft unions and their families was held at the Arlington, Texas, Fair Grounds Sept. 1. The meeting's purpose was to take action against the latest union-busting move by Dow Chemical—a letter warning workers that if they didn't return to work by Sept. 11, they would be fired and replaced by strikebreakers.

The strikers enthusiastically expressed their determination to continue the strike against the nation's third largest corporation.

Later, Bobby Smith, a negotiator for the Operating Engineers union, said, "We knew it was coming. We made concessions, but we are not going back to work under the same conditions that caused us to walk out."

cochairman with Willian Crowe, president of the Operating Engineers, of the union negotiating committee, categorically denied union involvement in the incidents. Kennemore declared: "We have legal means of working out our problems."

Strikers and their supporters have complied with injunctions limiting the size of picket lines and the manner in which pickets conduct themselves. They have maintained around-the-clock picketing at numerous plant gates, which includes boat picketing of Dow's port facilities.

Despite drastic cuts in their living standards, including the repossession of cars, strikers' morale remains high. For example, one worker who lost his car joked that there was one good thing about it: he was not in debt

initiated a boycott against those who are hostile.

Women communications workers have marched on the picket lines, as have members of other Houston unions. The National Organization for Women (NOW) in Houston adopted a resolution at their August membership meeting in support of the women, and several NOW women later joined the picket lines.

The Houston Peace Action Coalition (HPAC) invited strike leaders to participate in an antiwar action on Hiroshima Day. Although they could not attend because of legal injunctions and negotiations, two Freeport strike supporters spoke at the demonstration.

One of them, Sharron Stewart, gave an account of Dow's role in manufacturing chemical and biological weapons for use in Indochina and connected Dow's war profits with its union-busting and polluting in the Freeport area.

An article for the University of Houston student newspaper, *The Cougar*, entitled "Dow strikers seek student sympathy and support" motivated student support for the strike. Written by a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, the article came at a timely moment because there were reports that students were being used as strikebreakers. Some students have, in fact, been crossing the picket lines.

However, William Crowe told *The Militant* about students Dow had hired for the summer who walked off the job with union members when the strike began.

The *Mocking Bird*, one of Houston's underground papers, has also carried articles sympathetic to the strikers.

Early in the strike, Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, sent a message to the striking unions pledging her support to the strike. At a news conference Aug. 10, she attacked Dow's strikebreaking efforts, linking them with the government wage controls. She challenged the other gubernatorial candidates to take a stand.

So far the Dow strikers have not received the support they need from the Texas labor movement.

At the beginning of the strike, Kennemore and Crowe sent a signed appeal to the Texas union movement, pointing out that Dow's union-busting actions "threaten unions in Texas as well as nationwide." The two also appear regularly at meetings of the Harris County Labor Council to win support.

A few individual unions have responded.

In the coming year, there is the possibility of some 20 significant strikes occurring in Texas.

They would be in serious jeopardy if Dow's union-busting attack in Freeport is successful. Coupled with Texas's notorious "right-to-work" law, a defeat of the Dow strikers would lead to a major offensive against the wages and working conditions of all Texas working people.

The Dow strikers are aware of the key importance of their fight, and they are seeking all the support they can get. Contributions and messages of support can be sent to: General Strike Fund, Box 745, Freeport, Texas 77541.



Families and supporters of the strikers have been actively involved in the picketing.

Such determination is typical of the way strikers, relatives, and supporters have responded to provocations, threats, and intimidation from Dow since it forced the strike on June 25.

From the outset Dow has recruited scabs from as far away as Missouri. It has also, without much success, tried to recruit scabs locally.

In addition to canceling the strikers' insurance, company stooges have challenged the strikers' right to relief aid, such as food stamps. Dow has managed to secure several court injunctions against picketing.

Throughout the negotiations, the unions have made numerous concessions, hoping to end the strike. Dow has made no concessions and has tried to draw out the negotiations as long as possible with the obvious intention of forcing personal attrition on the strikers and their families.

During August there were several incidents involving alleged property damage. A Dow spokesman, Jim Cope, said "sabotage" was involved in at least one of the incidents. But he admitted he had no evidence linking it to the unions.

O.D. Kennemore, president of the Freeport Metal Trades Council and

for the first time in years.

Unquestionably, the biggest morale-boosters in the strike are the union members' wives, children, and friends. O.D. Kennemore paid testimony to their role during the Sept. 1 meeting when he observed to the news media that he was impressed "by the steadfastness of the strikers' wives. The men couldn't go back if they wanted to because of them."

Organized first as the United Wives for Organized Labor, the women strike participants have now changed their name to WQW (Women of Workers).

Throughout the strike, they have conducted militant mass picketing at the Dow administration building. (They call it "the Pentagon.")

As many as 1,500 women have marched at one time in these actions, which are held several times weekly. They meet separately, as well as with the union, to plan their many activities, including a struggle to get food stamps for the strikers and their families, continuing insurance coverage, and a clothing pool to assure that strikers' children will be adequately clothed for school.

In addition, they have lined up local merchants friendly to the strike and

AFL-CIO urged to call women's conference

On Sept. 3 a group of national women's organizations urged AFL-CIO President George Meany to take steps to upgrade the role of women in the leadership of the trade-union movement. In a letter to Meany, they called for a national AFL-CIO women's conference to discuss "both the role of women as unionists and their problems in the workplace."

The women's statement notes that 3.6 million trade unionists — or 20 percent of total union membership — was female in 1971. However, the letter declares, "Positions of power within unions still belong to men as they always have."

It points out that there are no women on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and that the AFL-CIO does not even have a women's department.

Signers of the letter included: Center for Women Policy Studies, the National Organization for Women, the Women's Action Alliance, the Women's Equity Action League, and the Women's Project of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The need for this type of initiative on behalf of women workers was underscored by recent statistics from the women's bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. The figures show that women hold 75 percent of clerical jobs but only 17 percent of managerial positions, 14 percent of well-paying wholesale sales jobs, and 4 percent of skilled-trades jobs.

In addition, the gap between earnings of male and female workers has continued to increase. In 1970 women workers earned an average of only 59 percent of what men earned, whereas in 1955 women were making 64 percent of male salaries.

Figures show impact of N.Y. abortion law

The New York State Health Department reported Aug. 31 that 262,807 legal abortions were performed in the state in 1971, with 206,673 of them performed in New York City.

Of these, 60.9 percent were for women from out-of-state, and the percentage of nonresident abortions rose steadily throughout the year.

Women came to New York to receive abortions from every state except Hawaii and New Mexico—a demonstration of the great hardship imposed on women by the more restrictive abortion laws in other states.

Approximately 20 percent of the total abortions were performed on Black and Brown women—those who have previously been the greatest victims of back-alley abortionists.

Sixteen maternal deaths were reported in relation to the 262,807 abortions, a rate of only six in 100,000. And three of the 16 were caused by attempts at self-induced abortion. The report noted an overall decline in the maternal death rate in 1971.

By FRANK LOVELL

During the past two years a growing tendency has developed among unions to merge in order to eliminate jurisdictional divisions and provide a broader bargaining base. In some instances this has been prompted by changes in industry where companies have merged—the larger capitalist combines gobbling up the smaller ones. Advances in technology have also eliminated many skilled jobs, transformed production methods in entire industries, and reduced the size and strategic weight of some once-powerful unions.

In all instances the tendency of unions to merge and combine their forces has been in response to pressure by the employers who seek to play off one union against another, limit overall wages, undermine established working conditions, increase productivity, and reduce the number of workers.

Union mergers are not new, but in the past they were rarer and usually involved rank-and-file pressure. Now there is often no participation by the membership, everything being arranged among the top officials of the merging unions.

The United Transportation Union (UTU), which held its founding convention in July 1971, was formed from the merger of four rail unions—the Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Switchmen's union.

The new 190,000-member UTU, an AFL-CIO affiliate, was brought together through consultations among the officials of the old unions. Railroad workers thus gained a new union with little noticeable change in the structure of their old union locals. They were simply notified of the new name.

An earlier movement for amalgamation of the old Brotherhoods, beginning in the late 1940s, won the support of thousands and filled the hopes of railroad workers from one end of the country to the other. That effort, however, failed to break through the encrusted craft divisions and ossified organizations.

It appears on the surface that the entrenched officialdom of some of these same former Brotherhoods has finally accomplished what an aroused membership was unable to do. However, the merger has not yet produced any change in relations between railroad management and the workers. The United Transportation Union operates exactly like the old Railroad Brotherhoods. It mediates workers' grievances and seeks new ways to cooperate with government boards and management associations.

A series of similar mergers in 1968-69 produced no significant change in the merged organizations. The United Packinghouse Workers merged with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters in July 1968. They joined forces but the relations between them and the meat-packing industry remained the same. The enlarged organization has not improved conditions of work or halted the new processes of meat packaging. Nor have they reduced the hours of work, forced the hiring of more workers, kept wages abreast of rising prices, or restricted the price gougers and profiteers who process and market meats.

In March 1969 the Weldors union merged with the Operating Engineers (AFL-CIO) but nothing changed for either welders or crane operators.

Government employees and workers in the public sectors of employment, such as postal employees, communications workers, and teachers have more recently been involved in union mergers. The American Postal Workers Union (AFL-CIO) was formed in a merger of the Post Office Motor Vehicle Employees, the Postal Clerks, and the independent National Postal Union.

UNION MERGERS FROM THE TOP ARE NO GAIN FOR RANK AND FILE



Pickets in West Coast dock strike that ended last February. Gains won in 135-day strike were slashed 5 percent by Pay Board, but merger of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union with Teamsters proposed by bureaucrats offers no answer to government attack on unions.

By agreement among the officials of these unions, Francis Filbey of the Clerks union was selected president of the new organization. Unable to persuade the U.S. Postal Service to negotiate a meaningful agreement with the APWU, Filbey is now negotiating with president Joseph Beirne of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) for a merger of postal and telephone workers. Conventions of both CWA and APWU have endorsed the merger idea.

The annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), held this August in St. Paul, Minn., voted for the general idea of merger with the much larger National Education Association (NEA), a professional group. The merger trend of these two organizations led teachers in New York State and in New Orleans to vote earlier this year to join forces.

The New York merger created a new organization, the New York Congress of Teachers, which is to be affiliated with the AFT, NEA, and AFL-CIO at both state and national levels. One purpose of these mergers is to win collective bargaining rights for teachers, which are still denied them in many localities.

In several instances smaller unions are being swallowed up by larger ones. This is the case with the 165,000-member District 50, Allied and Technical Workers of America, once a semi-autonomous catch-all unit of the United Mine Workers, which merged with the Steelworkers union.

The Teamsters union has swallowed up some of its onetime competitors. The 50,000-member United Brewery Workers is leaving the AFL-CIO to join the Teamsters, thus eliminating jurisdictional rivalries and providing a comfortable berth in the larger union for Brewery Workers officials—they hope.

The merger of two AFL-CIO unions in the pulp and papermaking industry

—the Papermakers and Paperworkers with the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers—was a matter of convenience and necessity for the officials of these two unions. The new union is the United Paperworkers International Union (AFL-CIO), ratified at separate conventions of the merging unions in Denver this August. All former officials were present, accounted for, and retained in office. Labor Secretary James Hodgson, an invited convention speaker, congratulated the unions on their unification.

Politics, government intervention in union affairs, and the new methods of waterfront cargo handling are squeezing the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the Pacific Coast and Hawaii into the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). This merger is different in one respect from most others. Members of the ILWU are discussing the terms of the merger and will conduct a referendum vote to decide whether to accept it.

In the negotiations for a longshore contract last year, the ILWU won a welfare fund to be financed by the employers in the amount of \$1 a ton for all cargo loaded inland by non-members of the longshore union. Much of this work of stuffing the giant Sea/Land cargo containers is done by members of the Teamsters union, which has protested the longshoremen's agreement. The tax on containerized cargo has been held up by a federal judge, and the longshoremen's welfare fund may suffer as a consequence.

This is one of the issues that will be resolved in the merger discussions now under way. So far these discussions have reached the stage of an "understanding" between ILWU President Harry Bridges and IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons. According to reports of this "understanding," the dwindling number of waterfront workers—now 17,000—will constitute a

new "longshore division" of the Teamsters union. Another 50,000 warehousemen in ILWU locals, including Hawaii sugar and pineapple workers, will be taken into the existing districts of the Teamsters union in all sections of the country.

These union mergers do not solve any of the new problems these unions face. In some instances the mergers are encouraged by the employers in order to establish a single, uniform, and more manageable bargaining unit—one better suited to new methods of production and distribution.

In all instances the number of organized workers has remained the same. It is possible, as claimed by all proponents of merger, that the opportunity to organize the 50 million still unorganized workers improves with these changes in union structure. This seems logical, but it remains to be demonstrated.

Organizational changes, the merging of some unions into larger ones, will not frighten the employers or attract the support of unorganized workers.

The unions will undoubtedly undergo many organizational changes in the near future, and some may disappear under the pounding of an anti-union drive by the employing class and its government. Under these circumstances the only way the union movement will survive is through the development of a counteroffensive against the employers. This will require a united stand against all forms of strikebreaking, including anti-union laws and court injunctions.

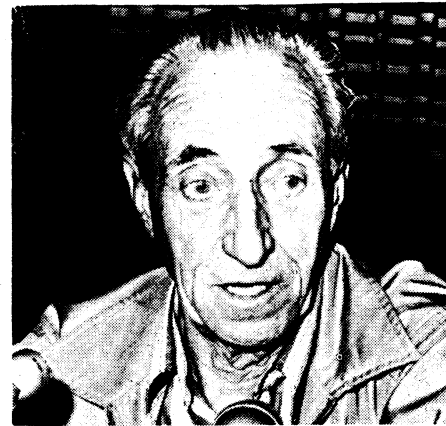
It will mean a determined fight for an escalator clause in all union contracts to keep wages fully abreast of the rising cost of living.

It will mean a determined fight for full employment, including the demand for a reduction in the hours of work with no loss in take-home pay.

It will mean demanding that the government's \$80-billion war budget be eliminated, and a massive public works program be launched to help provide jobs and meet social needs.

In this context it will mean that the union movement must organize its own independent labor party to win these goals.

The union bureaucrats now engaged in merger maneuvers with each other are not going to undertake such an offensive against the employers. This is the job of a resurgent class-struggle left wing in the unions. One of the first things such a left wing will undertake is to move beyond the present mergers that occur now only within the limits of existing organizations and launch a drive to organize the unorganized.



ILWU President Harry Bridges (above) and Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons have reached "understanding."

In Review

Books Solzhenitsyn

Stories and Prose Poems by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc. New York, 1971. 288 pp. \$7.95 cloth.

The top officials of the Soviet Union do not cut the most glamorous figures—even in the sordid world of international diplomacy. Although we see their pictures in the newspapers and on TV regularly, they come across like so many faceless men moving like dingy ghosts about the Kremlin.

But in the Soviet Union the work of the bureaucracy is close at hand. Soviet artists are at all times faced with the reality of the bureaucrats. Because they are the censors of daily life as well as political and cultural activity, these (to us) faceless men have emerged as the dominant concerns of recent Soviet literature.

The Russian bureaucrats have little in the way of cultural tools to work with. They employ a blunt approach to inquisitioning their artists: Will you or will you not renounce the right to include anything critical of the regime in your work?

Alexander Solzhenitsyn is the best-known of the growing number of Soviet writers who have consciously opposed the bureaucracy. His novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was published during the "thaw" that followed Stalin's death.

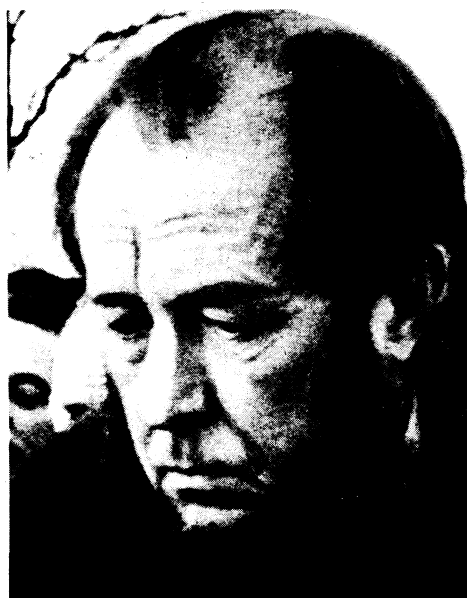
But his next two major novels—*First Circle* and *Cancer Ward*—were suppressed by the Soviet regime. (For more on these novels and the persecution of Solzhenitsyn, see *Rebels and Bureaucrats* by George Saunders, Pathfinder Press, N. Y.)

Stories and Prose Poems includes several stories that have previously been published in the United States (the translations are new) plus others that have not been published before.

Several of them stand out. "An Incident at Krechetovka Station" is the most gripping because of the tension it develops between pretense and reality: the pretense of infallibility ("we

a follower of Solzhenitsyn's writing, the prose poems are the most interesting selections because they illustrate his talent in a new form. They are largely meditative poems about nature. But at the same time, they vibrate with the most important problems of Soviet society. It is almost as though Solzhenitsyn had adopted the pose of a pastoral bard in order to prove how inescapable these problems are.

A good poem to start with is "Segden Lake." Here, Solzhenitsyn tells the story of how the typical Soviet citizen might attempt to gain access to the environs of this beautiful lake. But the idyllic locale has been mysteriously blockaded and declared off limits for the ordinary citizen. It appears that one of those ghost-like bureaucrats has usurped the tranquil lake



to support his costly (for the Soviet people) duck-shooting habit.

Solzhenitsyn's firm commitment to socialism and the gains of the Russian revolution is also linked in a contradictory but indissoluble whole with more traditional and backward ideas.

He was a political prisoner who lived under severe conditions for many years. These years of hardship—and the isolation suffered by all Russian intellectuals living under the bureaucratic regime—may have had the effect of reinforcing his commitment to the more traditional aspects of Russian life. For example, Solzhenitsyn is a defender of orthodoxy in the field of religion.

In "Zakhar-the-Pouch" we catch a strong affirmation of Russian nationalism. The context for this is Solzhenitsyn's belief that Stalinism, which is shortsighted and insensitive as well as repressive, is a poor defender of any social system. But Solzhenitsyn goes one step further. His characterization of Zakhar, the keeper of a national monument, indicates a weakness for mystifying Russia's past.

But the overall impact of Solzhenitsyn's works is entirely on the side of human progress because they are such a powerful reflection of the resistance to Stalinism. And Solzhenitsyn is only the best-known of the many Soviet writers whose uncensored work circulates privately in the form called *samizdat* (self-publication).

Although the bureaucrats attempt to discredit such writers with the charge of spreading "anti-Soviet slander," the publication of Solzhenitsyn's works and those of other Soviet dissidents will reveal that among the *samizdat* writers are the most vigilant defenders of the gains of the Russian revolution.

—DAVID SALNER

SDS

SDS, A Profile by Alan Adelson. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1972. 276 pp. \$10 cloth, \$2.95 paper.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was once the largest student radical organization in the country. It was formed in 1959 as a liberal and humanist student group oriented to reforming the Democratic Party.

In the mid-1960s, SDS grew into a large organization, reflecting the increased radicalization on the campuses. It was characterized by the "new left" ideology that permeated the thinking of many of the new student radicals. It evolved politically from reformism to sectarianism and ultraleftism in the late 1960s.

Although the organization grew until 1969, its inner life was marked by fierce factional disputes. This was inevitable for such a diffuse organization having no consistent theory or political program.

Finally, in June 1969 the old SDS split apart and died. One of its three factions, the "worker-student alliance," led by the Progressive Labor Party, took over the rump of the organization and has continued calling itself SDS.

The two other factions—the Revolutionary Youth Movement (Weathermen) and Revolutionary Youth Movement II (often called RYM II)—each had a brief existence and departed from the political scene.

SDS, A Profile is about the post-1969 Progressive Labor-led SDS. But Alan Adelson not only fails to portray the history of SDS when it was at its greatest strength, he also fails to present an accurate description of the present-day group of the same name. Adelson, apparently a partisan of the new group, describes the activities and functions of the current SDS as if it were still the dominant student group on college campuses.

The role of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) in SDS played a significant role in SDS's decline, which Adelson doesn't discuss. PL, then a Maoist organization, began to enter SDS in late 1965. Its goal was to take over

read Mao."

Following the split, Jeff Gordon, a PL leader in SDS, stated PL's elation: "We've just taken over the most important organization in America." What PL had actually accomplished, however, was to capture themselves since SDS soon became an isolated sect in the student movement.

Even when Adelson does discuss the current political positions held by SDS, he does not do so accurately. For example, when discussing SDS's perspective for the Black movement, he does not mention SDS's opposition to Black nationalism.

Fully a third of the book is devoted to a discussion of SDS's role in the antiwar movement and its perspective for it. But only a partially accurate description emerges.

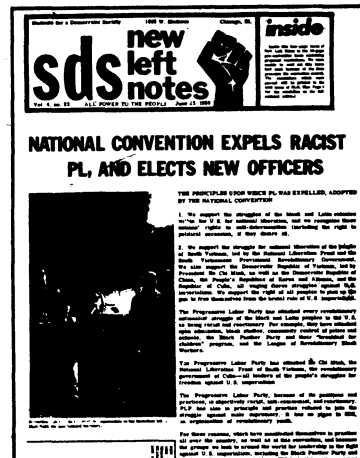
The PL-dominated SDS tried to ignore the antiwar movement until the massive student upsurge of May 1970. In this, they followed in the footsteps of the national leadership of the old SDS, which abandoned building the antiwar movement after organizing the 1965 march on Washington.

But SDS was forced to respond to the student explosion that followed Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. Adelson points out that their strategy then, which hasn't changed, was to attempt to shut down the universities to all forms of activity.

SDS at Columbia, for example, put forth the slogan, "No class today, no ruling class tomorrow!" SDS argued that the best way to fight the war makers was by shutting down the university like "workers shutting down production at a factory. . . ."

This ineffective strategy was counterposed to the one put forth by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) and carried out by the mass of students in May 1970—that is, using the universities as antiwar organizing centers to reach out to the rest of the population, particularly to working people and communities of the oppressed nationalities.

SDS, as well, used physical violence against antiwar or radical groups they disagreed with. In Boston in May 1970 SDS attacked a national steering



Rival factions issued own New Left Notes after 1969 split, each claiming to be the "real SDS."

SDS by ousting the new-left leadership.

Because the old SDS leadership had no political program to base their activities on, they attempted to outdo the PL faction in sectarianism, ultraleftism, and Maoism. SDS conventions became spectacles devoid of serious political discussion.

Adelson, in fact, points out that the tumultuous split convention in 1969 consisted of organized shouting of slogans such as "Read Mao, read Mao,

committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee; and again, in 1971 some of its members attempted to physically disrupt a convention of the National Peace Action Coalition in New York City. To this date, they have never repudiated the use of violence within the radical movement.

SDS's ultraleft strategy for the student movement speeded its isolation. Adelson's "profile" fails to discuss this and is not recommended for those seeking that unwritten history of SDS.

—MALIK MIAH



never make mistakes") and the reality of bureaucratic blundering.

In "For the Good of the Cause" Solzhenitsyn compares the initiative of a group of students with the highest ideals of Leninism. During the course of this story the careerists who thwart this initiative are exposed as caricatures of socialist ideals. Their pretensions to Leninism are ludicrous in view of their petty and callous approach to social problems.

But for someone who is already

Issue before miners is gov't intervention

By FRANK LOVELL

The *United Mine Workers Journal*, official publication of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), has appeared twice a month in recent years as the mouthpiece of W.A. "Tony" Boyle's dictatorial regime in the Miner's union. The July 1, 1972, issue appears in the familiar format, but some new and different sections are added.

A "Message from the Department of Labor" announces the inclusion of the opinion and court order of federal Judge William Bryant requiring the UMW to hold a new election for International officers no later than Jan. 1, 1973. The elections are to be supervised by the U.S. Secretary of Labor. At the same time the court also ordered the *Journal* to allocate equal space to opposition candidates. Under this provision the dissident Miners for Democracy (MFD) has its own section in the paper, edited by Don Stillman.

First appearing in the July 1 issue, this new section carries an editorial on UMW President Boyle's conviction and five-year prison sentence for embezzling. The editorial says that Boyle is still on the UMW payroll at \$50,000 a year, and that he has amassed a personal fortune of a quarter-million dollars. It adds, "If Boyle had the best interests of the UMW at heart, he should have fought fair and hard for those political figures on the coal miners' side and he should have used the right legal channels. . . ." instead of "acting outside the law for his own personal benefit."

The MFD section of the *Journal* also carries a letter from an Ohio miner, Floyd Lamb Jr., who was a delegate to the recent MFD convention that nominated Arnold Miller for UMW president. Lamb is not a formal member of MFD, but as a working miner he participated actively in the convention. He answers the bitter charge of the Boyle machine that MFD really stands for "Miners for Destruction." "But, they (MFD), Lamb wrote, do not intend to destroy the United Mine Workers of America. . . . only the dictatorship and corruption which has existed for so long in the UMWA."

Miners for Democracy announces in this issue of the *Journal* that Edward Monborne, a 55-year-old retired coal miner from Pennsylvania on a UMW pension, is campaign manager for Miller. Monborne was president of UMW Local 850 when

he retired in March this year and is now a candidate for the presidency of UMW District 2.

All candidates for office on the MFD slate in the coming election are longtime coal miners, and most of them have been active in the miners' reform movement in recent years. Many are past or present union officials.



Miners for Democracy convention met May 27-28 to nominate opposition candidates in union elections.

In an apparent effort to broaden the base of Miners for Democracy, Miller has announced that future issues of the *Journal* will include a question-and-answer column in which he promises to state his position on important questions raised by members of the union. Miller says, "It's one thing to advocate progress and it's another thing to bring it about. . . ."

The regular editors of the *Journal*, Justin McCarthy and his assistant Rex Lauck, are appointees of the Boyle machine. They disclaim any responsibility for MFD material published in this issue, which they say was "prepared by the Labor Department."

Their statement is ironical. "The Editors," they write, "are of the opinion that publication of these pages involved a Constitutional question of freedom of the press that still has not been determined." The Boyle regulars are contesting the constitutionality of the ruling by Judge Bryant. But after the way they have perverted the Mine Workers' paper to serve their personal goals over the past several years, it will surely be obvious to all that they hardly come to court with clean hands pleading "freedom of the press."

There are several basic issues before the miners, however, that have yet to be faced squarely by those who now seek to unseat the Boyle gang. The most important of these is government intervention and control over the affairs of the union. In the past Boyle collaborated with the mine bosses to maintain his dictatorship. Government intervention and control of the union in the future will produce another Boyle.

Miners for Democracy candidates are aware of this danger. An editorial by MFD in the July 15 issue of the *Journal* says, "Arnold Miller has publicly stated he is against having the government run the internal affairs of a labor union and we think most union men would agree." The editorial statement charges that ". . . Mr. Boyle is the man responsible for bringing the Labor Department into the UMW. Under the circumstances, we welcome the spotlight it will aim on the dark crevices of Boyle's corruption."

The government influence will be exerted in an opposite direction if the new officers attempt to impose union control of safety standards in the mines, which the MFD has made one of its campaign slogans. Point six of Miller's platform states, "Jobs should be expanded and safety conditions improved by instituting four 6-hour work shifts, one of them a safety and maintenance shift."

Other MFD demands entail taxing the owners to increase miners' pensions, organizing unorganized miners, and protecting the land.

All of this is a direct challenge to the corrupt political system that protects the giant corporations in control of most coal mining operations that today pollute and destroy the land and streams and woods in vast sections of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio.

Where the socialist candidates stand: On taxes

The following represents the views of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

Three leading economists told Congress July 27 that taxes would have to be raised in 1974 simply to pay for current governmental expenditures, even if no new programs are instituted! Taxes keep climbing with no end in sight. American working people see rising taxes cutting into their wages, while their income is being shrunk further by inflation and held down by government-imposed wage controls.

Moreover, the services these taxes are supposed to pay for—such as schools, sanitation, public transportation, parks, etc.—continue to deteriorate. And approximately 33 cents out of every dollar of personal income tax goes for military expenditures, including appropriations for the Vietnam war, which most Americans oppose.

In 1912 the American workers succeeded in winning a graduated income tax—a significant step forward in the fight of working people for economic security and social services. The concept of a graduated income

tax had been fought for by socialist and workers organizations for many years. In fact, this demand was raised in Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto*, published in 1848.

But the increased discontent over high taxes has begun to bring to light the blatant inequalities of the present tax system. The reality is that the rich are afforded all kinds of ways to avoid taxes, while the poor are hounded by them at every turn.

From the beginning to the end of 1971, average per capita state and local taxes rose from \$380 to \$427 per year. These tax hikes have mostly been in the form of sales taxes, and taxes on gasoline, alcohol, homes, etc., which hit the masses of working people the hardest. Such taxes are not graduated but take the same amount from poor people as from the rich.

Many of the richest corporations and individuals, on the other hand, get away with paying insignificant taxes or none at all. And usually these practices are not illegal; the rich simply hire lawyers to find the loopholes that were deliberately written into the tax laws for their convenience.

We believe that the graduated income tax was an important victory. However, it is limited in actual practice. We are for making the tax system even more graduated—that is, taking more from the rich and less from the poor.

The SWP favors abolishing all sales taxes and income tax on all incomes under \$10,000. And we would set an income ceiling of \$25,000—taxing any additional earnings over this amount by 100 percent. This latter tax would affect only 5 percent of the American people but would provide a great amount of wealth for helping to meet the needs of the other 95 percent of American society.

In addition, the SWP demands the elimination of all tax loopholes, depletion allowances, investment credits, and other forms of public subsidy of big business.

"But that's outrageous," the rich will howl. They will contend that their corporations can't operate without these tax concessions and without their huge personal incomes.

We answer that such corporations should open their books to public examination. Let the public see whether they cannot afford to pay

their fair share of taxes. If they actually can't pay without going bankrupt, then these corporations should be expropriated and operated under the control of the workers in that enterprise.

The SWP also favors a 100 percent tax on all profits of war industries and on all industries that pollute our environment. Capitalists have no right to profit from the death and destruction wreaked by the U.S. on Indochina. Nor do they have a right to choke and poison the American people in their drive for profits.

In order to truly satisfy human needs, we believe that the American people will want to go further than simply raising taxes on the rich. What is needed is a total reorganization of the system of ownership of the wealth, placing control of the wealth in the hands of democratically elected representatives of the people.

Under such a socialist system, the American people will have at their disposal not only taxes from the capitalists, but the country's factories, land, and buildings as well. All of this wealth can then be operated to provide for the needs of the vast majority rather than for private profit.



Calendar

BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

WHAT HAPPENED IN ARGENTINA—THE MASSACRE AT TRELEW. Speaker: Frank Grinnon, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). Fri., Sept. 15, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES CAMPAIGN BANQUET. With Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Sat., Sept. 30. Cocktails, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m.; rally, 8:30 p.m.; party follows. Armenian Hall, 1501 Venice Blvd. (west off Harbor Freeway), Los Angeles. Donation: \$5, h.s. students \$3. Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For more information and reservations, call (213) 461-8131 or (213) 463-1917.

NATIONAL

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will appear on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" along with other candidates from the smaller parties on Sun., Oct. 8, 1 p.m. (New York time).

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

PARTICIPANT'S REPORT ON CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLE CONFERENCE IN SAN DIEGO. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Sept. 15, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

SEATTLE

BUSING—IS IT THE SOLUTION TO BLACK EDUCATION. Panel discussion. Panelists include Gary Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for superintendent of public instruction. Fri., Sept. 15, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. The Militant Forum. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will appear on the Public Broadcasting System (Channel 26) in a program entitled "Political Elections '72," a special broadcast covering candidates from the smaller parties, on Mon., Sept. 11, 10:30 p.m.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

...strikers

Continued from page 3

signed to force employees back to work.

On Tues., Sept. 5, when the plant opened, Mead hoped to have enough workers to reinstitute the second shift.

Instead, even fewer workers showed up than on the preceding Friday, forcing the normally three-shift plant to work one skeleton shift, heavily staffed with supervisory personnel.

A major factor in boosting Mead workers' morale was the announcement last week that Nabisco would settle its strike with Afro-American workers, granting all their demands except the one for retroactive pay for time lost during the strike.

The increasing number of strikes by Black workers and their continued success have made a significant impact in the Atlanta area. Employers are openly apprehensive about continued strikes by Afro-Americans, despite an agreement they have with white-dominated unions and existing contracts.

Another important result of the strikes is a growing feeling of confidence of Black workers and the Afro-American community in their ability to take action on their own to make significant changes in on-the-job conditions. They feel this way despite the hindrance of a racist management and union leaderships that don't represent them.

...controls

Continued from page 8

tract (down from 9 percent)."

Whittling down the level of wage increases is the main aim of the American ruling class in its wage-control policies, and it has succeeded in beginning this process. This is not a short-run aim.

Faced with sharply increased competition in world markets, the U.S. monopolists hope to make wage controls a permanent aspect of the "American way of life." The fact that George McGovern supports wage controls as does Richard Nixon testifies to the long-range importance of wage controls to the rulers of this country.

In one sense, however, the capitalists have an easier go of it in 1972. They face none of the biggest labor unions in contract negotiations. An important test of NEP will come next spring and summer, when the contracts of

electrical workers, auto workers, and teamsters expire. The struggles of the General Electric workers in the spring of 1969 and the General Motors workers the following winter were among those that spurred the ruling class into its present offensive to drive down real wages.

...elections

Continued from page 10

gentina is building a revolutionary party with a mass base in the major industrial unions. It has concentrated on winning influence through the factory committees.

Its program in the unions calls for automatic cost-of-living increases in wages to fight inflation; a minimum salary of 70,000 pesos a month (about \$70); political independence of the trade unions from all capitalist parties, including the Peronists; freedom for political prisoners; trade-union democracy; and trade-union participation in anti-imperialist struggles.

It also calls for a rank-and-file congress of the CGT, the largest union federation, to project a plan of struggle around these demands.

Since the PSA-PRT (*La Verdad*) united effort began, it has grown rapidly—becoming the largest formation to the left of the Communist Party. The PSA is the only party, other than those blocking with the capitalist parties, that has met the stringent requirements imposed by the Lanusse government to enter the elections. The government requires that four out of every 1,000 voters in at least five provinces formally join the party. The PSA has met this requirement, registering in its legal structure some 33,000 students and workers.

The PSA has established a legal newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista* (Socialist Vanguard), and has opened headquarters in almost all major cities of Argentina.

In spite of its rapid growth, the PSA-PRT (*La Verdad*) is still a relatively small current in the context of Argentina's workers' movement as a whole. Whether the socialist pole will be able to attract a sufficient following to substantially affect the course of events is still unclear. But regardless of the results of the elections—which may not even be held—the present electoral maneuver by the ruling class

under pressure from the mass movement is giving the Marxist movement in Argentina an important opportunity to build the revolutionary party.

...jobless

Continued from page 17

Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) has introduced two bills that would have the effect of restoring the two additional benefits programs in New York and the other states where they have been terminated. One (H. R. 16069) would reduce the triggering rate in the emergency program from 6.5 to 5.75 percent. The other (H. R. 16180) would eliminate the requirement in the federal-state plan that unemployment be 20 percent higher than in the previous two years.

Speaking about her proposals in a message sent to an Aug. 3 demonstration organized by the New York Committee to Organize the Unemployed, Abzug said: "... the principle that unemployment must progressively get worse if the jobless are to continue to receive benefits ... is both senseless and cruel and is a sure method of swelling the welfare rolls."

Commenting on Abzug's statement and on her proposals, Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from New York's 20th C.D., where Abzug made a bid in the Democratic primary this year, told *The Militant* Sept. 1:

"While Abzug's bills are a small step in the right direction and would restore benefits to nearly a million workers who have been cut off, they barely begin to take care of all that is 'senseless and cruel' in the unemployment picture."

The socialist candidate pointed out that "There is no sensible or humane reason for not including *all* workers out of a job in compensation programs." Furthermore, she said, "the benefits of a maximum \$75 a week for those who are included are outrageously inadequate."

"The SWP, Misnik said, "advocates guaranteed compensation *at union wages* for *all* those out of work, whether or not they have worked before. We would combine this with a crash program to eliminate unemployment through massive public works programs and an immediate reduction of the workweek with no reduction in weekly pay to distribute the available work among all those able to work."

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathers, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

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

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

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

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

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

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o David Bouffard, 308 S. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

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San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.—8 p.m., Mon.—Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

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ANNUAL GUARDIAN PICNIC. Sat., Sept. 16, 11 a.m. to dusk. Arrow Park, Monroe, N.Y. Program includes Ramon Arbona, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Fran Beal, Third World Women's Alliance; Barbara Dane and Pete Seeger, folk artists. Workshops, sports, child care. For bus, ticket info., and driving instructions, call (212) 691-0404.



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THE MILITANT

Labor party victory in British Columbia

By TONY THOMAS

TORONTO, Sept. 5—On Aug. 30, the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party, won the provincial elections in British Columbia, ousting the Social Credit Party, which had controlled the province for more than 20 years.

The NDP won 38 seats in the provincial legislative assembly. The Social Credit Party won 10 seats, while the two other capitalist parties, the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party, won five and two seats respectively.

This was the third provincial victory for the NDP and its first victory in a major industrial area with a powerful labor movement.

At a cross-Canada gathering of revolutionary socialists from the League for Socialist Action—Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière held here this weekend, trade-union, campus, feminist, and other supporters of the NDP analyzed the elections as a victory for the Canadian working class. They indicated that it shows the ability of the Canadian workers party to pose itself as a viable alternative to the Canadian capitalist parties.

The NDP rode to power on the crest of massive dissatisfaction over growing unemployment; cutbacks in education, health, and social services; and government attacks on the labor movement.

The British Columbia NDP had adopted a number of progressive social demands at its conventions and other gatherings: an end to antistrike and compulsory arbitration laws, a \$2.50 minimum wage, equal pay for equal work for women, repeal of all anti-abortion laws, the establishment of community child-care centers, a fight to improve conditions of Canadian Indians, immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina, and Canadian withdrawal from NORAD (a U.S.-Canada military pact).

However, the provincial NDP leadership down-played these demands. It tried to base the campaign simply on dissatisfaction with Social Credit Pre-

mier W. A. C. Bennett, using the central campaign slogan "Enough is Enough."

Despite these weaknesses in the provincial leadership, local candidates and supporters of the NDP advanced a more militant approach, linking the NDP campaign with the demands of workers and of other oppressed layers.

A member of a Vancouver local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) described to me how after a three-month strike, the local's strike committee reconstituted itself as an "elect NDP" committee. It contacted all the local's members trying to get them to financially support the NDP and help staff campaign offices.

This response, he said, contrasted with the 1969 provincial elections when there was no organized support to the NDP in the local. He said the unionists saw the NDP victory as a defense against the type of attacks the Bennett administration had launched.

Twelve of the new NDP members of the legislative assembly (MLAs) are current or former labor officials. Many trade unionists campaigned for them and other NDP candidates as *workers* candidates. The British Columbia Federation of Labor contributed more than \$150,000 and put more than 100 full-time organizers on the NDP campaign staff.

Also elected on the NDP slate were British Columbia's first two Black MLAs, Emery Barnes and Rosemary Brown. Brown is Canada's first Black woman legislator. In her campaign she identified herself not only with the Afro-Canadian struggle but with demands of women, Indians, and gays.

Joan Campana, Vancouver organizer of the Young Socialists, a revolutionary-socialist youth organization, described how the NDP offices were "packed with youth under 25, every night." She stated that unlike previous elections when the campuses had not been overly active, this year many campus leaders became in-

involved in organizing for the NDP.

The League for Socialist Action launched its own campaign to fight for an NDP victory. In addition to circulating NDP campaign material, British Columbian socialists circulated more than 10,000 copies of a special supplement on the British Columbia elections from *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian socialist biweekly.

The supplement pointed out how an NDP victory would be in the interests of workers, women, Canadian Indians, and students.

It also described the Bennett government's policies that have led to rising unemployment, attacks on strikes, and the deterioration of the British Columbian environment.

While the supplement stressed support to the NDP as a party based on the labor movement rather than being tied to big business, it also criticized the failure of the NDP leadership to project the party as a fighting class-struggle alternative.



The founding convention of the New Democratic Party, Ottawa, Ontario, August 1961

Gunman released without bail

Chicano activist shot down in New Mexico

By JOSE PEREZ

EL PASO, Texas, Sept. 4—A "wanton, racist murder." This is how the killing in Orogrande, N.M., of Ricardo Falcón, a leader of the Colorado Raza Unida Party, was characterized by the national convention of Raza Unida parties held here Sept. 1-4.

The convention sent a telegram to U.S. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst and to New Mexico officials demanding an immediate investigation into the shooting.

The shooting occurred at Perry Brunson's Chevron station on Aug. 30.

A carload of Colorado activists driving to the convention had stopped in the small New Mexico town 50 miles north of El Paso to get water to cool their overheated car.

Brunson refused to give them water unless they purchased something. Without warning, Brunson went into his office and pulled out a .38-caliber

pistol. He shot Falcón, fatally wounding him.

Falcón was not given medical assistance at the scene and no ambulance or doctors were sent. Residents of Orogrande refused to let Falcón's friends use a telephone, including pay phones, to summon help.

The police version of the murder, based on Brunson's report, was the only one printed in the press. Brunson claimed that Falcón threatened him and physically attacked him after Brunson fired two warning shots.

Raza Unida activists who were with Falcón said that this was completely false and that no threats or attacks were made on Brunson.

Brunson, a member of the Wallacite American Party, has been charged by state authorities with manslaughter and released on his own recognizance.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, leader of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party, called for demonstrations and a boycott of Chevron stations to protest

the murder of Falcón. This proposal received an enthusiastic response at the Raza Unida convention.

José Caldrón, a member of the Colorado delegation from Greeley, gave a moving memorial address. He said:

"When we die, let us die as Ricardo did. Let us die fighting in the barrios, in the jails, in the college campuses, in the fields, in the streets for our Raza. . . .

"And if we would die, let us die as Ricardo did and not like the many of us who die in Vietnam fighting for hate and imperialism; or those of us who die in some OEO [Office of Economic Opportunity] coffin wrapped up in the flag of bureaucracy and pacification; like those who die in some wall-to-wall carpeted asylum without ever knowing man's beautiful ability to give, share, and sacrifice our lives for others as Ricardo did.

"Ricardo once told me he always talked about the gringo dollar, and he said, 'The root of our problem is

the gringo dollar. . . . Ricardo believed it, and he died fighting against the gringo dollar, without the gringo dollar."

No endorsement to McGovern or Nixon

EL PASO, Texas—The national convention of Raza Unida parties and supporters held here Sept. 1-4 attracted more than 1,000 observers and participants in addition to the 268 voting delegates from 18 states. The overwhelming majority of delegates voted not to endorse either President Nixon or Senator McGovern and approved a resolution calling for "complete independence" from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Next week *The Militant* will have a full report on the convention.