

THE MILITANT

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

Worldwide protests hit Nixon's war All out Jan. 20!

By CAROLINE LUND

JAN. 9—Even after Nixon ordered a halt to the 12-day bombing raid on Hanoi and Hai-phong, worldwide revulsion over the administration's war policies continues to be expressed in massive protest actions.

The U. S. press is downplaying the extent of this upsurge of anti-Washington criticism. But a survey of domestic and international news reveals that the war protest is greater than at any previous time in the history of the war.

An Agence France-Presse dispatch reported that "some 50,000 people took part in a demonstration Sunday afternoon [Jan. 6] in

Antiwar actions will be held Jan. 20 in Washington, D. C., and other cities. For coverage of the war and antiwar protests, see pages 3, 4, 5, and 13.

Utrecht [The Netherlands] protesting American bombing of Vietnam."

An NBC television news report on the action stated that organizers of the march estimated the crowd at 100,000. The antiwar action, supported by virtually all Dutch trade unions, was the largest demonstration in the Netherlands since the end of World War II.

Its principle demands were: Vietnam for the Vietnamese; Stop the Bombing of all Vietnam; and Nixon, Sign the Peace Now. Marchers denounced Nixon as the butcher of the century.

For the first time since the beginning of U. S. intervention in Vietnam, there were signs that masses of workers in various countries were ready to support the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination by taking direct action against U. S. business interests.

In Australia the Seamen's union, two other maritime unions, and the Sydney Building Construction Workers union all decided to boycott U. S. goods and ships as a protest against the bombing and the war. On Jan. 4 leaders of 30 Australian unions warned the U. S. consulate general in Sydney

Continued on page 4



More than 10,000 march in Stockholm, Sweden, demanding 'USA Stop the Bombing.'

Firsthand report from Argentina Workers front enters elections/w01

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Nixon's aim: bomb Vietnam into submission
- 4 Thieu plans mass arrests, murders
- 5 Hundreds of buses to roll into D.C. on Inauguration Day
- 9 Demystifying the fetus
- 10 West Coast dockers discuss merger
- 11 Philly, Chicago teachers strike
- 12 '73 outlook for unions, bosses
- 13 Why Moscow, Peking favor 'sign now'
- 14 SWP offers housing plan
- 15 LA socialists launch election campaign
- 16 Socialist prof ordered reinstated
- 17 U.S. threatens to deport 3 Iranian students
- 18 Left opposition: 1925—Zinoviev splits with Stalin
- 19 Why socialists oppose Israeli state
- 21 Harry S. Truman
- 24 2,000 in N.Y. demand child-care rights

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 American Way of Life National Picket Line
- 8 Great Society Women in Revolt By Any Means Necessary
- 20 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Firsthand report on Argentine election campaign

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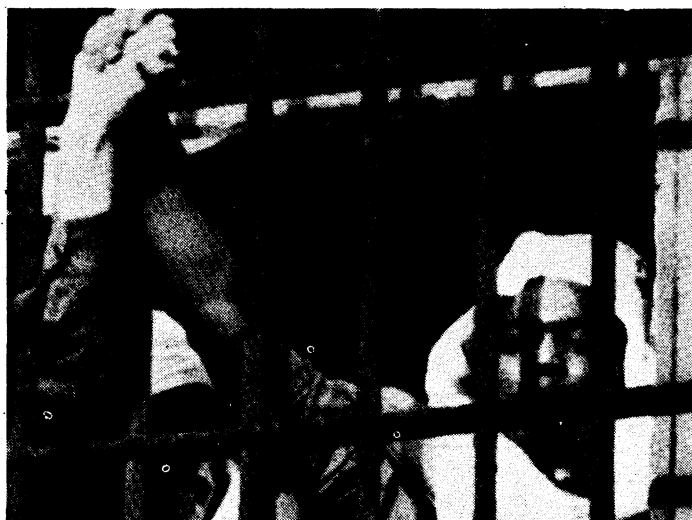
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PRISON PUNISHMENTS CALLED UNCONSTITUTIONAL: "This court is of the opinion that a prisoner retains all the rights of an ordinary citizen except those which expressly or by necessary implication are taken from (them) by law." That was the gist of a ruling handed down Jan. 5 by U.S. District Court Judge Charles Scott.

Scott ordered Florida prison officials to establish disciplinary committees without regard to race, to conduct hearings before an impartial fact finder, to give written notice of hearings to accused prisoners, to allow inmates to be represented at hearings by a lawyer or by other prisoners, and to require the fact finder to file written reasons for his decision.

The ruling came in response to a suit by John Sands, a 31-year-old prisoner at the Florida State Penitentiary who had been sentenced to 27 days in solitary confinement at a hearing in which he was not allowed to participate.



DETROIT CONTROVERSY STIRRED BY NEW JUDGE:

In the Nov. 7 general election Justin Ravitz finished second in a field of 14 candidates seeking seven seats on the Recorder's Court in Detroit. Ravitz, an avowed Marxist, outraged conservatives, including some fellow judges, when he refused to stand for the pledge of allegiance during his swearing-in ceremony. He said his action was a protest against the Indochina war and social conditions in this country.

Wayne County Commissioner Richard Manning called for an investigation and demanded that the county withhold payment of its share of Ravitz's salary.

"It seems to me," Ravitz said, "that patriotic Americans, and government officials as well, should concern themselves with the outrageous, genocidal war being waged by the American government in Vietnam—rather than my constitutionally protected exercise of First Amendment rights."

JURY CHOSEN IN MAGEE TRIAL: Militant reporter Michael Schreiber reports that conflict erupted between Ruchell Magee and court-appointed attorney Robert Carrow on Jan. 5 when Carrow approved the final roster of jurors despite the defendant's objections. Magee demanded that Carrow use his six remaining preemptory challenges to remove several jurors who, Magee charges, had been approached previously by court officials.

When Magee tried to denounce Carrow for disregarding his objections, he was ordered removed to a cell by Judge Morton Colvin. Magee has been ejected from the courtroom every day during the six-week period of jury selection.

The jury of six men and six women (including three Blacks and one Chicano), will be sequestered nightly in a San Francisco hotel for the duration of the murder and kidnapping trial. Opening arguments are expected to begin this week.

BLACK DRAFT RESISTER RELEASED: Walter Collins, a Black organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), was released from a federal prison in Texarkana, Texas, Dec. 6. He had served two years of five five-year sentences for refusing to be drafted.

His case became the focal point for a campaign against racism and the draft. Before leaving the prison he refused to sign the certificate of parole. According to a Dec. 14 news release from SCEF, he stated that "the implied and stated conditions of this certificate are essentially repressive, mostly absurd, and probably illegal. My signature on the certificate could be construed as sanction for the madness and unjust restrictions that fall to a prisoner released on parole."

Collins signed only after the parole executive in Washington, D.C., sent a letter to his attorney stating that Collins's signature meant only that he read the certificate, not that he agreed with it.

JUST A COINCIDENCE: In April 1970 the Nixon administration was administered an embarrassing rebuff when the Senate refused to approve the nomination of G. Harrold Carswell to the U.S. Supreme Court. Instrumental in Carswell's rejection was the disclosure by Jacksonville, Fla., television station WJXT of his past record. WJXT reporters turned up a speech Carswell made in 1948 during a campaign for the Georgia legislature. In it, he said: "Segregation of the races is proper and the only practical and correct way of life in our states."

On Jan. 2 three groups challenged the license of WJXT, which happens to be owned by the Washington Post. One of the three was a firm headed by George Champion Jr., who was the chairman of the Florida Finance Committee to Reelect the President. "My friendship (with Nixon) would not enter into it," said Champion.

VICTORY IN CANADIAN DEPORTATION CASE: It appears as if Dr. Istvan Meszaros, a Marxist scholar who had been denied landed immigrant status in Canada, has finally won the right to teach there. Meszaros's lawyer announced Dec. 27 that the new Canadian immigration minister, Robert Andras, had assured Meszaros that an appeal for landed immigrant status, made from Britain, would be quickly processed, and that there was no reason to believe that it would not be approved.

Canadian authorities had originally refused Meszaros's application on the grounds that his admission would be "contrary to Canadian public interest." Their new decision follows a widespread public outcry against the violation of Meszaros's rights.

MENTAL HOSPITALS FOR DISSENTERS?: Peter Bohmer, a 28-year-old former assistant professor at San Diego State College, was ordered to undergo a 90-day psychiatric study in the California state prison at Chino on Jan. 2. Bohmer and two others had been convicted of felony charges for their role in helping to block the tracks of the Santa Fe railroad during an antiwar demonstration on May 12.

The "psychiatric evaluation" will precede Bohmer's sentencing and was clearly meant as an additional punishment that would help "deter others."

TOO MUCH, SAYS COURT: John Lynch, who had served more than five years of a one-year-to-life sentence on his second conviction of indecent exposure, recently won a court case. The California Supreme Court found his sentence "so disproportionate to the crime for which it is inflicted that it shocks the conscience and offends fundamental notions of human dignity. . . ."

California's system of indeterminate sentences, which leaves the release of prisoners up to the discretion of prison authorities and parole boards, has been consistently used as a means of victimizing radicals, Blacks, Chicanos, and others who incur the displeasure of the authorities.

Conference to oppose Rodino-Kennedy bill

LOS ANGELES—A conference has been called here for Feb. 3 to launch a campaign to defeat a piece of racist legislation now before the U.S. Congress.

The law, drafted by Congressman Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), is designed to facilitate the deportation of Mexicans working in this country without visas. The House has already approved the bill, and only the early closing of the ninety-second Congress for the fall elections prevented its passage in the Senate.

Among the organizations sponsoring the meeting are CASA-Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers), Casa Carnalismo, the Chicano Law Students Association, and MECHA.

The conference will be held at St. Joseph's Church, 218 E. 12th St., L.A., from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. For more information, call the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. Telephone: (213) 487-4171, (213) 487-4336, or (714) 836-1551.

JACK BAKER WINS FIGHT TO TAKE MINNESOTA BAR EXAM:

Jack Baker, the former University of Minnesota student body president, has been ruled eligible to take the state bar examination. Baker, a well-known gay activist, had been questioned by the State Board of Law Examiners concerning his "good moral character." The examiners claimed Baker's homosexuality wasn't at issue, but only the charge that he had listed an incorrect address when applying for a marriage certificate for himself and another man.

—DAVE FRANKEL

No effective response from Moscow, Peking

Nixon's aim: bomb Vietnam into submission

By CAROLINE LUND

Jan. 10—Only 11 days after he ordered a halt to U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, Nixon OKed new strikes above the twentieth parallel in Vietnam. In doublespeak terminology, designed to make the victim into the criminal and the criminal into the victim, the Pentagon authorized "protective reaction" attacks on any North Vietnamese planes or antiaircraft positions that "threaten" U.S. bombers.

The December bombing raids, and Nixon's policies since then, have made clearer than ever before the bloodthirsty arrogance of the U.S. imperialist rulers. Nixon's aim is to bomb the Vietnamese into submission. They must accept a proimperialist regime in South Vietnam or suffer the consequences.

A report in the Jan. 8 *Time* magazine gave an indication of the Dr. Strangelove mentality of Nixon and others in the government who are responsible for the war. A "source close to the President" told *Time* that Nixon "had given them [the North Vietnamese] a warning, and once it became clear that they were diddling us, he ordered the bombing." If Nixon feels "diddled" again, *Time* was informed, "he'll turn it up full blast again."

This threatening tone was also employed by Henry Kissinger when he arrived in Paris for the renewed secret talks with the North Vietnamese on Jan. 8. He said he was there "to make one more major effort to conclude the negotiations."

New York Post correspondent Michael Berlin wrote Jan. 8 that administration sources were "privately signaling the prospect of failure in Paris," stating that Hanoi did not appear ready to "negotiate seriously."

Berlin explained that "by this they mean that the North Vietnamese may not be prepared to accede to the major changes demanded by the American side. . . ." These changes are: 1) assurances of the Saigon regime's sovereignty over South Vietnam; 2) restrictions of the North Vietnamese military presence in the South; 3) release of U.S. prisoners of war, not contingent upon release of prisoners by Saigon; and 4) a military force of 5,000 to "supervise" the cease-fire.



Nixon's aides say whenever the president feels the Vietnamese are 'diddling' the U.S., 'he'll turn it [the bombing] up full blast again.'

Hanoi objects that this would be a virtual police force and a violation of the Vietnamese right to self-determination.

As the secret negotiations resumed again on Jan. 8, the behavior of Hanoi's negotiators toward the U.S. representatives was different than prior to the December bombing. "In marked contrast to the smiles, handshakes and laughter which marked the November and December negotiations," said the Jan. 9 *Washington Post*, "the North Vietnamese did not even send a subaltern to the gate this morning to greet Kissinger and his 'team' at the secret talks."

North Vietnamese statements declared that the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong "failed to subjugate the Vietnamese people."

While bombs have mercilessly torn apart North Vietnam's industrial and power facilities, not to mention military installations, the U.S. has been pouring \$5.3-billion in military aid into South Vietnam to prop up the Thieu regime. And in case a cease-fire agreement is signed, noted the Jan. 8 *Wall Street Journal*, "American air strength in Thailand and at sea will be maintained for six to 12

months after a ceasefire is signed. This will allow Mr. Nixon to send the bombers roaring back over Hanoi if he decides terms are being violated flagrantly."

Public distrust of the government rose to a new high during the December bombing raids. Especially blatant was Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedheim's flat statement that "we have not struck a large, 1,000-bed civilian hospital. No." He was referring to Hanoi's Bach Mai hospital.

On Jan. 3 Friedheim was forced to admit that U.S. planes "may have" done some "limited, accidental damage" to the hospital. But he maintained that the damage could just as well have been done by North Vietnamese antiaircraft explosives.

It is obvious that with carpet bombing of cities on the scale of the December raids, destruction of civilian facilities would not be "accidental" but inevitable and therefore deliberate.

On Jan. 4 Senate Democrats followed the lead of House Democrats in passing a resolution 36 to 12 favoring a cutoff of funds for the war, conditional on release of U.S. prisoners of war.

But despite antiwar verbiage designed to help their image with voters, members of Congress are not about to end the war. The Jan. 7 *Sunday*

Times of London noted this by commenting on Saigon President Thieu's reaction to the congressional resolutions. It stated that "President Thieu is too astute not to have noticed the escape clause which the Democrats offered to Mr. Nixon by linking the cessation of aid with the release of American prisoners."

But even if the Democrats' resolution were to pass Congress, Nixon would veto it and Congress would not muster the two-thirds vote necessary to override the veto. As columnist Mary McGrory wrote in the Jan. 2 *New York Post*, "If it's up to Congress to end the war, it could go on for another hundred years."

Meanwhile, Moscow and Peking accepted the December bombing raids with scarcely a peep. The French daily *Le Monde's* account of the Soviet government's Dec. 19 "authorized declaration" on the bombing appeared under the headline, "Moscow's reaction could not have been more moderate."

On Dec. 29 Peking bureaucrats arranged for a demonstration of only 10,000 to greet Nguyen Thi Binh of the National Liberation Front. This contrasted with the crowd of one million arranged to meet the wife of the Shah of Iran on her recent visit to Peking.

Cambodia's nonexistent soldiers

Before President Nixon ordered the U.S.-Saigon invasion of Cambodia in 1970, the country was relatively free of effects of the Southeast Asian war.

Today one in every five people living in the Pnompenh-controlled areas of Cambodia is a refugee, about 700,000 people. Except for Pnompenh and its immediate environs, most towns have been badly damaged if not nearly destroyed. And the U.S. puppet regime is so corrupt that it has been "paying" salaries to as many as 100,000 nonexistent soldiers—one-third of the army—in order to pad the pockets of the officer corps.

Sydney Schanberg gave details on the "irregularities" in government pay-

ment to soldiers in the Dec. 28 *New York Times*. "The Government said that it had sometimes met payrolls of 300,000 troops, even though it has now found that the actual number of men in the army is about 200,000. These 'phantom' troops—a creation of false payrolls submitted by unit commanders—represent the most widespread form of corruption in Cambodia. . . ."

"A private in the Cambodian Army receives about \$20 a month, so 100,000 'phantom' privates would put \$2-million a month into the pockets of commanders. Virtually all of this money comes through United States aid, which will total about \$300-million a year."

Hanoi razed with 40,000 tons of bombs

The U.S. government is attempting to hide from the American people, and the people of the world, the horrible effects of the December bombing campaign of Hanoi and Haiphong. The Pentagon has refused to make public an official report describing the extent of the raids and damage they caused.

On Jan. 4 the North Vietnamese government released a preliminary survey of the death and destruction in Hanoi. It stated that 40,000 tons of bombs were dropped by U.S. planes on Hanoi alone in the 10 days beginning Dec. 18, killing 1,318 people and wounding 1,261.

Social, economic, educational, and cultural establishments were bombed in 353 places, some of them as many as 10 times. The casualties were minimized only because two-thirds of the city's one million inhabitants had been evacuated and some protection is provided by the vast network of air-raid shelters.

The number of homeless has not yet been announced, but a total of

5,000 houses and other buildings were destroyed in Hanoi.

On Jan. 7, Agence France-Presse reported that additional bodies were still being found in the rubble of Hanoi.

The destruction in Haiphong was described to journalists by North Vietnamese officials on Jan. 5. Fifteen thousand tons of bombs razed the city, leaving 305 dead, 882 wounded, and 5,800 homes and buildings destroyed.

A Jan. 6 Agence France-Presse dispatch asserts: "The results of the bomber attacks can be seen in oval-shaped scars of destruction, one to two miles long and almost a mile across at the widest point. . . ."

"One major plant that produced cement is now a blackened ruin. There were also oil storage tanks, now split open, a food factory and a shipyard that present a picture of torn metal and mud."

"The mud also covers the straw-roofed houses where about 30,000 people were said to have lived."

The report describes the virtual des-



Victims of U.S. bombs in North Vietnam.

truction of the whole western industrial zone of Haiphong.

One incident illustrates the bombing's tragic destruction of Vietnamese cultural achievements. One of those left homeless after the raids was a leading Vietnamese historian, Tran Quoc Vuong. Destroyed with his home in Hanoi were all the reference files he had compiled during his career—30 years of effort lost.

Columbia law professor Telford Tay-

lor, who was in Hanoi during the raids, compared the defiant spirit of the Vietnamese to the "London pride" of the British people under Nazi bombardment in World War II. The Jan. 8 *Time* magazine described signs of the bitterness in Hanoi over the bombings: "Here and there on a wall, someone scrawled, 'Nixon, you will pay this blood debt,' and 'We will avenge our compatriots massacred by the Americans.'"

...international antiwar protests

Continued from page 1

that workers would intensify their protest action unless the war was ended soon.

The Australian workers' action was extremely embarrassing to the Nixon administration, which did all it could to put pressure on Australia's Labor government to end it. Nixon's stooges in the American labor movement came to his aid. Thomas Gleason, head of the International Longshoremen's Association, announced that the ILA would boycott Australian ships in retaliation.

As news of the ILA boycott spread in Australia, according to the Jan. 6 *Christian Science Monitor*, the Australian workers' strike against U.S. ships widened. But under pressure from leaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (similar to the AFL-CIO), one of the maritime unions ended its boycott Jan. 9.

In Italy, after Genoa dock workers voted Dec. 29 to boycott U.S. ships, the strike spread to other cities. According to the Dec. 31 issue of the daily *Il Manifesto*, boycotts spread to the ports of Livorno, Savona, Imperia, Trieste, Venice, Ancona, and Civitavecchia.

Unions also joined in antiwar protests in Canada, Great Britain, and Denmark, reported the Jan. 6 *Christian Science Monitor* in an article entitled "Overseas unions in antiwar mood."

In Stockholm between 10,000 and 15,000 persons joined in an antiwar march on Dec. 20. The action was the largest of the annual demonstrations held in Sweden on that date to commemorate the founding of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

In Copenhagen some 7,000 people marched against the bombing on Dec. 23. In London 700 demonstrated on the same day. The British Indochina Solidarity Campaign has called for demonstrations on Jan. 20 in solidarity with U.S. actions on inauguration day.

In Italy demonstrations were held in Bologna, Pisa, Palermo, Rome, and other cities. The editors of *La Stampa*, one of Italy's most influential dailies, circulated an antibombing petition that was gaining endorsement throughout the country.

In Bangladesh, student antiwar demonstrations continued into a second week, according to a Jan. 4 Associ-

ated Press dispatch.

Meanwhile, protests by government officials throughout the world continued unabated. Joseph Harsch noted in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "Since the 'cold war' began there has never been such strong disapproval of the deed of one of the Western countries by the others." Several of the NATO allies of the U.S. have condemned the bombing, and the pope has made statements critical of the bombing half a dozen times.

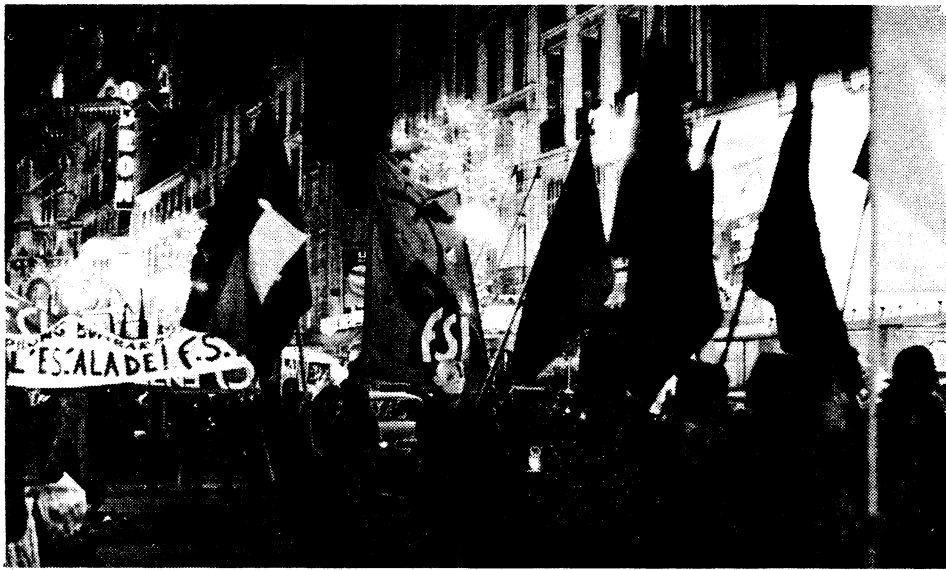
A feature article on Swedish Premier Olof Palme in the Jan. 8 *New York Times* suggested the reason behind the unusual criticism of Nixon from otherwise pro-American governments. It noted that a major consideration behind Palme's statement comparing Nixon's bombing to Nazi policies was to increase his popularity leading up to the elections scheduled for Septem-

"all the parties involved in the conflict," the resolution was a clear rebuke to the U.S. It was introduced by the minority government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who has previously tried to cover up for U.S. war policies.

On Jan. 3 British Labour Party leader Harold Wilson announced he was cancelling a lecture tour in the U.S. because of his "strong feelings" about the bombing raids.

Influential newspapers throughout the world have denounced the raids as "an abomination," "genocide," and "a crime against humanity."

The isolation of the U.S. government is having an impact in limiting Nixon's options for renewed escalation of the war. North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho expressed the appreciation of the Vietnamese for these international acts of solidarity.



Dec. 21 demonstration in Marseilles, France, sponsored by the Indochina Solidarity Front (FSI).

ber.

It is the overwhelming opposition to the war among the masses of people in the world that is pressuring governments like the Swedish government to dissociate themselves from Nixon's terrorist policies.

Perhaps the most significant new government protest against the December bombing raids was the resolution the Canadian House of Commons passed Jan. 5 with the unanimous support of all parties. Despite its mild wording and its mealy-mouthed protest against violence by

In a public statement Jan. 6, following resumption of secret talks with Henry Kissinger in Paris, Tho stated:

"Dear comrades and friends, recently, before the bloody massacres committed by the U.S. Air Force against the people of the DRVN many governments and a great number of comrades and friends of the Vietnamese people throughout the world have raised their voice and their indignation at the U.S. aggressors. This constitutes a very powerful encouragement to the fighting Vietnamese people."

Thieu plans mass arrests, murders

Saigon's President Thieu is busy preparing for the possible conclusion of a cease-fire agreement in Vietnam. His plan is for the Saigon police force to attempt to take over where the army leaves off.

A Saigon dispatch by George McArthur in the Jan. 2 *New York Post* cites "official sources" in the puppet government as confirming that Thieu is arranging for a campaign of mass arrests and executions in the event of a cease-fire.

McArthur reports that thousands of South Vietnamese have been marked for arrest or "neutralization." The word "neutralization," he writes, "can mean anything from covert executions to a brief period of detention."

This plan is known by the U.S. government and apparently has its approval.

McArthur reports that in addition to the arrangements for mass arrests and executions, "Elaborate plans have been made to channel population movement, literally barricade some

hamlets and villages, and place severe police controls on road movements.

"There will not be any large-scale movement back and forth, with people moving in and out of Viet Cong areas," an official source said. "At least not if the police can help it."

In another move to stifle opposition, on Jan. 8 the Saigon lower house of parliament passed a law designed to outlaw any opposition parties in South Vietnam. The law requires, among other things, that any party put up a \$68,250 deposit. If the party does not win at least 20 percent of the votes in an election, the money is forfeited.

Two days earlier, Thieu signed a decree effectively banning any opposition organizations other than political ones. It requires government approval for any religious, charitable, cultural, educational, social, scientific, artistic, entertainment, mutual assistance, or friendship association. Groups the government won't approve are banned. Moreover, even an approved group can be dissolved and its leaders



Nguyen Van Thieu

prosecuted if it is felt its activities do not coincide with its stated purposes.

Apparently fearing that large numbers of South Vietnamese will want to display National Liberation Front flags in the event of a cease-fire, Thieu has banned the import of all blue and red material, the colors of the NLF.

Rallies in U.S. protest war

JAN. 9—As the antiwar movement intensified its organizing efforts for the Jan. 20 demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and other cities, sizable protests against the war and Nixon's bombing continued around the country.

In Los Angeles some 5,000 people rallied Jan. 7 in response to a call issued only 10 days before by Citizens for Peace. The official theme of the rally was to demand that the U.S. "Sign Now," but many participants carried placards prepared by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) and the National Peace Action Coalition-West demanding "Out Now."

Speakers at the L.A. rally included Pentagon papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg, the Reverend Philip Berri-gan, and singer Joan Baez, who had just returned from Hanoi.

Nearly 3,000 people participated in a Jan. 3-4 antiwar conference and lobbying action in Washington, D.C. The event was organized by the American Friends Service Committee and Clergy and Laity Concerned. At the end of the conference the Reverend William Sloane Coffin urged participants to carry out antiwar activities from Jan. 19 to Jan. 21, calling the weekend an "inauguration of conscience."

The demands of the two-day action in D.C. included an immediate halt to the bombing and the signing of the nine-point draft accords.

The Hartford Committee of Conscience organized a New Year's Day antiwar rally of 1,000 in Hartford, Conn. Candlelight marches to state capitols took place in Denver on New Year's Eve and in Austin, Texas, on Jan. 7. Five hundred people participated in each action.

Although most campuses remained closed across the country, 450 students held an antiwar rally at Stanford University last week, and 150 students participated in a rally at San Francisco State College on Jan. 4. The S.F. State action was sponsored by the SMC, the student government, Students for a Democratic Society, and several faculty members. On Jan. 8, SMC and SDS held a demonstration against Air Force recruiters at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus.

Planning meetings called to discuss the Jan. 20 actions have been very well attended. Several prominent clergy in Cleveland called such a meeting on Jan. 6. The 500 people who attended voted overwhelmingly to build the Jan. 20 March Against Death in D.C. Three hundred turned out for a rally in Houston on Jan. 5, where participants decided to hold a demonstration for "Out Now" in Houston on Jan. 20.

In pouring rain 100 people showed up in San Diego for a picket line to protest the aircraft carrier *Constellation's* scheduled return to Vietnam. The action was called by several religious organizations. An SMC-sponsored panel on racism in the Navy is scheduled for San Deigo State College on Jan. 18.

Actions have also taken place in cities and towns where no sizable antiwar demonstrations have occurred in the past. For example, the Jan. 6 *New York Times* reported that residents of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, organized the Christmas Committee to Stop the Bombing and an action of 150 people on Dec. 25. The *Times* called the action "not much by mass demonstration standards but four times as many as used to turn out for war protests here."

Hundreds of buses to roll into Washington for Inauguration Day march against war

By CINDY JAQUITH

JAN. 10—Antiwar groups from the East Coast, Midwest, and Southeast are renting buses for the Jan. 20 Washington, D.C., march against the war in Vietnam. March organizers announced two days ago that all necessary permits for the inauguration day protest have been secured.

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) office in Washington reports that some of the areas sending buses to the action are Muncie, Ind.; St. Louis; Louisville; Bowling Green, Ohio; Plainfield, N.J.; Kalamazoo and Midland, Mich.; and Memphis.

Debby Notkin, New York NPAC coordinator, told *The Militant* last night that they "know of at least 75 buses going to Washington from New York." Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union in New York has reserved half of a train. Antiwar groups in Rochester, N.Y., are sending at least 15 buses, Notkin said.

The Detroit Coalition to End the War reports that their office receives at least 10 calls an hour from people who want to buy bus tickets to Washington. And a staff member of the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition said last week, "We've never sold so many tickets so far ahead of an action before."

Demonstrators will assemble on Jan. 20 at 10 a.m. at the Lincoln Memorial, near Bacon Drive. At 12 noon the march will step off down Constitution Avenue to Fourteenth Street, near the Washington Monument. The rally site is on the north side of the monument between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets. The rally is scheduled to start at 1 p.m.

In a widely covered news conference in D.C. on Jan. 5, the two main sponsors of the demonstration, NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), announced plans for the action.

"The Jan. 20 March on Washington," said Jerry Gordon, a national NPAC coordinator, "is emerging more each

day as a central focus for antiwar expression. Reports from all areas of the country are the same: there is a widespread mood of anger coupled with a determination to act now to end the killing. There is no doubt," Gordon continued, "a demonstration of significant size is shaping up!"

The Jan. 20 march, according to the joint NPAC-PCPJ call, "will demand that the U.S. government end the war now and its bombing of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia." Each of the coalitions and other groups and individuals will be raising their own demands as well.

"Vietnam is for the Vietnamese," Gordon said, "and the time is now for that elemental truth to be converted into U.S. national policy." He continued, "Masses of Americans will be heard on Jan. 20 in Washington, D.C., and other cities demanding 'Out Now!'"

PCPJ leader Sid Peck said, "We will be marching behind the demands to Sign the Agreement Now!—Stop the Bombing Now!—End the War Appropriations—Free the Political Prisoners in South Vietnam—and Get Out Now!"

Peck said that PCPJ "for its part, will be organizing a March Against Death beginning on Friday Jan. 19 and going all night, ending at Arlington Cemetery." This March Against Death, Peck stated, will then make up the first contingent in the mass march to the Washington Monument.

There will also be actions on Jan. 20 in other U.S. cities and in other countries, Gordon said, including France, Italy, and Scandinavian countries.

The Student Mobilization Committee announced at the same news conference plans for student antiwar protests on Jan. 19 as a buildup to the Jan. 20 actions. Antiwar rallies are already planned for Jan. 19 at Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland State University, and Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland; at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis; and at Portland State University in Oregon. Antiwar teach-ins are slated in Chicago at the University of Illinois, Circle campus, and at Northwestern University on Jan. 19.

A send-off rally for those going to Washington is planned for Jan. 19 in Detroit at 4:30 p.m. at Kennedy Square. The Detroit Federation of Teachers has endorsed the march on Washington.

In Boston, the SMC is organizing an "Out Now" contingent in the demonstration called by the Jan. 19 Ad Hoc Committee.

Other actions initiated by SMC chapters next week are a Jan. 18 antiwar teach-in at the University of California at Berkeley; a rally on Jan. 18 at San Diego State College; and a Jan. 16 rally at Wayne State University in Detroit.

NPAC will publish a quarter-page ad in the Sunday, Jan. 14, *New York Times* urging people to march against the war Jan. 20. Signers of the ad include actor Woody Allen; Minnesota Governor Wendell Anderson; Pat Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; author Kurt Vonnegut Jr., and many members of Congress.

In another development, Labor for Peace announced Jan. 5 that they had telegraphed President Nixon, requesting a meeting with him to discuss "our concern over the war in Vietnam and the present peace negotiations."

For more information on the Jan. 20 demonstrations, contact the Na-



Five thousand demonstrated against the war on Jan. 7 in Los Angeles.

Militant/Harry Ring

tional Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee at 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Room 1122, Washington, D.C. 20036. The D.C. telephone numbers for NPAC are (202) 293-9062 and 293-3855. The number in D.C. for the SMC is (202) 293-1220.

Information on New York buses going to Washington is available from the New York NPAC and SMC offices at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 691-3270.

Demonstrations are also planned in at least nine other cities on Jan. 20:

- In San Francisco, the Northern California Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice are jointly sponsoring a Jan. 20 march. Demonstrators will assemble at 11 a.m. at the foot of Market Street and march to the Civic Center for a 1 p.m. rally.

- representative Leland Rayson; Alderman Dick Simpson; the Reverend Willie Barrows of Operation PUSH (People United To Save Humanity); and Ernest De Maio, district president of the United Electrical Workers.

- Protesters in Los Angeles will assemble at 12 noon at Pershing Square and march to the Federal Building for a 1 p.m. rally. NPAC-West, the sponsoring group, is optimistic that all antiwar forces in L.A. will join together to make Jan. 20 as large an action as possible. Discussions with other peace organizations are currently in progress.

- The January 20th Coalition in Houston plans a 1 p.m. rally at Miller Theater in Hermann Park. The action was called at a meeting of 300 people Jan. 5, sponsored by the Houston Peace Action Coalition, the Student Mobilization Committee, the

SMC, others call student actions

The Student Mobilization Committee has issued a call for Jan. 19 student protests against the war, as a buildup to the Jan. 20 inauguration day demonstrations. The SMC statement reads in part:

"We call on college and high school campuses everywhere to join in a National Day of Student Antiwar Protest on Friday, Jan. 19. Campus mobilizations on that day, including demonstrations, rallies, teach-ins, and speak-outs, will generate deepening antiwar sentiment and will provide a focus for organizing and mobilizing massive numbers of students throughout the country to build the inauguration day actions.

"Our efforts during the next several weeks will be of critical importance. Together we can deliver a resounding and uncompromising message to Richard

Nixon: End the Bombing Now! U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!"

Scheduled to speak at a Jan. 11 news conference in Washington, D.C., to publicize the Jan. 19 protests are: Ngo Vinh Long, international representative of the National Student Union of South Vietnam; Ron Ehrenreich, vice-president of the National Student Association; Bill Sloan, executive director of Youth Caucus '72; Layton Olsen, National Student Lobby; Jeffrey Carples, student body president at Princeton University; and Jim McCann, student body president at Duvall Senior High School in D.C.

Additional endorsers of the call for Jan. 19 actions are the University of Massachusetts (Boston) Student Council; the *Harvard Crimson*; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A Jan. 8 news conference held to announce support for the action heard State Assemblymen Willie Brown Jr. and John Vasconcellos, and Monsignor James Flynn of the San Francisco Archdiocese Committee on Social Justice, who all pledged to march Jan. 20.

- A Chicago march on Jan. 20 is being sponsored by the Chicago Peace Action Coalition and the Chicago Peace Council. The assembly point is at State and Wacker, beginning at 11 a.m. At 12:30 p.m. marchers will rally at the Civic Center. While the Chicago action is seen by peace groups as the main focus, some buses will also be going to the Washington, D.C., demonstration.

Among the endorsers of the Jan. 20 action in Chicago are State Rep-

Houston Committee to End the War, and the Unitarian Peace Committee.

- In Portland, Ore. the Inauguration Day Peace Coalition is building a march from the North Park Blocks to the Pioneer Post Office, where a rally will take place at 12:30 p.m. The march will assemble at 11 a.m.

Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt will be issuing a statement this week endorsing the action, according to coalition activists.

- The SMC, the High School Organizing Task Force, and members of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan) are organizing an "Out Now" contingent in the Jan. 20 march planned for San Diego.

Jan. 20 demonstrations will also take place in St. Paul, Denver, and Seattle.

Sell Militants on Jan. 20



More than 200 *Militants* were sold at the Jan. 7 antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles. Help us sell *The Militant* to antiwar marchers on Jan. 20!

Militant dispatch centers in Washington will be located on the east side of Lincoln Memorial, beneath a "Militant" banner, and at the Washington Monument rally site, on Fifteenth Street. Call (202) 783-2363 in D.C. for further information, or the Militant Business Office, at (212) 929-3486.

See the Socialist Directory on page 22 for numbers to call for information on *Militant* sales in other cities on Jan. 20.

'Trotskyite Nixonism'

Step by step, escalation by escalation, the U. S. aggression in Indochina has been aided by the failure of the Soviet Union and China to come to the defense of the Vietnamese revolution. This criminal betrayal has reached a qualitatively new stage since Nixon mined the harbors of North Vietnam, and then traveled to Moscow to be anointed by Brezhnev with the oil of "peaceful coexistence."

As a result of the staggering dimensions of the Soviet betrayal, and the shamelessness with which it has been carried out, many who support the Vietnamese struggle against the U. S. invaders have come to see Moscow's true role as a Judas, stabbing the Vietnamese in the back while mouthing hollow phrases of friendship and solidarity.

Not surprisingly, Moscow-oriented "revolutionaries" are becoming increasingly sensitive to the growing condemnation of the Soviet sell-out.

In a shrill editorial in the Jan. 6 *Daily World*, the CP leaders try to defend Moscow's performance. The editorial calls for an offensive against "a kind of chemical-bacteriological warfare to corrupt the minds of peace-loving people. One strain of the Nixonite CBW is Trotskyite anti-Sovietism." "Thus," the *Daily World* accuses, "in an otherwise passionate denunciation of U. S. aggression, Vercors . . . has written in the Paris *Le Monde*: 'Russia doesn't dare anything.'"

"The Wall Street Journal said, similarly, in its editorial, that 'peaceful overtures to Russia . . . have cut into Hanoi's . . . support.' That is Trotskyite Nixonism."

"Trotskyite Nixonism" means, therefore, reporting a fact that can no longer be denied: the Soviet Union is willing to see a settlement acceptable to Nixon imposed on the Vietnamese, so as not to endanger Moscow's diplomatic detente with Washington.

It is no longer possible to deny that the Soviet Union has withheld its most advanced aircraft, which could help provide an effective barrier against the B-52s. The whole world knows of the refusal of the Soviet Union to make available the modern SAM-3 and SAM-4 anti-aircraft missiles for the defense of Vietnam.

Everyone knows this, but the *Daily World* tries to hide it. "The truth, however, is obvious," they write. "The 81 U. S. planes which were shot down while attacking Hanoi, among them 34 B-52s, were not shot down with pea shooters, but, according to Washington reports, by SAM missiles. And SAM missiles don't grow in rice paddies; nor are SAM missilemen and missilewomen trained by farm experts."

No one denies that the Vietnamese have Soviet SAM missiles, or that they shot down a record number of U. S. planes in the latest bombing. But the toll was not heavy enough to prevent the B-52s from destroying whole sections of Hanoi and Haiphong. The fact is that the SAM-2 missiles the Vietnamese have are primitive compared to the more modern equipment the Soviet Union is withholding from them.

Even Wilfred Burchett, a journalist whose articles frequently reflect Hanoi's viewpoint, calls the SAM-2 missiles "relatively antiquated." Is Burchett also guilty of "Trotskyite Nixonism?"

Echoing the Kremlin line, the *Daily World* last May 12 claimed, referring to the Soviet Union's failure to effectively oppose Nixon's order to place mines in the harbors of North Vietnam, "The Soviet Government's statement rebuffing Nixon's provocative brinkmanship is the response the world has been waiting for. . . . it is without belligerence or threats. . . . The Soviet statement has reassured the world."

But the only one reassured by the Soviet timidity was Nixon! Moscow's failure to answer Nixon's "provocations" has encouraged Nixon to escalate the war even further.

The *Daily World* would like to shift the blame for this on to the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party.

It was not the Trotskyists who wine and dine Nixon in the Kremlin while the bombs were falling in Vietnam.

It is not the Trotskyists who have refused to conduct a sustained, international political campaign to mobilize massive opposition to the war in powerful street demonstrations and other forms of direct action.

It was not the Trotskyists who said Nixon's victory at the polls in November strengthened the prospects for world peace.

And it is not the Trotskyist movement that is holding back advanced SAM missiles and modern jet fighters from the Vietnamese.

No. These deeds have been carried out by the Soviet bureaucracy, with the complete support of their servile supporters in the United States.

Trotskyists demand more aid to Vietnam from the Soviet Union and China. We call for a united front of these two powerful workers states in defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

Denounces YWLL attack

The brutal attack on Young Socialist Alliance member Will Stanley by Richard Hoyer, a national leader of the Young Workers Liberation League, and two other persons on the Borough of Manhattan Community College campus is one more example of the undemocratic nature of Stalinism.

I urge all socialist and democratic-minded youth to demand that the YWLL repudiate the Nov. 29 attack on Will Stanley.

R. M.

Providence, R. I.

Constitutional rights for embryos?

I strongly disagree with the letter supporting the "Right to Life" in the Dec. 22 *Militant*, especially the author's argument, which relies on the credibility of our Constitution after 200 years. Mr. or Ms. M. P. V. should take another look at the document. Our founding fathers counted Black slaves as three-fifths of a man in their census, and they did not state that men and women are created equal. I find it preposterous to argue that an embryo is covered in the Constitution when it doesn't adequately discuss adult women and racial minorities.

I agree with Cindy Jaquith that quotas are a useful weapon in ending discrimination. However, I wish that you would devote another article to a more detailed discussion of a very complex problem.

Janet Heller

Madison, Wis.

Coverage of Africa

Here is one dollar for an introductory subscription for a friend of mine. *The Militant* is as readable a Marxist newspaper as there is in America, and I especially appreciate its international outlook and consistent socialist perspective on international and domestic affairs.

I would hope in the future to see more on the independence struggles in Angola and other Portuguese colonies in Africa and about Zimbabwean and South African underground movements.

J. R.

Columbus, Ohio

Sign Now vs. Out Now

In criticizing the supporters of "Sign Now" *The Militant* has not adequately pointed out the impact that such a position and campaign has on the masses of antiwar activists and the American people as a whole.

There are many sincere, longtime antiwar activists who support "Sign Now," including members of the New American Movement (NAM). They are very well aware that signing the agreement will not end the war.

They support "Sign Now" tactically in order to force an end to the bombing and withdrawal of U. S. troops, which they believe would allow conditions under which the Vietnamese can continue their struggle to victory over Saigon. These supporters of "Sign Now" plan themselves to continue struggling and building sup-

port for Vietnamese self-determination.

I sympathize with the desire of these supporters of "Sign Now" to make the antiwar movement actively relevant to the cease-fire agreement and to deal with it. But we must not do it in such a way that it defeats our long-range goal of self-determination for the Vietnamese, which their approach of "Sign Now" does.

The problem, as all realize, is how to raise the consciousness of the masses of antiwar Americans to understand that the agreement doesn't mean an end to the war, and yet not undercut our goal of self-determination for the Vietnamese.

It would be not only far easier but tactically far better to continue to use the slogan "Out Now" supplemented with "No U. S.-Imposed Settlement" because it more directly attacks the fact that the projected cease-fire agreement won't end the war.

The understanding the supporters of "Sign Now" have that pressure is necessary to force the U. S. government to stop the bombing and withdraw U. S. troops is correct. But the pressure necessary to force the U. S. government to sign the agreement when it appears that it doesn't want to, and thus winning a "partial victory," is no less than the pressure needed to force a total, unconditional withdrawal and complete victory for the Vietnamese.

To those in NAM and other sincere supporters of the Vietnamese, I agree, let's build the pressure to stop the bombing and force U. S. troops out. But the effect of supporting "Sign Now" is going to be counterproductive to building the mass pressure needed to accomplish such a "partial victory," not to mention an end to the war and the securing of self-determination for the Vietnamese people.

Glen Boatman

Minneapolis, Minn.

Feminist Party convention

The Feminist Party, founded in 1971 by attorney Florynce Kennedy and Irene Duvall, who writes the syndicated column "The Liberated Woman," held its national convention in San Francisco last November.

The convention gave the approximately 150 feminist activists in attendance, representing many different groups across the country, a chance to absorb the ideas and philosophy of the party's founders and delegates from its 90 chapters.

The focus of the convention was on the exploitation of women by American institutions. Plans were made to boycott (or girlcott) firms like National Airlines (for its sexist "Fly Me" promotion); General Mills; Carnation Milk Company; Campbell Soup; American Motors; and Kraft Company for discriminatory hiring and promotion practices; and products of a harmful nature or dubious value, like feminine hygiene sprays.

Besides consumer boycotting, the Feminist Party believes in exposing and denouncing racist and sexist people in high places.

Kennedy accused the anti-abortion "Right-to-Life" groups of striving for "woman control," and opposition to these groups was well in evidence. A poster on the speaker's table read, "Friends of the Fetus, don't you wish



The American Way of Life

Michael Baumann

you were back in the womb where your life was sacred?"

Geri A. Mellgren
Minneapolis, Minn.

U.S. & Ireland Israel & Vietnam,

Just a short note to point out two happenings you may have missed:

1. Israel, which recently granted citizenship to Meir Kahane, author of *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam*, has accorded diplomatic recognition to the Saigon regime. Does this mean if we get out Israel will go there?

2. The political arm of the Irish Republican Army—Sinn Fein—declared at its latest national congress that two enemies of Ireland are capitalism and Anglo-American imperialism. This reference to the U.S. can be understood if one realizes that both the U.S. and the United Kingdom have bases in Northern Ireland. Also, as members of NATO, the U.S. and the other partners had to grant permission to the United Kingdom to take troops from Germany for redeployment in Northern Ireland. There is also the Kitson report, which calls for London to wage war in Ulster according to the same tactics the U.S. uses in Vietnam, and the repression being employed in this country against U.S. and Irish nationals sympathetic to the struggle.

P.M.
Providence, R.I.

Supports Israel

I subscribe to *The Militant* as an individual interested in all types of human involvement. I would like to inquire as to how you have the audacity to state that Israel is wrong in its attempts to stop Arab terrorism. Why do you constantly overlook the facts? The Jews have been a people wandering all over the world in an attempt to live peacefully as Jews. Since 1948 this effort has been put into the success of the state of Israel. Israel has become an image among many small nations showing them that a small nation can survive in today's world.

Surely you have never been to Israel, as I have, or you would realize the threat that Arab terrorists play in the day-to-day lives of the Israeli people. There has never been another people known to man that has such a strong common bond uniting them throughout the world as Jews. Israel has always been the land of the Jews and shall always continue that way. It is time that all people realize that Israel wants peace but will not tolerate history repeating itself.

K.O.
Tampa, Fla.

In reply—Some of the questions this reader raises are answered in an article by Peter Seidman on page 19. Others will be discussed in future articles.

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.

20 cents for a phone call?

R. C. Gerstenberg, president of General Motors, sees trouble ahead for U.S. big business. The average American, he complained recently, "has only a hazy idea of what free enterprise means" and "is confused about the tremendous importance of profits to his daily life."

More and more people think corporate profits are too high. "In 1965," Gerstenberg wrote in the Dec. 29 *New York Times*, "70 percent of the people thought business was doing a good job of achieving a proper balance between making a profit and providing a service. By 1971, however, this had been cut to less than half. Only 29 per cent thought business was doing a good job. . . ."

American Telephone & Telegraph, notorious for the poor but costly service it provides, seems to be out to convert the remaining 29 percent.

In December, at least three AT&T subsidiaries put in requests for rate increases. United Telephone of Ohio asked for \$17-million more a year. New Jersey Bell won a \$55.2-million increase, which they labeled "insufficient," but a step in the "right direction."

And on Dec. 18, the New York Telephone Company, AT&T's largest operating unit, asked for an immediate annual increase of \$217-million while it negotiates for an additional \$90-million. The \$350-million increase its subscribers had to cough up last year doesn't seem to have been enough.

The increase would average out to 15.8 percent for New York telephone users. Many will pay much more.

Installation charges, which went up to \$12.50 from

\$8.75 last February, would go up to \$15 under the full new rates.

Pay phone calls, a basic necessity for the millions of Americans who cannot afford a telephone in their home, would go up 100 percent, to 20 cents from the present dime. (A spokesman explained this is a "convenience" service that is expensive for the company.)

The surcharge for operator-assisted calls, a service many blind and handicapped people rely on, will go up as much as 300 percent.

Local calls, which now cost the same regardless of how long they last, would be timed and billed accordingly.

To make the increase a little more palatable, the company proposes to reduce the charge for one-minute long-distance calls and for toll calls made on weekdays between 11 p.m. and 8 a.m. (just the time to call an aged relative or someone who has to get up and go to work the next day).

But it may take more than that to convince the public to fork over another increase. On Dec. 20, only two days after the New York rate-hike request, AT&T reported the largest increase in quarterly profits in its history—an almost embarrassing 25 percent.

Sorry, AT&T President John deButts told outraged telephone subscribers, we still need the rate increase. We can't "simply acquiesce in the erosion of our service capability" (i.e., you don't want the service to get even worse, do you?).

If there's any "confusion" over the "tremendous importance of profits" and "what free enterprise means," it's not AT&T's fault.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Mass transit crisis

By FRANK LOVELL

Fifteen thousand maintenance workers, trainmen, bus drivers, and subway crewmen run the transportation system that moves a half-million commuters in and out of New York City every day. They are underpaid for their dreary, dirty, dangerous jobs.

Trains and interurban buses are mismanaged by private companies. The subway system and city buses are under the equally incompetent and profit-hungry management of the quasipublic Metropolitan Transportation Authority. As we begin the new year, this is the situation in the New York City area:

●The seven-week strike on the Long Island Railroad, affecting 170,000 daily riders, remains stalemated. Prospects of a satisfactory wage settlement are slim, but there is a strong possibility of increased fares.

●A strike by the Brotherhood of Railway Car-men against the Port Authority Trans-Hudson (PATH) lines, set for Jan. 3, was postponed 60 days when Nixon invoked the Railway Labor Act. When the walkout comes, it will affect the 145,000 daily riders who travel the tubes under the Hudson River from New Jersey to New York.

●The state of New Jersey has cleared the way for the bankrupt Central Railroad of New Jersey to end passenger service for 15,000 commuters after Jan. 21.

●The bankrupt Penn Central Railroad has gained court approval to eliminate one man from every three-man crew behind its engines. The United Transportation Union replied by calling a strike for Jan. 12. The strike, which would affect 150,000 commuters in the New York area, is expected to be postponed by emergency legislation in Congress.

The system of mass transportation, like the whole capitalist system of production and distribution, developed without any plan to serve social needs. Always the beneficiaries of huge federal subsidies, the railroad companies in recent years have fallen on lean times while the government subsidized highway construction and air transportation.

The railroads are now claiming bankruptcy, asking for greater government handouts. Meanwhile

transportation workers are laid off, maintenance is neglected, wages are frozen.

This has caused chaos in the mass transit systems of all urban areas, not just in New York City, where the crisis is most acute.

In the current and pending strikes in New York no less than 15 unions are participating in secret transit negotiations. None have publicly exposed the financial corruption of management. All are seeking ways to sacrifice more jobs in exchange for a small raise in wages.

Union negotiators beg to continue their traditional collaboration with management in quest of government subsidies, and all of them go along with raise-the-fare schemes to boost profits and cover whatever small wage gains may fall to the transit workers.

Last May, Al Chesser, president of the 190,000-member United Transportation Union, gave an interview to the *New York Times* in which he said, "We are firmly committed to the free-enterprise system, so long as it will provide the type of rail service this nation needs and wants. But we are not afraid of nationalization, if that is what is forced upon the nation by the railroad operators and the Administration in their efforts to make involuntary servitude (compulsory arbitration) a way of life on the railroads."

It turns out that Chesser and other rail union officials like him are completely subservient to railroad management and are as much opposed to nationalization as are the capitalist plunderers of this industry.

The idea of nationalization of railroads is not new. It is the only way to resolve the crisis of mass transportation. A modern low-cost rapid transit system into and within all major cities of this country cannot be built otherwise.

But to benefit both the workers who must ride the trains and those who run them, the nationalized transportation system would have to be operated under workers' control. This is the plan, worked out in detail, that the railroad unions should be drafting if they hope to win any substantial gains now or in the future.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



The rest were on vacation?—"Over Half of N. Y. Police Force Took Graft in '71, Inquiry Finds"—Headline in *Los Angeles Times*.

Literary note—Suzy, the society columnist, reports that the Pierre Schlumbergers (the oil-well-equipment people) did a smashing job of redecorating their eighteenth-century Paris mansion. The tour de force is the library: "Picture, if you will, sculptured steel floors, tortoise shell, steel and bronze bookcases, brown suede walls, and brown suede curtains sudded with silver nailheads. Heaven!" She didn't mention if there were any books.

Expert advice—New York City boasts a "Mayor's Office for Volunteers" where citizens can offer their various do-good skills. One outstanding ex-

ample cited: "A retired banker trains welfare aides to counsel the poor in budget management." Including how to rip off the money to manage with, right?

The insurgent majority—Participants in the nonsmokers' liberation movement may be encouraged by the report that the portion of the population that smokes is now down to 36.9 percent.

God preserve us!—"Almighty God, we thank Thee for a free land where private property is a sacred reality. For millions it is not. Among us, Lord, are millions who own no homes, no land, and no business. Owning nothing, they demand everything from a paternal government. Dear Lord, we fear they are potential victims for the

panacea of Socialism. . . ." Invocation at a Florida League of Cities banquet in Bal Harbour by the Reverend J. Lawrence Yenches, D. D.

The in outdoor scene—The world's first high-rise campground is being readied. A slated 20-story building in downtown New Orleans will offer 12 floors of trailer and tent sites. Rent, \$11 a day with use of rooftop picnic grounds included.

Ambivalent—Dr. Ernest Dichter, who motivates companies to part with large amounts of bread for his alleged customer-psychology research, advised the Forest Lawn Cemetery that people buy big plots because they don't accept the reality of death and want to be sure "the deceased will have room to move about." But the reason they prefer caskets with locks,

he further explained, is that they "fear the dead will get out."

Of piety and profits—A new Buenos Aires ordinance requires that hotels renting rooms by the hour be at least 200 yards away from schools, churches, parks, and playgrounds.

Foolish kids—Japanese television features a daily program of Children's News. The program avoids scenes of violence, explains producer Seinosuke Miwa. Vietnam bombings are out, along with demonstrations by radicals. "The judgment of small children is not mature enough to understand the violence," Miwa said. "And when they see the radicals demonstrating, they can't tell the difference between the 'good guys' and the 'bad guys' and they think the radicals are very brave."

Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Extend protective laws to men

For years the women who work the night shift at the Bank of America in San Francisco took cabs home, paid for by the bank. It wasn't because the bank wanted to spare its female employees from long waits for the bus in the middle of the night, but because a California law requires adequate transportation for women workers who leave their jobs after 10 at night or before 6 in the morning. This is one of California's many protective labor laws that apply to women.

Recently the bank's male employees charged discrimination because they weren't also receiving the taxi allowance. Bank of America's answer was to "equalize" the situation by taking away the taxi fare altogether! Now all they provide is a free shuttle service to lighted parking lots.

Most women who work at the bank don't have cars. So if they work the night shift they either spend a large portion of their wages on cab fare, or more likely, take their chances with unreliable bus transportation—increasing their vulnerability to robbery, rape, and other physical attacks.

As if working women don't have enough prob-

lems to cope with—discrimination in hiring, unequal pay, lack of promotion—Bank of America comes along and takes back one of the gains women have won, and in the name of fighting sex discrimination, no less!

The Bank of America incident is undoubtedly not the only attempt big corporations have made to whittle away at the rights of female employees under the guise of applying the new equal rights legislation. The women's liberation movement and the unions must be prepared to answer the bosses whenever they try to distort equal rights legislation to take away gains women have already won.

What does it mean when women say they want equal rights? Take the Equal Rights Amendment, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, or the Equal Pay Act, all of which call for making discrimination on the basis of sex illegal. Does supporting such measures mean a woman is asking her boss to take away her rest breaks, lunch hours, or cab fares, where these gains are not also extended to men?

That would make as much sense as a male

worker who opposes sex discrimination asking for a cut in wages so he can be equal to women.

There is no reason why any workers should have to give up rights in order for women to have equality. The basic responsibility for sex discrimination does not lie with either male or female workers, but with the capitalist class. The capitalists are the ones who profit from the super-exploitation of women workers. By distorting the meaning of equal rights, they hope to maintain the unequal treatment of women and protect their profits.

Presumably, if women at the Bank of America need safe transportation at night, so do men. Thus, in addition to demanding reinstatement of the taxi allowance for women, the bank employees should demand extension of this service to men.

In fact, in its 1972 session the California state legislature passed a bill that would have extended protective legislation to male workers. Predictably, Governor Ronald Reagan vetoed the measure, along with a bill that would have allowed women workers to collect disability insurance for pregnancy-related illnesses.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'Justice,' Mississippi style

Every so often we hear of an incident involving political favors dispensed by a government official. One especially gross case was recently brought to light in Mississippi. It involves Charles Clifford Wilson, a former functionary in the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and the governor of the state.

Back in 1966, Vernon Dahmer, an NAACP leader in Laurel, Miss., was killed when his home was fire-bombed by night-riding Klansmen. Fifteen men were indicted for the crime and three were sentenced to life imprisonment. They are believed to be the first white men ever convicted by a Mississippi state court in a civil rights murder. Wilson was one of the three.

Wilson retained the services of Attorney William Waller to handle his appeal. Attorney Waller is now Governor Waller, and Charles Wilson is now out of prison. Wilson was freed by Waller in November under a work-release program. In commenting on his release, Vernon Dahmer's widow said that Waller did as governor what he could not do as Wilson's lawyer.

Although convicted in 1969, Wilson has spent less time serving his sentence than federal officials spent convicting him. He's been granted special leaves both by Waller and his predecessor, Gover-

nor John Bell Williams.

When he started his work-release program a few weeks ago, it was the ninth time he'd been freed. Previously he'd been out on leaves that varied from 48 hours to three months. Last year Waller gave him two consecutive 90-day leaves.

Waller defended Wilson's release on the grounds that his skills as an artificial limb maker are needed in Laurel, and his wife and three children need him at home!

Wilson's release, needless to say, set off a howl of protest from many Black leaders across the state. Even a white state senator said the governor's action was "illegal as hell." He was referring to the fact that the bill establishing the work-release program had been defeated in the last legislature.

Waller, in response to the protest, leaked word that a Black man convicted of murdering a white would be put in the work-release program too. Apparently he thinks this will satisfy Mississippi Blacks. But if Waller were sincere in seeing justice reign, he would, as a start, immediately order the release of the Republic of New Africa 11.

These brothers and sisters have been in Hinds County Jail since August 1971. They were arrested for defending themselves from an armed police

assault on their headquarters in Jackson. During the attack a police lieutenant was killed. Three of the RNA 11 have already been sentenced to life terms, and the president of the RNA, Imari Abubakari Obadele I, remains in jail under a \$75,000 bond.

Word has it that by releasing Wilson, Waller was merely repaying a campaign debt. The Klan supported his election bid, and he apparently agreed to release the three Klansmen as a return favor if elected.

A former high official in the Klan told Roy Reed of the *New York Times* that originally he had been campaigning for Waller's opponent but was told by other Klansmen to support Waller because of the promise. He stated however that Waller had failed to follow through completely on his promise, since he had not released the other two men.

Wilson is now working at a Laurel hospital fulfilling the obligations of his release. Some Blacks have expressed fear of going to the hospital since Wilson arrived. But Wilson's pastor pooh-poohed any fears they might have. "I think any black person in Jones County could lie down beside Clifford Wilson and go to sleep and not have anything to be afraid of, because Clifford's not that type of fellow. He's had an experience with the Lord."

Defending the right to abortion

Demystifying the fetus

"In a world in which adults control power and purse, the foetus is at a disadvantage being small, naked, nameless and voiceless. He has no one except sympathetic adults to speak up for him and defend him—and equally no one except callous adults to condemn and attack him."

Thus begins a six-page glossy brochure published by the Constitutional Right to Life Committee in Rhode Island, entitled "The Child Before Birth." Complete with magnified color photographs of fetuses, it is an example of the main approach of the anti-abortion groups: an appeal to emotions rather than reason.

These groups know that their religious or philosophical arguments about when human life begins are

not very convincing to those who don't hold those particular beliefs. Therefore they try to cover up their lack of rational arguments by using loaded language and deceptive pictures.

Some of the ways the anti-abortion groups attempt to humanize, glorify, and almost worship fetuses would be humorous if their heavily financed campaigns—which bolster the anti-abortion policies of the government—were not such a deadly serious threat to the rights of women.

For example, some of the anti-abortion crusaders will give the fetus names as they talk about them, like "little Jerome" or "the little aquanaut" moving around with a "natural swimmer's stroke." Others read poems supposedly expressing the feelings of panic of a fetus about to be aborted. Or they might read an imaginary diary of an about-to-be-aborted fetus. They display bottles of pickled fetuses. The photographs they use are always enlarged to many times the actual size of the fetus. In all these ways they attempt to make people think of the fetus as a baby.

Still another tactic the anti-abortion groups use is pseudoscientific statements about fetal development—including assertions about the existence of fetal heartbeats, brainwaves, and motions of various kinds, even the motion of crying from pain.

These methods of the anti-abortion groups are a total hoax and a fraud. Their visual props, such as alleged remains of aborted fetuses, are about as enlightening as a side show at a county fair.

Their pretense of being "scientific" has about as much validity as that of the "scientists" who helped justify slavery by mustering "scientific" proof that Black people were inferior. Among the anti-abortion forces, scien-

tists and doctors are prostituting their knowledge to help justify keeping women enslaved by compulsory pregnancy.

Just what is a fetus like? First of all, an eight-week fetus is about as big as an adult's thumb nail (where abortion is legal, most are performed at around 8 to 10 weeks of pregnancy.)

Shown an actual photograph of an eight-week fetus, no lay person would be able to distinguish it from a pig fetus or a chicken fetus, since all mammalian embryos develop in a similar manner. It cannot breathe, and it absorbs oxygen and nutrients from its mother's blood.

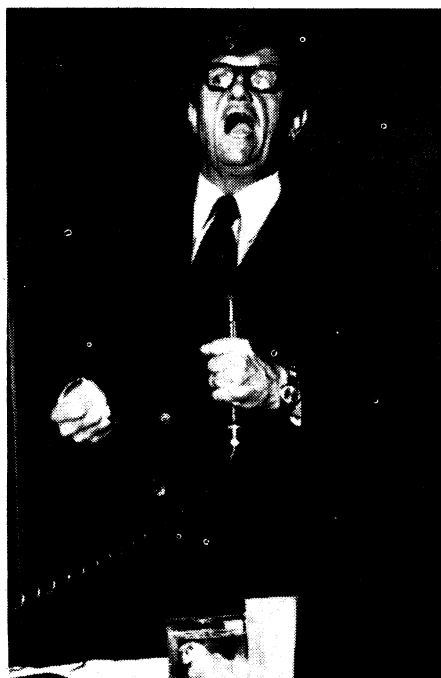
According to scientific opinion, although a fetus will react to stimuli, it cannot feel pain. Pain is a learned response, and the fetal brain is not developed enough to interpret such stimuli as pain.

Of course the fetus develops a heart beat, circulatory system, and a brain—so do fetuses of any other mammal. That doesn't make it a human being.

The whole point behind all their romanticizing of the fetus, behind their gory pictures, and behind their pseudoscientific pronouncements, is the claim that the fetus is a human being, and therefore abortion is murder.

But the statement that a fetus is human does not come from science. This idea can only be based on a religious or philosophical opinion that some metaphysical "human" quality, or "soul," is present in a fetus, embryo, or fertilized egg, whatever its stage of physical development.

While the anti-abortion people have the right to hold this belief and to conduct their reproductive lives accordingly, they have no right to impose this religious or philosophical belief on everyone else in this society.



New York state legislator displays fetus during last year's debates over liberalized abortion law.

Abzug to speak at Abortion Tribunal; S.F. rally set

JAN. 8—Last week there were several important developments in the preparations for the International Abortion Tribunal, scheduled for March 9-11 at Town Hall in New York City.

Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) has agreed to serve on the panel of tribunal commissioners. She and Gordon Chase, head of the New York City Health Services Administration, will speak at the Saturday night, March 10, rally to defend the



Bella Abzug Militant/Mark Satinoff

right to abortion in New York.

Sponsors of the tribunal continue to come in. Two of the prominent endorsers in the last few days are Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and Richard and Dorothy Rodgers, of Rodgers and Hammerstein.

Other new endorsers of the tribunal are New York State Senator Manfred Ohrenstein; Noam Chomsky; Central New Jersey National Organization for Women (NOW); Jacqui Ceballos, eastern regional director of NOW and activist in New Feminist Talent, Inc.; and Pat McQuillan, chairwoman of Catholics for the Elimination Of All Restrictive Abortion and Contraception laws.

Women in the Bay Area, angered by Governor Ronald Reagan's recent antiabortion statements, will hold an abortion rights rally in San Francisco March 10.

Reagan has denounced the Nov. 2 decision of the California Supreme Court that ruled key sections of the state anti-abortion law unconstitutional. Many women expect new anti-abortion legislation will be introduced in an attempt to reverse that decision.

An ad hoc group to build the rally, the March 10 Committee, has been initiated by San Francisco NOW and the Women's Abortion Coalition. Both organizations anticipate wide support for the rally, which will coincide with the International Abortion Tribunal.

In a related development, Reagan recently vetoed a bill that would have allowed doctors to prescribe contraceptives to young people without parental permission. This is the third year in a row that the California legislature has passed such a bill and the third time Reagan has vetoed it. His reason: parents should have control over the sex lives of minors.

Unions back N.Y. abortion hearings

By HELEN SCHIFF

NEW YORK, Jan. 8—Supporters of abortion rights are preparing for the legislative hearings on New York's liberalized abortion law scheduled to take place in Albany Jan. 30.

Sponsored by Assemblyman Franz Leichter, the hearings will provide the first large, public action in defense of the New York abortion law this year. The law has come under attack from the reactionary, so-called right-to-life forces, who are supporting a bill to make abortions available only when a woman's life is threatened.

A compromise bill, which would lower the time limit for abortions from the twenty-fourth to the twentieth week of pregnancy, has also been filed in Albany.

At the initiative of the New York Women's Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), women and men from all over the state will converge on Albany for the hearings, which will be preceded by a rally on the Capitol steps. Although many campuses will be closed at this time, the response to the idea of the hearings shows that they can be a strong show of support for women's right to abortion in New York.

Some of the organizations and individuals encouraging attendance at the hearings are: New York Metropolitan Women's International League for

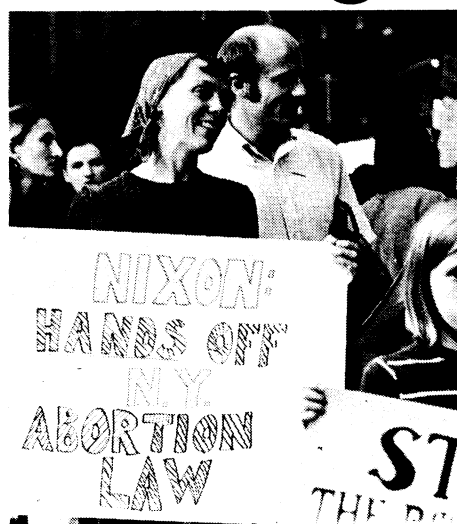
Peace and Freedom; Nassau County Women's Political Caucus; National Lawyers Guild; New York State One-To-One Lobbying Committee of the National Organization for Women (NOW); Westchester Coalition for Legal Abortion; and Right to Choose, Cornwall on the Hudson.

Also, Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); Dr. Benjamin Spock; Gordon Chase, head of the New York City Health Services Administration; Henry Foner, president of the Joint Board, Furrier, Leather and Machine Workers; and the Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board.

Social Services Employees Union Local 371, which has more than 12,000 members, is distributing leaflets for the Jan. 30 hearings and already has reserved two buses for Albany. Buses are also being sent from Richmond and York colleges.

WONAAC has been helping to organize the personal and professional testimony for the hearings. Lawrence Lader of the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws and Dr. Christopher Tietze are two well-known experts on abortion who have agreed to testify.

Personal testimony of women who had illegal abortions before the liberalized New York law was passed, and those who have had legal abortions since then, will outline what



Militant/Mark Satinoff

is at stake if the New York law is repealed or compromised.

The hearings will begin at 1 p.m. in the New Legislative Office Building. The rally on the Capitol steps will take place at noon. There will be lobbying and leafletting activities in the morning.

Buses to Albany from New York City will leave at 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. from Union Square West and Fourteenth Street. The round-trip fare is \$6. For additional information, contact WONAAC, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

ILWU hits pro-war boycott

West Coast dockers discuss merger

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 7—Along the San Francisco waterfront the two major topics of conversation are whether the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) should remain independent or merge with either the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), or the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA); and how the ILWU should respond to the Australian-New Zealand labor boycott of U. S. shipping in protest of U. S. policy in Vietnam.

The ILA, the National Maritime union, the Masters, Mates and Pilots union, the Seafarers' International union, and other right-wing unions have declared a counterboycott against all Australian and New Zealand shipping.

On Jan. 8, the *Montreal Star*, whose last port was Auckland, New Zealand, is due in San Francisco. This will be the first West Coast test of the counterboycott. It is expected that the unions that have declared the boycott will set up a picket line. The ILWU, standing by its long record of opposition to the war in Vietnam, has instructed its members to disregard any such picket lines.

Born in the great San Francisco general strike of 1934, the ILWU tradition is left-wing and democratic. The membership still votes on all important questions. Officially the ILWU has been friendly to Russia, China, and Cuba, and has opposed the war in Vietnam. Also it supports the Farm Workers union against the IBT raids.

In 1950, during the McCarthy period, the ILWU was expelled from the CIO as a "Communist-dominated union." Under the leadership of International President Harry Bridges, the

bor member remaining on Nixon's wage board. He's to the right of George Meany, if that's possible.

At present, most of the rank-and-file ILWU members and local officials



ILWU head Harry Bridges

are for remaining independent. The president of Local 13 (Los Angeles), Curt Johnson, favors a merger with the ILA. International President Harry Bridges wants to merge with the IBT.

No official body of the ILWU has authorized anything except exploratory negotiations. Yet the front page of the Dec. 22 ILWU *Dispatcher* features a bulletin stating that Bridges has met with IBT officials in Washington, D. C., "to finalize merger of the two unions." It also states that whatever agreement is reached is "to be submitted to the international executive board of both organizations as soon as possible." Several local officials hostile to the merger, including some in San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland, say they'll stop it right there at the international executive board.

Scuttlebut has it that Bridges is so anxious to get into the IBT that he'll try to eliminate all in-between steps, go directly to the local membership meetings, and attempt to steamroller a merger by using scare tactics: "This is our last chance. We can't go it alone, we'll be destroyed if we try to."

Some longshoremen are convinced that Bridges wants the merger because the opposition is gaining strength. For example, in Local 19 in Seattle Shaun Maloney, Bridges's most consistent critic, has just been reelected president. In San Francisco, Cleophas Williams, a Bridges supporter, was elected president by one vote! All three business agents, Herbert Mills, Frank Stout, and Larry Wing, and about half of the new executive board are oppositionists.

Of course the idea of one big transportation union is very popular. The unions are weakening numerically in the face of increasing mechanization and containerization in the industry. The ILWU especially has suffered. It now has fewer than 12,000 working longshoremen on the West Coast—half as many as 20 years ago, although tonnage has doubled in that period. Total membership of the ILWU, including Hawaii, is about 55,000.

A merger on progressive terms, to fight the bosses and their government, would be a good thing. But the motives of Fitzsimmons and Bridges are generally suspect, especially among the younger workers. A vote for merger is unlikely.



Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons

ILWU has gone continually to the right since 1950. But when compared with the ILA and the IBT, it is still often referred to as "progressive."

How does all this square with merger with the Teamsters? To most ILWU rank-and-file members it doesn't at all.

Along the piers individual Teamster drivers are advising longshoremen along these lines: "Wait 'til Fitzsimmons gobbles you up—you won't be shooting your mouth off about politics or anything else at union meetings or you'll be on the outside looking in."

Certainly, democracy is not a strong point of the IBT leadership. As for official IBT politics, its international president, Fitzsimmons, is the sole la-

March set for Jan. 27

N.Y. action to mark massacre in Derry

By GEORGE JOHNSON

NEW YORK, Jan. 7—Two important events in the movement to support Irish liberation took place here today. The first was a demonstration of 500 people against Jack Lynch, prime minister of the 26-county Irish "Free" State, whose government has recently interned nationalist leaders at the behest of British imperialism.

The second was an enthusiastic meeting, attended by more than 100 people, to plan a demonstration here for Jan. 27. The action will be part of the international commemoration of the "Bloody Sunday" massacre of 13 peaceful civil rights marchers in Derry, Northern Ireland, a year ago.

Many of the participants in the Derry commemoration meeting had come directly from picketing Lynch, who had appeared to tape the ABC-TV show "Issues and Answers." The show opened with a shot of the demonstrators outside, and much of the program centered on them and their opposition to Lynch's policies of servility to British imperialism.

Nine groups participated in the picket, which was called on 48-hour notice and held in bitterly cold weather. They were: American Committee for Ulster Justice, Ancient Order of Hibernians,

Fifth Avenue to the offices of British Overseas Airways Corporation (the site of the British consulate here) was decided on. It will start at 1 p.m., to be followed by a rally addressed by representatives of each of the groups involved in building the action.

Participants in the meeting heard plans for demonstrations the same weekend in Europe and elsewhere, and then enthusiastically adopted a call urging those in this county interested in the cause of Irish freedom to hold similar actions.

Copies of the call will be sent to Irish-American newspapers around the country. Groups with chapters outside New York City were urged to contact them and to ask them to hold actions in their areas on Jan. 27.

It was noted that demonstrations on Jan. 27 would have the maximum impact in Ireland, where the commemorations will be held on Jan. 28, and that nationwide demonstrations here, even if many of them are small, would have an important impact on the Irish nationalists, as well as on the Dublin and London governments. Both governments are heavily supported by American investments and follow U.S. politics closely.

Proof of this assessment came with



British troops killed 13 demonstrators in Derry, Northern Ireland, in Jan. 30, 1972, attack that became known as 'Bloody Sunday.' Demonstrations are planned in many countries this month to commemorate anniversary of massacre.

Anti-Internment Coalition, Gaelic Athletic Association, Irish Counties Association, Irish Institute, Irish Republican Clubs, National Association for Irish Freedom, and Northern Aid Committee.

Several of these groups have refused to work with each other in the past, and others have not previously been involved in action against the Dublin government.

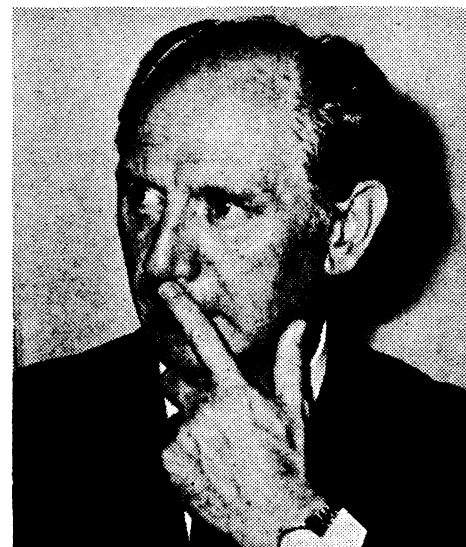
This breadth of unity in defense of the Irish struggle was reflected at the planning meeting for the Jan. 27 Derry commemoration. Among the groups represented was the National Association for Irish Freedom (NAIF). NAIF is the U.S. representative of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, which along with Bernadette Devlin and others, had called for the Derry commemorations.

Also at the meeting were representatives or members of the Anti-Internment Coalition; Saor Eire Cumann; the Irish Republican Clubs, which reflect the views of the Official Irish Republican movement; and the Northern Aid Committee, which reflects the views of the Provisional Republican movement.

A march from Columbus Circle down

Lynch's performance on the ABC show, in which he dealt with three issues: the demonstrators outside; the safety of Ireland for American business investments; and how Britain had a plan for ending the "troubles" in Ireland.

More demonstrations against Lynch are planned for his future appearances here and in other cities.



Jack Lynch, prime minister of Republic of Ireland and target of demonstrations in U.S.

Budget cutbacks hit Philly, Chicago teachers strike

By DAVE FRANKEL

The strain on local budgets due to federal cutbacks in the areas of health, education, and welfare has spurred teacher militancy and the growth of teachers unions. Three out of every four elementary and secondary school teachers—a total of 1.4 million—now belong to unions. Conflicts between the unions and local school boards are on the increase as municipal officials attempt to make

of the contract would be offset by longer hours, an increase in class sizes, the elimination of 385 high school teachers, and no raises for professional experience in the second year.

The school board attempted to justify this insulting offer by pointing to its \$24-million debt. School board President William Ross predicted that the teachers would vote not to strike if the union conducted "impartial" balloting. Only a "radical minority"

lice will be assigned to provide "absolute security to protect anyone who wants to enter the schools."

The financial plight of the Philadelphia schools, as a result of their neglect by Rizzo, the city council, and the board of education, is so bad that they are expected to close a month early this spring, strike or no strike, for lack of funds.

Unfortunately, the PFT leadership has made no attempt to enlist the support of Philadelphia's large Black community. PFT officials who attended a meeting on Jan. 4 of about 450 parents, mostly Black, were roundly booed when they criticized the idea of alternative schools in churches and community centers during the strike.

Elsewhere, teachers in Chicago have voted to strike beginning Jan. 10. The Chicago board of education has proposed ending all limits on class sizes, which means an immediate layoff of 1,200 teachers; a 9 percent cut in teachers' pay; a cutback of 50 percent in school supplies and 20 percent in school services; and the elimination of teacher preparation periods.

The union's main demands are for a guaranteed 38-week school year with no loss in annual salary (the school year is now 40 weeks long); and limits to class sizes in all elementary schools and in all high school subjects.

The union has also called for restoring cutbacks in funds budgeted for basic school supplies; no cutbacks in teacher preparation periods and no increases in teaching loads; and for elementary school teachers to have as many preparation periods as high school teachers.

The union has cut its original demand for a 10 percent wage increase to 2.5 percent. Many teachers see little use in wage demands after their experience with the last contract. Nixon's Pay Board reduced increases of 8 percent for 1971 and 1972 to 5.5 percent, and the Chicago school board then reduced the school year without pay, which neutralized even that increase.

In St. Louis, teachers are threatening to strike Jan. 29 if their demands for higher wages are not met. St. Louis teachers have received no wage increases since 1969. The St. Louis Teachers Union has more than 1,500 members out of 4,000 teachers in the city. It has joined with the St. Louis Teachers Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association, in presenting its demands.

Southern U students continue boycott

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK, Jan. 9—Southern University at Baton Rouge (SUBR) reopened for classes Jan. 3 after being closed for a month and a half following the murder of two Black students by sheriff's deputies Nov. 16. The shootings occurred during student struggles on the Baton Rouge and New Orleans (SUNO) campuses of the predominantly Black university, which has 12,000 students.

University officials claimed class attendance on opening day was about 75 percent. But according to student leader Fred Prejean, in a telephone interview with *The Militant*, "only 35 percent showed up."

Prejean and six other students were prevented from entering the campus by a court-imposed restraining order.

The seven students, who were also expelled from school, went to court today in an effort to have the injunction lifted and to win reinstatement.

The court order was obtained by Louisiana Attorney General William Guste. Guste led the state-appointed commission that determined in a preliminary report last month that sheriff's deputies were responsible for the students' deaths. Guste's commission is expected to submit its final report to a parish (county) grand jury.

In the interview, Prejean reported that everyone attempting to enter the Baton Rouge campus is stopped by campus police while their student ID is checked. Several student leaders from the New Orleans campus managed to gain entrance to the campus on Jan. 4 and tried unsuccessfully to meet with university President Dr. G. Leon Netterville.

Keith Medley, a SUNO student, told *The Militant* that the SUNO students then spoke to a rally of several hundred SUBR students. As they were preparing to leave the campus, several security guards followed them and jumped on Earl Picard, the SUNO student government president and threw him into their car. A fight ensued, and the cops promised to release Picard if the others left. The students agreed, and Picard was released.

Medley reported that especially harsh conditions have been imposed on the SUBR campus. Students are not allowed to leaflet or to hold meetings or rallies.

He said that the boycott at SUNO is still very effective and the students will boycott final exams unless progress is made in negotiations with the university administration.

The SUNO students have offered a four-point plan to the administration to begin the negotiations. The four points are extending the semester so that students can make up lost time; full criminal and academic amnesty for those involved in the protests; enactment of a student bill of rights; and the creation of an interim committee to deal with these demands. The administration has so far not responded.

The Louisiana board of education, which controls the functioning of Southern U, has been considering the students' demands since Nov. 16 and has also made no response.



Striking teacher in Philadelphia is greeted by a student

teachers pay for budget deficits out of their wages and working conditions.

The strike by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) that began Jan. 8 is a good example of this process. The strike is a continuation of a 22-day walkout last September that was ended without any settlement of the issues involved.

Negotiations between the PFT and the Philadelphia school board have resulted in the board offering a contract that would provide no pay increase in the first year of a three-year pact. A 3-percent increase in the second year and cost-of-living increases in the second and third years

would approve a strike, he claimed.

However, on Jan. 3 a total of 10,595 members of the 14,246-member PFT voted 8 to 1 to reject the board's offer. The union is demanding a 6.2 percent wage increase with no increase in class sizes or the length of the workday. Union leaders have vowed to defy any court injunction ordering an end to the strike.

Philadelphia's right-wing mayor, Democrat Frank Rizzo, insists that there will be no tax increase to help overcome the school crisis, claiming that real estate taxes would have to be doubled to make up the school board's deficit. In a move to scab on the strike, Rizzo promised that po-

Poultry Workers win union elections

By DERRICK MORRISON

Last month, through elections sponsored by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), workers at Poultry Packers, Inc., in Forest, Mississippi, voted 95 to 76 to have the Mississippi Poultry Workers' Union (MPWU) as their bargaining agent.

According to Ken Lawrence, writing in the December issue of the *Southern Patriot*, the monthly paper of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), "It was a major breakthrough in the gigantic chicken-processing industry that employs thousands of workers in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Most of the plants are small, pay low wages, and have atrocious working conditions."

The MPWU arose out of last spring's six-week strike by Black workers—

who constitute 60 percent of the plant's work force of 200. They formed the union and won a 10 cents increase to their hourly wage of \$1.60.

Most white workers didn't support the strike. But in September—after the company cracked down on union sympathizers and withdrew benefits from strikebreakers—white workers led a new walkout.

"A lot of them didn't understand the first time, but now they realize and understand that if you don't stick together you can't make it," Merle Barber, the Black woman president of the MPWU, told Lawrence.

These strike actions forged a working unity of enough whites with the Blacks to enable the union to win the NLRB election. During the first strike the MPWU rejected affiliation with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters

and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO, when representatives from that union told them, "We're with you, but we think you've done everything wrong." They indicated that the workers would not be allowed to have a local under their own control.

Right after the victory at Poultry Packers, workers across the street at the Gaddis Packing Co. voted 66 to 42 to have the MPWU as their bargaining agent, according to a Jan. 5 news release from SCEF. And on Jan. 26 an election is slated for the Southeast Poultry Co., which has 400 workers.

The MPWU is being assisted by the Mississippi Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, an organization of Black and white workers that won a strike last year in the face of racist reaction, and by SCEF.

By FRANK LOVELL

Approximately five million union members in 10 major industries will be directly affected by negotiations for higher wages and better working conditions in 1973.

All negotiations will be hampered by government controls and circumscribed by government policy if overall plans of big-business spokesmen, government agents, and some union

resigned; Steelworkers President I. W. Abel, who likewise stuck; Ironworkers President John Lyons, who backed Nixon; and AFL-CIO Secretary Lane Kirkland. Kirkland and Woodcock were unable to attend the Dec. 20 briefing. Woodcock sent stand-in Pat Greathouse, a UAW vice-president.

This meeting was reported by the Dec. 21 *Wall Street Journal*, which said government planners are optimistic since Meany and his crowd agreed on Dec. 16 to rejoin the Productivity

again decide to test the strength of the unions in the electrical industry.

If GE strategists decide to provoke a strike of unions represented by the AFL-CIO coordinated bargaining committee, it could extend over several months and would sharpen the class conflict, affecting negotiations in other industries.

The rubber industry is one of the first that will be affected. United Rubber Workers contracts with the Big Four—Firestone, Goodrich, Good-

struction industry. The building-trades unions have contracts that expire throughout the year, but most like to get their contracts signed in the summer when builders are rushed and badly in need of skilled mechanics in all trades.

About 500,000 building tradesmen are expecting a raise this year. Officials of most craft unions have already indicated their willingness to settle for the 5.5 percent Pay Board limit. It means more for higher-paid skilled workers than low-paid production workers.

Contracts covering about 680,000 low-paid postal workers also expire in July. They expect a raise of more than 5.5 percent.

● In August the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen face a showdown with all major meat packers—Swift, Armour, Cudahy, Dubuque Packing, Oscar Meyer, John Morrell, Wilson, Rath Packing, and others. About 40,000 workers are represented.

● September is another big month because the contract covering 670,000 auto workers expires. Officials of the United Auto Workers are watching current negotiations in other industries and are trying to be included in government economic planning. They have already indicated that wages, in their opinion, are not likely to be the major issue. Instead, they are talking about "humanizing the work place." The average hourly wage in the auto industry is around \$4.70, higher than in other manufacturing industries.

The UAW will continue negotiations in October and for the remainder of the year, representing workers in farm implement manufacturing and independent truck-building companies. What happens here and elsewhere at the end of the year will depend partly on the turn of the economy during the first and second quarters.

Government manipulators of the economy are prepared to ride herd on all wage negotiations, running interference for the employers, forcing quick settlements within previously agreed-upon guidelines, leaving open questions of speedup on the job and general working conditions, and hoping that runaway prices and high unemployment will not provoke uncontrolled rank-and-file revolts in the union movement.

The government is threatening the unions with compulsory arbitration in major strike situations. It banks on divisions among the unions and small piece-offs to a section of the union bureaucracy (as demonstrated in its offerings to the likes of Meany and Fitzsimmons). The strategy is to control and further weaken the unions' power to strike.

Success of this strategy is by no

Continued on page 22

Speed-up, wages are at issue '73 outlook for unions, bosses

bureaucrats are carried out.

The aim is to restrict wages, speed up production, and in this way reduce the unit-labor-cost of all items produced in this country. Price controls will be "eased" to allow prices to float freely in a competitive market, government officials say. The come-on is a promise to expand the economy and reduce unemployment.

The economic effect on the working class at this stage in the degeneration of world capitalism will be to lower the standard of living. The employing class expects to raise the margin of profit.

The main outlines of this master strategy have been developed in "consultation" sessions of government planning commissions, attended separately by trusted union officials and

Commission. "These Nixonites stress that labor's participation is needed if the pay-restraint machinery is to cope with next year's heavy bargaining," said the *Journal*.

On Dec. 31 the *New York Times* reported that Nixon has offered "to place union men at the assistant secretary level in all relevant Government agencies." The purpose, of course, is to further institutionalize the unions and make union officials directly responsible for the government's antilabor assaults.

Nixon's strategy will soon be tested. The Oil Workers contract expired Dec. 31, and other contract deadlines follow closely throughout the year. There will be no letup in potential strike situations.

● In January contracts expire in

year, and Uniroyal—expire in April. There are more than 100,000 workers in this industry.

● One of the unions in the GE negotiations, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, will have a hand in wage settlements in the pulp and paper industry. Contracts with the Southern division of the International Paper Company covering 11,500 workers run out in May. The United Paperworkers is also party to these negotiations, and the pattern established at International Paper may serve as a model for the industry.

● June is a big month because the Teamsters union will renegotiate the national trucking contract covering 450,000 over-the-road drivers.

These negotiations and the response of the drivers to whatever settlement results will show the wage limits of the government economic policy as well as the strength and weakness of the Nixon labor-management strategy. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons is one of Nixon's chief toadies.

The contracts of most railroad unions on all major carriers also expire in June. About 525,000 workers will be directly affected.

In the maritime industry, Pacific Coast longshoremen look to the month of June for restoration of a big chunk of pay the Pay Board chopped out of their 1972 settlement with the Pacific Maritime Association. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is trying to recover the stolen wages and has set a July 1 deadline. ILWU President Harry Bridges seeks to strengthen his bargaining position through a merger with the Teamsters union, a move many ILWU members consider unwise.

● July will probably be the biggest month for negotiations in the con-



Cooperation of such trade-union bureaucrats as AFL-CIO head George Meany is key aspect of Nixon's plan to keep wage gains down in 1973.

business economists.

On Dec. 20 the Nixon administration called a top-level meeting in Washington to review problems of economic policy with a select group of union bureaucrats. Treasury Secretary George Shultz presided. Herbert Stein, chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers, and Donald Rumsfeld, director of the Cost of Living Council, were there to explain the problems.

Nixon attended briefly to impress the invited labor officials and give them a sense of their own importance and responsibility. He expressed his appreciation that Meany and others had decided to return to the Productivity Commission, which has been revamped to exclude McGovern supporters such as Joseph Beirne of the Communications Workers and Floyd Smith of the Machinists. These two have been replaced by Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers union and a Nixon backer in the last election, and C. L. Dennis of the Railway Clerks union.

Also on the Productivity Commission, in addition to Dennis, Hall, and Meany, are Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, who remained on last March when Meany and others

some sections of the garment industry. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, however, shows no signs of trying to break Pay Board guidelines of a 5.5 percent raise, which is minimal in this low-pay industry. Other sections of the garment industry have contracts expiring in February and May.

● In March a new contract with Consolidated Edison in New York covering 16,850 utility workers will be negotiated. On Dec. 29 the Public Service Commission granted ConEd an emergency increase in its electric, gas, and steam rates, increasing its annual revenue by \$110-million.

But the increase, which will up the average consumer's monthly bill 7.7 percent, is allocated for profits and dividends, not wage raises. This pattern is expected to apply to other cities, and these negotiations may affect utility workers nationally.

● April will reveal the battle strategy of an important section of big business. This is when contracts affecting 176,000 workers in General Electric and Westinghouse plants begin to expire. Management at GE has long considered itself a pacesetter for the employing class in labor-management relations. This year they may



West Coast longshoremen on strike in January, 1972. Now dockers are preparing fight to win back wage increases cut by Pay Board.

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

JANUARY 19, 1973

Workers front and revolutionary socialists launch joint election campaign in Argentina

By Fred Halstead

BUENOS AIRES, Dec. 18— This weekend I attended three meetings here concerning the elections that are scheduled for Argentina next March.

The first took place Dec. 16 in a rented movie theater in a working-class suburb of Buenos Aires. It was a meeting of the Frente Obrero (Workers Front), a united front of working-class candidates pledged to run in

Fred Halstead was the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1968 and has long been a leading figure in the U.S. antiwar movement. Future issues of *The Militant* will carry more on-the-spot reports by Halstead from Argentina on the election campaign in that country.

these elections independent of the capitalist parties, including the Peronist party.

As I enter the theater the meeting has not yet begun. A few hundred people are there early preparing the hall with banners, and as groups from around the country arrive bringing their own, these too are placed around the hall.

The biggest banner hangs above the stage: "First Plenary of the Frente Obrero. Against the Trap of the Generals, Bosses, and *Doctores* [titled persons]. For Workers Candidates."

Some of the other signs, which are of all sizes and colors, read: "Petrochemical—La Plata. We Support the Workers Candidates"; "Barrio of Mendoza Present!"; "Sugar Workers of Tucumán Present!"; "Metalworkers, Barrio La Carolina"; San Nicolás With the Frente Obrero—Long Live the Struggle of the Workers of McKee San Nicolás!" (McKee is a metallurgical plant.) There are dozens of such banners being placed now, as the hall begins to fill up.

A group from Rosario enters, forces its way down the center aisle and sings a song made up for the occasion. After each verse there are cheers from the others, who catch the chorus after a few times and join in: "We don't want to vote bosses, only workers."

cony: "First Special Congress of the Partido Socialista de Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers Party]—For Workers Candidates—For a Socialist Argentina." This is the new party resulting from a fusion of the left wing of the old Socialist Party of Argentina and the Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT Verdad—Revolutionary Workers Party).

The PST is a key part of the Frente Obrero, whose candidates will use the PST ballot status to place their names on the ballot. This arrangement of a broader front of candidates using the ballot status of a part of the front is not unusual in Argentina. Several of the other parties, including Perón's National Justicialist Movement, have made similar arrangements in this election. But unlike all other fronts, the Frente Obrero includes no capitalist parties.

After the meeting of the Frente Obrero, the congress of the PST is scheduled to take place in the same hall.

SITRAC-SITRAM

A few young men, their shirts removed because of the heat, are hanging another large banner from the balcony, and as it falls into place the crowd—now filling the lower floor of the theater—cheers. It reads: "Down with the Government. Liberty for Paez, Flores and the rest of the comrades of SITRAC-SITRAM! Free All the Prisoners of the Military Dictatorship!"

Paez and Flores are leaders of SITRAC-SITRAM, unions in two Fiat auto plants in the northern industrial city of Córdoba. These unions broke with the Peronist bureaucracy that dominates Argentina's top union leadership and played a vanguard role on a city-wide and national scale. They led the two famous uprisings called the Cordobazos. SITRAC-SITRAM have been banned by the military dictatorship that rules the country, and many of their leaders have been imprisoned.

It is announced from the platform that Paez has just been released from jail and will be attending this Frente Obrero meeting. The audience breaks into cheers and then into a rhythmic chant: "Two, three, many SITRAC-SITRAMs!"

Throughout the rest of the meeting this kind of chanting occurs repeatedly. Chanting, of course, is also common at rallies in other parts of the



Section of crowd at Frente Obrero meeting Dec. 16 in Buenos Aires.

world, but what is different here is that many of the chants do not seem to be traditional, but seem to be made up on the spot—like a Calypso singer's verses—so widely do they vary and so closely do they fit the particular moment or the particular point being discussed.

The lower level is quite crowded now, and I can't see at first who is coming down the aisle to spreading cheers. It is an old man, walking straight and erect. One of the chants tells me who it is: "Mateo Fossa from Tucumán, coordinator of retired workers!"

Matteo Fossa has been a leader in the Argentine workers movement for half a century. In the 1930s he visited Leon Trotsky in Mexico and has since then been sympathetic to the Fourth International.

The cheering is quite wild at his appearance; I notice one lithe young

man almost turning flips. I wonder at what this says about the generation gap, since the great majority of the audience are young persons in their twenties. At the very least it is clear these young workers are proud of their ties with the oldest militants.

One of the old workers takes the stage after running the gauntlet of cheers. He is Pedro Milese, as the chant tells me: "Old Pete, veteran of SITRAC-SITRAM and Córdoba!"

Finally the meeting is called to order, but before it begins the cheers interrupt from the back: "Paez! Paez! For many more SITRAMS!"

José Francisco Paez comes walking down the aisle, a short man in his mid-twenties wearing loose-fitting blue jeans and a faded red shirt. He is accompanied by a work-worn woman and several small children. He pauses

Continued on following page

...revolutionary campaign in Argentina

Continued from preceding page

in the audience briefly while seats are found for the woman and children and then proceeds to the stage.

The meeting begins. Old Pete speaks first. "I represent those who fought before. I remember those who were imprisoned. So many. It is a triumph to be here. This is the way to fight the masters."

It is a speech befitting a rally, which is what this meeting really is. There are only a few simple points of business—to decide whether to field a presidential slate in addition to the parliamentary and local candidates, to recommend that slate, and to set up an ongoing committee that can enlarge itself and direct the campaign.

The people here, many of them candidates themselves (the Frente Obrero hopes to field 1,000 candidates), represent local party groups of the PST, local Frente Obrero groups, committees in various unions, and neighborhood groups, many of them called *Sociedades de Fomento* (Improvement Societies). The latter are longstanding mass organizations found in many working-class neighborhoods in Argentina. Many of those representing such groups are women.

Disillusioned with Peronism

A woman of about 40 in a red dress is pointed out in the audience by one of the speakers on the stage. She is described as a longtime Peronist leader in a workers neighborhood. She stands in the audience and says a few words: She is joining with the Frente Obrero because she can't stand

heart contracts, and strikebreaking against the rank-and-file plant committees that are the real strength of the Argentine union movement.

At present, the CGT leadership cooperates with the military dictatorship. Politically it is part of Perón's Justicialist party. In this sense, though not in others, Perón's party is similar to the Democratic party in the U. S.—a procapitalist party containing within it a spectrum from rightists to the leadership of the labor movement.

A big difference is that the Peronists have been illegal or semi-legal for much of the time since Perón was overthrown in 1955, and they have an aura of persecuted anti-imperialists. Also, workers remember the significant social reforms that they won during Perón's rule.

This makes Peronism the biggest block to independent working-class political action. Thus the fact that the Frente Obrero has attracted militant workers from the Peronist movement for the crucial step of breaking with capitalist politics is a highly significant beginning.

Also present at the Frente Obrero rally are some militants from the Communist party as well as other tendencies on the left. The CP in Argentina did not attempt to get ballot status, seeking instead a bloc with "progressive" capitalists.

Late in the afternoon the Frente Obrero meeting becomes involved in a discussion over whether to field a presidential slate. It is clear the great majority favor this. To do otherwise would not pose clearly a working-class alternative.

Old Pete, however, opposes it, and perhaps others as well, so a long process of patient explanation goes on with no doubt as to the outcome. I take the opportunity to look in on another rally taking place at the same time a few miles away.

Revolutionary youth rally

This is a meeting of the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA, the Socialist Vanguard Youth, which is affiliated with the PST). Before I leave the Frente Obrero meeting I carefully estimate the crowd—about 1,500 at that point.

The youth rally is also being held in a rented movie theater. Inside there are some 700 young people, delegates from around the country representing a youth group of more than 2,000, according to the organizers.

This meeting is all spirit and chanting. I jot down a few of the chants: "The youth fight for working-class independence!"; "To fight, to win, workers to power!"; "Trotsky, Guevara, the people are getting ready!"; "Chile, Cuba, Vietnam, the people salute you!" After this chant there is some discussion of the regime in Chile, with Allende coming in for sharp criticism.

It is obvious just from physical appearance that the majority of these youth are not from universities but are younger. I speak to as many as I can in the short time I'm there. Most are from high schools (*secundarios*, they are called here). Some are young workers.

After an hour or so I return to the Frente Obrero meeting. They have decided to run a presidential slate and are now discussing who the presidential and vice-presidential candidates will be.

A PST official, Alberto Pujal, formally offers the ballot status of the

party to the Frente Obrero candidates, declaring that the PST will set aside 75 percent of the spots for leaders of the rank-and-file struggles in plants and neighborhoods.

He also announces that the party is prepared to run two of its own members—Juan Coral and Nora Ciapponi—for the top posts, but that it will yield to a slate of Paez and Leandro Fote, secretary of the San José sugar refinery workers in Tucumán, if they accept.



Riot police chase workers and students during general strike and demonstrations in Rosario in September 1969. Uprisings in Córdoba, Rosario and other Argentine cities since 1969 are signs of the rising militancy of the working-class movement.

mán, if they accept.

It is announced that Fote sends a message declining for personal reasons. The time has come for Paez to speak. The whole audience eagerly awaits his decision. The youth—by this time have adjourned their own meeting and piled into the balcony here—are chanting for Paez as presidential candidate.

Cordobazo

One reason for the charisma of Paez and the other revolutionary unionists from Córdoba is their leading role in the Cordobazos. These were semi-insurrections that took place in 1969 and 1971, marking the upturn in the class struggle in Argentina that is still in effect.

Indeed, it is in an attempt to deal with this new situation that the current military dictatorship has promised elections and a return to constitutional government. It is for this reason they have allowed Perón to visit the country.

The rulers are counting on the Peronists to help deflect the workers' revolutionary energies into capitalist parliamentary politics. The Frente Obrero is countering this with independent working-class political action.

Paez takes the floor. He has stage presence, the makings of an orator. He pledges support to the Frente Obrero but says he cannot decide on the presidential nomination right now. There are differences among his comrades in Córdoba and he must discuss with them.

At this point some people from Córdoba stand in the audience and begin chanting for Paez to accept. The whole audience is wild with chants, then one chant takes over from all the rest: "Come, come, come, compañero. For

here we are forming the Grand Party of the Working Class!" (In Spanish it has meter and rhyme.)

But Paez is firm in his decision. He will have to talk to his comrades from Córdoba. The naming of the top slate will have to wait until the PST congress tomorrow.

The rest of the Frente Obrero meeting is anticlimactic. The form of the continuation committee is discussed and decided. The meeting is adjourned to shouts of "Obreros al poder!" (Workers to power.) I am told there will be a band and dancing to finish off the night.

I ride home on the bus with a PST



Juan Peron

the Peronist policy. The audience cheers.

A number of other speakers express similar sentiments, most of them workers in their late 30s and 40s. A dock worker introduces himself as "a revolutionary of the Peronist movement." "I have failed for 17 years because of Peronism. We have had no victories for 17 years. Those responsible for those failures aren't here to support this very important meeting on behalf of workers power. . . . The workers must decide, must save the country. The people must take power by jumping over all the traps the capitalists put in our way."

I notice a banner on the side wall that says: "Rucci doesn't represent anything." Rucci is the Peronist head of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT—General Federation of Labor) of Argentina.

It is one of the most powerful union movements in the world, organizing close to 90 percent of Argentina's workers. Its top leadership has a long record of class collaboration, sweet-

member who is also in need of sleep since he spent the last two nights in jail for selling the party newspaper in front of a factory. Election campaign or not, Argentina is still a military dictatorship and the state of civil liberties is touch and go.

The next morning, on the way to the PST congress, I pick up the papers and see a news photo of Abal Medina, general secretary of Perón's National Justicialist Movement being physically thrown out of his own party's Buenos Aires provincial meeting.

Medina had demanded the meeting nominate one candidate for governor of the province—the second most important post in the country—and the meeting had instead nominated someone else.

The story goes on to say that the candidates who were nominated by the meeting were later expelled from the party by the leadership. The papers are full of descriptions of physical fighting, including gunplay and even an assassination, among the Peronists as they attempt to work out their slate of candidates for the coming elections. It is obvious the Peronist movement is in crisis.

By contrast the PST congress is well ordered and discussion is full and democratic. One thousand people attend, about half as many as at the height of the Frente Obrero meeting the day before. There are 195 voting delegates from 12 provinces and the city of Buenos Aires.

The first major point on the agenda is a speech by Juan Carlos Coral, leader of the Marxist wing of the old Socialist Party of Argentina that fused with the Trotskyists to form the PST.

His speech here is a description of the prerevolutionary crisis in Argentina, of the present opportunity to

reach the masses who have been entrapped in Peronism, and of the necessity to build a revolutionary party.

"The Frente Obrero," he declared, "is not a propaganda concept, but a tool in the hands of the Argentine proletariat. But there is something even more important: calling for the conquest of political power by the working class is for this party not a romantic pronouncement, a utopian slogan, but the concrete, immediate task of this generation, which will make the social revolution in Argentina."

The audience gives Coral a standing ovation. A number of reports and resolutions follow, including approval of an election platform for the PST and approval of a position of solidarity with the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist party. Then discussion of the presidential slate begins.

Presidential ticket

Paez takes the stage, but this time he sits behind a table and asks the audience not to applaud. He speaks quietly, without flourish, and says a great deal:

He has been up until two in the morning talking with those who had come from Córdoba, and he still could not resolve the problem of running for president. For himself, yes, he is for it. But he tells of the problems in the newly formed Frente Obrero in Córdoba.

Among the vanguard in Córdoba are many for whom participation in the elections seems a betrayal. They offer instead slogans like "Neither coup nor election, revolution!" and "Active boycott of the elections."

Paez says that much of the vanguard in Córdoba is taken in by these ultraleft conceptions. There is much discussion among the tendencies, groups, and parties, many of them from university circles that in Córdoba have had an influence on the young revolutionary union leaders. They said it was criminal for Paez to suggest that the leaders of SITRAC-SITRAM and other factory leaders should look to the alternative of presenting workers candidates in the elections.

However, he says, he spoke with the people in the factory, in the neighborhood, the ordinary people. They did not understand the ultraleft slogans. They asked what they should do in the elections. For whom should they vote?

Because of this he sought answers that the masses could understand, that flowed from their needs at this point in the struggle. And the majority of the workers in his factory understand the proposal of the Frente Obrero for independent working-class political action and agreed with it.

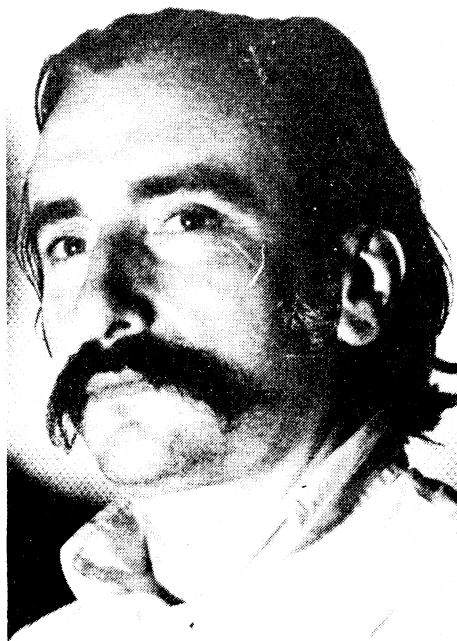
For himself, Paez had to go with the workers and their needs to develop the concrete struggle, hence, with the Frente Obrero campaign. But in Córdoba, some of the comrades now opposed to this can be won over. They have a record as good fighters and can be won. Paez doesn't want to confront them with an accomplished fact regarding his candidacy. Some time is needed. So it is better to nominate someone else for the presidential spot.

He says he was astounded by the meeting yesterday. It is something entirely new and very important. He would accept immediately if possible. He suggests perhaps another leader of union struggles could be found to take the top spot.

The ovation that follows is profound and powerful. The crowd is thinking hard.

A debate follows that divides the

The Argentine socialist candidates



Juan C. Coral

Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate of the Argentine Socialist Workers party (PST), joined the Argentine Socialist party in 1955. He was one of a group of young people who favored the formation of a Marxist-Leninist party and hoped to change the political line and bureaucratic leadership of the SP. In 1958 a split occurred in the party, and the conservative wing left to form the Democratic Socialist party.

In the early 1960s Coral led a campaign in defense of the Cuban revolution. It was on this basis of support to Cuba that he was elected to parliament in 1963. Also because of his role in this movement, he was invited to the OLAS (Organization of Latin-American Solidarity) conference of 1967 in Havana, as a representative of Argentina.

As a member of parliament, Coral

used his position to advance workers' struggles. He took part in the peasant demonstrations against evictions in Hernando, Córdoba, and Los Toldos. He headed the movement of homeless working-class families to take over land for the construction of houses in Villa Florita, J. L. Suárez, and Barrio Almirante Brown (three towns in the province of Buenos Aires).

He participated in the workers' occupation of the Leyden factory and of the La Cadena publishing houses. In El Chaco province, he initiated a campaign against the practice of paying the lumberjacks with promissory notes, and investigated numerous cases of torture of political prisoners.

After the 1966 military coup Coral was arrested for participating in a student demonstration. He was again arrested for his role in a May 1, 1968, demonstration of workers.

Through the pages of *Los de Abajo* (meaning those from below, or from the bottom of society), a socialist newspaper he edited, he consistently attacked the military dictatorship and the class-collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy.

Although the workers responded with protest actions, they were unable to prevent her being fired.

Ciapponi continued her trade-union activity in Productex, Foresti, and Modcraft, but was subsequently fired for constantly confronting the employers' exploitation of the workers.

Ciapponi understood that the trade-union struggle against the bosses was not enough, that in addition a political struggle was needed against the government of the bosses. Her revolutionary socialist views led her to become a political leader. There was hardly a workers' struggle in which she did not take part, and she became well known in every factory in North Buenos Aires province. The police also got to know her, and she was imprisoned four times.

The position of women, doubly oppressed as women and as workers, prompted her to also take up the struggle for women's liberation. When Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., visited Argentina last May, Ciapponi was the first speaker at a meeting of 3,000 organized in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and for women's liberation.



Nora Ciapponi

Despite her youth—she is only 30—Nora Ciapponi, the vice-presidential candidate of the PST, has a long experience as a trade-union activist, political leader, and fighter for women's rights.

In 1964, after working in a sandal factory, she went to work for Hidrófila, one of the worst sweatshops in the textile industry. After working in the factory for 10 months, she was elected a union delegate.

In 1965, despite unfavorable conditions, the workers of Hidrófila went on strike demanding the payment of bonuses. Ciapponi joined the committee that successfully led the strike. The bosses and union bureaucrats of the factory soon realized she was a "dangerous element," but her reputation among the workers made it difficult to fire her. In 1967, however, she was fired along with 200 co-workers.

congress. Most of the party leaders and workers on one side, many of the youth, it appears, on the other. In this debate not only the delegates but the observers from the youth organization and from Frente Obrero speak. The issue is whether to proceed with the nomination of the PST members—Coral for president and Nora Ciapponi for vice-president—or to wait either for Paez to work things out in Córdoba or to find another union leader for the top spot.

For some of the youth the lure of the spirit of the Cordobazo is all important and they raise to the level of a principle having a worker as presidential candidate.

Nora Ciapponi, 30, qualifies in this respect. She is a longtime leader in the textile plants, though she has been

blacklisted and is now a full-time party worker.

Coral is a professional politician. He has a long record of fighting against the dictatorship and of leadership in the movement in defense of the Cuban revolution, and in peasant struggles, but he is not a trade unionist.

On the other side the arguments go as follows: When we proposed Paez-Fote or Coral-Ciapponi it is because these are the best spokespersons, those who can present the front and the party in the most effective manner, who can take advantage of the TV, who can answer the press. The problem is political, not symbolic. Our inability at this moment to firm up the slate of Paez-Fote or a similar one of equal quality is not accidental.

It is a result of the incipient character of the Frente Obrero, which is only a month old.

We are not going to take power in this election or even get a huge vote—and if we had a majority and waited for a bourgeois election we would be fools—but we are posing the question of workers power. We are beginning a process of breaking the vanguard of the workers from the capitalist political traps, particularly Peronism. It will take time.

The process will now begin in Córdoba, but we cannot be artificial about it. To field a less effective spokesperson because he or she is a worker would be counterproductive, not only for the party but for the Frente Obrero.

We should field a socialist-worker

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slate, using in the presidential slot the best orator and propagandist we have—and, what is more, a nationally prominent socialist figure. For vice-president we have a union leader who symbolizes the struggle of the most exploited workers and also the struggle of women against the capitalist system.

The debate is long and patient, and

port to the bosses, holding their comrades back. . . . We want to show the working woman that she has a key role to play: Not just encouraging her compañero, but demonstrating, alongside her compañero, that she is capable of fighting along with the rest of the workers of our land."

I had met her earlier for a brief conversation. Soft-spoken, serious, an earthy sense of humor, tough. These were my impressions.



Militant/Ben Atwood

Argentine socialists from the PST (then the PSA) meet Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate in 1972, at Buenos Aires airport last May. A highly publicized tour was organized for Jenness with the aim of strengthening ties of solidarity between the socialist and antiwar movements in the U.S. and Argentina.

when the vote comes it is solidly for the Coral-Ciapponi slate. Then the whole audience joins in a chant: "For workers independence: Nora and Coral."

Woman candidate

There follow a number of technical points of business and the election of the national committee of the party. Then Nora Ciapponi speaks: "We want, and it is one of the objectives of my candidacy, to show to all the women of the working class that they should not be a base of moral sup-

She continues: "We want to end, once and for all, the dependence of the workers movement on capitalist alternatives. We want to construct a truly revolutionary party that can bring to a successful conclusion the revolutionary process in our country."

"I don't know if some of the youth who today expressed doubts about the slate understand that this is not just a formula for candidates, but a formula to guide, to guarantee, a truly revolutionary process."

She ends with: "For a victory, not in votes, but in gathering together the best of the vanguard of the workers movement in the Frente Obrero! For the construction of our revolutionary party, which can guide the working class to take political power! Long live the Fourth International!"

It is a short speech, almost blunt, and the crowd loves it.

At the end of the congress two guests speak: Mateo Fossa, the leader of retired workers from Tucumán, and Paez once again. Paez says he is impressed by the congress, that he thinks it has done the right thing regarding the slate, that he agrees the most important thing is to build the revolutionary party. He says he would like to be a candidate, perhaps for governor of Córdoba, and to tour the country with the national candidates, and that he will propose this when he gets back to Córdoba.

It is the end of a long weekend. On the way back to my room I notice with renewed interest the many slogans and posters on the walls in Buenos Aires. One of the most common is a printed poster with a picture of Perón and the following text: "With Perón in the Country—Social Peace, Reconstruction, National Liberation." It is signed CGT, the big union federation led by Peronist bureaucrats.

By contrast, in the quiet night, the refrain of the meetings I have attended rings in my ears: "To fight, to win, Workers to power."

World news notes

Egyptian students defy demonstration ban

Many students were injured and more than 50 student leaders were arrested when 2,000 riot police attacked demonstrators on the University of Cairo campus Jan. 3. Demonstrations and sit-down strikes had involved thousands of students for five straight days, culminating in a march of 3,000 students toward the center of Cairo. The march defied the Sadat regime's ban on student demonstrations off the campuses.

Sadat has tried to keep students isolated inside the universities because he fears their demands for freedom of political expression and stronger defense of Egypt against Israel will find an echo among Egyptian workers and soldiers, as happened during student demonstrations last January. A dispatch from Cairo in the Jan. 5 *Washington Post* reports "fear of a worker-student alliance" prompted the government crackdown. The Sadat regime has closed all five of Egypt's universities for the next three weeks in an effort to defuse the student protests.

Asian workers strike in England

There are 750,000 immigrant workers in England, coming from India, Pakistan, Africa, and the West Indies. British capitalists reserve the most menial jobs and lowest pay for these workers—in the textile industry, transportation, and hospitals. By skillfully fostering racism among white workers, the British capitalists have largely succeeded in dividing the union movement. The unions have not fought for the rights of the most oppressed immigrant workers.

But things are changing. One hundred Asian workers at a hosiery mill in Loughborough walked off their jobs in October, demanding an end to discrimination against Asian workers and a pay raise for the lowest-paid employees. The Jan. 1 *U.S. News & World Report* called it "the first major showdown over demands by minority groups for better-paying jobs in British industry."

Although the Asians are union members, white workers were not called out on strike by the union, and the union failed to fight the hiring of scab white workers to keep production going. *U.S. News* cites a general rise in militancy among Asian workers, despite the unions' lack of support for their demands.

Turkish gov't takes over universities

The Turkish government has proposed a law that would end university autonomy and put them under direct government control. This was seen as a move to silence protest prior to the elections planned for October.

Last November the regime banned all existing student organizations as well as any group based on class or on "extremist" ideology. A report from Ankara in the Dec. 6 *New York Times* stated that "all the big universities here and in Istanbul are under military control, with soldiers at the doors of buildings and plainclothesmen mingling in classes and in student meeting places."

Martial law has existed in Turkey since April 1971. During this time 3,300 people have been tried in military courts. More than a thousand leftist students, professors, journalists, and others are still in prison awaiting trial. A report released this month by Amnesty International documents the torturing of these political prisoners.

Turkey's army of 500,000 is the most powerful political force in the country. It is the second-largest army within NATO, second only to the U.S.

Social contradictions grow in Israel

The Zionist government of Israel has long attempted to promote the image of Israel as a harmonious society above class conflict. But social contradictions are becoming more and more acute, demonstrating that Israel is no different than other capitalist countries in terms of exploitation and inequality.

For example, on the first of the year Israeli workers carried out a two-hour general strike against the government, affecting virtually every sector of the economy. The strike, described by the workers as a warning, was to protest the lifting of price controls on most goods and services. At the same time, Israel's 30,000 engineers and technicians, as well as 3,000 workers in government hospitals, threatened to strike unless they are granted pay raises.

A feature article in the Jan. 2 *New York Times* noted the rise in violent crime, burglaries, prostitution, and juvenile delinquency in Israel. In addition, it reported growing protests against police brutality.

The Israeli regime is also facing criticism from playwrights and other writers. The official government censor banned a satirical revue called *Jesus, As Seen by His Friends* by Amos Kenan. The play especially condemns the militarism of Israeli society. Another play, *Queen of the Bathtub*, was forced to close because it dealt with Israeli casualties in its war against Egypt.

One subject of much criticism is the discriminatory treatment of Arabs in Israel. The Jan. 8 *Time* magazine quotes playwright Kenan as saying: "We have to decide whether we want to make American Indians out of the Palestinians or live with them on an equal basis. My attack is basically against the myths that we Zionists brought culture here, we cultivated the land, and therefore it belongs to us."

How Nixon is 'Vietnamizing' mass murder

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By BARRY SHEPPARD

In last week's *Militant* I explained why it would be wrong for the antiwar movement and revolutionary socialists to demand that Nixon "Sign Now" the nine-point draft accord released by Hanoi in October. In this article, I want to discuss the role of Moscow and Peking, and explain why they, and those in the U.S. who support their line, insist on the "Sign Now" slogan.

Before proceeding, let me summarize some of the points made last week:

1) The principle involved is the right of Vietnam to self-determination. The "Out Now" slogan, which means the complete, immediate, and unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, is a concrete expression of that principle in a form that can educate and mobilize masses of Americans.

2) Washington's military pressure has compelled the Vietnamese to negotiate, and they have every right to do so. But for the antiwar movement here to raise the "Sign Now" slogan concedes that the U.S. has a right to negotiate about the future of Vietnam.

the intentions of both sides.

The conditions Washington insisted must be included in the nine points prove that Washington intends to continue to intervene to protect the Saigon regime, with or without an accord. Any illusions on this score should have been eliminated by the latest terror bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, a military operation carried out from bases that would be completely unaffected if the nine points were signed.

Concessions demanded

Nixon has so far refused to sign the nine-point accords. He is insisting on further concessions from the Vietnamese, including implicit recognition of the Saigon regime as the legitimate government throughout Vietnam. This would make it "illegal" for North Vietnamese troops to remain in the South and would take away the legality of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Advocates of the "Sign Now" position are currently arguing that since the October accords would contain fewer conditions than what Nixon is now demanding, the antiwar movement should demand

Thus, those who formerly supported the seven points are today supporting, and appealing to the American people to accept, conditions they were opposed to yesterday.

What if, under the impact of the bombing, the Vietnamese are compelled to make even further concessions? This certainly is possible. The logic of the "Sign Now" position will lead its adherents to support these conditions, too.

Why does Nixon believe he can get away with continuing to increase the pressure on the Vietnamese? The answer to this question sheds light on the motivation of many who support the "Sign Now" position.

Nixon has obviously calculated that the Soviet Union and China will do nothing effective to counter his aggression. Unfortunately, he has solid grounds for this assumption.

The entire history of the Vietnam war has been the history of the failure of the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking to come to the defense of Vietnam.

At each critical juncture in Washington's step-by-step escalation of the war, the Soviet Union and China have failed to take effective countermeasures, thus emboldening the imperialists to press further. The aid given to the liberation fighters in Vietnam has been completely inadequate to meet the massive U.S. aggression. Particularly criminal has been the refusal to provide the Vietnamese with defensive weapons that could make Washington's air war too costly to continue. Moscow, because of its vast military resources, is primarily to blame for this.

Moscow and Peking have failed to form a united front on the governmental level against Washington's aggression. Moreover, they have refused to promote the formation of united action fronts throughout the world against the U.S. aggression. Neither has even mobilized the Communist parties and other groups that look to them for leadership.

The Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies took a qualitatively new step last year in their rapprochement with Washington, epitomized by Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking. This new "friendship" was purchased at the expense of the Vietnamese, who are now paying for it with their own blood.

The trip to Peking, and the prospect of improved relations between the U.S. and China, secured Peking's acquiescence in pressuring the Vietnamese to make a settlement acceptable to the U.S. This set the stage for Nixon's Moscow visit, undercutting any possible criticism of it by the Maoist regime.

The North Vietnamese launched a major offensive last spring, after Nixon had been to Peking and prior to his visit to Moscow. Under the blows of the offensive, Thieu's forces began to crumble. Nixon answered with massive bombing and by mining North Vietnam's ports. This was a direct challenge to the Soviet Union and China, particularly the former, since much of its supplies to North Vietnam are sent by sea.

In response to the new situation, antiwar forces began to mobilize with renewed energy in the U.S. and around the world.

Then, Moscow agreed to proceed with the scheduled Nixon visit and, except for a few routine phrases of "solidarity" with the Vietnamese, Moscow did exactly nothing. This cut the ground out from under the antiwar movement. Masses of people believed that the war would soon be ended, with the "assistance" of Moscow and Peking. Nixon was thus able to defuse the potentially massive antiwar response to his unprecedented escalation of the bombing.

We don't know what secret agreements Mao and Brezhnev reached with Nixon. But their public statements and actions make clear that they agreed to put the pressure on the Vietnamese to accept a "settlement" with Washington.

It is within this framework of betrayal by Moscow and Peking and intensified military pressure from the U.S. that the Vietnamese have been forced to make further concessions.

Again, in the latest terror bombing of North Vietnam, Moscow and Peking countered with words. And the content of those words was to plead with Nixon to avoid endangering improved relations with Moscow or Peking.

With world opinion overwhelmingly opposed to Nixon's latest bombing, Moscow could not have asked for a more propitious time to come to North Vietnam's defense and put a stop to Nixon's criminal attack. That would have done more for peace in Vietnam and throughout the world than all the agreements carrying Nixon's worthless signature negotiated in Moscow last May.

But neither Moscow nor Peking answered Nixon's aggression. They breathed a sigh of relief audible throughout the world when there was promise of more negotiations, and we can be certain that they are right now twisting the arms of the Vietnamese a little more.

Continued on page 22

Why Moscow & Peking favor 'sign now' demand



Claude Beagarie

March 26, 1966, antiwar demonstration in San Francisco. The debate within the antiwar movement at that time between the advocates of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and those favoring negotiations involved the same principle as the current debate. The demand for negotiations violated the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. Like the 'sign now' demand, it recognized the right of the U.S. to have a voice in the future of Vietnam.

3) If the antiwar movement, which is not being forced by Nixon's bombs to make concessions, were to give up the "Out Now" demand in favor of "Sign Now," this could only imply to the American people that the antiwar movement supports the provisions of the nine-point accord. While some of the provisions can be supported, such as the stopping of the bombing and withdrawal of U.S. soldiers from South Vietnam, other provisions should be opposed.

For instance, under the nine points, U.S. bombers and troops would remain in Thailand, off the coast of Vietnam, and elsewhere in Asia, ready to intervene at any moment. Also, the Thieu regime would be maintained, bolstered by U.S. bases and armor that would be turned over to it, and supported by thousands of U.S. "civilian advisers."

4) Contrary to the claims of many supporters of the "Sign Now" slogan, Nixon's signing of the nine points would not mean a victory for the liberation forces, nor does it represent a "face-saving" cover for U.S. withdrawal.

The nine points recognize two governments and two armies in South Vietnam, one representing the workers and peasants, and the other representing the regime of the landlords and capitalists. There can be no compromise on which side rules. The outcome of this inherently unstable situation would be decided by the relationship of forces and

that the U.S. accept the nine points.

It is certainly true that the nine points contain fewer concessions from the Vietnamese than what Nixon now thinks he can get. But to conclude from that fact that we should endorse the nine points is faulty logic. Such reasoning allows Nixon to put the antiwar movement in the position of applauding concessions already wrung from the Vietnamese, merely by upping the ante and demanding "More!"

This, in fact, is what has happened to some groups in the antiwar movement. Many who today support the nine-point draft as a "just and honorable" settlement were, only a few months ago, supporting the PRG "seven-point program," which was the temporary negotiating position of the Vietnamese. The seven points also contained concessions that infringed upon the sovereignty of Vietnam, but not as many as are in the nine points.

For example, the seven-point plan insisted that the Thieu regime be dumped. The nine points guarantee that Thieu will not be dumped. As recently as Sept. 13, an editorial in the *Guardian* (which currently supports the nine points), called for "new educational offensives" to explain the issues in the war to the American people and to rally support for the seven-point plan. The most important point was that "Americans must be made aware of the key importance of scrapping the Thieu regime."

Victory for free expression in France

On Jan. 2 a French judge dismissed charges against French high school teacher Nicole Mercier, accused of "outraging public morals." This was a victory won by a massive defense campaign for freedom of expression.

Mercier was brought to trial because she allowed her philosophy class to discuss a pamphlet that was very popular among her students, *Let Us Learn to Make Love*, by Dr. Jean Carpentier. The pamphlet explains how the sexual organs work and defends the right of young people to sexual freedom.

Mercier was charged when one of her students complained about the discussion to her father, a colonel, and he complained to the public prosecutor of the town of Belfort, a garrison town.

In response to the charges, teachers and students in Mercier's school struck immediately, and teachers in other schools joined the strike in solidarity. The teachers union threatened a nationwide strike.

A defense committee for Mercier was formed, and 3,000 people demonstrated on her behalf in Belfort. One leader of the defense committee told reporters, "Nicole Mercier . . . is being prosecuted because a colonel complained to the prosecutor. They are gentlemen from the same milieu. If an Algerian laborer complained that his daughter had been raped behind the fort, nothing would happen."

The French revolutionary socialist newspaper *Rouge* denounced the hypocrisy of the French government in its claim to be protecting morality. It recalled a recent national scandal in which Gaullist deputies and city police were exposed as the proprietors of several brothels in the city of Lyon.

While dismissing the charges against Mercier, the judge reserved the right to prosecute the author of the pamphlet, which the judge found "outrageous." Dr. Carpentier has already been suspended from medical practice for a year for writing the booklet.

The protests in defense of Nicole Mercier had a great impact throughout France, perhaps leading to the announcement by the French Education Ministry on Jan. 4 that "information on reproduction" (not sex education, but a step in the right direction) would be included in French school curriculum for the first time next fall.



Demonstrators urge support for Nicole Mercier.

Berkeley election campaign SWP offers housing plan

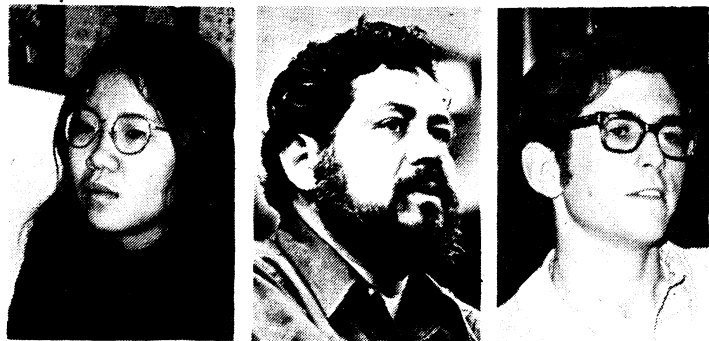
A special election to choose the members of a newly created rent control board will be held in Berkeley, Calif., on Jan. 21. Last June, Berkeley voters approved a rent control amendment to the city charter. The amendment called for rolling back all rents to the base level of Aug. 15, 1971, and for the election of five commissioners to a rent control board.

The Berkeley Socialist Workers Party has announced a slate of five candidates for the board. They are Froben Lozada, Mary Lou Montauk, Brian Williams, Caryl Sholin, and Kathryn Pon.

The following is the platform of the SWP candidates.

Rents in Berkeley have been among the highest in the nation for a long time. And the cost of decent housing here continues to rise despite the fact that an overwhelming majority of Berkeley voters approved the Rent Control Charter Amendment last June.

Excessive rents put adequate housing out of the reach of most Berkeley residents. Rents in Berkeley are approximately 19 percent higher than Oakland rents. Landlords throughout the city have become wealthy, while tenants have been forced to occupy cramped, unsafe, and dilapidated housing.



Kathryn Pon, Froben Lozada, Brian Williams.

Blacks, Chicanos, Asian-Americans, students, and the elderly suffer the most from profiteering landlords.

The Berkeley housing situation is part of a nationwide housing crisis. Literally tens of millions of new housing units are urgently needed to provide livable homes for those crammed into the ghettos and barrios of the nation's cities.

Yet, on a national scale, as in Berkeley, absolutely nothing is being done by the government to resolve this crisis. Even the token federal public-housing and mortgage-subsidy programs, which haven't even put a dent in the demand for low-rent housing, are being given the ax. The Nixon administration has decided to stop or drastically cut spending under the urban renewal and Model Cities programs.

Why can't this society provide quality housing for the masses of working people? The answer is simple: it's not profitable.

The earning power of most working people is too low to pay the exorbitant rents that would make large-scale construction of housing units profitable. The present scarcity is far more lucrative for the banks, insurance companies, and real estate interests than would be the building of low-cost units on a national scale.

Landlords find it more profitable to let buildings deteriorate than to make the necessary repairs. The absence of an adequate number of apartments or houses pushes rents way up and forces tenants to tolerate the abysmal apartments that are available.

The housing crisis can only be solved through massive government programs carried out on a national scale. Yet the Democratic and Republican parties, which control the government on a national as well as a local scale, do nothing. Why? Because they are both parties of the capitalist class—the class of the slumlords, the banks, the insurance companies, and the big corporations that are benefitting from the current situation.

The two parties of big business are interested in doing only what is profitable for big business. In Berkeley, as on a national scale, they put private profits ahead of the needs of society.

Socialist Workers program

The Socialist Workers Party candidates for rent control board commissioners are running on a program that is 100 percent on the side of the tenants.

Roll back rents!

As an immediate step we demand the prompt rollback of rents to their lowest level since Aug. 15, 1971, as required by the new rent control law. Landlords who violate the law should be prosecuted, and any excess rents immediately returned to the tenants.

Everyone should have access to comfortable, modern housing. Those who are forced into the ranks of the unemployed, or who are on welfare, also have a right to decent living conditions.

We propose a rent ceiling of 10 percent of a person's income. If landlords complain that these rates are too low to run an apartment building, the city should confiscate the units and convert them to public housing, operated without a profit!

Stop discrimination in housing

Blacks, Chicanos, and Asian-Americans are forced into the worst apartments because of racist discrimination on the part of landlords. Single women, especially those with children, also suffer from discrimination in renting. Gay people also encounter discrimination.

The SWP calls for the immediate prosecution of all landlords who discriminate on the basis of race, sex, or sexual orientation.

The rent control board should list publicly all available apartments on a weekly basis to ensure that rentals are made on a first-come, first-served basis.

Force landlords to make repairs

The city should strictly enforce those aspects of the existing housing code that protect the rights of tenants. An updated housing code should be drawn up by a commission of tenants' representatives and qualified health and safety experts. Committees of tenants should be formed to carry out regular inspections to guarantee compliance with the new housing code.

If landlords do not make necessary repairs, the tenants should arrange for repairs to be made; the cost should be deducted from the rent due.

University housing

The University of California is the largest single owner of housing in Berkeley, yet is exempt from the Rent Control Amendment. By failing to provide housing for all students and staff, UC is responsible for pushing rents up by forcing additional thousands to seek private housing in Berkeley.

Students played a major role in passing the rent control amendment last June, and are hard-pressed to pay additional rent. Yet the university has raised dorm rents 11.4 percent since Aug. 15, 1971, and it continues to require its tenants to sign contracts permitting even further increases.

The Socialist Workers candidates demand that UC provide housing for every student, every professor, and every employee who wants it.

In addition, we demand that student housing be free, just as we call for free tuition. How else can students from working-class families manage to stay in school?

As a short-term step, UC housing should be brought under rent control.

For a federal crash housing program

An effective and determined rent control board that will defend the interests of Berkeley tenants is urgently needed. But rent control by itself cannot solve the housing problem. It cannot create new rental units, which are desperately needed.

The Socialist Workers Party is fighting for a national, federally financed crash program to build new, public low-rent housing units. This program for quality housing that all working people can afford requires a massive social program.

The SWP demands that the priority in such a program in Berkeley be to provide good housing to the Black, Chicano, and Asian-American communities, which are most in need of new housing.

Representatives of these communities should participate in the planning of the location, type, and design of the public housing in their areas.

Continued on page 22



A massive federal program is needed to solve the housing crisis. Yet the Nixon administration, completely disregarding the plight of millions, has announced plans to terminate federal aid to housing.

Challenge filing fee

L.A. socialists launch election campaign

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 8—A temporary restraining order was won Jan. 5 requiring the Los Angeles city clerk to issue nominating petitions to candidates in the coming city elections without forcing them to pay the exorbitant filing fees now on the books.

On Jan. 18, the court will hear arguments on the substance of the challenge to the city filing fees. A candidate for mayor has to pay a \$700 fee, and candidates for lesser offices are also required to pay stiff fees.

A slate of nine candidates endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and Ida Mae Willis, a Black candidate for city council who has been active in the welfare rights movement, filed the suit. They are also challenging the requirement that candidates must be residents of the city for at least two years.

The socialist nominees were among the first to seek to file formal notice of their intention to run in the elections. When they declined to pay the filing fees, the city clerk refused to issue them the petitions that must be circulated to win a place on the ballot.

The media reported this confrontation widely and a number of the capitalist candidates filing at the same time were visibly irked by all the attention reporters paid to "minor" can-

didates. But a number of them decided it was the better part of campaign wisdom to indicate sympathy for the challenge to the obviously discriminatory requirement.

When reporters asked what he thought of the socialists' refusal to pay the filing fees, Jesse Unruh, former speaker of the California State Assembly and a leading contender in the mayoralty race, said he opposed the fees. He stated that incumbents use them "to discourage other people from running for office."

Thomas Bradley, Black city council member and a candidate for mayor, said he too opposed the fees.

Former police chief Thomas Reddin, also a mayoral candidate, said that as a proponent of "law and order" he favored abiding by all rules and regulations. But if the courts voided the filing fees, he told reporters, "I would have no objections to that."

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), a nonpartisan committee devoted to opposing restrictive ballot requirements, is coordinating the challenge.

Acting on behalf of CoDEL is David Aberson, a Los Angeles attorney. Aberson obtained the temporary restraining order and will present the legal challenge at the Jan. 18 hearing.

When reporters interviewed Olga Ro-



Militant/Harry Ring
Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for L.A. mayor.

driguez, the SWP-endorsed candidate for mayor, at the city clerk's office, she explained why she and her running mates were making the challenge.

Not only were they unable to pay the high fees, she said, but such fees were designed in the first place to restrict ballot status to candidates who are either well-to-do or have the support of the well-to-do. For working people, youth, Chicanos, and Blacks, she pointed out, it only increases the obstacles they already face.

She told interviewers her campaign would emphasize the issue of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and a number of key municipal problems. The campaign, she said, will oppose the widespread police brutality in the area, which is aimed particularly against Chicanos and Blacks.

Another issue, she said, is the oppressive conditions in the city schools, particularly in the Black and Chicano communities, where an "anti-gang" hysteria is being whipped up to justify further police repression.

The campaign will also offer a socialist response to the mounting crises that plague this decaying city: pollution, the absence of proper medical care, a totally inadequate transit system, lack of decent low-cost housing, and high unemployment.

Active in the Texas and California Chicano and feminist movements for the past four years, Rodriguez is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The SWP and YSA have also endorsed David Hammerstein, Sally Anderson, and Walter Lippmann for board of education; Mariana Her-

nández, Arnie Weissberg, and Natalie Bombaro for board of trustees of the community colleges; and David Brown for city council from District 11 and Stuart Singer from District 13.

Hammerstein is a high school student. Sally Anderson is a feminist and gay activist. Lippmann is a member of the state board of the Social Service Employees Union. Mariana Hernández has been active for a number of years in the Chicano and feminist movements.

Arnie Weissberg and David Brown are campus activists at the University of California in Los Angeles. Both Stuart Singer and Natalie Bombaro have been leading activists in the anti-war movement for several years.

A drive to secure the petitions necessary to place these candidates on the ballot is being conducted from the

Ballot rights

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is conducting a nationally coordinated campaign against undemocratic and discriminatory election laws. A nonpartisan grouping, CoDEL seeks plaintiffs from all political parties.

CoDEL is sponsoring the legal challenge against Los Angeles filing fees and residency requirements.

CoDEL's general counsel is Leonard Boudin. In Los Angeles it is represented by David Aberson.

Those interested in the committee's efforts in Southern California can write to CoDEL, Box 3015, Los Angeles, Calif. 90028, or contact Judi Shayne, (213) 879-1786. The national office can be contacted at Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

SWP campaign office at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029.

Those interested in petitioning or other campaign activities can come there or phone (213) 463-1917. Contributions to help finance the socialist campaign can also be sent to that address.



Militant/Harry Ring
Attorney David Aberson (r) serving notice of injunction application on filing fees at city clerk's office.

1,200 San Q inmates strike, face repression

By JEFF BENEKE

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 5—Six out of every seven inmates at San Quentin prison refused to go to work Tuesday, Jan. 2, in protest over the inhuman conditions that are a daily part of their "rehabilitation." The strike action began when 1,200 of the 1,400 inmates in the prison refused to leave their cells Tuesday morning for breakfast or work.

Prisoner demands reportedly include: an end to the inhuman injustice suffered by all prisoners regardless of race, ethnic origin, creed, or color; replacement of the Adult Authority, which is appointed by the governor, with a parole board chosen by popular vote; conjugal visits for all prisoners; and an end to the indeterminate sentence.

Other demands call for an end to mail censorship, hair and beard restrictions, and harassment against prisoners for their political, racial, and sexual beliefs; minimum wages for prison work assignments; the immediate resignation of Warden Louis

Nelson and Associate Warden Al Jacobs; and more showers and better food.

In a press release, representatives of the Prisoner's Union, a group of ex-inmates, demanded that the administrative officials at San Quentin "immediately meet with convict leaders and Prisoner's Union officials to begin rectifying existing conditions within the prison."

Information officer Lee DeBord responded, "We're not planning on negotiating with the men. It is policy not to negotiate any set of demands while the men are in a state of insurrection."

On the second day of the strike the number who refused to work had dropped to about 400. According to the Jan. 4 *San Francisco Examiner*, "There seemed to be little question that one of the dampening factors was the fact that none of the strikers had been served any meals since dinner Monday. That came about both because of the strikers own self-imposed rule that no one leave his cell, even for trips to the mess hall and a change

in prison procedures in dealing with such demonstrations. In the past cold meals have been served to hold-out convicts in their cells."

On Thursday, the third day, prison officials seized on the opportunity to retaliate when all but 12 strikers returned to work.

According to DeBord, these 12 inmates were placed in segregation cells and may be charged with disciplinary infractions. But according to members of the Prison Law Collective, who were finally allowed entrance into the prison Jan. 4, 34 inmates have been thrown into the notorious B Section, "the hole," with only a mattress on the cold concrete floor, no soap, clogged toilets, and no lighting. These men are reported to be continuing their protest with a hunger strike.

JAN. 9—San Quentin prison officials confirmed today that all 484 inmates in the East cellblock have been locked in their cells since Friday morning, Jan. 5, except for meals and showers.

According to Warden Louis Nelson,

two small fires were set on Thursday after the inmates had returned to work. Nelson was quoted as saying, "They would have gone to work but I didn't want to take that chance. I didn't want the place to burn down."

He said that the men may be released today but that first, "we want to find the men who are causing the trouble." There is speculation that large numbers of inmates are being rounded up and placed in segregation.

In another strike related action, 13 San Quentin inmates filed a writ in Marin County court yesterday claiming that they had been unlawfully held in segregation cells since Dec. 20. Their apparent crime was possessing petitions containing the 17 demands brought forward during the strike.

This was the first disclosure that more than the officially admitted "12 hard-core strikers" were facing discipline as a result of the strike. Superior Court Judge Joseph G. Wilson rejected the writ without comment.

Starsky victory gain for academic freedom

Socialist professor ordered reinstated

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—A substantial gain for civil liberties and academic freedom was registered when a federal judge ordered Arizona State University to reinstate Dr. Morris Starsky, a socialist and antiwar activist.

The Dec. 26 ruling by U. S. District Judge Carl Muecke rejected the contention of the university board of regents that Starsky had been terminated for unprofessional conduct and violations of discipline. The court declared the evidence made clear that Starsky had been ousted for his beliefs and activities, and that this violated his constitutional rights.

Examining in detail the evidence submitted, the judge found that virtually all of the charges against Starsky were based on his public statements.

"There is no doubt from the evidence," he stated, "that when plaintiff engaged in conduct that people disagree with, and there is a television or newspaper report of such conduct, that there is a wave

that fiercely exploited its Chicano workers and refused to recognize a union of their choice.

Nor, presumably, was the administration particularly pleased when Starsky was found in the forefront of the movement to reestablish an American Federation of Teachers chapter at ASU.

In addition, since Starsky is unusually articulate and energetic, he quickly drew the attention of the media and became a well-known figure throughout the state. Arizona's right-wing papers paid particular attention to him.

Matters came to a head in January 1970. At the nearby University of Arizona in Tucson, the Black Student Union initiated a campus drive to end athletic relations with Brigham Young University because of its white-only athletic policy.

A demonstration at the University of Arizona was brutally attacked by security police, who then arrested a number of the protesters on felony charges.



Starsky helped organize a march of 6,000 in Phoenix following Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in 1970. Part of the crowd at the Arizona State Capitol is shown above.

of protest. . . . There is also no doubt that fear was expressed that the Legislature might reduce funds in order to censure and punish the University for Dr. Starsky's misconduct."

However, the judge added, "We can find no evidence of 'detriment' to the school interests in such speeches here other than the detriment resulting from the unpopularity of plaintiff's views. Thus, even the loss of legislative funds and public misunderstanding . . . are not the kind of detriments that can be balanced against a teacher's right to free expression."

The court also found that the record showed Starsky to be an excellent teacher with unusually good rapport with students. It found that while Starsky vigorously expounded his views on political issues, including his belief in the need for revolutionary change, he had not reduced his opposition to a social system to mindless defiance of particular university rules.

ASU took dim view

It can safely be assumed that the Arizona State University regents are not happy with a ruling that would return Morris Starsky to the school's philosophy department. Despite his excellent record the university officialdom took a dim view of him from the outset.

When Starsky came to ASU in 1964 he became one of the initiators of the antiwar movement there. In 1965 he helped organize a major teach-in on the campus.

Throughout he was a central figure in the fight to establish free-speech rights at ASU. He helped lead a successful campaign to win campus rights for SDS and a subsequent fight around the issue of freedom to circulate literature and the right of students to hear guest speakers of their choice.

During this period he began reading *The Militant* and in 1968 campaigned for the Socialist Workers Party presidential slate for which he served as an Arizona elector. He played a key role in organizing a Young Socialist Alliance campus chapter and served as its faculty advisor.

Nor was this all. In 1966 Starsky helped organize students and faculty members for a mass march on Tucson's city hall in support of striking sanitation workers. In 1968 he associated himself with Chicano students who sparked a broadly supported campus campaign demanding that the university cancel its contract with a local laundry

This evoked a strong outcry, and a mass protest rally was organized on the Tucson campus. Starsky was invited to come from the ASU to speak at the rally.

He accepted and, in order to attend, cancelled one of his classes. Before doing so, he notified his students and the head of his department. Such cancellations are a common practice.

But after he spoke at the rally—giving, as he described it, a Marxist view of "law and order"—a furor erupted among right-wing members of the state legislature.

'Communist menace'

The morning after the rally, one state senator told the press that this time Starsky had "gone too far," that now he was exporting his revolutionary ideas to Tucson. This was followed by an all-day debate in the legislature about what to do about Starsky, the "communist menace."

The cry was taken up by some of the local press, and for several days they seemed to feel they could drive Starsky off the campus simply by the intensity of their red-baiting.

But it didn't work, so they switched tactics. The "legal" issue of his having cancelled a class was seized on. If he's done this, the question was posed, what other rules is he breaking? A university investigation was demanded. The regents quickly declared they would look into the matter at their next meeting.

Starsky responded with equal vigor. He joined with students and faculty members in initiating a defense committee. News releases were issued. He appeared on radio and television denouncing the effort to railroad him off the campus as a threat to academic freedom.

Protests to the regents were urged, and there were a significant number. In Starsky's view this prompt response blocked what he feels was a certain move to summarily dismiss him.

The regents instructed the president of the university to institute proceedings against Starsky.

The president delegated the matter to an ad hoc committee of professors. The professors submitted a report recommending against proceedings for dismissal on grounds that there was not "sufficient evidence" to warrant such an action.

The regents brushed aside the report and voted to institute proceedings against the troublesome professor.

The matter was referred for investigation to the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, a prestigious but conservative group of professors representing various university colleges.

Starsky's defense committee immediately directed a number of demands to the investigating committee. They insisted that the hearings be open to the press and public, that a full stenogram be made of the hearings, that witnesses testify under oath, that the defendant be provided a transcript of the hearings without cost.

All these demands were won. Defense efforts were greatly facilitated by the orderly procedure. There was wide daily media coverage of the hearings, and the official transcript was used extensively by the federal court in its present ruling.

And, Starsky notes, any professor similarly charged has the benefit of a clearly established procedural precedent.

More than a hundred hours of public hearings were held, during which time Starsky had the opportunity to spell out his political views, including his views on what a university should be and how it should be run.

After examining the voluminous testimony, the investigating committee reported to the board of regents that it found "inadequate grounds for dismissal." The president of the university then recommended that the regents impose some penalty less than dismissal.

Ignoring the report and recommendation, and without even discussing the evidence, the regents decided that Starsky was guilty as charged and should not be permitted to teach at the university.

Starsky's contract, which expired at that point, was not renewed.

A suit was filed in federal court to restore Starsky's job. Meanwhile he was hired by the philosophy department at San Diego State College.

'Arizona treatment'

As his one-year contract there neared expiration, the San Diego *Union*, a right-wing sheet, made editorial protest against the presence of the "red" professor on campus. The paper demanded Starsky be given the "Arizona treatment." Top school officials were compliant, and the philosophy department was advised that funds would not be available for renewal of Starsky's contract.

Then Starsky was contacted by California State College, Dominguez Hills. They were looking for a chairperson for their philosophy department, and several scholars around the country had recommended Starsky to them.

After the requisite interviews were held, Starsky was hired. He was in the process of setting up his office when he received a letter advising that the school administration had changed its mind. It was asserted that Starsky had "lied" in his formal application because he did not state he had been fired from Arizona State University. He had, of course, not been fired but denied renewal of his contract.

With this act of victimization, a defense committee was formed in Starsky's behalf here in Los Angeles and merged with the Arizona committee of 1,000 to Defend Academic Freedom and the Democratic Rights of Professor Starsky.

A damage suit was filed and is presently pending in the Cal State, Dominguez Hills, case.

Starsky stands ready to return to Arizona State in accord with the federal court decision. The school administration has not yet indicated if it will abide by the decision or seek to appeal it.

Meanwhile, the court has stated it is now ready to consider Starsky's claim for damages against the ASU regents. He is demanding \$1.2-million.



Morris Starsky speaking at campus rally

Judge: Starsky charges were political

The following are excerpts from the opinion of U.S. District Judge Carl A. Muecke in ordering Arizona State University to reinstate Dr. Morris Starsky.

This Court finds that . . . cancellation of a class on Jan. 14, 1970 is a violation of university "policy" but further finds that the incident was an isolated one and that plaintiff's record in following the university's policy in favor of meeting class schedules is otherwise excellent. . . . The Board [of Regents] in ordering formal charges based on so minor and isolated a violation is *selectively enforcing* its general attendance policy against Prof. Starsky. . . .

The very nature of the charges and the Board's findings against Prof. Starsky insofar as they relate to his public speech as a citizen show that the Board failed to recognize its own avowed standards of freedom from discipline when a faculty member "speaks or writes as a citizen."

Thus, the Board in finding plaintiff guilty of the summary charge ". . . has not exercised appropriate restraint as becoming a university professor in his public activities . . ." applied a narrow professional standard to Prof. Starsky's speech as a citizen. . . .

In each of the utterances by the plaintiff, certain aspects of the administration of a university are attacked and there is a call for basic change; but in each case the attack is on the basis of the power structure, the ideology, the political philosophy of the administration, and never on the basis of individual personality.

In none of the speeches is there a call for disobedience or disrespect or disruption in the sense that the audience is told to specifically disobey the Administration's rulings. Prof. Starsky's attack is a more profound and philosophical one; he calls for a complete social revolution, and he defends himself from actions by the Board. . . .

The heart of the charges against Prof. Starsky insofar as they relate to the three pure public utterances here is in the nature of the extremely sharp criticism involved. In the press release, an action of the Regents is characterized as hypocritical, and the motives of the Regents are questioned; in the television speech, Prof. Starsky questions the moral propriety of the Regents bringing charges on a matter that Prof. Starsky believed to be of academic concern only to teachers and students. In the speech given at the University of Arizona, Prof. Starsky sharply criticizes society in general and universities in particular. It is obvious, therefore, that the Board confuses constitutionally protected criticism with disrespect. . . .

It is the severity of the criticism of the Board's actions and the profound nature of the political, social, economic and philosophical disagreement with generally accepted views expressed by Prof. Starsky—in short his social revolutionary Trotskyite interpretation of the role of the university administration—which is at the core of the charge of disrespect and disloyalty. . . .

The crux of the matter is that although Prof. Starsky looks forward to different rules and a different kind of administration, "But that doesn't mean you go around breaking them or violating them. You're prudent and you look forward to a day when society will be different, and be organized in a different way, and you will have different rules. . . ." (From Starsky's hearing testimony.)

Looking at the evidence as a whole insofar as it reflects the sum and substance of six years as a member of the faculty, an acknowledged and respected teacher and scholar, and a man with national visibility; and after carefully studying all the evidence which the Board of Regents had before it as a basis for its action, the isolated incidents that could reasonably lead to some disciplinary action were of such a minor nature or long ago, and the major emphasis in the charges is so clearly based upon protected ideology, that this Court must conclude that the primary reason for the discipline of Prof. Starsky is grounded in his exercise of his First Amendment rights in expressing unpopular views.

We therefore grant plaintiff's motion for summary judgement on the issue of liability and declare that the plaintiff's termination violates his right to free speech and involves a violation of federal due process. . . .

We further declare that the defendants have a duty to reinstate plaintiff to his position with all of its emoluments and perquisites as if termination had never occurred.

Victimized for political views

U.S. government threatens to deport 3 Iranian students

By FRED LOVGREN

SEATTLE, Jan. 6—Three Iranian students face the threat of deportation on technical charges by U.S. immigration authorities, who are attempting to victimize outspoken foreign students. All three have publicly condemned the lack of political freedom in Iran, and they have supported the estimated 4,000 political prisoners in Iranian jails.

If forced to return to Iran, they face imprisonment, or worse, for their political views. Under the Shah's reign of terror, political dissidents have frequently been executed. For example, the Jan. 5 *New York Times* reported that five Iranians had been executed the day before for "sabotage and terror."

Babak and Siamak Zahraie and Bahram Atai have all been active in the Iranian Student Association, which has opposed the Shah's dictatorship, and the Foreign Student Council at the University of Washington. Atai and Siamak Zahraie were also associate editors of *The International*, the council's publication.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie was



Babak Zahraie

formed last February, when Babak Zahraie was arrested by immigration officers who illegally entered and searched his home. In an attempt to deport him, the Immigration Service leveled several charges at Babak Zahraie, including the charge that he was a "subversive." Public outcry eventually forced immigration officials to drop this charge.

However, on the basis of alleged violations of minor immigration technicalities, the immigration authorities ruled that Babak Zahraie has no legal status in the U.S. and threatened him with immediate deportation.

In 1971 Babak Zahraie was elected president of the Iranian Student Association at the U of W. In the same year he was also elected president of the Foreign Student Council and was the main organizer of the council's campaign to roll back a tuition increase levied against U of W students. He has also spoken out against the war in Southeast Asia.

Zahraie has applied for permanent residence in the U.S., based on his marriage to an American citizen. Immigration officials have refused to consider his application, claiming that their earlier decision gave him no right to ask for residency. Deportation of Babak Zahraie has been delayed pending administrative appeal within the immigration service.

The Immigration Service is also attempting to victimize Bahram Atai, secretary of the Babak Zahraie defense committee, by claiming that he was not a full-time student at the U of W last year and has failed to pursue his studies. Atai has been ordered to leave the country by Jan. 31.

In spite of a letter from the U of W registrar documenting that Atai fulfilled all the requirements of a full-time student by making up some incomplete courses and receiving his degree, the immigration service's order remains in effect. The defense committee's attorneys are appealing this decision.

Atai is currently a full-time graduate student at the University of Portland in Oregon.

Late in December, the U.S. Immigration and

Naturalization Service suddenly ordered Siamak Zahraie, Babak's brother, to leave the country by Jan. 15. John P. Boyd, Seattle district director of the Immigration Service, claims that Zahraie was not a "bona fide student" at the U of W in the winter of 1972. Zahraie took six credits during that quarter with the permission of his school advisor. He is now attending graduate school on a Ph.D program at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie is supporting Siamak Zahraie's case. Attorneys for the committee are attempting to postpone the deportation order while appealing the immigration department's decision.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie has launched a nationwide effort to bring the facts of these three cases to public attention. The committee is seeking broad support, and has already received endorsement from former senators Eugene McCarthy and Wayne Morse, Congressman Joel Pritchard (R.-Wash.), Ms. editor Gloria Steinem, Noam Chomsky, and the student governments at the University of Washington and at the University of California in Berkeley.

The lawyer for all three cases is Michael Withey, a Seattle attorney. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has joined in defending Babak Zahraie's rights and has made the services of well-known constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin available as a consulting attorney. Boudin has served as a defense attorney in the Harrisburg Seven and Pentagon papers cases.

It is clear that Babak Zahraie, Siamak Zahraie, and Bahram Atai are being harassed and threatened with deportation because they have spoken out on political issues.

Atai told *The Militant* in an interview recently that "the attack against us is an attack on the basic civil liberties of all foreign students and naturalized citizens, and our defense is a defense not only of the individuals involved but of the civil liberties of all."

The committee urgently needs funds to cover legal expenses and publicity. Funds may be sent to the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, Box 133, HUB, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98105.



Militant/Joel Aber

U.S. immigration officials have tried to intimidate Iranian students in this country in effort to silence their opposition to Shah's dictatorship.

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR:

1925: ZINOVIEV SPLITS WITH STALIN

The following is the seventh in a series of articles on the left opposition in the Soviet Union.

By DAVE FRANKEL

The basic problem of economic policy the Bolsheviks faced throughout the 1920s was that the New Economic Policy (NEP), while stimulating the revival of the Soviet economy following the ravages of the civil war, encouraged its development along capitalist rather than socialist lines.

The implications of this for industry have already been discussed. In the sphere of agriculture the result of NEP was to create a new class of small capitalists among the peasantry, and a growing differentiation between the poor and the rich peasants (kulaks).

By the fall of 1925 it was estimated that 37 percent of the peasants pro-

sunk to 4 percent. Poor peasants were often afraid to nominate candidates of their own, and in some cases meetings of poor peasants were broken up by kulaks.

But the effects of the growing power of the rich peasantry were not confined to the countryside. The kulak was strong enough to blackmail the cities. He withheld his grain from the market, and prices soared. By May 1925 the price of rye was four times what it had been in August 1923.

'Enrich yourselves'

The subsistence farms of the poor peasantry could not feed the soviet population. Only large-scale agriculture could produce enough of a surplus to do that and to provide cash crops for export. The question was whether large-scale modern agriculture

During the course of 1925 differences on what policy to pursue in the countryside began to develop inside the Politburo, which had previously been united in its condemnation of Trotsky and his "underestimation of the peasantry." The divisions within the party clearly corresponded to the interests of the major social forces within the country as a whole.

Bukharin, in the name of the alliance between the workers and the peasantry, advocated a pro-kulak policy and led the right wing of the party.

Stalin spoke for the bureaucracy he had helped to build up inside of the party apparatus. For the time being he supported the pro-kulak policy, uniting with Bukharin against the left.

Kamenev and Zinoviev spoke increasingly for the interests of the workers in the cities and the poor

The Leningrad workers were able to judge for themselves who had "underestimated the peasantry." Food prices were rising, grain shortages due to the manipulations of kulaks and middlemen were common, unemployment in the USSR stood at about 1.5 million and the plants and shipyards were starved of steel and new machinery.

During the 1925 harvest the kulaks refused to sell their grain in order to force the price up. This produced a drastic shortage in the state collection. All plans for grain exports and the plans for industrial expansion based on this income had to be cancelled, despite the fact that the harvest was the largest since the civil war.

Another factor entered into the change of position on the part of Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1925. Both men were the products of decades of revolutionary activity, much of it spent in exile in Europe. They had been willing to form a bloc with Stalin against Trotsky as long as it was only—in their minds—a question of keeping Trotsky from assuming the leadership of the party. But they balked at giving up the basic perspective of international revolution.

The theory of socialism in one country was based on the belief that the European revolution would not triumph in the near future, and perhaps not for several decades. This concept was made explicit at the fifth meeting of the executive committee of the Comintern in March 1925.

The pioneer in the recognition of the new "stabilization" of capitalism was Stalin. In January 1925 he had reviewed the situation of the Soviet power, arguing that the European working class was not at present able to render "direct aid and actual assistance."

"... the oppressed peoples of the underdeveloped countries," he said, were "slow to start," while "the peasantry of the capitalist countries" was "not as reliable as the proletariat." However, there was another ally—"the struggles, conflicts and wars among our enemies"—the divisions in the capitalist world.

The implication was that the hostility of the capitalist powers would be met by diplomatic maneuvers rather than by reliance on the revolutionary activity of the masses.

Zinoviev and Kamenev were joined in their opposition to Stalin by Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, but they were decisively beaten at the fourteenth party congress. By the end of January 1926 control of the party organization in Leningrad had been transferred to the central apparatus, and Zinoviev was removed as the chairman of the Leningrad Soviet.

The new state of affairs in the party naturally raised the prospect of common action on the part of the oppositions led by Zinoviev and Trotsky. Zinoviev, however, had been among the most zealous in the persecution of the "Trotskyists," and his previous identification with the pro-kulak policy led some in the Trotskyist opposition to suspect that what was involved was merely a falling out between two sections of the bureaucracy. Trotsky writes in his autobiography *My Life*: "One of my closest friends, Mrachkovsky, an old revolutionary and one of the finest commanders in the civil war, expressed himself as opposed to a bloc with anyone and gave a classic explanation of his stand: 'Stalin will deceive, and Zinoviev will sneak away.' But such questions are finally

Continued on page 22



The left opposition stood with the poor peasants against the rich peasants (kulaks).

duced no surplus, either growing just enough to eke out a subsistence, or else supplementing their income by working as laborers. Another 20 percent were close to this category.

Fifty-seven percent of the peasantry produced only 3 percent of the surplus grain. At the other end of the scale, 14 percent of the peasantry produced 61 percent of the grain sold on the market.

"The activity of kulak elements is growing," said Kamenev in September 1924, "and not only economic, but political, activity."

By the latter part of 1924, peasants made up 90 percent of the village soviets. But only 10 percent of these were "horseless," although 40 percent of the peasantry as a whole had no horses. The domination of the political life of the villages by the kulak was openly admitted, and accounts of the bribing of officials, the intimidation of poor peasants, and even the murder of communist journalists who exposed corrupt practices were common.

This situation was made even worse with the launching of a campaign proposed by Zinoviev under the slogans of "face to the countryside" and "revitalization of the soviets." This campaign was an attempt to strengthen the authority of the soviets in the villages by loosening restrictions against the participation of kulaks.

After the soviet elections in the spring of 1925, the proportion of "horseless" peasants in the soviets is said to have

would be developed by organizing the poor peasants in collectives subsidized by the state, or by the kulaks exploiting the weak and eliminating the inefficient.

The policy of granting concessions to the kulak, which the left opposition opposed, implied the latter course. In April 1925 Bukharin openly advocated this view.

"Our policy in relation to the countryside," he said, "should develop in the direction of removing and in part abolishing, many restrictions which put the brake on the growth of the well-to-do and kulak farm. To the peasants, to all the peasants, we must say: *Enrich yourselves*, develop your farms, and do not fear that constraint will be put on you."

Bukharin developed the "trickle down" theory of classical laissez-faire capitalism—the idea that the prosperity of the rich would help everybody in society. "However paradoxical it may appear," he said, "we must develop the well-to-do farm in order to help the poor peasant and the middle peasant." (Emphasis in original.)

Although some of the more candid formulations were toned down, Bukharin's position became the official policy of the Bolshevik Party. The kulaks' taxes were reduced and exemptions favorable to them were extended. At the same time restrictions on leasing of land and hiring of labor were loosened considerably.

peasants, and as the differences developed they found themselves more and more in agreement with the left opposition they had helped to defeat.

By October 1925 Zinoviev was warning that the main danger facing the party was "a glossing over of the class struggle in the countryside and a playing down of the danger from the kulak." By December, with the approach of the fourteenth party congress, the differences within the leadership came out in the open, with the Leningrad party organization, led by Zinoviev, pitted against the central apparatus. The Moscow organization, which had formerly been led by Kamenev, was subordinated to Stalin during the purge of the left opposition in 1924.

Zinoviev's switch

Zinoviev was driven by powerful forces in his switch from being the main advocate of a pro-kulak policy to its foremost opponent. The Leningrad party organization was based on the biggest concentration of heavy industry in the Soviet Union.

Although heavily bureaucratized, the Leningrad party organization could not remain immune from the pressures of the workers at its base. In January 1926 Molotov, a leading Stalin supporter, was to characterize the new opposition as being based on workers "for whom the obligations of the working class to the countryside are not sufficiently clear."

An answer to ADL slander

Why socialists are opposed to Israeli state

By PETER SEIDMAN

On Dec. 21, 1972, a picket line at the New York offices of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'nai B'rith in New York demanded that the ADL retract its charge that the Socialist Workers Party, particularly through its 1972 presidential campaign, had "crossed the line into outright anti-Semitism."

A delegation headed by Linda Jenness, the 1972 SWP presidential candidate, spoke to ADL officials about their slanderous accusation. Jenness pointed out that the ADL had not presented one shred of evidence to demonstrate the truth of its claim that the positions of the SWP were, in fact, anti-Semitic.

In response, ADL officials presented the delegation with a "fact sheet" entitled "Danger on the Left." This report applies the "anti-Semitic" smear to a number of radical groups and publications. Its main focus, however, is on the SWP, which it accuses of "spearheading the Radical Left's anti-Israel, anti-Zionist campaign in America."

Presumably, this document represents the best effort of the ADL to prove its charges against the Socialist Workers Party. However, "Danger on the Left" not only fails to do so but also exposes the threat Zionism poses to Jewish people around the world.

This "fact sheet" contains no evidence of SWP statements or actions defaming the Jewish people, or supporting their oppression. No such evidence exists.

The sole basis for the "anti-Semitic" charge is the fact that the SWP is opposed to Zionism.

The Socialist Workers Party has always made clear the distinction between its opposition to Zionism, which declares that the Jewish people all over the globe have a right to inhabit an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine, and its support to the legitimate struggle of Jews, and of all oppressed peoples, against any form of racism and racial oppression.

The ADL and other Zionist groups maintain that the present state of Israel is the only defense Jews have against anti-Semitism. The ADL repeats this Zionist argument in "Danger on the Left": "In the wake of the Nazi Holocaust, the question asked by a whole people, if not by the whole

world—Where are the persecuted to go?—was answered in the birth of the long-promised Jewish state. Wherever they may be today, Jews overwhelmingly believe that, whatever legitimate controversies may exist in the Middle East and whatever the conflicting viewpoints between Israeli and Arab, Israel's existence as a sovereign state is absolutely non-negotiable." Therefore, the ADL says, "Manifestoes and propaganda calling for the destruction or the dissolution of the Jewish state are . . . direct assaults against world Jewry and, along with activities supporting those sworn to destroy Israel, constitute the ultimate anti-Semitism."

The crux of the ADL argument is that because Jews have been the victim of oppression, and because the Zionist movement believes that the only defense against that oppression is to be found in the state of Israel, anyone who disagrees with this policy is an anti-Semite and a threat to world Jewry.

However, the fact that more than a million and a half Palestinians have been driven from their homes and land in order to clear the way for this Israeli "haven" for the Jewish people creates some contradictions for the Zionists. For if in fact that very establishment of the state of Israel required the expulsion and exile of another nation, there are surely grounds to oppose Zionism without being anti-Semitic.

How can safe refuge be found in a state that must militarily conquer a nation of two and a half million people, occupy its land, and be in endless war with the refugees it has created, and with all the surrounding nations? How can Israel be a "haven" for the Jews when it is totally dependent for its survival on aid from U.S. imperialism, which is an enemy of the oppressed around the world?

How can one people find security and protection from racism in a state that breeds racism against the Palestinians in order to justify its occupation of their homeland? How can Jewish people find peace in a state that must create a militarist society to maintain the expulsion of the Palestinians from their own country?

The ADL quotes the 1971 SWP resolution on the Middle East, which, after explaining these contradictions of

Zionism, concludes: "We explain to the Israeli Jews, as we have in the past, that their future lies only in aligning themselves with the Palestinian and general Arab liberation movements, wholeheartedly and without any reservation whatsoever. It will be to the extent that they do this that they can escape from the trap that Zionism and imperialism have set for them in the Mideast."

This statement constitutes for the ADL, "The ultimately anti-Semitic impact of the SWP propaganda," because of "its insistence that the Jewish people surrender their security and their entire future to the Arab guerillas 'without any reservation whatsoever.'"

In order to resolve their contradictions, the Zionists have had to explain the struggle of the Palestinians to regain their land as motivated by "anti-Semitism." Therefore, according to this logic, anyone who supports the self-determination of the Palestinian people is anti-Semitic.

By this reasoning, we are asked to believe that the 25-year struggle of the Palestinians for the right to control their own future is in reality simply an expression of anti-Semitic rage that must equal or exceed the worst excesses of Hitlerism.

In an article next week, we will examine this Zionist slander of the Palestinian liberation movement.



Palestinian refugees. The establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine required the forced expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland.

Black prisoner wins reversal of rape frame-up

By BAXTER SMITH

An important partial victory was recently won in the case of a 27-year-old Black man who has been in a Virginia prison for more than 10 years.

In 1963, Thomas Wansley was convicted in Lynchburg, Va., of raping two women and robbing one of them of \$1.37. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison for the robbery charge and to the electric chair for the alleged rapes.

In 1964 the Virginia Supreme Court overturned all three convictions. The state then dropped one of the rape charges, and a new trial on the robbery charge resulted in a hung jury. In 1967, however, Wansley was convicted on the other rape charge and was sentenced to life in prison.

On Jan. 3, a federal judge overturned this conviction. In a 27-page decision, Judge Robert Merhige ruled that prejudicial pretrial publicity had been a major factor in his decision.

Merhige cited two newspapers—the *Lynchburg News* and the *Daily Ad-*

vance, both of which are owned by the family of the late U.S. Senator Carter Glass (D-Va.). Both papers, Merhige declared, ran "highly inflammatory" and "shockingly prejudiced" news of Wansley's case and trial.

They frequently referred to Wansley as a "convicted rapist," despite the fact that the Virginia Supreme Court had overturned the conviction. They also claimed, usually in bold-face type, that his attorney, William Kunstler, was linked to "Communist-front organizations and efforts."

Merhige found that 40 of the 43 people called for jury duty remembered the "news coverage," and that as a result, 16 of them drew the premature conclusion that Wansley was guilty.

These news articles on the case, Merhige ruled, "place even among the most intelligent and dedicated juror a herculean and, in the court's opinion, impossible task to decide the case 'solely on the evidence.'"

In addition, Merhige charged a juvenile court officer with failing to "pro-

tect the rights of a child" and "testifying against his [Wansley's] charge." This refers to a court officer who testified he heard Wansley tell his mother, "I did it."

Defense attorneys explained that Wansley was telling his mother that he had had consenting sexual relations with the other woman, the one whose rape charges had been dropped.

Merhige declared that Wansley was also entitled to a new trial on the grounds that the grand jury that indicted him was unrepresentative (Blacks had been specifically excluded from sitting on it).

One of Wansley's attorneys, Philip Hirschkop, told *The Militant* that stacked juries such as this are frequent in the South when Blacks are accused of similar crimes against whites.

When he overturned the conviction, Merhige ordered that Wansley must be set free within 90 days unless the state decides to retry him. But a spokesman for the attorney general's office said that the state would appeal

the ruling before the deadline.

Considerable attention was focused on the case in the early sixties, and a campaign against capital punishment arose in Virginia around the defense effort. There were never any witnesses presented in the case, and the alleged rape victim never positively identified Wansley.

The April 29, 1963, *Militant* pointed out the double standard by which justice is meted out in Virginia. It contrasted an incident that occurred around the same time, involving a 37-year-old white man from Lynchburg.

This man was sentenced to only five years in prison for the rape of an 11-year-old Black girl, which was even witnessed by a police officer. The white man became eligible for parole after 18 months. Wansley has been in prison since Dec. 8, 1962.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) is conducting a campaign to free Wansley. Petitions demanding his release can be obtained by writing to SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky., 40211.

In Review

Books

Midge Decter's tirade against feminism

The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation by Midge Decter. Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc. New York 1972. 188 pp. \$5.95 cloth.

Feminist concepts are catching the imagination of millions of women. The movement has spread so deeply over the past few years that those who represent the institutions feminism is challenging are just now coming to their senses, reeling from the onslaught, but determined, it seems, to make a stand against it.

Midge Decter proclaims herself proud to be public enemy number one of the women's liberation movement, and she's working hard to keep the title. *The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation* is Decter's second antifeminist book (her second book, in fact).

The book is an attempt to prove that women today are not seeking liberation, but escape from responsibility for those sole and unique areas in which women are meant to achieve fulfillment: as housewives ("the home is a place of built-in diversification"); as lovers ("If she likes sex, does not mind it, or positively hates it, that which is basically required of her in its proper fulfillment will . . . present her . . . with no difficulty"); as wives ("the plain unvarnished fact is that every woman wants to marry"); and as mothers ("Even an accidental pregnancy she will feel has ultimately been allowed to happen by her contrivance").

Decter is a former editor of *Harper's* magazine, wife of *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz, and currently literary editor of a new publication called *World Magazine*. As a leading member of the Social Democrats, USA (formerly Socialist Party—Democratic Socialist Federation), she is an established figure on the right wing of the liberal political spectrum. Among other things, she gave a speech last spring at a dinner honoring George Meany hosted by the League for Industrial Democracy.

In that speech, Decter condemned those who have abandoned the cause of labor (which she identified with Meany) "for a rapid succession of self-styled and, alas, infinitely more romantic proletariats: glamorous swashbucklers among the heralds of racial revolution; students; women."

More recently she participated in the "Dump Westwood" campaign led by the Coalition for a Democratic Majority within the Democratic Party.

Decter despises all those who are seeking control over their own lives and are willing to bring down the entire established order to achieve that control. Her analysis of the feminist movement flows from her contempt for the current radicalization.

"The hatred of the youth culture for adult society," she writes in *The New Chastity*, "is not a disinterested judgment but a terror-ridden refusal to be hooked into the, if you will, ecological chain of birthing, growing and dying. It is the demand, in other words, to remain children."

"Being hooked" is not a bad phrase to describe



Militant/Howard Petrick

Decter's analysis of the feminist movement flows from her contempt for the current radicalization

the horrors of capitalist society she would have us passively accept.

Though Decter's broad aim is to attack radicalism, she has chosen the feminist movement as her special target. In a prose style aptly characterized by *New York Times* critic Christopher Lehmann-Haupt as "ponderous and musclebound," Decter lumbers every which way in discussing feminism except that which would lead her to discuss the real issues raised by the movement itself. Here she slides over, under, around, and away from every possible approach to the actual world in which women live.

Decter distorts the feminist movement by claiming that the demands women are making for the right to choose are instead demands that women, all women, must live in a certain (feminist) fashion. Thus, she would have her readers believe that the demand for the right to abortion is anti-motherhood, and that all feminists consider child bearing "a great and crippling burden."

Feminists, of course, are not seeking to impose new limitations on women but to make previously denied alternatives available. Feminists are not demanding "no longer to be mothers," but neither are we willing to swallow Decter's (and patriarchal society's) dictum that "it is in their capacity as mothers that women face the absolute and bedrock of their otherwise finite and adjustable existence."

The issue most uniting feminists today is the demand for the right to control our own bodies, to decide when we want, or don't want, children. That demand includes struggling for the repeal of all abortion laws, as well as for the right to contraceptives and for an end to forced sterilization.

Thousands of women have participated in demonstrations across the U.S.—and around the world—calling for an end to laws that restrict women's right to abortion. It was actions by women that persuaded New York State lawmakers to pass a liberalized abortion law in 1970. It was the movement for abortion law repeal that spurred a national poll on the issue, the results of which indicate overwhelming support for leaving the choice of whether to bear a child up to women, and not to the state.

To read Decter, one would have to assume that those who raise the question of abortion are flailing at imaginary demons. She presumes, in the first place, that "no woman can really escape the idea that pregnancy is something she has done to herself" given the "recent near perfection of contraception." Further, she blithely states a woman may "easily or with only a relatively unpleasant

amount of perjurious maneuver secure an abortion."

Decter is seriously out of touch with reality. The dangers and inadequacies of known contraceptive methods are too well documented to have escaped her notice. But if by chance they have, one statistic tells the story: more than 400,000 abortions were performed in New York under the first two years of its liberal abortion law.

Further, seeking an abortion in states where it is illegal is not "relatively unpleasant": it is a nightmare, as the one out of four women in this country who have had abortions could have explained to Decter, had she asked. And, of course, why must women, because of archaic laws, "maneuver" at all to control their own bodies?

The slim gains women have made in the last few years in the fight for abortion law repeal are now threatened by the powerful and well-organized "right-to-life" committees. Decter's supposed ignorance of the truth about abortion is merely one more attempt to demobilize women and to lull us back into confusion and despair.

Her attack on the women's liberation movement as a whole is more complex than her failure to understand the abortion movement, although that failure is symptomatic of a studied disregard for reality (for example, she describes the hundreds of thousands of married women who work as "driven by no very pressing economic need . . . to take jobs of a perfectly ordinary, routine nature" because working is "a welcome means of escaping the house").

Adrienne Rich's review of *The New Chastity* (*New York Review of Books*, Nov. 31, 1972) called it "harmless, predictable and sad." Certainly it does not seem possible that anyone not already antifeminist could be convinced by Decter's arguments. She uses no facts or figures, no interviews, nothing beyond her own not-very-clever perceptions and a smattering of quotes from feminist literature. But she is not standing alone; she is not even particularly writing for herself; and her book is not so easily dismissed as harmless.

Decter's book, along with the recent mobilizations of the anti-abortion forces, is part of the attempt to crush the women's liberation movement by those in society who are profoundly threatened by the demands the movement is raising—and beginning to win.

Decter's book—yes predictable, and yes very sad—is harmless only to the extent that women are willing to visibly demonstrate the strength we have when we unite and struggle together for our liberation.

— STACEY JOSLIN



Midge Decter



HARRY S. TRUMAN-- STRIKEBREAKER, WITCH-HUNTER, COLD WARRIOR

By MILTON ALVIN

When Harry S. Truman succeeded to the presidency of the United States, his predecessor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had served only 83 days of his fourth term. Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945.

World War II ended in Europe with Germany's surrender in May, and in August the Japanese surrendered and the six-year conflict was over. American imperialism came out of World War II virtually unscathed and vastly enriched.

The most pressing problem facing the president was how best to impose a Pax Americana upon a war-weary world, an "American Century," as *Time-Life-Fortune* publisher Henry Luce called it.

Truman had been a small cog in the Missouri Democratic political machine controlled by Tom Pendergast. He held minor local offices prior to his election to the United States Senate in 1934.

During the war his appointment as chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program led to the exposure of some irregularities, and he became nationally known for the first time.

When Roosevelt was planning his fourth-term campaign in 1944 he decided to dump Vice-president Henry Wallace, and Truman was selected to replace him on the ticket.

One of Truman's first important acts in office was to cut back the World War II program of lend-lease materials to the Soviet Union and England. This exacerbated already-strained relations between Washington and Moscow.

At the Potsdam conference, which was held in the summer of 1945 after the defeat of Germany, it became clear that the wartime alliance was being put to a severe test. About the only important matter on which agreement was reached was that Stalin would enter the war against Japan as he had previously promised.

'Hiroshima Harry'

A few days after the Potsdam meeting ended, the first successful atom bomb test was conducted. Truman ordered an atomic attack on Hiroshima, a city of 344,000 people. The blast destroyed 4.4 square miles of the city, blinding people at a distance of five miles. A quarter of a million people died. Three days later, a second atom bomb hit Nagasaki, killing 73,000.

According to a United Press dispatch, Truman was "smiling and buoyantly happy" as he made the announcement.

Truman tried to justify his monstrous

act by claiming that by forcing the Japanese to surrender, he saved the lives of a million GIs who might have been killed in an invasion of the home islands.

But, as historians have definitively established, the Japanese were ready to surrender before the A-bombs were dropped. The *United States Strategic Bombing Survey*, an official U.S. government study of air power during World War II, states, "Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts, and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to December 31, 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

Truman's real reasons for using atomic weapons were to force an immediate surrender, prior to the Soviet Union's entry into the area, to ensure that the Soviet Union would not be involved in the negotiations and would have no role in postwar Japan.

The use of the atom bomb was the opening blast of the cold war. Truman wanted to demonstrate, to the Soviet Union and to the people of the whole world, that the U.S. would go to any lengths to insure its domination of Asia.

As the years passed, condemnation of Truman's decision grew to tremendous proportions, as the facts became known. But Truman never repented of his murderous act and is said to have remarked that he never lost a night's sleep over it.

When the war ended a movement developed among U.S. armed forces deployed around the world to come back home. Troops abroad felt they had finished their job and did not want to get involved in new wars that were threatening or already under way.

The "bring-us-home" movement became so widespread that these soldiers and sailors ceased to be reliable as a fighting force and had to be demobilized. In order to occupy conquered lands Truman had to raise new armies.

Postwar strike wave

At the same time a wave of strikes swept the United States, caused by huge layoffs in war industries and reduction of working hours that cut out overtime pay. In addition, the war-induced inflation continued to plague working people.

The capitalist class, which had made

unprecedented profits during the war, decided to oppose the striking workers head on. They thought they could use the returning veterans as scabs as they had after World War I.

But this time the veterans were on the side of the workers and often appeared on picket lines in uniforms. The strike wave saw two million workers out at the same time, and included such basic industries as auto, steel, electrical, and railroad.

Truman did his best to break some of the strikes by "nationalizing" mines and railroads and threatening the strikers with operation of these facilities with troops. He succeeded in driving the rail workers back to their jobs, but the miners defied him.

Most workers won some wage increases that helped meet the growing inflation. But the most important result of the strike victories was the strengthening of the union movement. Thereafter, for the next quarter-century, a pattern of annual wage increases was established.

The capitalists changed tactics after the strike wave subsided. They shifted their focus to the legislative field. After a long debate Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, which placed severe restrictions on the unions. Although Truman nominally opposed this bill and even vetoed it, he never tried to get support in Congress to uphold his veto.

Congress overrode the veto, and the bill became law. Thereafter Truman did not hesitate to use its provisions in various strikebreaking activities.

In 1947 the anti-Soviet cold war was launched, increasing tension on a world scale. Truman gave military and financial aid to Greece and Turkey when England was no longer able to do so. This step, inaugurating the so-called Truman Doctrine, was the first in a series of moves designed to isolate the Soviet Union and East European countries under its influence.

Truman's increasingly belligerent attitude toward his Soviet ally of World War II found its domestic expression in his Executive Order 9835 of March 21, 1947. This established a list of "subversive" organizations to be compiled by the attorney general, membership in which was prohibited to government employees. This "loyalty" program launched the domestic witch-hunt, which coincided with and augmented the cold war.

In 1948 James Kutcher, a veteran who had lost both legs in the war and who was employed as a clerk in the Veteran's Administration office in Newark, N.J., was discharged because of membership in the Socialist Work-

ers Party, one of the organizations on the attorney general's list.

Resisting the wide support won by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, the Truman administration went to great lengths to deprive Kutcher of his rights. This was one of the more disgraceful episodes in the Truman years. In 1956 the Supreme Court upheld Kutcher's right to be a member of the Socialist Workers Party and to hold a job in the VA office.

Truman Doctrine

By 1948 the Truman Doctrine developed into the Marshall Plan (European Recovery Plan), which pumped funds into countries that were experiencing extreme economic difficulties. The purpose was to stave off possible revolutions in Western Europe and at the same time to expand the American economy.

In the following year Truman escalated the cold war when he sponsored a U.S. military alliance with West European countries under American leadership. This was known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and was designed to create a shield against alleged Soviet encroachments.

The Stalin regime, however, was trying to appease its wartime ally and wanted only a buffer zone of countries in Eastern Europe that was supposed to protect the USSR from any more invasions from that side.

But as spokesman of American imperialism, Truman was not interested in collaboration with the Soviet Union and its allies. He feared the spread of revolution and demagogically charged that the main inspiration for this was alleged Soviet expansionism.

Truman won the presidential election of 1948 even though his Republican opponent Thomas Dewey was favored by the pollsters. When he heard the results he exclaimed, "Labor did it." However, he never tried to redeem his promises to labor made during the campaign, especially his vow to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.

In 1949, despite all U.S. efforts, the civil war in China ended with the defeat of the Chiang Kai-shek government and the victory of the Maoist Communist Party. This led to a sharp struggle within U.S. ruling circles as various elements blamed each other for the "loss" of China.

The anticapitalist victory in China sparked a worldwide upsurge of the colonial revolution. The domestic witch-hunt, in turn, reached new proportions. A peak came when the government convicted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as atomic spies. They were

Continued on page 22

...bombings

Continued from page 3

advanced aircraft for the defense of the people of Vietnam.

But Moscow and Peking continue to supply Hanoi with only the most minimal and largely obsolete military aid.

At the same time the two powerful workers states refuse to take part in helping to build a unified international antiwar movement. The protests of the last two weeks show more clearly than ever before the potential for building a world antiwar movement. There are few places on the earth where people are not bitterly angry at the deceitful and barbarous war policies of the Nixon administration.

These peoples could be welded into a mighty antiwar movement that could exert tremendous pressure on Washington, not simply to end the bombing north of the twentieth parallel, but to end all the bombing and get out of Southeast Asia. That remains the pressing task of all who oppose the war.

...world

Continued from page 5

issued a mild statement to the effect that the renewed bombings would have a detrimental effect on China's relations with the U.S.

The bureaucrats in Moscow leaked a report that Soviet Communist Party head Leonid Brezhnev would postpone his visit to the U.S. planned for the spring if the bombing was not halted. This was reported from Moscow by Victor Louis of the *London Evening News*, who is regarded as a mouthpiece for the Soviet bureaucrats.

By failing to come to the defense of the Vietnamese in any more than a routine fashion, the Kremlin and Peking rulers are telling Nixon—as they have many times in the past—that as far as they are concerned he is free to resume the bombing with impunity in the future.

A report from *The Times* of London, reprinted in the Dec. 30 *New York Times*, described the speech made by National Liberation Front Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh at a meeting in Peking Dec. 29. Em-

phasizing the importance of international support for the Vietnamese, Binh "recalled that millions of the Chinese people had taken to the streets in the past to demonstrate support for the Vietnamese Communists." The demonstration to receive Binh in Peking, however, was only 10,000. In her speech she stressed U.S. imperialism's fear of increased international support for the Vietnamese.

The recent outburst of international protest against the bombings and the diplomatic isolation of the U.S. war-makers were certainly a major factors in persuading Nixon to order a temporary halt to the bombing above the twentieth parallel in Vietnam. These protests demonstrated the potential power of international mass protests to stay the hand of the U.S. imperialists and the need to continue to organize such actions.

...scientists

Continued from page 5

the annual convention of the AAAS in Washington, D.C., held an antiwar rally during the convention. The rally made public a letter to Nixon signed by 250 antiwar scientists, including three Nobel laureates. It asks: "Can we scientists meet in Washington and ignore the fact that our national Administration is launching from this city the most massive air attacks in history?" It concludes, "We must speak out, as Americans, as scientists, against this outrageous misuse of the fruits of science for death and destruction."

Another professional meeting, the American Philosophical Association, Eastern Division, passed a resolution in Boston Dec. 27 charging Nixon with "carrying out a brutal and inhuman war against the Vietnamese people."

At still another professional convention, that of the Modern Language Association, several members conducted a silent protest against the bombing by standing with antiwar placards during a speech by a Nixon appointee.

On Dec. 31 the *New York Times* carried an ad paid for by 151 editorial employees of the reactionary *New York Daily News*, urging Nixon to make peace in Vietnam "without

further delay." The *Daily News* had refused to print the ad.

These widespread protests from such varied sectors of American society show the potential for substantial future antiwar actions.

...abortion

Continued from page 9

From the standpoint of the welfare and rights of women, also, adoption cannot be a substitute for the right to abortion. Abortion is a method of birth control; adoption is not. For many women the prospect of carrying a pregnancy to term and then giving up for adoption what has become a baby is a grievous torture. Women know that in this society children given up for adoption have a slim chance of receiving adequate care.

Added to this psychological suffering is the economic hardship pregnancy imposes on the majority of women. Medical costs mount when a woman is pregnant, while her earning capacity plummets. Pregnancy often means being fired from your job, and what employer will hire a pregnant woman? Perhaps the father will support you, perhaps not.

Family pressure often forces unwed pregnant women to leave town or hide their pregnancy in other ways. Poorer women are often driven to welfare. These considerations may not seem very pressing to Eunice Shriver, but for many women the problems of keeping a roof over their head and food on the table are a daily concern.

Unwanted pregnancy and childbirth can disrupt, and even irreparably damage, a woman's life. Among high school women, for example, pregnancy is a major cause of expulsions and dropouts.

It is utter slander to say that women who choose to have abortions do not "believe in life," as Shriver would have us believe. It is precisely a concern for real, living people—their own lives and the fate of their children—that motivates many women to seek abortions.

The right to abortion means enhancing women's control over their reproductive lives. That control means the freedom to make conscious decisions affecting the quality of their lives and

of the lives of the people they live with. It means a reduction in the unnecessary misery women and unwanted children face in this society.

...sign now

Continued from page 10

nam with total destruction if an accord to Nixon's liking is not reached. The same threat remains in force if, under the terms of an accord, the situation should develop adversely for the Saigon regime.

Nixon has made "one thing perfectly clear"—the U.S. does not intend to withdraw from Vietnam, under the "nine points" or any other accord.

Nixon intends to insist on the maintenance of the Saigon regime, with or without particular figures like Thieu. The U.S. will back up that regime with massive military assistance, and will continue to intervene directly if that regime is threatened. It wants language in the accord that will give it "legal" cover to do so.

Thus "Nixon's latest moves" do not confirm the correctness of the "Sign Now" position, as the *Guardian* asserts, but highlight the dangers of that position. Support of the nine points disarms the antiwar movement by failing to mobilize opposition to Washington's real aims, which, with or without an accord, remain to impose its will on Vietnam through force and the threat of force.

...opposition

Continued from page 21

been forced to resign from his positions as president of the Revolutionary Military Council and as commissar of war.

As a result of the isolation of the opposition, the year 1925 saw a relative lull in the struggle within the party and the development of a rift within the triumvirate. At issue were precisely those questions raised by the left opposition—the danger in relying on the rich peasants in the countryside, and the need for an internationalist perspective as opposed to the theory of socialism in one country. These developments will be discussed in the next article.

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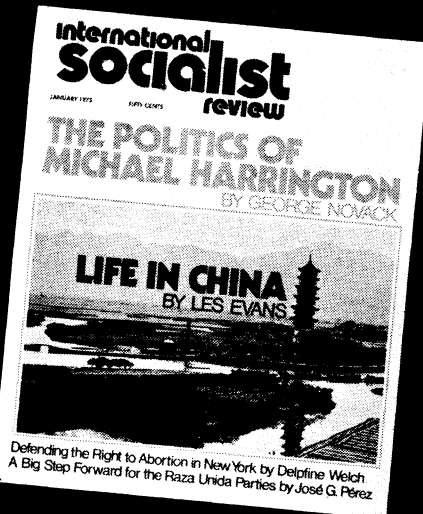
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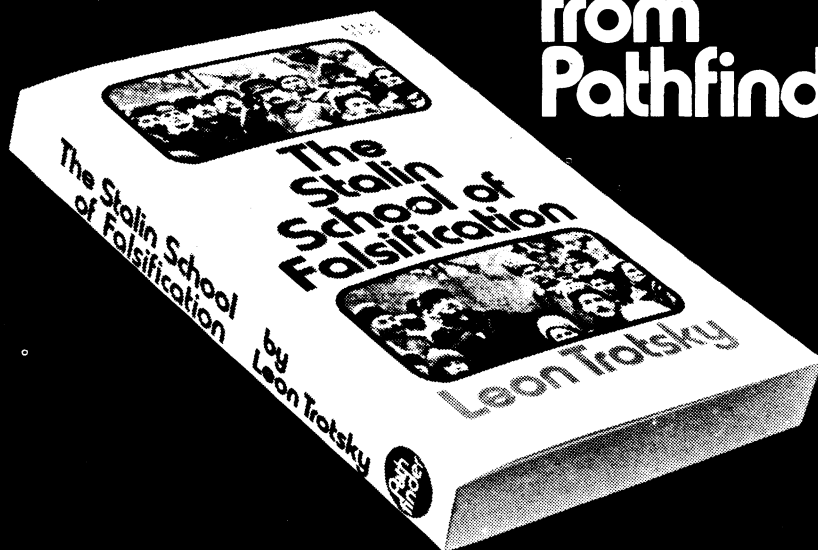
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THE MILITANT

2,000 in N.Y. demand child-care rights

By MARTHA HARRIS

ALBANY, N.Y., Jan. 8— Today about 2,000 people, mostly Black and Puerto Rican, traveled here from New York City to protest the state's proposal to raise day-care fees. Despite below-freezing weather, this was the largest action yet to occur in the day-care fee fight.

The action, called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Save Our Children and the Committee for Community Controlled Day Care, was designed to be a day of lobbying in which people could present their demands to state senators and members of the Assembly.

The state's proposed new fee schedule would either make ineligible or raise fees for an estimated 25 percent of the 30,000 children in New York City centers. At present, for example, a two-person household with a net annual income of \$6,000 pays \$3.50 for day care. Under the new fee schedule, however, the child would no longer be eligible to use city day-care facilities.

According to a fact sheet distributed by the Committee for Community Controlled Day Care, the fee proposal also specifies that a woman cannot use day-care facilities while looking for work, unless she is on welfare. And the work she seeks must be for wages that are below the income-cut-off point for day-care eligibility.

In response to protests against the new fee schedule, Governor Nelson Rockefeller has done nothing except promise to ask the state legislature

for funds to help children who are forced out of day-care centers.

Many participants were disheartened by the character of today's action. The protest signs they carried had to be deposited outside the legislative office building. During most of the day, the parents and day-care staff members were assembled in an auditorium, where they heard greetings from a long list of politicians.

At one point Social Services Commissioner Abe Lavine appeared to explain the state's new fee schedule. He was unable to offer any solution to the day-care crisis, however, and he drew shouts of angry protest from the audience.

One woman got up and suggested that the protesters reclaim their placards and assemble outside to "make visible our demands in a peaceful demonstration." Although many of the parents seemed to agree, this suggestion was not even discussed. Assemblyman Sam Wright, the meeting's chairman, told everyone to remain seated, assuring them that "the power is here."

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition distributed literature on the Jan. 30 legislative hearings on abortion in Albany, and on the March 9-11 International Abortion Tribunal in New York.

Today's action was one in a series of protests in response to the day-care crisis. On Dec. 19 more than 200 people gathered in New York for hearings on the issue called by the West Side groups active in the Ad Hoc Committee to Save Our Children.



Women protested federal child-care cutbacks at Nixon campaign headquarters last September. The action was part of a continuing fight in New York against increases in day-care fees.

As preschool children drifted up and down the aisles of the auditorium at I.S. 144, the mostly Black and Puerto Rican audience heard testimony on what the proposed fee schedule would mean to families and day-care staff.

Elected officials from Manhattan's West Side were invited to participate and explain what actions they would take to provide day-care funding. Governor Nelson Rockefeller was also invited, but he did not even send a representative.

Those hardest hit by the fee scale are Black and Puerto Rican families. Many testified that access to day care had enabled them to go to school or get into job training. The new day-care fees would make them ineligible for day care, forcing them out of school or out of jobs and back on welfare in order to become eligible again.

One young woman got up and said: "I haven't any family to go to or a husband. [My daughter] depends on-

Continued on page 22

Court victory spurs farm workers fight

By MILTON ALVIN

The United Farm Workers Union has won an important legal victory in the California Supreme Court. On Dec. 29, 1972, a ruling by a lower court that prohibited picketing, striking, or demonstrating against growers who had signed contracts with the Teamsters union was overturned by a 6 to 1 vote.

The decision upheld a charge by UFWU President César Chávez that the growers and Teamsters had worked in collusion to block organizing by the United Farm Workers Union.

Chávez charged that this alliance was made without the consent of the workers. He said he was "pleased because the court has exposed the fraudulent claim by the growers that



Cesar Chavez (center)

the fight we have with the growers is just a jurisdictional dispute between our union and the Teamsters union."

The court found that on July 24, 1970, the same day the Teamsters demanded that they be recognized as the bargaining agent for farm workers, the growers granted such recognition. Shortly thereafter, the court observed, 45 of the growers signed five-year contracts with the Teamsters.

The court decision continued, "During the first few weeks of August, when the rank-and-file workers were finally advised of the agreements negotiated on their behalf, most of the workers refused either to join the Teamsters union or to ratify the grower-Teamster agreement."

The Supreme Court also found that

the sweetheart contracts "must be considered the ultimate form of favoritism, completely substituting the employers' choice of union for his employees' desires."

The court's decision confirms UFWU charges that the contracts were signed without approval of the workers involved and were unacceptable to them.

The legal victory came shortly after Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons's appearance at the convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation, where he offered the growers an alliance directed against the UFWU.

The court decision is a setback to Fitzsimmons's scabbing efforts. The UFWU should now be able to move ahead in its organizing drive among lettuce workers.

New jury sought in Pentagon papers trial

LOS ANGELES—Prospective jurors are now being questioned in the Pentagon papers trial here. Judge Matt Byrne dismissed three people from the jury panel Jan. 4, when defense attorneys Leonard Boudin and Leonard Weinglass reported that a volunteer worker for the defense staff had talked to the three when court was not in session.

The defense lawyers said the person involved was not a regular member of the defense staff, was not really known to them, and had shown up as a volunteer only two days before.

The prosecuting attorney sought to imply jury tampering was involved, and Judge Byrne said he would investigate whether the volunteer had made efforts to contact other members of the panel. He also instructed the defense to furnish a list of all defense workers, aides, and volunteers.

Defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo are charged with making public the secret Pentagon study documenting U. S. aggression in Indochina.

The trial came to a halt last summer when the defense staff learned that

a member of the defense staff had been the victim of a government wiretap. The government claimed the wiretapping was the unintended by-product of the surveillance of a "foreign power" and refused to divulge the nature of the monitored conversation.

The Supreme Court rejected a plea by Ellsberg and Russo to act in the matter. Because the trial was recessed for several months after the original jury was selected, a mistrial was declared. The second trial will begin when the new jury is selected.