

THE MILITANT

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

There will be no peace 'til U.S. gets out of S.E. Asia



Thieu and Nixon. Rumored 'peace' accords would maintain pro-U.S. regime in Saigon. See pages 3,4.

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EX-NUN FREED, EXPELLED FROM BOLIVIA:

On Jan. 13 the regime of Colonel Hugo Banzer Suarez released from jail and deported Mary Elizabeth Harding, a former Maryknoll nun from Worcester, Mass. Harding, who was arrested last Dec. 5, was accused of belonging to the ELN (Army of National Liberation), a guerrilla organization founded by Che Guevara.

In a letter to a friend in the U.S. dated July 1972, Harding spoke of her work in the Committee for Defense of Human Rights and pleaded for protests in the U.S. to answer Banzer's repression.

Her release came after growing protests and extensive news coverage drew attention to her imprisonment and the plight of thousands of political prisoners in Bolivia. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) reported that letters and telegrams had been sent to Bolivian officials, and that several demonstrations were being organized when Harding was released.

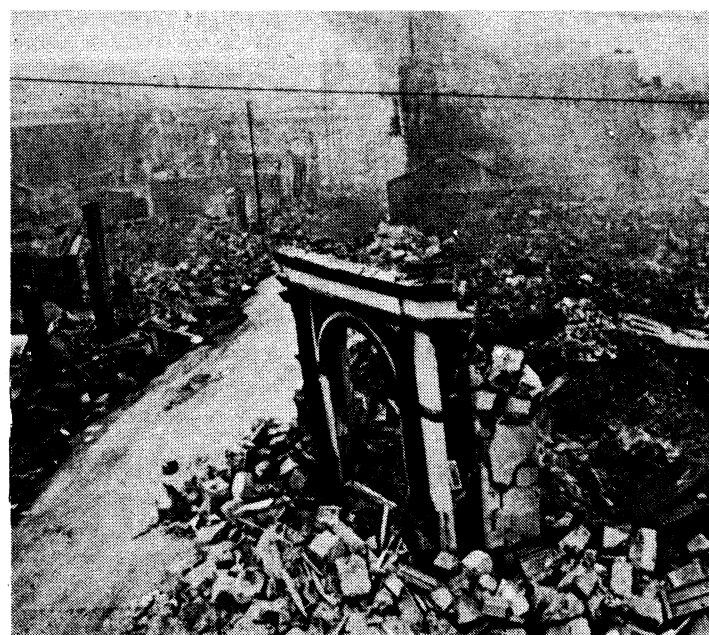
VICTORY IN TOMBS CASE: On Jan. 16 a New York State Supreme Court jury acquitted Earl Whittaker of two counts of kidnapping and one of unlawful imprisonment. The charges stem from a rebellion in 1970 at the Manhattan House of Detention, better known as the Tombs.

Whittaker, a guard at the prison, was accused of taking the side of the prisoners during the rebellion, during which he and 11 other guards were held hostage. He faced life imprisonment on the kidnapping charge. The jury has not yet returned a verdict on lesser charges of criminal solicitation and obstructing governmental administration.

Guards at the Tombs had testified that Whittaker was not considered trustworthy or cooperative. Whittaker explained that he would not falsify reports, could not cooperate with other officers who did, and would not use excessive force against inmates.

This case is the second resulting from the Tombs revolt. Earlier three prisoners were acquitted of charges similar to those against Whittaker. Two other prisoners, Herbert Blyden and Stanley King, remain to be tried.

'THE UNITED STATES AT ITS BEST': That's what Nixon says about the \$10.6-million his administration doled out as emergency relief to Nicaragua following the earthquake there. He spent \$2-billion for bombing Vietnam just in the last nine months.



Managua, Nicaragua. Rumor has it that Nicaraguan dictator Somoza is insisting that the city be rebuilt on the same site because of his real estate investments.

PROSECUTOR COMES UP WITH NEW ARGUMENT IN

MAGEE CASE: The prosecution has begun its case in the trial of Ruchell Magee for murder and kidnapping. The charges against Magee stem from an incident on August 7, 1970 in which police opened fire on the escape vehicle of several San Quentin prisoners. Judge Harold Haley and three of his captors were killed.

Chief prosecutor Albert Harris added a new twist to the case, arguing that Magee had committed a robbery when he disarmed several sheriff's deputies during the escape attempt. Harris claimed in his opening statement that Magee should be convicted of murder not only on the direct evidence against him but also because of a California law that holds that a defendant may be charged with murder if he participates in a robbery during which a killing takes place.

DEFENSE OPENS IN LAWTON TRIAL: The defense began its presentation this week in the fifth month of the Indio, Calif., murder trial of Black activist Gary Lawton and his two codefendants.

An entire week was spent in hearing four experts explain

that while voiceprints are accurate in a laboratory, they are not reliable under field conditions, including the recorded telephone conversation introduced as evidence against defendant Nehemiah Jackson.

The prosecution attempted to show that a scratchy police recording of a telephone call luring two police officers into an ambush in April 1971 was a recording of Jackson's voice.

On Jan. 15 a support rally was held at noon at the courthouse. Speakers included Billy Dean Smith, a recently released political prisoner; the Reverend Al Dortsch of Operation Breadbasket in Los Angeles; Woody Diaz of the Young Socialist Alliance; Mike Wolsso of the Young Workers Liberation League; and representatives of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the ACLU.

Funds are urgently needed to continue the defense effort. Contributions may be sent to the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412. Telephone: (714) 684-8131.

GAY ACTIVISTS ALLIANCE WINS RIGHT TO INCORPORATE:

After more than two years of court battles, the New York Gay Activists Alliance has won the right to establish itself as a corporation under that name. In a 6-to-0 decision New York State Court of Appeals ruled Jan. 12 that Secretary of State John Lomenzo acted arbitrarily in denying GAA the right to incorporate.

Lomenzo had argued that the GAA, which advocates the repeal of the state's archaic sodomy law, would be promoting "activities which are contrary to the avowed public policy of the state. . . ."

NEW GOVERNMENT ATTACK ON YWLL: The court-martial of Clifford (Heshima) Broadnax on a charge of being absent without leave from the Army was scheduled to begin Jan. 15. Broadnax, a member of the Young Workers Liberation League, was arrested in Berkeley Dec. 4 by a dozen FBI agents. Taken under armed guard to the Presidio Army Base in San Francisco, he was shipped to Fort Lewis in Washington State the next day.

The YWLL pointed out that Broadnax was AWOL from Fort Ord, in Monterey, Calif., and that his transfer to Fort Lewis can only be interpreted as an attempt to isolate him. His arrest came the day after that of Leonard McNeil, the chairman of the Northern California YWLL, who was arraigned on a charge of draft evasion Jan. 13.

YWLL leaders have urged that letters and telegrams be sent to Staff Judge Advocate Lieutenant Culpeter at Fort Lewis, Wash., demanding that Broadnax be returned to the San Francisco Bay Area immediately, that all charges be dropped, and that he be given an honorable discharge.

SORRY—WRONG HOUSE: On Jan. 9, 15 men carrying rifles and handguns broke down two doors and stormed into a house in Winthrop, Mass. William Pine awoke to the screams of his wife and daughter, who were begging, "Please don't kill us." He saw several men with guns trained on him and felt a gun barrel pressing against his temple.

As Pine was pushed out of his bedroom, he was asked his name. When he told them, the men suddenly rushed out of the house. One of them turned around at Pine's questions and yelled, "State police."

This incident, in which police on a narcotics raid picked the wrong house, merited an editorial in the Jan. 16 *New York Times*—and rightly so. The *Times* quotes Ms. Pine: "I didn't know police operated like that in America. I'm ashamed that this could happen here."

Unfortunately, the *Times* neglected to mention in its editorial the fact that exactly such raids as the one visited on the Pine family are a common occurrence in Black and Chicano communities throughout the country. (See article on Detroit police attacks on Black community, page 13.)

If you subscribe to The Militant and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address into The Militant business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

EX-GIs PLEAD GUILTY ON REDUCED CHARGES IN

WIS.: On Jan. 16 Thomas Chase, Steve Geden, and Dannie Kreps—the Camp McCoy 3—pleaded guilty to charges of dynamiting a water reservoir at Camp McCoy, Wis., in 1970. Originally the men had been under indictment on counts carrying a maximum of 35 years in prison. The reduced charges they pleaded guilty to call for a maximum term of 30 months.

—DAVE FRANKEL

U.S. raises nuclear threat

New accords won't bring peace

By CAROLINE LUND

Jan. 17—As *The Militant* goes to press, rumors are circulating that a Vietnam cease-fire agreement will be announced in a matter of days, in preparation for the signing of an agreement. Neither Washington, the North Vietnamese, nor the liberation forces in South Vietnam have so far confirmed this speculation.

On Jan. 15 President Nixon ordered a halt to all U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, citing "progress" in the secret Paris negotiations.

Only four days earlier, however, a spokesman for the Nixon administration made headlines by refusing to rule out U.S. use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam if the talks "fail."

The U.S. has been continuously bombing North Vietnam, and replenishing mine fields in North Vietnam's main harbors, since last spring.

A Jan. 8 United Press International dispatch surveyed the extent of U.S. terror bombing in the past nine months. Forty pounds of explosives were dropped for every man, woman, and child in North Vietnam. The tonnage of the bombs dropped was the equivalent of 20 Hiroshima-sized atomic bombs.

UPI also estimates that the nine months of bombing has cost taxpayers in this country an estimated \$2-billion.

U.S. bombing continues in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. On Jan. 16, for example, U.S. fighter-bombers carried out 134 raids against rebel forces in northern Quangtri Province alone.

In addition, Washington has made a massive shipment of military hardware to the Thieu regime in Saigon. The U.S. previously planned to get 2,100 aircraft to Saigon by mid-1974, but it managed to complete this goal in the 10-week period following the announcement of a possible cease-fire Oct. 26.

Not satisfied with this, Thieu has sent 20 of his loyal legislators to lobby by what they apparently consider their representatives in the U.S. Congress for stronger measures against the Vietnamese rebels.

As the Jan. 16 *Wall Street Journal* noted, by making the bombing halt over North Vietnam a unilateral step, "Mr. Nixon left himself the option of sending the bombers back if talks went wrong again."

Meanwhile, Nixon's move was certainly designed in part to help him get through his inauguration ceremony



Singer Joan Baez and other antiwar Americans walk through Hanoi's international airport, heavily damaged by B-52 raids in December. Nixon bombed to wring more concessions from the Vietnamese.

with the least possible embarrassment from antiwar demonstrators.

Various unconfirmed reports are circulating as to the substance of concessions said to have been made during the latest round of negotiations. CBS News claimed Jan. 17 to have had access to a draft of a new agreement.

According to CBS, one provision not spelled out in the October version of the accords is an international control commission of 3,000 or 3,100 to "supervise" implementation of the accord. This is rumored to be a concession by Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, who wanted a smaller force. Nixon, said the *Wall Street Journal*, wanted an armed body large enough to "prevent Hanoi from using force in the South whenever it chose." In other words, the U.S. rulers want a military force that can take over where U.S. troops leave off in repressing any resistance the Vietnamese people make to the dictatorial Thieu regime.

The Jan. 17 *New York Times* suggests that the North Vietnamese made another concession in relation to the Demilitarized Zone dividing North and South Vietnam. The new accords reportedly recognize the DMZ as a "provisional" military boundary, with military movements across the zone strictly prohibited.

The *Times* reports "reliable" sources in Saigon say the new agreement will permit North Vietnamese troops to remain in the South but will legitimize the Saigon regime's sovereignty over South Vietnam.

Whatever the provisions of a final accord—if indeed any accord is agreed upon—last month's bombing raids on Hanoi and Haiphong made it clear that Nixon is out to wring more concessions from Hanoi. In the latest round of secret talks, Nixon and Kissinger have been attempting to cash in on these raids by demanding more provisions favorable to the maintenance of a pro-imperialist regime in Saigon, under the threat of renewed bombing.

As if this weren't enough, Nixon even let out the threat of using nuclear weapons in Vietnam if Hanoi doesn't accept his terms. On Jan. 11 William Clements Jr., Nixon's new deputy secretary of defense, told a Senate hearing that he would not rule out use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. This amplified Nixon's threat last summer to "wipe out North Vietnam in an afternoon."

Although the White House was quick to formally deny that it was considering using nuclear weapons, Clements's statement served as a trial balloon, allowing Nixon to take the response as an indication of what options are open to him.

While the worldwide antiwar upsurge continued to mount, even after the halt to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, the response from the Soviet and Chinese regimes remained one of pressuring the Vietnamese to accept Nixon's demands. On the same day that Nixon's lieutenant was rattling nuclear bombs, Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev told reporters, "the two sides [in the Vietnam war] are determined to settle the affair peacefully." Peacefully! After the U.S. terror bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong!

Obliquely pressuring Hanoi to come to Nixon's terms, Brezhnev said, "the Vietnam affair [he attempts to belittle the Vietnamese revolution by calling it an 'affair'] is drawing slowly to its conclusion."

Whether or not Washington and Hanoi sign an accord, the same crucial task remains for the American and international antiwar movements: to build a powerful force demanding the withdrawal of every U.S. soldier, plane, bomb, and military base from Southeast Asia.

What ever happened to 'peace candidate' McGov?

The man who campaigned for president in 1972 as "the first to speak out against the war," Senator George McGovern, has shown his true colors by refusing to back the Jan. 20 antiwar protests. The Democratic senator from South Dakota told a staff member of the National Peace Action Coalition that he wouldn't support the demonstrations because he might look like a "sore loser."

In the meantime, while McGovern worries about his image, the Vietnamese people face a daily struggle to survive this brutal war.

In the spring of 1972, when Nixon was mining the harbors of North Vietnam, McGovern also cautioned against demonstrations. At that time, he said that instead of demonstrating, the American people should work "quietly and firmly" to change who was in power—i.e., campaign to get McGovern elected.

McGovern's refusal to join in supporting antiwar actions, in the wake of the most murderous bombing yet unleashed by Nixon, exposes his earlier promises as nothing but an attempt to win votes.

Other "doves" in Congress have also failed to take action against the war. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) even admitted recently that Congress was not going to do anything to end the war. "We can pass resolutions," he told CBS-TV Jan. 14, "but we can't end the war. . . ."

Despite all the talk in Congress about ending the war, the Senate Armed Services Committee, which is controlled by the Democrats, voted unanimously Jan. 16 to approve Nixon's appointment of William P. Clements Jr. as deputy secretary of defense. Clements told the Senate committee on Jan. 11 that he would not rule out the use of nuclear weapons by the U.S. in Vietnam.

Australian seamen to hold antiwar march

Australian seamen will march against the war in Indochina Jan. 20. Elliott V. Elliott, the federal secretary of the Australian Seamen's Union, announced the protest in a telegram to the National Peace Action Coalition Jan. 16. The telegram reads:

"Voice of American people strengthened with voice and action peoples other nations shall thunder through corridors of Washington to hasten peace and independence for people of Vietnam. We seamen of Australia alongside other citizens demonstrate this day with you all. Unity gives us strength to herald and guarantee peace."

B-52 flier refuses 'mass killing'

"The goals do not justify the mass destruction and killing," said former B-52 pilot Captain Michael Heck. Heck submitted his resignation to the Air Force after the December bombing raids over Hanoi and Haiphong convinced him he didn't want to take part in any more U.S. combat operations in the Vietnam war.

According to the Pentagon, four other U.S. pilots have also refused to bomb Vietnam since the air operations began more than eight years ago. Heck, however, is the first to come to public attention.

Heck stated after his decision, "This is the first time in my life that I have been able to feel really happy and good, because I have made the right decision."

According to the Jan. 22 *Newsweek*, the Air Force is expected to try for a harsh court-martial

sentence against him. "If Heck gets off with a kiss on the cheek," said one Pentagon official, "he won't be the last guy who pulls this sort of thing."



Captain Michael Heck

Reply to Tom Hayden: 'Peace' accords wouldn't end U.S. domination of S. Viet

By LARRY SEIGLE

What lies behind the diplomatic agreement that is apparently being negotiated in Paris? Is the long period of U.S. intervention in Vietnam coming to an end?

These questions are on the minds of many of those who have been fighting for the right of Vietnam to self-determination. Beneath these questions is a basic uncertainty in the minds of many antiwar activists: Is the proposed settlement a victory for the Vietnamese revolution, or does it represent a setback for the Vietnamese, who have been pounded into making substantial concessions?

These issues are raised by Tom Hayden in a lengthy letter in the current issue of the *New York Review of Books* (NYR). Hayden's purpose in writing his letter is to defend the terms of the nine-point agreement, released by Hanoi on Oct. 26, as being advantageous for the Vietnamese. His letter is an attack on an article by I. F. Stone that appeared in the Nov. 30, 1972, issue of NYR. Stone called the terms a "bad deal" for the Vietnamese, a deal that won't bring peace.

Hayden writes, "I returned from North Vietnam in mid-November puzzled to find so many antiwar activists, especially intellectuals, expressing the cynicism summarized by I. F. Stone."

Arguing against Stone's position that the draft accords were the result of a "tight squeeze" put on Hanoi as

details of the new proposals are not available at this writing, it seems unlikely that Hayden would view them in a substantially different light, since his fundamental premise is that if the Vietnamese accept them, they must be a "good deal."

He does not admit the possibility that the Vietnamese, under the pressure of Nixon's military onslaught and the refusal of Moscow and Peking to provide an effective defense, may be forced to accept terms not to their liking.

Hayden is not the only one to attack Stone's "cynicism" about the accords. I. F. Stone earned the enmity of the pro-Moscow U.S. Communist Party and pro-Peking groups like the *Guardian* newspaper when he blasted Moscow and Peking for hosting Nixon last spring. In the June 15, 1972, NYR he wrote, "To speak plainly, the chief running dogs of US imperialism now seem to be Brezhnev and Chou En-lai. This is how it must look from Hanoi."

Isolation of Vietnamese

Throughout the history of the war, Moscow and Peking have failed to counter Washington's step-by-step escalations. Their material aid to North Vietnam and the NLF has been totally inadequate to prevent the horrible devastation inflicted by U.S. forces, especially the virtually unrestricted bombing campaigns. The minuscule aid sent by Moscow has been estimated at less than one-ninetieth of the amount spent by the Pentagon in Vietnam.

Moscow and Peking, Hanoi's "allies," have refused to form a governmental united front in the face of Washington's aggression. Nor have they used their political influence to mobilize united action fronts even in countries like France or Italy, where there are massive Communist parties.

Despite this betrayal by their "friends," the Vietnamese have continued to struggle, providing an example of courage and determination that is undoubtedly among the most heroic in the entire history of the revolutionary movement against imperialism.

This determined resistance, coupled with the growth of an international antiwar movement, including a mass antiwar movement here in the U.S., forced Washington to adopt a policy of slow withdrawal, accompanied by "Vietnamization," that is, turning the ground fighting over to Thieu's puppet army.

The Vietnamization plan has been a total failure, as the disintegration of the Saigon army in the face of last spring's offensive by the liberation forces proved.

It was in this context that Nixon turned with renewed energy to Moscow and Peking, offering diplomatic and trade concessions to them in return for their putting the squeeze on the Vietnamese revolution. As Stone wrote last June, "Peking bought its admission to the United Nations, bought its way out of containment, with the blood of the Vietnamese people. The same commodity—in such plentiful supply... brought Nixon to Moscow."

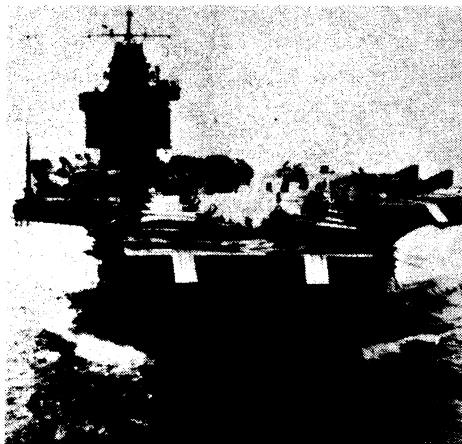
The details of the secret agreements reached in the Nixon-Brezhnev and Nixon-Chou meetings are still not known, but it is impossible to deny that the Vietnamese served as a pawn in these negotiations.

Nixon demanded, as his part of the deal, the right to an unlimited escalation of the air war. The proof that he was granted this lies in the fact that he was wine and dined in

Peking and in Moscow while he was unleashing murderous bombing against North Vietnam as well as mining its harbors.

Not only did the sellout by Moscow and Peking allow Nixon to inflict devastating attacks on Vietnam, but it allowed Nixon to present himself as the "peace candidate" in the U.S., disorienting and demobilizing antiwar activists who believed that the war would soon be over.

Hayden himself doesn't try to deny these facts, but he does attempt to



Settlement or no settlement, U.S. bombers will remain stationed in Thailand and Guam and off the shores of Vietnam, ready to resume bombing if things don't develop according to Nixon's wishes.

signal to Hanoi's observers abroad that Washington is not the only capital to which protests should be addressed."

It is not often that the Vietnamese leadership in Hanoi openly takes issue with the policies of either Moscow or Peking. But, as the heavy U.S. bombing continued after the Nixon voyages, there were some indications of Hanoi's criticism.

In a *Nhan Dan* editorial last Aug. 17, Hanoi leaders wrote, "to carry out the 'Nixon doctrine' U.S. impe-



dismiss their significance. Even if Moscow and Peking have betrayed the revolution in their deals with Nixon, Hayden argues, "these 'great power' moves did not prevent Vietnam from carrying out its longest offensive of the war and continuing to receive material aid from both the Soviet Union and China. (Emphasis in the original.)"

The Vietnamese revolutionaries' courageous fight against the tremendous military machine of the U.S. has inspired revolutionaries throughout the world. The fact that a small country has dealt such blows to the greatest military and economic power in world history is testimony to the depth of the social revolution inside Vietnam and the burning desire of the Vietnamese for national independence.

But the fact is that the Thieu regime, fortified in Saigon and other cities, armed with the third largest air force in the world, with a lavishly financed and equipped army, still remains in power! And it is still there because of the military might of the U.S. and the treachery of Moscow and Peking. It is true that aid still comes to Hanoi from Moscow and Peking. But this aid is totally inadequate. The small amount that does come through is used—through the threat that it will be reduced even further or stopped altogether—as a sledgehammer to compel the Vietnamese to go along with the "new relationships" between U.S. imperialism and the workers states of China and the Soviet Union.

Vietnamese not blind

There is evidence that the Vietnamese are not blind to world realities, as Hayden seems to be.

For example, in his NYR article last June, I. F. Stone reported, "A rare glimpse of [Hanoi's] true feelings was provided in a brief AP dispatch from Paris. . . . It said: 'Paris (AP)—The Rev. Daniel Berrigan conferred with North Vietnamese and Viet Cong officials for six hours yesterday and described them as 'intensely worried' about President Nixon's coming visit to Moscow. . . .'"

"From diplomats so discreet and seasoned, this can only be read as a

realists have applied the policy of reconciliation toward a number of big powers in the hope of having a free hand to consolidate their forces, oppose the world revolutionary movement, suppress the revolution at home, bully the small countries, break the national liberation movement while not relinquishing its plan to prepare a new world war.

"For the socialist countries, safeguarding peace and carrying out peaceful coexistence cannot be separated from the world movement of independence, democracy and socialism. If this is aimed only at caring for the narrow, immediate interests of a country, it will not only harm the revolutionary movements of various countries, but, in the end, will bring these very countries incalculable losses and make them give up their lofty internationalist duty. . . ."

But, Hayden says, "The question Stone should ask is: why do the Vietnamese, who after all drafted the Agreement themselves, think it is favorable?" Hayden tries to cover up the fact that the proposals under discussion include major concessions that Hanoi has been forced to make as a result of its international isolation—both military and diplomatic—and the intense U.S. military pressure.

Regardless of which side formulated the wording, it is ridiculous to assert that the Vietnamese leaders, of their own free will, would favor the concessions to U.S. imperialism that are contained in the nine-point draft, and, without question, also in the accords now being worked on.

For example, it is obvious that the Vietnamese agreed to any new concessions contained in the accords now being discussed only because of the blackmail of Nixon's December terror bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. Will Hayden support these provisions as "favorable" to the Vietnamese, even if they are forced to accept them? Will he take the side of the "supervisory" military force likely to be set up to enforce these provisions against the Vietnamese rebels?

Is U.S. getting out?

Hayden refers to the nine-point accords as a "face-saving 'peace with honor'" for Nixon, who can now get



Le Duc Tho and Henry Kissinger during Paris negotiations.

a result of the Nixon-Moscow and Nixon-Peking detentes, Hayden claims, "It would be more realistic and balanced to view the Peace Agreement within the framework of the situation in Vietnam itself, assuming that the concrete realities there are more important than any relationships between the 'great powers.'"

Hayden argues that the nine-point draft would be advantageous to the Vietnamese revolution because "their diplomatic initiative has given the PRG and North Vietnamese the political advantage of standing for peace, probably the most passionate desire of the South Vietnamese in cities under Thieu's control." He states further that the agreement "not only would end the present American killing for the moment, but would also put the U.S. on weaker political and military ground than ever before."

The nine points have now receded into past history; they are evidently superseded by the revised accord now being discussed in Paris. Although the

out of Vietnam. But is this really the case?

It is true that the October accords call for a halt to the bombing of Vietnam and the withdrawal of all U.S. uniformed personnel from South Vietnam. These would be concessions by the U.S., and a gain for the revolution.

But in return for these concessions, the liberation fighters would have to give up a great deal. The most important concession to the U.S. in the October accords was that the pro-imperialist Thieu regime would remain in control of the key cities of South Vietnam. U.S. bases would be turned over intact to this butcher, and he would continue to receive U.S. arms and materiel. Thieu is given veto power over the tripartite election commission. Can anyone believe that Thieu will allow free elections, which would undoubtedly be his undoing, so long as he retains control of the cops and the army? He hasn't even allowed procapitalist dissidents to oppose him in previous elections.

Thieu is preparing a counterrevolutionary bloodbath. He is likely to direct his first fire against the more than 200,000 political prisoners held in his prisons. But the nine-point draft did not provide for the release of these prisoners. Thieu has given notice as to the kind of policies he will follow after a cease-fire by banning all political groups and making sweeping new arrests.

Hayden admits that Thieu's police will remain in control. "But," he asks, "what will be the morale of these police when the US leaves? Temporary savagery at most (which is why Americans must show immediate concern at the plight of political prisoners in Thieu's jails), but certain disintegration if they provoke their enemies at Saigon's borders." What Hayden seems to ignore is that one outburst of "temporary" savagery can produce the slaughter of all those Thieu now holds in prison!

"Once the Agreements are signed," argues Hayden, "Thieu's army will be no match for its revolutionary adversaries." It is obviously true that, if left alone, Thieu's army could not stand up. That was proved during the offensive last spring, when "Vietnamization" was shown to have failed. But what makes Hayden believe that Thieu's army would be left alone? Does he really believe that if things should proceed adversely for Thieu, the U.S. would stand idly by and allow him to fall?

Continued on page 22



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Two hundred and seventy people came to a New York city-wide forum Jan. 12 on "Where does the Vietnam war stand? How to end it: Sign Now or Out Now?" Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party national organization secretary, gave the talk.

Despite 'peace' rumors

Protests against war continue

By CINDY JAQUITH

JAN. 17 — Despite efforts by the Nixon administration to undercut the antiwar movement with "peace" rumors, Inauguration Day protest organizers continue to build for the Jan. 20 antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and other cities.

At a packed Jan. 16 news conference, the cosponsors of the actions, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), announced that the protests would go on as planned.

NPAC national coordinator Jerry Gordon said that no trust could be placed in Nixon's latest announcements. He said that "If Nixon were serious about ending the war, he would immediately and permanently end all bombings in Indochina. He would order the withdrawal of all U.S. military forces and materiel from Southeast Asia."

During the news conference, someone from the audience got up and said there were reports that an agreement would be signed on Friday, Jan. 19.

Expressing skepticism about the report, Gordon said that even if it were true, "such an agreement would not eliminate the need for this demonstration Saturday and for future demonstrations. Even if such an agreement were signed, the question remains, Who will govern Vietnam? Will it be a government of the Vietnamese people's choosing, or will it be a U.S.-imposed government?"

"The [nine-point draft] accords," Gordon pointed out, "leave Thieu in power and the U.S. continuing to back him. They leave the prisoners in South Vietnam in jails, they leave U.S. bases in Thailand, and the U.S. fleet off Vietnam's shores."

"We are going to continue to demand that the U.S. get entirely out of Southeast Asia," Gordon said.

Sidney Peck, representing PCPJ, said he was also skeptical of the peace rumor, but he expressed a different evaluation of the draft accords. "We view it as a victory, as the first step in the final phase of the struggle to end the war," he said. The PCPJ favors "Sign Now" as the major slogan for the antiwar movement.

While characterizing the signing of the accords as a "victory," Peck told reporters that "many other kinds of questions will not be resolved until the U.S. completely ends its involvement and pulls out all support to the Thieu regime."

He added that "PCPJ is a multi-issue group, and we consider this demonstration not just a demonstration against death in Indochina but against the death of our communities at home."

A smear attack was leveled yesterday against the Inauguration Day protests by Gerald Alch, defense attorney in the Watergate trial. Alch told reporters that defendant James McCord Jr. would justify his actions to the court as an attempt to prevent "violence" by groups supporting the Democratic Party. These groups, he claimed, include NPAC, PCPJ, and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Jerry Gordon issued a sharp statement in response to Alch. "As is well known," Gordon said, "the National Peace Action Coalition has organized this demonstration to be peaceful, legal, and orderly—the same as all previous demonstrations sponsored by our coalition."

Gordon pointed out that "Nixon is on the defensive, both on the war and the Watergate break-in." Before all major antiwar demonstrations in past years, he noted, scare tactics have been used in an attempt to discourage participation.

NPAC follows a policy of nonpar-

tisanship in elections, and did not give support to the Democratic Party campaign.

The same day Gordon labeled statements by Jeb Magruder, Nixon's Inauguration Day chairman, as a "deceitful smear." At a news conference Jan. 16 Magruder "appealed" to members of Congress who have endorsed the Jan. 20 demonstrations to "restrain" demonstrators so that the inauguration could be "peaceful."

Building also continues for the Jan. 19 actions in high schools and on college campuses, called by the Student Mobilization Committee and other student groups.

The SMC and representatives of the National Student Association have sent out a joint ad for the Jan. 19 actions to more than 1,600 college

again," the editorial said.

One-third of the musicians in the Philadelphia Orchestra, scheduled to play for Nixon's inauguration, met Jan. 12 to discuss how they could show their opposition to the war. "We feel we're being asked to be 'good Germans,'" one musician explained to a *Washington Post* reporter.

Leonard Bernstein has announced that he will conduct a free "Concert as a Plea for Peace" at the Washington Cathedral while the official inaugural concert takes place. Dean Francis Sayre of the cathedral and former senator Eugene McCarthy will participate in the counter-concert.

Several prominent women, including author Betty Friedan; Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party; and Congresswomen Bella Abzug (D-



A news conference organized by NPAC-Brooklyn was held Jan. 12 to announce plans for the march on Washington. Participants shown are (l to r) City Councilman Kenneth Haber, State Senator Carol Bellamy, Brooklyn Borough President Sebastian Leone, NPAC-Brooklyn spokesman Tony Hodges, and Paul Massas, president of Brooklyn College student body and head of the Third World Federation at that school. Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.Y.) also spoke.

newspapers. In addition, they have sent letters to some 800 student body presidents urging their support.

In Washington, D.C., the High School SMC and the Washington Teachers Union called on the board of education to facilitate antiwar activity in the high schools on Jan. 19.

In New York, several student governments have provided office space to the SMC so it can operate campus organizing centers for the Jan. 20 march.

The SMC national office reports that rallies and teach-ins are scheduled this week at many schools, including Yale University, University of Maryland, University of Houston, Georgia State University, Boston University, and Northeastern University.

New trade-union support for the Jan. 20 demonstrations has come from the Detroit Metropolitan AFL-CIO and its head, Tom Turner; the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council; the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly; John Wright, president of the Atlanta Central Labor Council; and Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

In Cleveland, Local 1746 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Social Agencies Employees Union, and the local chapters of the National Association of Social Workers and the National Welfare Rights Organization have formed the Health and Welfare Coalition for Peace. The group is building the Jan. 20 demonstration.

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* published an editorial on Jan. 3 calling on its readers to join the march on Washington. "No part of the inaugural process . . . should be free of demonstrators and pickets quietly bearing signs of protest against the inhumanity this nation perpetrated for 12 days in December and could well perpetrate

N.Y.), Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.Y.), and Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), will speak Jan. 18 at a news conference in support of the Jan. 20 actions.

Another side of the continuing antiwar protests was the announcement by Medical Aid for Indochina that \$100,000 has been raised in the U.S. to help rebuild Bach Mai Hospital in Hanoi. Nixon's Christmas-time bombing destroyed the facility.

On the West Coast, between 2,000 and 3,000 people turned out at the University of California at Berkeley to hear Joan Baez, who was in Hanoi during the recent bombing raids.

The Bay Area antiwar demonstration on Jan. 20 has been endorsed by the Central Labor Councils (AFL-CIO) in Marin, Santa Clara, Alameda, and Contra Costa counties.

In Los Angeles, the Jan. 20 action has the joint sponsorship of NPAC-West, the L.A. Peace Action Council, PCPJ, the Jan. 20th Com-

Continued on page 22



Militant/Harry Ring

Watergate

It now appears that it will be a long time before the American people learn the full story about the Watergate affair and the scope of Republican Party espionage and sabotage activities against the Democrats. This information will not come out of the court proceedings against the Watergate defendants because five of the seven accused spies have pleaded guilty to all charges, and therefore will not face a trial.

Time magazine reported that the defendants were offered some \$1,000 per month payment for pleading guilty and keeping their mouths shut about which higher-ups in the Nixon administration they were working for. Reports thus far have indicated that funds for the Watergate operation came from former cabinet members and from Maurice Stans, Nixon's top campaign fund raiser. However the prosecution in the Watergate trial is conveniently—for Nixon—refusing even to call former Attorney General John Mitchell or Maurice Stans as witnesses in the case, much less bring them up on charges.

Meanwhile it has also been revealed that high officials in the Republican campaign are "unable to account for" (that is, unable to account for in a legal manner) some \$900,000 in campaign funds.

The whitewash of the Watergate affair demonstrates the total corruption of the Nixon administration as well as the rottenness of all the Democratic politicians and the courts who are cooperating in the effort to hush up this scandal.

The Watergate operation gave the American people a glimpse of how the Democrats and Republicans in the government treat each other in the course of their squabbles within the ruling class. It only suggests the elaborate, brutal methods of sabotage and other illegal operations that both parties carry on all the time against the movements for social change, especially the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements.

Israeli witch-hunt

Last December Israeli police claimed to have discovered a "spy and sabotage ring" working in cooperation with Syrian intelligence. Within a week 46 "suspected spies" were arrested, including four Israeli Jews. Using this case as a pretext, the Zionist regime has unleashed a campaign of witch-hunt, arrests, and torture against the Israeli left in general. (See story on page 12 for details.)

The Militant has received a copy of an appeal for support to democratic rights in Israel from five Israeli organizations—the Avant-garde Group, Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist), Israeli Socialist Organization, Revolutionary Communist Alliance, and the Arab Students Union at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In addition, we received an international appeal from the Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist) calling on supporters of democratic rights throughout the world to bring all possible pressure against this witch-hunt campaign by the Israeli government.

We urge readers of *The Militant* to respond to this important appeal by sending telegrams or letters of protest to Prime Minister Golda Meir, Jerusalem, Israel.

The following telegram was sent to Golda Meir by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate, and Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and SWP vice-presidential candidate in 1972:

"Golda Meir: We are informed that your government has initiated a campaign of political repression, including arrests and torture of both Jews and Arabs whose only "crime" is political opposition to Zionism and refusal to cooperate with your secret police against the Palestinian liberation struggle. Your current witch-hunt against the left—which lays the precedent for broader attacks on the democratic rights of all Israeli working people—provides further evidence of the falsity of the Zionist claim to guarantee democratic rights to the people living in Israel—Arabs or Jews.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance intend to expose your government's barbaric torture and political persecution and to initiate and join in protests against these measures by democratic-minded forces in the United States. We demand the release of all those arrested and an end to your campaign of political persecution."

Letters

Gets better and better

I have been a *Militant* reader for three and a half years now, and the paper keeps getting better and better. It was *The Militant* that first introduced me to the Trotskyist movement and gave me a clearer understanding of the movements for social change.

Keep up the excellent work, and I promise to keep introducing the paper to more people.

L. D.
Chicago, Ill.

Science for the People

In an article in the Jan. 12 *Militant* on "Scientists, church leaders protest bombing," you mentioned the war protest made by the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) and the Federation of American Scientists. Unfortunately, you do not mention Science for the People, which has led or aided antiwar demonstrations at the AAAS convention and proposed antiwar resolutions before.

Science for the People is a group of radical scientific workers and students that is developing a critique of science use. Our areas of interest include not only antiwar and women's issues but expand into a critique of science in capitalist society.

We have done scientific research on behalf of the Vietnamese people, joined production workers around occupational health, and attempted to arm oppressed groups with technical skills.

We would like *The Militant* to know scientific workers are beginning to attack the roots of their alienation.

D. C.
Washington, D. C.

Athletes and politics

When I was hawking *The Militant* at New Paltz State College, a student inquired about the role of sports, if any, in world politics. A query I've gotten before. Being an ex-sports magazine editor, I've come across a few acts of protest by athletes I here relate for sports-minded *Militant* readers.

Jane Blalock, a professional golfer, was leading the women's tour for a time, in earnings, earlier this year, but was suspended from the circuit, (later reinstated) for allegedly "cheating." She stood accused of moving her ball to a more advantageous position after marking it, a common occurrence among golfers since the ball can't always be replaced in the exact spot it was picked up from. Which doesn't make it a too far-fetched assumption to say that Ms. Blalock was singled out and victimized because she displays a peace symbol on her golf bag and is a vocal opponent of the Vietnam war.

Billy Jean King, a fine tennis professional and *Sports Illustrated* "Sportswoman of the Year," publicly advocated abortion on the basis of her personal experience. And when Ms. King won the U.S. Open Championship at Forest Hills, she gave a strong women's rights speech, saying she was not going to defend her title again unless given a chance to earn as much money as the men.

Before the 1972 Olympics, UCLA's All-American Center Bill Walton was criticized by basketball's officialdom

after being arrested during an antiwar demonstration. They went so far as to consider whether to suspend him.

Some of those who saw the demonstration say Walton was heeding the order to leave but didn't move fast enough. "It was like a three-second violation," one said. "He got caught in the key."

Walton's subsequent boycott of the Olympic Games, to protest the genocidal war in Vietnam, was a big factor in the United States's poor showing in basketball.

We should all work harder to force the U.S. government out of Southeast Asia so this type of protest by Walton needn't happen again.

Sam Chetta
Catskill, N. Y.

Correction

The review of "Lady Sings the Blues" in the Dec. 29 *Militant* has an error of fact. On page 68 of her autobiography, Billie Holiday describes her father's death—by hemorrhage because no hospital would take him.

Skip Ball
Denver, Colo.

Transit worker replies

New York City Councilman Robert Postel has charged that New York transit workers spend their work day sleeping and drinking. A film shown on channel 5 TV in December was the basis for the attack. It was obvious to any transit worker that the film was a clumsy frame-up.

The councilman charged that transit workers are paid "grossly inflated overtime payments." The truth is most transit workers don't work much overtime. (I haven't worked any for three years.) Those who do work overtime would gladly give it up for a decent hourly wage. Transit workers are forced to work overtime because the Metropolitan Transit Authority refuses to hire sufficient workers.

As for the charges of drinking and sleeping on the job, I heard these stories before I started working for the MTA. After spending five years looking for this utopia, I have decided that it is a rumor designed to shanghai workers for the MTA.

Councilman Postel charged that the abuses by transit workers have cost the taxpayers more than \$500-million in the last 10 years. The truth is that by state law the 35-cent token, and not taxes, has to finance the MTA and pay the workers.

In making these charges Councilman Postel gave Lindsay and Rockefeller a weapon with which to attack the wages of transit workers at the next contract expiration.

James Mendieta
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Terrorism

It looks as if the recent rash of attacks by the bourgeois press across the world directed at Leon Trotsky and the world Trotskyist movement are not at an end. The slanders and outright lies they have printed are proof of the ruling class's fear of Trotskyist ideas and goals.

The latest attack was printed in an article in the January 1973 issue of *Current History* entitled "Black September: Militant Palestinianism" by John B. Wolf. Wolf states that "the Black September organization may be attuned to the directions of Leon Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary who advocated the unrestricted use of terror by elitist bands, and who placed little emphasis on a Maoist-style, broadly based national guerilla movement."

The true Trotskyist view of terrorism is put forth by George Novack in *Marxism versus Neo-Anarchist Terrorism*. He writes: "U. S. imperialism has to go; its crimes must be avenged. But this cannot and will not be done by lone avengers. It will require intervention by the masses conscious of the necessity of abolishing capitalist power and property and organized to carry through that colossal task. The function of genuine revolutionists today is not to study the uses of dynamite, but to learn how to release the creative energy and revolutionary potential of the masses in order to speed the day of that historical reckoning."

D. W.
Medford, Mass.

Imprisoned Citizens Union

Last year a number of prisoners formed the Imprisoned Citizens Union in an effort to change the country's barbaric prison conditions.

Some of ICU's objectives are: ousting all sadistic and incompetent prison employees; eliminating the use of all torture devices, such as the sweat box, wall chains, wrist clamps, and underground dungeons; eliminating discrimination; proper food, clothing and medical treatment; the right to vote; and the right to pursue our political beliefs without harassment.

Subscriptions to our monthly newsletter, the *Prisoner's Free Press*, are available for \$3.50 a year.

Imprisoned Citizens Union
Box 4371

Philadelphia, Pa. 19134

Toronto mayoralty race

In the Dec. 29 issue of *The Militant*, you quote *Guerilla* newspaper as supporting Jacquie Henderson for mayor of Toronto. The article was a news story of a debate between the candidates in which Jacquie Henderson participated. It did not indicate an official policy statement of the newspaper.

Our publicly stated endorsement of mayoralty candidates came after Nelson Clarke, Communist Party candidate for mayor of Toronto, entered the race. At that time *Guerilla* newspaper ran a center-page endorsement of both Henderson and Clarke. This does not in any way indicate or encourage divisiveness. On the contrary, at this point we firmly believe in a working coalition of the left that must supersede ideological differences.

The Guerilla Collective
Toronto, Canada

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.



Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith

Anti-feminists open up new front

Have you seen any women wearing pink "I know H. O. W." buttons lately? HOW stands for Happiness of Womanhood, one of several antifeminist organizations. Some others are AWARE (American Women Are Richly Endowed), the League of Housewives, and the Stop ERA committees.

All of these groups are gaining national prominence from their campaign to prevent ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), a bill that would make sex discrimination illegal. The ERA has already passed 22 state legislatures, but it must be ratified by 16 more in order to become law. The right wing is determined that it won't get passed.

Despite their names, these groups represent more than a fringe element. Their leaders and backers have embarked on a serious campaign against the women's liberation movement.

Last week both the *New York Times* and *Newsweek* ran feature articles on the Stop ERA committees and their founder, Phyllis Schlafly. She is the well-known Midwest conservative who, in 1964, wrote *A Choice Not an Echo*—the book that promoted the presidential campaign of Senator Barry Goldwater. Schlafly told the *Times* her organization is active in 26 states.

The Jan. 15 *Newsweek* credits Schlafly's group with preventing a vote on the ERA in the Illinois House of Representatives and nearly defeating the bill in the state Senate in 1972:

"Spurred on by Mrs. Schlafly's adherents, legislators scaled oratorical heights in denouncing the Equal Rights Amendment. 'I see the darkness of

increasing alcohol and suicide,' one thundered. Others predicted 'pimps and prostitutes everywhere,' with armies of 'homosexuals, bisexuals and other deviators' coming out of the closets. There was a curious fear that ERA would ban sex distinctions in public toilets and a dark reminiscence of 'the Russian Army with men and women . . . squatting over open latrines.'"

Where have we heard these predictions of impending "moral cataclysm" and "promiscuity" before? From the anti-abortion forces, of course. The same people who are backing this assault on the ERA are in league with the well-financed campaign against the right to abortion.

According to the Jan. 15 *New York Times*, the anti-ERA forces include American Party 1972 presidential candidate John G. Schmitz (a Birch Society member), the National Council of Catholic Women, and figures in the Catholic Church hierarchy. Last fall, anti-abortion groups in Washington openly organized opposition to ratification of the state equal rights amendment.

The emergence of an anti-ERA campaign underscores just how deeply women's oppression is woven into the fabric of this society. Every gain women make will take a major struggle, and then further battles to maintain that gain.

Ratification of the ERA occurred in many states in 1972 because legislators realized that a strong sentiment for women's equality stood behind this bill. It's up to women to show that there is massive support for equal rights.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Construction industry woes

When outgoing Housing and Urban Development director George Romney told a convention of 56,000 building contractors Jan. 8 that the Nixon administration had decided to freeze subsidies for housing construction, the builders panicked. It seemed to them the end of an era. Lush government handouts vanished before their eyes, the primary source of their system of graft and piece-off and shakedown gone.

They set up a clamor about the danger of unemployment in the building trades, the terrible lack of low-cost housing, the crying need for urban redevelopment, and the plight of the urban poor. None of these real problems have ever worried the contractors, but they figured out that this was the best way to regain their lost subsidies.

Of course, under the old subsidies system low-cost housing became high-cost housing, urban renewal developed into urban blight, unemployment remained a chronic feature of the industry, and the urban poor had no decent housing. But the builders and the loan sharks and the real estate promoters all got fat at the taxpayers' expense.

The temporary freeze of housing subsidies, urban renewal funds, water and sewer grants, open-space grants, and public facility loans will aggravate the acute social crisis. But the bankers and builders were assured that they would be taken care of as usual. Romney gave first the bad news, then the good. Obligations that have accumulated over the years under HUD's community development programs total more than \$5.5-billion and will reach \$7.3-billion by the end of June. Romney said that despite the freeze these obligations will be met.

Among the many benefits for contractors that come with government manipulation of financing in the chaotic construction industry is a vise-like grip on the building trades unions. Utilizing competitive bidding on federally funded projects, the contractors have slipped out of their obligations under union agreements. Instead of getting labor only from union hiring halls, they have begun hiring nonunion workers in large numbers.

In most cities more than half of all construction work is nonunion, often let to the same contractors who are signed up with the unions but operate under a second name for purposes of hiring nonunion workers at low wages.

Officials of the building trades unions are meeting this problem head-on—by changing their work rules and conditions of employment to meet nonunion standards.

Some building trades unions have agreed to forgo wage increases due under their contracts. Others have accepted the wage scale at the beginning of a job and agreed to hold to it until the job is completed.

There have been agreements for Saturday work without payment of overtime when the workweek is 40 hours or less, and some second-shift workers get only straighttime.

Contractors have been given the right to decide the size of crews for all types of work and to lay off workers without regard to seniority.

Tools to be used are decided by the contractor. Consequently all types of power tools have been brought onto the job without regard for safety or quality of work.

These are some of the nonunion standards that union officials are now accepting. They are not acceptable to union building tradesmen who often find their own ways to get back what is being taken away from them.

This is all part of the agreement, signaled by the recent return of Meany & Associates to the National Commission on Productivity, to join the government drive to raise the hourly output per worker in all industries.

The AFL-CIO building and construction trades department will map plans for a national campaign to speed up production at its Feb. 12 meeting in Miami Beach.

Right now it looks to the big General Contractors Association like there can be no cloud without a golden lining. But they haven't yet seen the real storm clouds.



The march of science—A Swedish doctor reports he has placed the death beds of terminal patients on highly sensitive scales and found that the scale needle dropped 21 grams—about three-quarters of an ounce—as the patients died and their souls left their bodies. Which sounds perfectly reasonable, our only question being whether the souls were able to depart without stopping at the cashier's office.

Just doing his job—A friend with an apparently deep-seated hostility toward public servants felt we should say something disparaging about California's Governor Reagan merely because he closed out 1972 by signing a bill to increase the wages of members of the state legislature 10 per-

cent and vetoed another to provide needy children hot lunches.

And don't walk around too much—New York researchers report that acidic soot from cars disintegrates nylon stockings and pantyhose. They advise wearers, "Never, never stand in back of your automobile exhaust pipe when the engine is on."

On the right track, we'd say—"A martini was spilled so Metroliner cars go to the shop. J.W. Ingram, head of the Federal Railroad Administration, said he knew the service wasn't up to par when the cocktail dashed out of his glass the last time he rode the train to Washington. He had two cars taken out of service and stripped to see if the spring system could be im-

proved. If it can, Ingram said, he would have all the Metroliner cars put through the shops at a cost of \$20-million." — **United Transportation Union News.**

Who researches the researchers?—Eight tobacco companies chipped in \$2.8-million for a five-year Harvard study on the role of tobacco in various diseases. The grant, a coffin-nail pusher explained, reflects "the insistence of the tobacco industry to help find answers to many questions about smoking and health." We hear Nixon is giving the school a grant to find out who's bombing Vietnam.

The sweet approach—Even though the Price Commission approved an increase, the dime Hershey bar will re-

main a dime. Instead, the weight will be reduced eight percent, down to a hefty 1.26 ounces.

Progress report—Writing in the *Los Angeles Times*, a local meat processor takes umbrage over the notion that the American hot dog has deteriorated, quality-wise, over the years. In 1928, he reports, the average frank contained about 12 percent protein, 28 percent fat, and 60 percent water. Today, he reports, the breakdown is just about the same. And, he might well have added, that doesn't even include the new chemicals.

News of the week—A Brookings Institute study found that the social security tax structure is unfair to low- and middle-income wage earners.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A national plot to kill cops?

The recent "Battle of New Orleans" revived claims by top police officials that there is a nationwide plot to murder cops. On Jan. 8, shortly after the shoot-out with a sniper or snipers—it is unclear how many there were since several of the cops who were killed or wounded were apparently hit by fellow officers—Louisiana Attorney General William Guste asked to meet with U.S. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst.

Guste wanted to discuss his belief that a Black terrorist group was involved in the New Orleans gun battle and confer with Kleindienst on how to handle it.

The alarm was quickly echoed in Congress. Senator Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.) said he would press for a bill making "cold-blooded assassination attempts on policemen, firemen, or judicial officers a Federal crime." Arch witch-hunter Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), head of the House Internal Security Committee, also chimed in on this tune.

Such cries of a "national conspiracy to murder policemen" are not new. A year ago in New York City, two cops were killed and New York Deputy Police Commissioner Robert Daley tried to whip up a racist hysteria in response. He declared that a group known as the Black Liberation Army, which he claimed was made up of "hardened cop killers," was responsible.

New York cops organized a dragnet and swept

through the Black communities questioning anyone who looked like a "Black militant." Daley later admitted that this "army" was not an organized group but that "anybody who espoused that philosophy we speak of as Black Liberation Army."

New Orleans cops are now carrying out a similar sweep through the Black community, and according to press reports, have arrested and "questioned" many Black suspects.

The 23-year-old sniper in New Orleans, whose body was riddled by 100 bullets fired from a helicopter gunship, was motivated by Black rage, rage ignited by two years of racist abuse in the "new" Navy.

Nellie Essex, his mother, remarked at a news conference held by his family in Emporia, Kans., "The Navy became Jimmy's [Mark James Essex, nicknamed Jimmy] own private hell. . . . In his own way he was trying to tell whites that American Blacks are not going to take it anymore."

Mark Essex's mode of expressing his rage was futile and based on frustration. His mother said, "I don't agree with the killings. But Jimmy wanted change. And talking hasn't done any good. He was pushed to this. I knew something was going to happen."

But we must understand the real intent of the "plot" wolf cries of Guste and the others. They want to turn reality on its head and help legalize further abuse of individual rights.

Several major cities, including New Orleans, have special bands of elite cops whose job is to "stop crime." Operating mainly in the Black communities, these bands have frequently committed provocative and questionable acts in the name of "law enforcement."

The actions of these elite cops have drawn wide criticism from Blacks. The Southern University of New Orleans *Observer* commented in its October issue, "The police department is apparently shocked at the Black community's outrage concerning this 'service'. Many citizens of the white community have jumped down the throats of Black state legislators who have voiced the Black community's alarm and dismay. . . .

"Blacks see the F.A.S. [Felony Action Squad] as another deadly tool of harassment and racism. Too many Blacks have been beaten and killed mysteriously by elements of the police force in the past. Yet, now we are expected to sit quietly as harsh, overt tactics are implemented by the same force."

There is no war on police by Black militants. The recent police murder of two Black students at Southern University at Baton Rouge, police frame-ups of Black militants, brutal suppressions of ghetto rebellions, and murderous raids on Black Panther headquarters (two have occurred in New Orleans) and other Black liberation groups across the country is the reality.

The American Way of Life

Michael Baumann



Wisdom from the White House

"The Bible," Billy Graham once confided to the public, "teaches that the policeman is an agent and servant of God. . . ." Graham, the president's adviser in spiritual matters, doesn't give many interviews these days. Neither does his boss.

It was something of an occasion then when Nixon granted two special interviews recently, one Dec. 20, the other Jan. 8, the eve of his sixtieth birthday. Ground rules for both were explicit: keep it short, no embarrassing questions about Vietnam.

Apparently troubled by the thought that the Christmas-time terror bombing of Hanoi and Hai-phong may have obscured other sides of his personality, Nixon focused both interviews on personal concerns. Here are a few of the highlights.

While Harry Truman used to boast that atom bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki never cost him a night's sleep, Nixon seems more proud of the fact that Vietnam never gave him an upset stomach:

"I've been blessed with a strong physical makeup. . . . You know, I've never had a headache in my life and my stomach never bothers me."

On objectivity: "I could go up the wall watching TV commentators. I don't. I get my news from the news summary the staff prepares every day and it's great. . . ."

Reporters: ". . . when Henry Kissinger comes in here in the morning and brings up what Scotty Reston and other columnists are saying, I tell him, 'Henry, all that matters is that it comes out all right. Six months from now, nobody will remember what the columnists wrote.'"

Other pests: "The major weakness of inexperienced people is that they take things personally, especially in politics. . . . Decision-makers can't be affected by current opinion, by TV barking away at you and commentators banging away with the idea that World War III is coming. . . .

Nor can decisions be affected by the demonstrators outside."

Self-assessment: "I am probably more objective—I don't mean this as self-serving—than most other leaders. . . ."

Equanimity under fire: ". . . there are so many emotional issues these days, such as the war and busing and welfare. But I never allow myself to get emotional."

Life in the White House: "The presidency has many problems but boredom is the least of them."

Some of the reporters who have to cover these presidential monologues do get bored, however. At a Jan. 9 White House briefing, Sara McClendon of the *El Paso Times* asked if Nixon couldn't go beyond such "froth" and express at least "a birthday wish."

"It's his birthday," a press aide snapped. "He can express what he wants to."

Demands life imprisonment Rockefeller's drug plan not a solution to addiction & crime

By CAROLINE LUND

"With deep understanding and good will . . . with love as our guiding principle. . . ." These are the words New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller used to motivate his recommendation to the state legislature for mandatory life imprisonment of convicted pushers of "hard drugs."

Rockefeller's proposal, made in his "State of the State" speech to the New York legislature on Jan. 3, also includes: mandatory life imprisonment for anyone who commits a violent crime "under the influence of hard drugs"; and end to plea bargaining (pleading guilty to a lesser charge in order to get a lighter sentence); no parole except for defendants under 19 years old, who would become eligible for parole after 15 years; no suspended sentences; and a \$1,000

fine. Since almost all heroin addicts are driven to become pushers in order to make money to support their habit, the bill would virtually make addiction a crime.

It would give police the go-ahead to further victimize addicts—as many as half of whom are Black or Spanish-speaking. Police agents could more easily entrap addicts by posing as users and asking to buy the illegal drugs.

Second, even the state Commission on Evaluation of the Drug Laws, which Rockefeller himself set up, criticized the proposed legislation for lumping hashish, a form of marijuana, which is nonaddictive, in with heroin, amphetamines, LSD, and "other dangerous drugs." A presidential commission as well as other investigations have come out in

are allowing this [drug traffic] to happen? Are they going to get life?"

State Senator Joseph Zaretzki publicly admitted that "apparently New York City is the greatest pusher of all," referring to the recent discovery that policemen had stolen some 300 pounds of cocaine and heroin from a vault in the New York police headquarters.

In its final report after a two-year investigation of the city police force, the Knapp Commission concluded Dec. 27 that a "sizable majority" of New York City police are corrupt. It documented cop involvement in virtually every conceivable type of organized crime, including big-time heroin traffic.

The commission also reported evidence that high-ranking police and city officials knew of this police role but did nothing about it.

The role of the Lindsay administration in promoting heroin traffic is paralleled by the activities of the federal government. Alfred W. McCoy's book *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* documents U. S. government protection of the heroin rackets of its puppet regimes in Indochina. Last month it was discovered that drugs were being shipped into the U. S. inside caskets and even inside the bodies of dead GIs from Southeast Asia, obviously with the participation of high officials in the U. S. armed forces.

Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano activists have good cause to suspect that the rulers of this country are consciously promoting the use of heroin in the Black and Spanish-speaking communities in an attempt to lull these oppressed peoples into passivity.

Heroin addiction, like alcoholism, is a medical problem, and addicts must be provided with medical treatment, not incarceration. Addiction will only be ended by eliminating the social conditions that foster it—the poverty, unemployment, racial discrimination, and alienation of this capitalist system.

A crucial step must be the fight by Blacks and Spanish-speaking people to control their communities, including the police. With the power to decide how best to cope with heroin addiction and crime, the communities could implement the necessary medical treatment programs. Massive allocations of federal funds under community control should be provided for this purpose.

Such steps constitute the beginnings of a program for dealing with this immense social problem. They run directly counter to Rockefeller's reactionary proposals.



Nelson Rockefeller

Attica defendants win bail reductions

By BAXTER SMITH

JAN. 17—A Warsaw County, New York, judge today reduced the bail for seven men indicted by a grand jury last month for their alleged role in the September 1971 Attica prison revolt.

The seven are former prisoners who were recently picked up on charges stemming from the uprising. Most had their bail reduced to \$500 from original bonds that ranged as high as \$50,000.

More than 60 prisoners and former prisoners were named in the 37 sealed indictments. The grand jury, which is still in session, has been investigating the revolt for more than a year and may issue more indictments. None of the indictments has named a guard or state trooper.

The charges range from possession of prison contraband to murder. The three men charged with murder are John Hill, Mariano Gonzalez, and Charles Parnasile. Most of the others are charged with coercion and assault. Some, like Richard X Clark, are charged with kidnapping, and face life sentences.

The brutality of these indictments can be seen in one particular case. James Richey, a former prisoner, was charged with 48 felonies, including five assault charges, three each of coercion and unlawful imprisonment, and 37 counts of kidnapping.

The fact that all of the indictments issued so far are against prisoners drew sharp criticism from many. Even *Time* magazine hit the indictments in a Jan. 8 article entitled "Attica: Who's to Blame?" " . . . there has been one striking omission. Though all 39 men who died in the recapture of Attica were killed by official bullets, no guard or state trooper has yet been charged with anything."

The report of the McKay commission also stands at odds with the grand jury's indictments. This commission was the state-appointed body created to investigate the revolt.

It charged that the entire "rescue" plan was faulty and could not have saved the lives of hostages. It pointed out that the state troopers acted like "righteous vigilantes." The type of guns and ammunition they used made death and serious injury inevitable.

The troopers supposedly had orders to fire only at inmates engaged in "overt, hostile acts." Nevertheless, filmed accounts showed unprovoked gunfire. The commission found that after the assault, prisoners were made to run the gauntlet and were viciously beaten. It also found that even after the initial assault was over, two prisoners were shot to death by guards.

The total inhumanity of the state's attempt to prosecute these prisoners was further underscored on Dec. 28, when, only four hours after indictments were read against him, Ernest Bixby tried to hang himself in his cell rather than face further humiliation and victimization.

The court has set the week of Jan. 29 for arraignment of those indicted.



Rockefeller drug proposal would throw thousands of addicts, many of whom are Black and Puerto Rican, behind bars instead of providing them with medical help.

reward for anyone who turns in an addict or pusher.

Similar reactionary legislation has been proposed recently in at least five other states across the country. In New York, however, the problem of drugs and crime is particularly acute, since approximately half of the estimated 500,000 heroin addicts in the country live in New York City.

As many commentators have noted, it is likely that Rockefeller introduced this proposal with such a fanfare in order to bolster his tough, law-and-order image. It is possible he designed it as part of his bid for a fifth term as governor next year.

The proposal met with immediate condemnation and criticism from a wide spectrum of New Yorkers. One drug rehabilitation worker, for example, noted the repressive nature of the bill: "This was his [Rockefeller's] position on Attica. This is how he solves all problems."

Even William vanden Heuvel, chairman of the New York Board of Corrections, commented ironically: "Mr. Rockefeller lost his nerve. He should have consulted further with his friend, the Shah of Iran, and ordered the execution of addicts."

The bill is clearly aimed against addicts, not big-time narcotics dealers, and it treats addiction as a criminal matter rather than a medical and social problem.

First of all, it would prescribe a mandatory life sentence for both small-time and big-time pushers, with no dis-

support of legalization or decriminalization of marijuana.

Other opponents of the bill have pointed to the legal inequities it contains. For instance, the law would mean that a person who committed a robbery after taking heroin or speed would be subjected to a harsher sentence than a person who committed the same crime under the influence of alcohol or without taking drugs.

New York "corrections commissioner" vanden Heuvel expressed the concern of some government figures that the bill would simply make for too many prisoners. He noted that if Rockefeller's bill had been in effect last year there would now be at least 10,000 people who would have been sent to prison for life, and billions would have to be spent to enlarge the prison system.

Spokesmen for the Lindsay administration have criticized the Rockefeller bill by pointing out that New York laws are stringent enough, but that enforcement has been "shamefully weak." Current laws prescribe a mandatory penalty of 15 years to life for selling more than a pound of heroin or other illegal drugs.

This criticism is especially ironic coming from Lindsay. His administration and its police force have been responsible for protecting the big-time heroin traffic in the city.

As Wallace Andrews, a block association director in Harlem, put it, "Who is going to deal with the State Senator or the police lieutenant who

Chicago schools closed

Striking teachers gain support

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO, Jan. 15—Public school teachers here have been on strike for six days, with the prospect of many more to come.

The Chicago Teachers Union, Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, held its second strike rally Jan. 14 at McCormick Place. The CTU counts 21,000 of Chicago's 25,000 public school teachers in its ranks. The rally was attended by 1,500 teachers, about the same number that attended an earlier rally. The strike has been 90 to 95 percent effective.

Messages of support came from striking teachers in Philadelphia and Buffalo, and from Albert Shanker of New York's United Federation of Teachers.

Lester Davis, editor of the *Chicago Teacher*, reported to the rally on the status of the "alternate schools." These schools have been organized by the CTU in cooperation with PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), a civil rights organization led by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, for children who wish to attend school during the strike. The alternate schools are intended to make clear that the teachers are striking against the school board and not against the parents and children.

The CTU has also received the support of unions representing janitors, firemen, and engineers, who have pledged not to cross the teachers' picket lines.

CTU leader Robert Healey addressed the rally to explain the present state of the negotiations. He reported that the board has so far agreed to drop its proposal to fire 1,200 teachers and increase current class loads. It has also promised to restore some of the other provisions of the 1972 contract.

Healey said that gains would have to be made in the areas of welfare of children, teachers' rights, and wages before a settlement could be reached.

The union's major demands include: a 2.5 percent wage increase, more money for classroom supplies, more preparation time for elementary school teachers, a guaranteed 38-week school year, extension of class size limits to all elementary schools and all high school subjects, and teacher participation in instituting new programs in the schools.

The board of education's response to the strike has been to close all schools but one in each of the 27 districts. The purpose of these "scab" schools is to "serve" teachers who "want to exercise their right to abstain from the strike," according to James Redmond, superintendent of schools. Redmond pointed out that no chil-

dren would be allowed in these schools. So, for the past three workdays, the board has been throwing away money by paying scab teachers to sit in empty classrooms.

The union and PUSH held a joint meeting commemorating the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., which was designed to broaden support for the strike in the Black community.

To date, neither Democratic Chicago Mayor Richard Daley nor newly elected Democratic Governor Daniel Walker has promised the necessary funds to meet the teachers' demands. The CTU, one of the strongest supporters of Walker's campaign in 1972, got only vague promises from the new governor.

Walker has insisted that Mayor Daley use federal revenue-sharing funds to meet the school crisis. Daley claims these funds are all earmarked for other projects.



Chicago teachers at Jan. 14 strike rally

Militant/Bob Kissinger

Detroit schools: more tax, less aid?

By LEE ARTZ

DETROIT—The state and city boards of education have yet to come up with a way to avoid closing the public schools here in March. The shutdown will affect 300,000 students and 11,000 teachers.

Faced with a Feb. 1 deadline for renewing the contract with the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) and an \$80-million deficit, which must be overcome to complete the school year, the Detroit school board is desperately looking for a way out. So far it has only come up with patchwork solutions.

On Dec. 13 the Michigan legislature offered the board \$16-million in emergency funds, one-fifth of the amount needed just to stay afloat.

A week later, the state board of education offered its solution in a series of three recommendations: 1) centralize the eight regional school boards; 2) stop the subsidy of \$4-million from school property tax to the Detroit Public Library; and 3) end the teachers' salary equivalency with the seven surrounding school districts. (The equivalency formula had been the basis for Detroit teacher contracts until 1971, when the DFT accepted a "no-raise" contract.)

In response to the state board's report, State Senator Bursley from Ann Arbor announced plans to introduce a bill to impose a special state tax

on Detroit residents. But even without the new tax, Detroit already has the highest tax rate in Michigan. And Bursley himself pointed out that "in the past 10 years the share of city tax collections going to Detroit schools has decreased 60 percent."

The city board passed a resolution Dec. 26 "urging" the city government to "divert \$28.2-million of city tax revenue to schools." Detroit Mayor Roman Gribbs, a Democrat, responded, "I want to help in any way I can, but not with city financial assistance." The city controller claimed increased aid to schools would mean either massive layoffs and cutbacks in municipal services or a substantial income tax increase for city residents.

Detroit received \$57.1-million from federal government revenue sharing for 1972, which lasted until July of last year. Since then the city has been spending 1973 funds. The city controller revealed that with only \$48-million in revenue sharing funds left for 1973, the city budget already has a built-in deficit.

The city school board's latest move was to establish an education task force. It will be financed by donations from a group of businessmen headed by Stanley Winkelman, owner of an exclusive department store chain in Michigan. Winkelman's first step was to request \$500,000 to accomplish the goal of "renewing public confidence

so that necessary financial support is provided."

Even the DFT, which is directly affected by the threatened shutdown, has done no more than call for a "blue-ribbon committee of business, educators, and the community."

It is clear that none of these proposals will solve the school crisis for any length of time. The residents of Detroit's Black community will pay heavily in higher taxes or drastic reductions in the already poor education offered Black youth, or both.

A real solution would begin not with a coalition of big businessmen but with a coalition of parents, students, and the DFT—the victims of the crisis. Such a coalition would demand an end to the financing of schools by the property tax. The increasing number of students and falling property values in the city mean that an urban school system funded by property taxes is going to be grossly inferior to a suburban system.

Such a coalition would demand that the state and federal government directly finance urban education to ensure equality. Moreover, it would demand Black control of schools in the Black community and call for substantial city, state, and federal taxation of the wealth produced by working people but controlled by the auto corporations and other big businesses in Michigan.

Philly teachers firm as strike continues

By DONALD KENNEDY

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 16—Public school teachers here remain on strike in the second week of a walkout by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). Yesterday the board of education acknowledged that 90 percent of the city's 13,000 public school teachers were observing the strike.

School officials claim that 230 of the 280 schools in Philadelphia are now open, but union sources point out that most are staffed by skeleton crews of administrators and substitute teachers and are "open" more in name than in fact.

The board of education is demanding that the teachers accept a longer workday, larger classes, and the elimination of 385 teaching jobs. The union is opposing any changes in working conditions and is demanding a 6.2 percent pay increase this year. The board's offer amounts to a cut in real wages over the course of the three-year contract.

The union has announced its intention to defy a court injunction ordering teachers back to work. Union leaders said they were willing to go to jail rather than return to work without a contract, as they have done since a 22-day strike last September. The board, afraid of hardening the strikers' resistance, has not yet pressed the courts to enforce the injunction.

A broad spectrum of community groups have appealed to Mayor Frank Rizzo, a Democrat and former police chief, to supply more funds for the schools, primarily through increasing business taxes. Rizzo has flatly refused, declaring "not one nickel" will go to the teachers. He said it would be "all right," however, for police and firemen to get a 5.5 percent wage increase this year.

Approximately \$130,000 a day is being spent to station extra police at all city schools "to guarantee the safety of those going in and out," according to police officials.

The PFT has received expressions of support from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Building and Construction Trades Council. The Philadelphia AFL-CIO is reported to be discussing plans for a labor rally in support of the strike.

One result of the strike has been a small shake-up in the local AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Last week the PFT brought charges of strikebreaking against board of education President William Ross, who has been the vice-president of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council since 1960. Ross is also general manager of the Joint Council of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and vice-president of the Pennsylvania State AFL-CIO Council. He responded to the charge by resigning from the local council.

Wage squeeze won't be 'voluntary'

Phase 3 controls: same wine in new bottle

By ED SMITH

JAN. 15—President Nixon's "Phase 3" program of economic controls is billed as a big change. Mandatory controls are supposedly replaced by voluntary controls. Business can raise prices and workers can raise wages. This is a fraud.

The administration's new economic control program is aimed at holding back wage increases in 1973. More than five million workers will be involved in contract negotiations this year, including the electrical, rubber, trucking, rail, and auto industries.

These settlements will take place under government pressure to keep wage increases within limits set by the newly created Labor-Management Advisory Committee.

Treasury Secretary George Shultz told a White House news conference that the government retains "an ability to bring the stick out of the closet. . . people who don't abide by the pro-



Nixon's economic adviser Shultz: ' . . . people who don't abide by the program may get clobbered.'

gram may get clobbered."

And it is workers, not industry, who will get "clobbered" under the new program. Its key provision allows corporations to change the base years in determining profit margins for permitted price increases. Under the Phase 2 program companies were prohibited from raising prices if the resulting profits exceeded an average of the best two of three previous fiscal years ending before Aug. 15, 1971. This period included recession years in which many companies had lower profits.

The Phase 3 program extends the period to include the best two profit years of 1968 through 1972. Corporate profits reached record highs in 1972 and were generally high in 1968 and 1969.

"Surge of Price Increases Forecast by Businessmen" was the headline of a front-page *New York Times* article

Jan. 13. Many prices were being raised within a day of President Nixon's announcement of the new plan. General Motors announced it would wait maybe a month, but not much longer, before putting through price increases averaging \$107 per car.

The Phase 3 program explicitly excludes raw food prices, although they are increasing at the most rapid rate in 26 years. It also relaxes controls on supermarket prices, "in line with what the stores wanted," according to the Jan. 14 *New York Times*.

Phase 3 merely exhorts landlords to pursue "excessive restraint" in raising rents.

Phase 3 looks the same or worse to workers because the monopolists who rule this country have the same aims now as they did before. The aims are to make American workers pay for the problems of increased competition in world markets. This requires diminishing the gap between the wages of American and foreign workers.

Main hope

The greatest hope of the Nixon administration for the success of this stepped-up attack on living standards is the newly appointed Labor-Management Advisory Committee. This is the 10-member panel selected by Nixon to keep wages in check while prices skyrocket and the bosses turn the screws to increase productivity.

Members of the committee are equally divided, five from the highest circles of finance and industry and five carefully selected union bureaucrats. The management spokesmen are bona fide and will faithfully promote the class interests of the employers.

They represent powerful concentrations of capital: James Roche for General Motors, R. Heath Larry of U. S. Steel; Stephen Bechtel for shipping and construction; Edward Carter of the Broadway-Hale retail chain; and Walter Wriston, chief of the powerful First National City Bank.

The other five advisers are supposed to represent the interests of workers. Nixon selected them from the highest rungs of the union bureaucracy with an eye to their proven dependability to negotiate "statesman-like" wage settlements.

They are AFL-CIO President George Meany, Teamsters President Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, Steelworkers President I.W. Abel, and newly arrived Nixon toady Paul Hall, who is president of the Seafarers International Union.

Unlike their counterparts, who are authentic representatives of the employing class, these five do not profess to represent the interests of the

working class. They only claim to represent their unions. In practice they try hardest to protect their own privileges as union bureaucrats, and after that, the interests of the union bureaucracy as a privileged group.

The composition of this Nixon-appointed Labor-Management Advisory Committee dictates the agreements it will reach and the advice it will give.

The substantive decisions will actually continue to be made by the Cost of Living Council with a new director, John T. Dunlop. This Harvard economics professor has gained esteem in financial circles for his role in heading the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC).

"In the past year," according to the Jan. 13 *Business Week*, "the CISC brought down construction union wage settlements to levels not far out of line with those in other industries, at times ordering cuts of up to \$1 an hour in settlements."

Dunlop is supposed to repeat this achievement for the ruling class on a bigger scale.

The union bureaucrats have been pulled in only to fill chairs and nod approval after the decisions have been made by Dunlop's council. "Meany Calls Phase 3 Plan Step in the Right Direction," was the headline of Meany's newspaper, the *AFL-CIO News*, Jan. 13. Meany expressed the hope that the changeover "will result in an equitable and fair method of combating inflation," said the newspaper.

Woodcock said that "voluntary restraint on prices and wages has long been a goal of the UAW," according



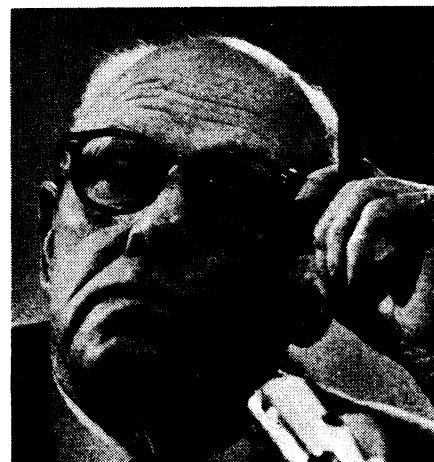
Teamster President Fitzsimmons has stuck with Nixon's wage control schemes all the way.

to the Jan. 12 *Chicago Sun-Times*.

The game involves some negotiations at the Advisory Board level, much like the negotiations that management and the union bureaucracy conduct on a continuing basis in such major industries as auto and steel.

The immediate job of this new government-appointed labor-management committee is to negotiate a wage pattern that can then be imposed on the five million workers whose union contracts expire this year and who are expecting wage increases to offset the rising cost of living.

Meany and his "labor" associates on the Labor-Management Advisory Committee are preparing to come before the union movement, as they did



AFL-CIO head Meany calls Phase 3 'step in the right direction.' The five million workers whose contracts come up this year won't be feeling that way.

last year when they were on the government Pay Board, and argue that they are doing their best "on the inside" to get a fair shake for the workers.

Union men and women will gain nothing from their efforts. They have no need of "inside" agents who seek to help solve the economic problems of the employers by providing a stable and docile work force.

The union movement was organized to defend the working class against the attacks of the employers. It has no need of "inside" operators. What it needs is leaders who will fight now to break the back of the government wage-control system, to defend the right to strike for higher wages, and to demand an escalator clause in every contract as a guarantee that wages will rise automatically with every jump in the cost of living.

This is not a fight that can be successfully conducted by individual unions in different industries, isolated from the power of the combined union movement. It is a fight that requires mobilizing all unions.

The central purpose of the government's Labor-Management Advisory Committee is to prevent such a mobilization. The first step to bring the forces of labor together in their own self-defense is to mobilize to get these "inside men" out.

Price rise highest since Korean War

Working people, who have seen their paychecks eaten into by rising food costs over the past year, are in for an even worse year in terms of rising prices.

The Department of Labor has reported that wholesale prices rose in December at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 19.2 percent. This was the largest increase since 1951, when the beginning of the Korean War brought about a rapid inflation.

The greatest price increases were for food—one of the largest and most essential parts of the family budget of working people. Wholesale food prices rose in December at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 62.4 percent. This was three times the rate of

increase in November.

These wholesale price increases will be passed on to retailers and then to consumers. Thus the Agriculture Department is forecasting even greater supermarket price rises than it had previously predicted.

The Labor Department reported that during 1972 farm prices rose by 18.7 percent and prices for processed food and feeds by 11.6 percent. These were the biggest increases since 1950.

Under Nixon's Phase 3 controls, prices at the farm level are still exempt from controls, and new regulations will have the effect of decreasing controls for food processors and distributors.

The total fraud of Nixon's price

control scheme is shown by the Labor Department report that wholesale prices rose at an annual rate of 6.6 percent during the 14 months of the Phase 2 controls, whereas the wholesale price rise was only 5.2 percent in the eight months before controls were imposed.

These soaring price increases are accompanied by the dropping of federal rent controls, greater taxes withheld from paychecks for Social Security, and in many areas, rising utility prices.

To protect themselves against this skyrocketing cost of living, workers need to guard their right to strike for adequate wage increases, with no government interference.

Israeli socialists call for solidarity

JAN. 18—As we go to press we have learned of a mounting campaign of repression in Israel. We received an appeal dated Jan. 9 from the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), the Israeli supporters of the Fourth International.

The appeal describes "an all-out

Linda Jenness of Socialist Workers Party and Andrew Pulley of Young Socialist Alliance protest Israeli witch-hunt. See editorial on page 6.

effort of the Israeli authorities to wipe out or at least greatly weaken the anti-Zionist left in Israel, and to prevent by every means Arab activists in Israel from carrying on their political work with anti-Zionist organizations in this country. [This is] a matter of life and death for anti-Zionist organizations and for the ISO."

The Israeli government used the Dec. 10 announcement of an alleged "Syrian spy ring" as a pretext to arrest dozens of Israeli and Palestinian militants. Many taken into custody have been beaten and tortured.

Four of those charged as "spies" were members of the Revolutionary Communist Union, an anarchist grouping that split from Matzpen in 1970. The government used their connection with the anti-Zionist left in Israel to launch a crackdown on anti-Zionist organizations, backed by a hysterical press campaign.

Matzpen has been one of the main targets of the press campaign, despite its declaration that "in no way can Socialism and Marxism be compatible with the 'individualistic terror' and 'spy networks' of which the government accuses members of the 'Red Front.'"

The pro-Moscow Communist Party

(Rakah) has been the target of similar attacks because one of the arrested "spies" is the son of a Rakah Knesset (parliament) deputy. Palestinian residents of Israel who attempt to participate alongside Israeli Jews in anti-Zionist organizations have been still another target of this repression.

Matzpen has appealed to supporters of democratic rights and opponents of Zionism around the world to demonstrate their opposition to this witch-hunt campaign by holding demonstrations, meetings, and other actions against the Israeli government.

They call on all organizations and individuals opposing these acts to write letters of protest to Prime Minister Golda Meir. Copies of such protests should be sent to ISO, P. O. Box 2234, Jerusalem, Israel.

Future issues of *The Militant* will carry more information on the campaign against repression in Israel.

Communist Party would rather forget On dropping the A-bomb, then and now

By DAVE FRANKEL

The outpouring of panegyrics prompted by the death of Harry Truman Dec. 26 was only to be expected. After all, it would hardly do for the capitalist media to admit that the thirty-third president of the U. S. had ordered the calculated slaughter at Hiroshima and Nagasaki for anything other than humanitarian reasons.

Nixon said of Truman: "He did what had to be done, when it had to be done, and because he did the world is a better and safer place—and generations to come will be in his debt." Perhaps Nixon was thinking of the recent refusal of William Clements, his nominee for deputy secretary of defense, to rule out the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam.

Unfortunately, the mass murderers responsible for the war in Vietnam weren't alone in their hypocrisy. A few days after Truman's death, the *Daily World*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, labeled him a "monster" and a man who lost "all sense of humanity" in using the atomic bomb.

Art Shields, writing in the Jan. 4 *World*, waxed particularly indignant. "It was hardest of all to excuse the atomic massacres in Hiroshima and Nagasaki," he wrote. Shields has a short memory.

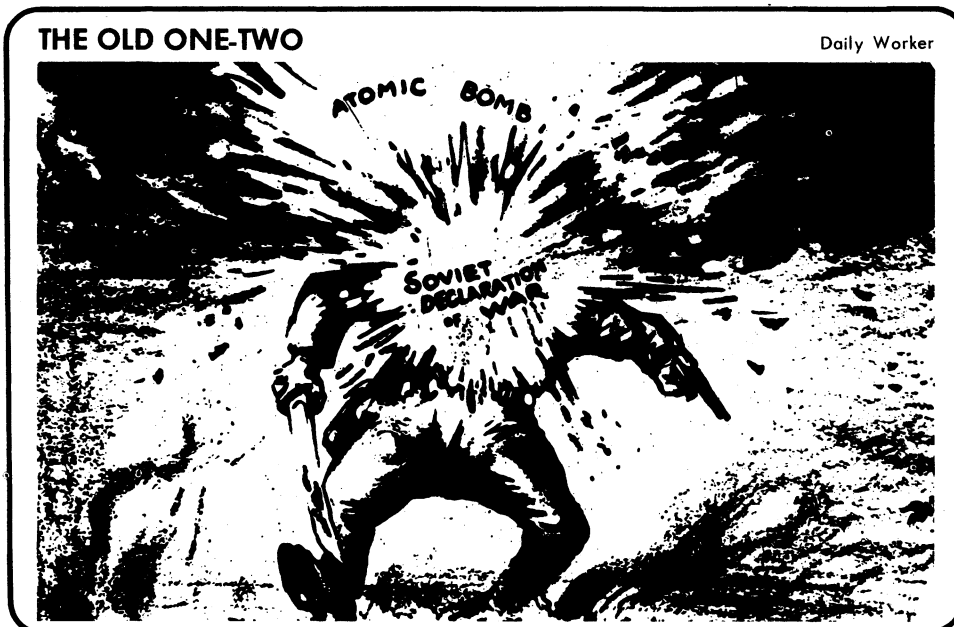
On Aug. 7, 1945, the day after the obliteration of Hiroshima, the *Daily Worker* (the forerunner of the *Daily World*) ended its editorial with the admonition that "The enemy [Japan] has several times rejected unconditional surrender. He must now feel the bomb-shell of the United Nations action. The enemy must be thoroughly smashed. . . ."

The next day the *Worker* warned that "The war is not over here at home, even though a vast new weap-

on has been created. Production for victory is still necessary in all fields, as well as in the field of atomic bombs."

The cartoon below is reproduced from the editorial page of the Aug. 10, 1945, *Daily Worker*. It appeared the day after the bombing of Nagasaki.

It would have been better for Art Shields and the *Daily World* to pass over the whole thing in silence. There's already been enough hypocrisy.



2,000 at L.A. meeting Dockers oppose Teamster merger

More than 2,000 members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union jammed ILWU Local 13 headquarters in the Los Angeles harbor area on Jan. 11 to hear a report from the union's International President Harry Bridges on the prospects of merger with the Teamsters union. All dock work on the L. A. harbor waterfront was halted for 24 hours to ensure a full turnout at the meeting.

Bridges, a strong proponent of merger, reported that he had finally received a proposal from the Teamsters union after protracted negotiations but that he had not at meeting time had an opportunity to study the details.

Despite the fact that Bridges's report was vague and inconclusive, a long list of speakers from the floor denounced the proposal as detrimental to the interests of longshoremen in particular and the labor movement in general. They cited the dictatorial practices of the Teamsters union of-

ficialdom, the fact that Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons is the "house labor flunky" of the Nixon administration, and the current raiding of the United Farm Workers Union by the Teamsters.

Curt Johnston, ILWU Local 13 president, told the meeting that this was the chance for all members to get the facts about the merger out into the open since many felt that they had too long been kept in the dark about Bridges's negotiations. Local 26 President Paul Perlin said that a merger between the 60,000-member ILWU and the 2-million member Teamsters union "would be like a shark swallowing a sardine, and we'd be the sardine."

Labor reporter Harry Bernstein of the *Los Angeles Times* quoted an unidentified ILWU official who said of the meeting, "This is one of the real reasons why a merger with the Teamsters would never get passed by our membership. Can you imagine a Teamsters Union meeting where the

members take on the officers hour after hour and the president himself has to just take it? Our two unions are totally different."

The West Coast longshore union was born in the struggles of the 1930s and has since then managed to keep alive the tradition of rank-and-file control even though the will of the membership has often been thwarted by the Bridges machine, which seized control of the organization.

Bridges long ago learned how to ride with the tide. He said the ILWU wants to become an autonomous "waterfront division" of the Teamsters union, with the right to negotiate its own contracts and determine its own jurisdiction. If these conditions are not met, Bridges said, "then we will hold an executive officers' meeting Jan. 30 and just report that the negotiations for a merger have failed."

A spokesman for Teamsters officials was quoted as saying they "have no intention of giving the ILWU the kind of autonomy they are demanding."

'La Migra' frames Chicano activist

By MIRTA VIDAL

Many Chicanos and Mexicans hate "La Migra," the special cops assigned to police the long border with Mexico. An incident involving the Colorado Raza Unida Party activist Brian Sánchez shows how well-deserved this sentiment is.

Sánchez is serving a three-year sentence in La Tuna federal prison near El Paso, Texas, on trumped-up charges of assaulting a federal officer last Sept. 2. The events that day are described in a recent press release from the Brian Sánchez Defense Fund.

Sánchez, his wife, and nine other Chicanos attending the national convention of Raza Unida parties were returning to El Paso after a brief visit to the Mexican city of Juárez. One member of the group became confused when questioned about his citizenship by a U.S. immigration officer. According to the Chicano witnesses, Sánchez offered to help. The officer told him to "shut up and move on, boy."

Sánchez asserted, "I am a citizen, and I have basic rights." The officer answered, "The only rights you have are the rights this badge gives you." The officer pushed Sánchez and told him to "get away." A second officer appeared and began to beat Sánchez.

The witnesses report, "At this point some of Brian's friends jumped between the officers and Brian. Brian and his friends were pushed out before any other incidents could occur."

One of the Chicanos, José Calderón, decided to file a complaint. However, as he and Sánchez were waiting to do so, the officers locked both of them in a building. One officer yelled, "We're gonna file charges against you, boy."

Soon a group of officers came into the room, handcuffed Sánchez, and took him away. As he was being carried to a police car, Sánchez fell, along with one of the officers. Another officer lost his balance and also fell. This gave them the excuse they needed. Sánchez was slapped with three charges of assaulting a federal officer.

A quick trial was held. According to the defense committee, the trial was conducted in a witch-hunt atmosphere. The prosecution cited evidence of Sánchez's political activity, his active membership in the Raza Unida Party. The judge refused to grant a continuance so the defense could prepare for the trial. Sánchez's jury of his "peers" included not one Chicano. The judge locked the Chicano witnesses in the courtroom until the jurors had time to get to their homes, lest "violence" occur.

When José Calderón filed a complaint with the FBI in December, the FBI quickly initiated an investigation. Calderón told *The Militant* that soon after he filed the complaint he received a call from the FBI, who proceeded to interrogate him about his political activities.

Among the questions he was asked was whether he worked at Ames College. A few days later Calderón was fired from the college, with the explanation that he was giving the college a bad name.

An appeal on Sánchez's case will be sought in Fifth Circuit Court on the grounds that a "continuance was disallowed." Funds for his defense are urgently needed. Donations can be sent to the Brian Sánchez Defense Fund, 1841 Athens St., Boulder, Colo. 80302.

World Outlook

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

JANUARY 26, 1973

Canada

Left Caucus has impact in labor party

By Mark Gans

[The following article is reprinted from the December 25 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly published in Toronto. The New Democratic Party is Canada's labor party. With 30 seats in parliament, it holds the balance of power between the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives.]

The left wing is alive and well in the Ontario NDP [New Democratic Party].

Barely a half-year since the Waffle was purged at Orillia,* the left re-emerged with surprising vigor as the Left Caucus at the party's provincial convention in Toronto, December 8-10.

The left's unexpected strength, in the wake of the exodus of the majority of the Waffle from the party, clearly startled the party brass and the capitalist media.

"Plainly it was the ghost of Christmas past. Embarrassingly it was the ghost of Christmas present, and, chillingly for the NDP, it showed every promise of being the ghost of Christmas yet to come," commented the *Toronto Globe and Mail*.

That was laying it on a bit thick. But beneath the obvious desire of the media to create an exaggerated impression of an NDP still bedevilled by a noisy, radical left, lay the recognition that the caucus was able to consistently gain the support of almost a third of the convention's 1,300 delegates. In two debates, on Vietnam and women's liberation, the Left Caucus position was able to carry the convention.

The mood of dissent and openness to socialist ideas among convention delegates made a mockery of provincial leader Stephen Lewis's claim before the convention that "internal difficulties were a thing of the past." The

Left Caucus helped to mobilize that dissension against the leadership.

From the outset, the caucus sharply polarized debate. It forced the party leadership to alter the first morning's agenda by including a twenty-minute debate on Vietnam, which it used to win delegates to a motion opposing a Canadian peacekeeping force.

Later in the convention, the caucus narrowly missed amending a leadership proposal to increase the taxes of the resource industry in favour of outright nationalization.

The caucus also carried strong debates on housing policy, where it posed public ownership of the housing industry against the reformist leadership's feeble scheme to set up a land bank for urban development; on women, where it urged the establishment of a permanent NDP women's commission to forge links between the party and the women's liberation movement and fight for women's rights in the party; and on a proposed party anti-strikebreaking campaign, where it called for mass action by the workers going beyond the narrow confines of the leadership's parliamentary lobbying.

The most contentious debate of the convention, however, was initiated outside of the Left Caucus, by a labor caucus of rank-and-file union militants seeking to ban parent labor organizations from appointing delegates to NDP proceedings in the name of their local affiliates. The resolution was aimed particularly at many Steelworkers staff bureaucrats who are appointed to conventions by the union apparatus rather than by workers on the job.

That this was striking at the heart of the trade-union bureaucracy's control of the party was evident from Lewis's later statement to a post-convention press conference that the resolution "represented a more serious challenge to the party than the Waffle had."

That recognition underlay Lewis's ill-timed and arrogant intervention into the debate after delegates had approved the resolution. "I urge you to reconsider the matter," Lewis said, "because I don't think you realize what you've done."

He followed this with an evening of intensive lobbying, and when the convention reconvened the following morning, Chairman Gordon Vichert reopened debate by declaring that the previous day's resolution had been "out of order." With its strays safely



Labor Challenge/Arnie Mintz
Women's rights was key issue for Left Caucus. Here, Left Caucus spokeswoman Liz Barclay addresses convention.

shepherded back into the fold, the leadership's position carried, amid noisy disruptions and protest from the floor.

Discontent was also reflected in the 300-400 votes the Left Caucus polled in debates and in voting for its nominees for party office, and in the multiplicity of caucuses which characterized the convention. In addition to the Left and labor caucuses, there were separate caucuses of women, teachers, and Franco-Ontariens, each of which had its own special grievances against the bureaucracy.

Unlike the past period, however, when discontent was generalized politically around a single pole—the Waffle—dissent at this convention was diffuse, expressed through a variety of caucuses, and often organizational in character, turning, for example, on questions of raising the party dues, Lewis's "personality," and the weight of the trade unions in the party structure. While caucus influence radiated through the convention, its meetings of 75-100 delegates were considerably smaller than those held by the Waffle at the peak of its support.

Caucus organizers are confident, however, they will be able to organize much of the sentiment they tapped during convention debates.

"It's a process," said Peter Horbatiuk of Toronto Beaches-Woodbine riding, one of the leading spokespersons of the Left Caucus. "Party members have to see us as a viable alternative to the right-wing bureaucrats, rather than as a ginger group, before they join

us. That doesn't happen in three days at one convention.

"They've got to become more familiar with our program and strategy."

The Left Caucus program for the party was outlined to the delegates by Steve Penner of Toronto who polled close to 400 votes in a losing bid for the Party presidency, and by Heather Jon Moroney of Peterborough the group's unsuccessful nominee for party secretary. Penner was later elected to the twenty-six-member provincial executive, the sole representative of the Left Caucus to crack the tight leadership slate.

"The leadership of this party has shown itself to be completely inadequate to provide a clear socialist alternative to the bankrupt politics of the parties of the corporations," Penner charged.

"During the federal election, David Lewis said the corporations were not the enemy.

"But ask the people of Northern Ontario who are faced with pillage of their resources by greedy corporations.

"Ask autoworkers faced with increasing speedups and worsening conditions of work whether corporations are the enemy.

"Ask the people of Eastern Ontario who are living in poverty because capitalism is unable to provide balanced and equitable growth who the enemy is," Penner stated.

Moroney told delegates the first thing she would do as party secretary would be "to request all ridings to immediately link up with union locals, tenants, students, consumers, women's groups, and so on in their communities and actively participate in their day-to-day struggles.

"We see the secretary encouraging a lively process of internal discussion and debate in the party—starting with the establishment of a weekly labor paper—and throwing the weight of the party behind the extraparliamentary movements and struggles that are exploding daily around us."

In coming months, the caucus will systematically begin promoting its ideas in the party. It plans to issue a regular newsletter, convene a provincial conference of its supporters in early 1973, and begin organizing across the country in preparation for the next federal NDP convention.

Its future would appear to lie primarily in the new generation of party militants, many of whom surfaced for the first time in the various caucuses at the convention.

They are, for the most part, young workers, women's liberationists, teachers, government workers, Franco-Ontariens, who have in some cases come out of the storm centers of the class struggle in Canada. They are looking for radical answers to the exploitation, inequality, racism, and sexism that are built into capitalist society. □

*Shortly after the passage of a motion banning the left-wing Waffle Caucus, which was rammed through the Ontario New Democratic party's provincial council at a meeting held June 24 in Orillia (see *Intercontinental Press*, July 24, 1972), a majority of the Waffle leadership split from the NDP to form the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada. A large minority of the Waffle opposed the split and advocated continuing the fight within the NDP against the ban and the reformist policies of the Lewis leadership. —IP

Revolutionary workers alternative in the Argentine election campaign

[The following are major excerpts from an article describing the position of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party) on the elections scheduled for March. The PST, which will be on the ballot, initiated a broad Workers Front (Frente Obrero) involving rebel trade-union leaders and activists from around the country. The party is offering 75 percent of the possible candidacies to the Workers Front.]

[The article is reprinted from the December 20 issue of the PST's weekly newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In June 1969 in the city of Córdoba, we began to say "Enough!" to hunger, exploitation at the hands of imperialism and the national bourgeoisie, persecution, torture, and also to the sellout directives of the trade-union bureaucrats, who always embraced whatever government happened to be in power. Hundreds of strikes and mobilizations followed the Cordobazo [the semi-insurreccional uprising that occurred in Córdoba], engulfing entire cities in raising the demand for bread, dignity, and justice for the workers.

We are far from having obtained these things. But the oligarchic and imperialist dictatorship, which had planned to rule for twenty years, had to renounce its plans, change its list of priorities, and call elections. Thus, it opened up the possibility of exercising civil liberties, although it is maintaining a monstrous repressive apparatus that threatens the life and freedom of the people's fighters.

With the elections the regime is attempting to divert us from our struggles by getting us to place our trust in electoral promises and to support the various fronts put together by the old politicians of the bosses. In order

to accomplish this, it was obliged to allow Perón to return and to permit the participation, within certain limits, of the Justicialist [Peronist] movement.

The compañeros who are followers of Perón must ask themselves in a completely candid way what prompted Lanusse to allow the presence of Perón and the Justicialist movement, as well as why Perón is declining to run, why he is joining with our worst enemies, and why he is refusing to struggle against the repression, hunger, and high prices.

No Faith in False Promises

Our party is also intervening in the elections. By doing so, we are going to defend the small amounts of legality that the masses have won and respond to the challenge of the government and the bosses' parties. We are taking part in the elections in order to proclaim a very simple truth: In the face of the economic disaster in the country, which constitutes a merciless burden on the backs of the working people, there is no possibility of getting out of the situation without removing the oligarchy, imperialism, and the big national bourgeoisie from political and economic power.

All the parties of the bosses are promising everything under the sun in exchange for our votes. Yet, underneath all their pompous phraseology, none of them are guaranteeing real solutions, none are calling for a show-down and a break with the oligarchy and imperialism, and none foresee a reorganization of the country in the interests of the workers. But even when they do—demagogically—put forward some proposal that would benefit the workers (as when Alsogaray, for instance, proposes an end to unemployment, or when all the parties of the bosses assure us that they will defend the people's standard of liv-

ing) the problem is who will guarantee it. For not one sector of the bosses is capable, in the present circumstances, of adopting and carrying out a consistent policy of solving the problems facing the people. Only the workers in power can do this.

We ask the parties of the bosses and their various fronts and candidates, who are promising us everything under the sun if we vote for them: Why have you refused up to now to initiate any mobilization of the working people in behalf of a minimum [monthly] wage of 1,200 pesos [U.S. \$1 equals approximately 10 pesos] and freedom for all prisoners?

We are going to unmask all these parties with the truth that only struggle and mobilization can guarantee bread, dignity, and justice for the workers—never the promises made by bourgeois military men and politicians.

Not that we seek violence. We are working people and as such we suffer from brutal exploitation and persecution. Many of our brothers live in pigsties, earn miserable wages, and have to watch their children die of hunger and illness. We hope to change this state of affairs by getting rid of exploitation of man by man. And we hope to accomplish this peacefully. But we have learned that winning even a pitiful increase in salary requires a struggle, that to keep ourselves from being thrown out of the shacks we live in requires putting a whole municipality on a war footing, and that even the constitutional right to have an election has to be taken by force through Cordobazos, Tucumanazos, Rosariazos, and Mendosazos. All the more will we have to struggle to bring about real solutions to the daily tragedy that is the life of the workers.

In the Election Campaign, Let's Build a Workers' and Socialist Front

But we are also taking part in the elections in order to build a most necessary instrument: the workers' and socialist front.

For many years, the workers' movement has been the captive of a trade-union and political leadership that has brought it defeat after defeat.

For years, thousands of working-class activists and leaders have been rebelling against this kind of leadership and searching for an independent path to follow. Generally, they have been kept down by the weight of the government, the bosses, and the bureaucracy, or else they remain in a state of cautious expectation, knowing that if they take chances, they will be crushed. In any case, this independent, antiboss, and antibureaucratic vanguard is desperately looking for a way to unite in order to create a new, alternative leadership for the workers' movement.

The election campaign and political struggle are giving us the historical



'Long live the workers candidates! The Workers Front at the founding conference of the Frente Obrero'

opportunity to do this. The PST's call for the formation of a workers' front has coincided with the hopes of this vanguard, of hundreds of union committees, delegates, and activists—many of them fired from their jobs—and heroic union leaderships like that of SITRAC-SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord-Sindicato de Trabajadores Materfer—Concord Workers Union-Materfer Workers Union], which led the Cordobazo.

Thus, we have been able to launch a workers' front in which the class-struggle union vanguard, community representatives active in the mass mobilizations, and activists of various organizations have come together. We are united around one, principled point, which differentiates us from all the other forces: Our candidates are neither generals, nor bosses, nor trade-union bureaucrats, but workers elected by the Workers' Front. While the trade-union bureaucrats are calling for support to Cámpora, and while every front put together by the bosses is looking for a general or dignitary with links to the oligarchy or with "progressive" credentials, the Workers' Front has sought out the best fighters of the workers' movement and working-class communities, and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores has turned over 75 percent of its spots on the ballot to these candidates. The Workers' Front is the only movement that is offering a solution to the great problems facing the people. On the one hand, through its program it is seeking to reorganize the country to meet the needs of the workers. On the other hand, by organizing the workers on a trade-union and political basis, it is laying the groundwork for the future workers' and people's government that will be capable of carrying out these solutions to the problems of hunger, high prices, unemployment, housing shortage, lack of medical care, and imperialist and capitalist exploitation in general.

This Campaign Will Give Us a Chance to Build a Strong Workers' and Revolutionary Party

The elections have led to a small subsidence in the struggles of the working people. While the bourgeois parties are seeking frantically, by making promises on all sides, to prolong this subsidence, we are certain that the struggles will begin anew in the near future.

But the indisputable precondition for enabling the coming Cordobazos to end in a triumph of the workers and the people is that when they break



Section of crowd at Frente Obrero conference that launched the workers and socialist election campaign in the coming Argentine elections.



Front of Cordoba is present! reads the banner held by Cordoba workers

out they find a workers' vanguard, organized into a great revolutionary-socialist party, that is able to set political goals for the struggles. Without it, the battles will have only a partial character, they will be frustrated, or they will be co-opted by the bosses. The PST, the only workers' party that is challenging the bourgeoisie in the opening offered by the elections, is planting the seeds of this great revolutionary party that will lead the coming, inevitable struggles to the taking of power by the working class.

We call on the best compañeros of the class-struggle vanguard, the architects of the workers' front, to swell the ranks of the party whose task it will be to issue the call for a socialist Argentina.

Fill the Country With Committees of Workers, Youth, and Socialists for the Candidates of the Workers' and Socialist Front

Since March, the PST has opened one local a week in the main cities in the country. These fifty centers represent the base of support and the leverage with which the workers' and socialist front will be able to begin its election campaign. In these centers, and in the limited time allowed by the restrictions and the deadlines set by the statute on political parties, we have drawn up the lists of workers' candidates. Unfortunately, the restrictions and obstacles prevented us from reaching thousands of working-class, youth, and socialist fighters, who have remained off these lists and who would deserve to have been placed on them in the interests of making them more representative. But all these compañeros must now link up with the political struggle that is beginning, thereby assuming a role of enormous responsibility. Hundreds of support committees for the workers' and socialist candidates must be created in every factory, neighborhood, union, and locality. These committees will have all the autonomy they need to democratically debate positions and to decide on the form, methods, and content of the electoral campaign. These committees will be the nerves and lifeblood of the workers' front. We especially call on the working-class and student youth to form youth support committees. The youth, together with the working women, constitute the most exploited sector of the people; that is why they sparked the Cordobazo, and that is why we believe they will be able to begin, without the aid of tutors, to organize themselves

into the workers' and socialist front by forming their own committees.

Enough of military and capitalist governments! For a workers' and people's government!

Free the political prisoners and those imprisoned for related social reasons; apply democratic freedoms! Down with the repressive legislation!

For an immediate 40 percent wage increase, a minimum salary of 1,200 pesos, and a periodic adjustment of wages to keep up with the cost of living. For an end to plant shutdowns and for the nationalization under workers' control of any factory that stops production or shuts down.

Expropriate summer or luxury homes and distribute them among those who have no roof overhead. For loans to build housing amortized at a rate of 10 percent of family income.

Free medical care and medicine through nationalization of medicine, clinics, and laboratories.

Equality for women in work, wages, opportunities, and rights. Free, twenty-four-hour child-care centers. Allowances to unmarried or separated mothers equivalent to half of their wages for each child.

For control over retirement funds by the retired. Authorize the nationalization, under workers' control, of those establishments that do not pay into the retirement funds.

For a university government consisting of a majority of students and made up of students, teachers, and nonteaching workers.

Nationalize the imperialist and national monopolies; nationalize foreign trade under workers' control; repudiate the foreign debt.

For the immediate recognition of Cuba, withdrawal from the OAS [Organization of American States] and all international bodies that tie us to imperialism, and repudiation of all colonizing agreements.

For diplomatic and material support to peoples struggling against imperialism—above all to the heroic Vietnamese people—and any step toward national independence taken by the people or government of any Latin American country.

For an economic plan worked out in a Rank-and-File Convention of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] in order to develop the national economy in the interests of the workers and the country.

Nationalize and distribute the big rural landholdings, thereby implementing a new rural settlement program. □

Argentine press comments on workers and socialist front

By Mirta Vidal

Coverage in the Argentine press reflects the broad impact of the election campaign recently launched by the Frente Obrero (Workers Front) and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

In an article written before the formation of the Frente Obrero, the Dec. 7 issue of *Panorama* (comparable in Argentina to *Time* or *Newsweek*) listed the PSA (as the PST was formerly called) as one of the six formations participating in the elections, and pointed out that it was the first Marxist group to decide to run candidates.

Panorama notes that, among others, such "notorious trade-union leaders" as José Páez, Leandro Fote, and "legendary Trotskyist leader of the '30s" Mateo Fossa had endorsed the PSA's proposed electoral front.

In a lengthy article, the Dec. 19 daily *La Opinión* reports that more than 2,000 persons attended the founding meeting of the Frente Obrero on Dec. 16. It lists 13 trade unions and provinces represented at the meeting and quotes verbatim what *La Opinión* considers "the key planks" in the platform of the Frente Obrero.

"The PST," reports *La Opinión*, "seeks, by putting forth a front of working-class candidates, to attract sectors of the Peronist movement and other popular currents through a strong repudiation of the Justicialista [Peron's party] leadership."

Visibly impressed by the PST's decision to run a woman, Nora Ciapponi, for vice-president, the headline of *La Opinión's* story is: "Socialist Workers placed a woman on its ticket."

La Nación, one of the two major daily newspapers in Buenos Aires, also carried news of the PST convention and the announcement of its presidential slate.

Reporting on the Frente Obrero's decision to run José Páez for governor of Córdoba and María del Carmen González for vice-governor, the

Dec. 27 *La Opinión* said that the candidates were nominated at a meeting attended by "numerous delegates and activists of important trade unions in this city."

The article notes that SITRAC-SITRAM, of which Páez is a leader, "played a notorious role in the struggles of the workers of Córdoba, particularly after the popular uprisings of 1969."

"The designation of a woman for the second position on the slate," adds *La Opinión*, apparently still amazed by this fact, "seems to indicate a tendency of this grouping of socialist origin. At least it goes along with the nomination of Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Ciapponi on the national slate. The Frente Obrero is the only grouping to put forth so many women for such high positions." □



Jose Paez, Workers Front candidate for governor of Cordoba.

Venetians resort to gas masks

New York, once the world's titleholder in the pollution race, lost out a couple of years ago to Tokyo. The air of the Japanese capital is so "unsatisfactory" today that traffic cops take oxygen-breathing breaks.

Now Venice, Italy, appears to be bidding seriously for the title. An official order was issued January 3 to 206 companies in the suburb of Marghera to provide gas masks for their employees within four days.

The *New York Times* played up the news from Marghera on its front page:

"Enveloped by clouds in many shades of gray and baneful yellow, this industrial mainland suburb of Venice has become a place of fears and tensions.

"The scare started last Wednesday for the 200,000 Venetians who reside and have jobs here and in the adjoining—and equally unlovely—Mestre

district. Without warning the provincial Labor Office ordered the local oil refinery, petrochemical plants and auxiliary enterprises to equip all their 50,000 workers with army-style gas masks by Monday."

Scores of workers had recently suffered gas poisoning, and air pollution had reached the "dangerous level." The companies are resisting. The required military-style gas masks cost \$25 to \$30 each. And just where can you get that many high-quality gas masks on such short notice?

The gondoliers are also downcast. "Once there was merry mummery on the Grand Canal this time of the year," said one. "Now we'll soon all have to wear gas masks day and night."

Such pessimism will hardly last. There's the possible renown of Venice outdoing Tokyo. And that will help popularize the romantic sight of gondoliers singing in gas masks on the canals of Venice. □

Out Now-Sign Now debate in British antiwar movement

The debate over whether to call for immediate, unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, or to call for Nixon to sign the October nine-point settlement, is taking place within the antiwar movement on an international scale.

This was the main point of discussion at a Solidarity Conference on Indochina attended by 600 people in London in December. Ly Van Sau of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, American professor Noam Chomsky, and journalist I.F. Stone addressed the gathering.

The International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, explained its position in a leaflet distributed at the Dec. 23 antiwar demonstration of 700 in London protesting Nixon's bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. The leaflet stated:

"Nixon has made his motives clear. He wants to bomb the Vietnamese into accepting a settlement which is 99% favorable to the imperialists. The Vietnamese have clearly and unequivocally rejected this. General Giap declared in a broadcast yesterday: 'The U.S. hopes to bend the will of the Vietnamese people by mass bombings in Vietnam. This will prove to be an illusion. Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities may be bombed and even razed, but the will of the Vietnamese people will never give.' Giap's defiant statement is in marked contrast to the muted criticism of the U.S. uttered in Moscow by Brezhnev. The fact that the Vietnamese have knocked down 15 B-52s over the last week shows what they would be capable of doing provided they were given more military hardware. Last year the Kremlin bureaucrats gave North Vietnam military aid worth only 100 million dollars compared to the 350 million dollars given to the wretched anti-communist regime of Sadat in Egypt.

"Given Nixon's tactics it would be incorrect in our view to back the 'Sign Now' bandwagon which has accumulated some rather odd bedfellows. The Vietnamese comrades are absolutely justified in trying to use all means necessary to get the US out of Vietnam even though this involves or might involve certain concessions on their part.

"Our position, however, should be the following: *we, as socialists in the imperialist heartland, are not in favour of US imperialism and its allies gaining or forcing any concessions from the Indochinese and we do NOT recognise their right to do so.* Furthermore the 'Sign Now' position implies that the struggle would be over once a peace treaty were signed. This is also false, as a civil war against the puppet regimes in Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos would undoubtedly continue, and to imagine that "Sign Now" would solve every problem is to disarm the solidarity movement.

"CONTINUING SOLIDARITY AS FAR AS THE IMG IS CONCERNED IS THE ONLY ANSWER.

"The International Marxist Group participated in and sponsored the Indochina Solidarity Conference held a few weeks ago. We intend to step up our commitment to the Vietnamese and Indochinese struggle in the coming months. We will participate in the January 20th (Inauguration Day in the U.S.) mobilisation and will help build an even bigger action in February. That is why we feel it essential

to base solidarity actions on the following slogans, rather than restricting them to the changing diplomatic needs of the Vietnamese comrades:

"Solidarity till final victory!
"Withdraw all imperialist troops now!
"Victory to the PRG!
"End British complicity!" □

Recent issues of the weekly news magazine Intercontinental Press contain two features that will be of special interest to many Militant readers:

In the January 15 issue an article by George Novack discusses the role of the leaders of the American revolution of 1776 and what Marxists can learn from them. It is a polemic against an article attacking Novack's views on philosophy and politics by Alex Steiner of the Workers League.

The January 22 issue contains the first part in a serialization of an article written by Max Shachtman in 1933 entitled "Ten Years—History and Principles of the Left Opposition." Published on the tenth anniversary of the formation of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, it explains the key programmatic issues dividing Stalinism from Trotskyism. The first part is accompanied by an introduction by Joseph Hansen.

To order these issues of Intercontinental Press, send 50 cents for each to: IP, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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World news notes

S. African regime takes aim at students

White racists in South Africa are worried about the radicalization of both Black and white students in that country. Last June police used clubs and dogs to break up mass student protests against racial discrimination. The government charged the students with threatening "the South African way of life," and "the apartheid status."

In a New Year's speech Prime Minister John Vorster attacked the student activists, accusing them of attempting "to force their will on the majority by what could best be described in a democratic society as extra-parliamentary action." He complained that "this last tendency will, I believe, manifest itself more forcibly in our country in 1973 and will be dealt with firmly and effectively."

The government is already making plans to impose harshly repressive measures on the universities, including huge fines against universities for any student or professor "charged" (not even convicted) with participation in illegal demonstrations.

The National Union of South African Students, which represents some 28,000 white students, is being investigated for using its funds to support scholarship programs for Black students, a prisoner-aid fund, and various programs aimed at eliminating racial discrimination.

London workers protest wage freeze

For the first time in history, thousands of British government employees (clerks, secretaries, and office workers) held a work stoppage on January 10 to protest the 90-day wage freeze imposed by the Tory government. Other government employees—such as mail carriers and railway workers—have struck in the past, but never the office civil servants.

In its report on the action, the January 11 *New York Times* noted that the strike "treated Londoners to such unusual sights as staid functionaries who usually carry nothing but carefully furled umbrellas angrily waving protest placards in the precincts of Whitehall, the Government center near the Houses of Parliament."

E. Germany suppresses Iranian CP

The government of Iran recognized the German Democratic Republic on December 7, and the two sides agreed to base their relations on "principles of peaceful coexistence."

While the belated recognition of the East German workers state by the shah is welcome, the effect of the "peaceful coexistence" part of the agreement will be to curtail the activities of the Tudeh party (the Iranian Communist party), which has its headquarters in East Germany.

The Tudeh party was declared illegal by the shah in 1949. Following the CIA-engineered coup in 1953, its underground cells were discovered and many of its militants were executed. Today its activities are essentially limited to operating its press and a radio station in East Germany.

Within the last decade, the shah has established diplomatic and economic relations with the other East European workers states. But he held back from recognizing East Germany, demanding that the activities of the Tudeh party be suspended.

In its December 7 air edition, the Teheran daily *Keyhan* reported that East Germany has accepted the shah's demand to suppress the Tudeh party. The same paper reported on December 19 that the general tone of the Tudeh party broadcasts had changed. However, it did not elaborate.

The fate of the Tudeh members in East Germany is uncertain. In recent years, some Tudeh militants have reportedly been handed over to the Iranian regime by the Moscow bureaucracy, only to be subsequently executed. After the executions, the Tudeh leadership has claimed that the murdered militants had gone to Iran of their own free will. In the 1930s, leaders of the Iranian Communist party forced to go into exile in the Soviet Union were executed by Stalin.

French Communist League convention

The third convention of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, was held in Versailles December 7-10. The convention adopted theses on building a revolutionary Leninist party in France. Another focus of discussion at the convention was the upcoming elections and the meaning of the "Union of the Left" campaign by the Communist and Socialist parties. The Communist League plans to run 133 candidates in the first round of the elections for National Assembly. Future issues of *The Militant* will deal with the issues in the French elections.

There were 287 delegates at the League's convention; their average age was twenty-three. They represented 386 cells, 80 cities, and 18 sections of Paris. Of the delegates, 176 were workers, 100 students, and 11 high-school students.

The League has cells or members in 270 factories and carries out regular activities at 180 others. Between 10,000 and 15,000 copies of the League's weekly newspaper, *Rouge*, are sold each week. The organization has more than fifty full-time party workers throughout the country.

STRESS unit runs amuck

Detroit Blacks protest new police attacks

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, Jan. 15 — The polarization here between the Black community and the police department grows wider as each day passes.

Tensions have reached such heights that one conservative TV commentator was recently compelled to say, "Detroit police had better reconcile their differences with the Black community rapidly or be faced with another '67." He was referring to the ghetto uprising that rocked this city in the summer of 1967.

The current situation stems from a predawn shoot-out Dec. 4 between four white STRESS police officers and three Blacks. STRESS (Stop The Robberies — Enjoy Safe Streets) is a group of plainclothes cops who have been involved in 16 known deaths—15 of whom were Blacks—since the group's inception one year ago.

When the smoke cleared, the four STRESS officers were wounded and the three Blacks, identified as Mark Bethune, 22, Hayward Brown, 18, and John Boyd, 23, had escaped.

That same day the cops went to the home of John Boyd's parents and announced their presence by knocking down the front and back doors. They then entered the home without a search warrant; took items without permission; held guns on the mother, another son and daughter, the daughter's two-year-old baby; and arrested all without informing them of their rights.

The families of the three men later won a court injunction against further police harassment.

Also on Dec. 4 police invaded the home of a Detroit minister, the Reverend Leroy Cannon, on a "tip" that Bethune, Brown, or Boyd was inside. Cannon, his wife, daughter, and a guest were led from their rooms at gunpoint. A plainclothes policeman told the minister, "Nigger, if you breathe loud, I'll blow your head off." Later, police discovered that they had the wrong address.

On Dec. 8, police, acting on another "tip," killed Durwood Foshee, a 60-

year-old Black man. Foshee, who didn't know that the men invading his home were plainclothes cops, took his shotgun and fired two shots. But he never got a chance to find out who they were—he was killed instantly and his house was riddled with bullets. No reports of this slaying appeared in either of Detroit's two daily newspapers.

On Dec. 27, Bethune, Brown, and Boyd were allegedly involved in the killing of one STRESS officer and the wounding of another. They are now the object of what has been characterized as "the most intensive manhunt in this city's recent history."

Police have blocked off large sections of the Black community, forced Black women to disrobe at gunpoint, and broken into homes. The *Detroit News* reported receiving as many as 110 claims of police harassment and violations of rights since Dec. 4.

The police department, in collaboration with the *News* and the Detroit Police Officers Association, has offered a reward of \$19,000 for information leading to the arrest of the trio.

The Guardians, an association of Black Detroit police officers, has reported that the word is out throughout the department to shoot the men on sight.

Two meetings held Jan. 9 and 10 called for the abolition of STRESS and for the creation of a mechanism to "get the correct news out" about the current reign of police terror.

On Jan. 9, an anti-STRESS coalition held a meeting on the Wayne State University campus. The gathering of 50 Black people included representatives of the Young Socialist Alliance, Republic of New Africa, Workers League, Students for a Democratic Society, and others who met to map a plan of action.

A proposal for an independent Black commission was discussed and passed overwhelmingly. The commission would be similar to the one established recently at Southern University.



Detroit Black community, summer of 1967. A TV commentator recently said, 'Detroit police had better reconcile their differences with the Black community rapidly or be faced with another '67.'

It would provide a clearinghouse for getting information about police harassment out to the Black community.

The Jan. 10 meeting was sponsored by an organization called "Strength to Families under STRESS." Nearly 400 Black people heard members of the families of the three men. They told of cops entering their homes without search warrants, maliciously destroying their property, and drawing guns without provocation.

The families and other speakers expressed concern about the erroneous stories the media and police are spreading. They said that the information that the suspects were underworld "hit men" (assassins) or drug addicts was incorrect.

They asserted that the brothers were putting intense pressure on the narcotics dealers to get out of the city. A leaflet circulated by the group that called the meeting demanded the resig-

nation of Police Commissioner John Nichols and the abolition of STRESS.

The Detroit Common Council, in an attempt to quell the growing anti-police sentiment in the Black community, held a public hearing Jan. 11. The hearing had to be moved to a larger auditorium because of an overflow crowd of 2,000 Blacks.

The crowd was visibly angry. Relatives and friends of the suspects and others told of midnight raids on their homes, unexplained searches, physical abuse, and harassment.

Police Commissioner Nichols attempted to read a statement defending the action of his officers but was repeatedly interrupted with boos and shouts of "Lies! Lies!" He finally left the meeting without completing his statement.

Attorney Ken Cochrel stepped to the podium and presented the council with petitions containing 30,000 signatures calling for the abolition of STRESS.

Rep. McCloskey supports Zahraie defense

By FRED LOVGREN

SEATTLE, Jan. 16 — At a news conference here Jan. 8, the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie announced that Representative Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) had endorsed its efforts to stop the deportations of Babak Zahraie, Bahram Atai, and Siamak Zahraie. McCloskey's endorsement is part of the committee's stepped-up drive to draw national attention and support for the three defendants.

In the last 12 months the U. S. Immigration Service has intensified its intimidation of foreign students who are politically outspoken. In Seattle alone there have been several such cases in the last year.

The attempt to deport Zahraie, Atai, and Zahraie is thus part of a threat to the basic civil liberties of all foreign students studying in the U. S.

In a statement released at the news conference, Atai, national secretary of the committee, described its aims. "In our struggle for the right to hold and express our opinions," he said, "we hope to expose the witch-hunt campaign of the Immigration Service to such an extent that they will be forced to drop all acts of harassment and intimidation of foreign students."

In addition to McCloskey, the committee has received endorsements from Representative Joel Pritchard (R-Wash.), Eugene McCarthy, Wayne Morse, Gloria Steinem, Noam Chom-



Babak Zahraie

sky, and Irwin Silber, executive editor of the *Guardian*.

"Students are supporting our case on a nationwide scale," Atai reported. "Jack Baker, former student body president of the University of Minnesota, and Robert Turner, student body president of the State University of California at San Francisco, have recently endorsed our defense effort. Also, the Associated Students at the University of California at Berkeley, Portland State University, and the University of Washington have endorsed the defense campaign."

The committee also announced that the three defendants will be speaking across the U. S. to gain support. Babak Zahraie is currently scheduled to speak at the National Lawyers Guild convention in Austin, Texas, Feb. 19 to request their support for the three cases.

In other action on the legal front, committee attorney Michael Whitby filed a motion Jan. 11 demanding that Immigration drop the deportation order for Bahram Atai, restore his student status, and grant his application for a transfer in schools. Atai was ordered deported because he allegedly was not carrying a full course of study during the spring 1972 quarter at the University of Washington.

In a letter accompanying the motion, W. W. Washington, registrar at the university, states, "Mr. Atai (in the same quarter) . . . continued his work on the completion of Mathematics 402 and Mathematics 403. The incompletes were converted to credits in time for his graduation in June."

In June, Atai received a B. S. in electrical engineering. He is currently enrolled in a Ph.D. program in electrical engineering at the University of Portland.

The Immigration Department is thus trying to distort Atai's academic record in order to deport him for his

activity as national secretary of the committee. A decision is expected soon on his motion to have the order dropped.

Siamak Zahraie has also challenged Immigration's attempt to deport him for his activities in support of the committee. On Dec. 15 he received a deportation order from John Boyd, Seattle Immigration district director.

Last week, Siamak Zahraie filed an application for permanent residence in the U. S. (He is married to an American citizen.) The permanent residency application is now being processed at the Boston Immigration office because he is currently attending school at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Babak Zahraie's petition for permanent residency remains in a Seattle Immigration office. A hearing on this application is expected soon. At that time, Zahraie will be called upon to present evidence showing why his petition for permanent residency should be granted.

The committee told the news conference that in light of the recent developments they will increase their efforts to gain national support. Funds are urgently needed to cover legal and publicity expenses. The committee's address is Box 133, HUB, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98105.

WHAT STRATEGY TO SAVE N.Y. ABORTION LAW?

By LINDA JENNESS

"Both Sides Gird for Battle on Abortion" was a headline in the *New York Times* on Jan. 2, 1973. "This year, both sides say they are ready for the renewal of the struggle, which is expected to provide once again the most explosive issue of the legislative session that begins tomorrow."

In 1970, New York State replaced its archaic abortion law with the most liberal law in the country—a law that allows abortion on demand when performed within the first 24 weeks of pregnancy. Two years later, after almost half a million abortions have been safely performed, the battle over the law continues and intensifies.

Within the abortion rights movement in New York there is much discussion about how to use our energy and forces most effectively to defend the reform law. The discussion often goes something like this:

Sue: I read in the *Washington Post* last week that Planned Parenthood, the Feminist Coalition, and other groups are planning "one-to-one" lobbying of every legislator in Albany who might conceivably vote to keep the present liberal abortion law. The article also said that Citizens for Abortion Rights and Religious Liberty (CARRL) thinks that demonstrations and other similar activities are counterproductive and that on-to-one lobbying is the only effective way to save the law. Betty Friedan has also said that, and so has Wilma Scott Heidi, president of NOW. What do you think?

are essentially being told to remain spectators—at most, to send a letter—while a few people get access to the legislators.

Sue: We could do both. Lobbying certainly doesn't hurt anything, and it might help persuade a few legislators.

Jane: The problem is not with individual women who might want to write a letter to their legislator, or even go visit them because they think it might help a little or because they don't know what else to do.

The problem is that many leaders of lobbying-oriented groups want to *prevent* the building of a mass action-oriented abortion movement. These people are not saying we should do both. They're *counterposing* one-to-one lobbying to mass action. They're saying we should *only* lobby and that we *shouldn't* demonstrate or build a large independent force.

Sue: Why do they do that?

Jane: It's the whole logic of their orientation. They believe that they can make changes through depending on traditional behind-the-scenes politics in the Republican and Democratic parties. They believe in doing things quietly, not rocking the boat too much, not being too "militant" in their approach.

Many of these women are even so tied in with the Democratic and Republican party politicians that although they might personally favor abortion, they oppose organizing for it because they're afraid

Now, I think we have to unite as many people as possible around the demand for abortion, regardless of their political positions on other things. We have to unite Democrats, Republicans, socialists, people with no political affiliation—anyone who is ready to fight for a woman's right to choose.

To win this fight it's going to take unity of the entire movement. But this united movement has to be independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. It can't be beholden to anyone for its ideas, for its money, or for its votes.

Sue: Well, I haven't heard the lobbyists talking about the abortion struggle being beholden to the Democratic or Republican parties.

Jane: But that's *exactly* what lobbying is all about. The leaders of the lobbying strategy are attempting to threaten the legislators with reward or punishment at the polls. They're telling these legislators that if they'll vote the right way on abortion, then the abortion movement will campaign for them and vote for them next time around. What the lobbyists are really saying is that the solution for us rests with electing pro-abortion people in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Sue: Well, it certainly wouldn't hurt to elect pro-abortion Democrats and Republicans to office!

Jane: But how do legislators get to be for or against abortion? Look at the fight against the Vietnam war. How is it that the sentiment against the war has been built up in this country? Not by one-to-one lobbying of the Congress and not by "politics-as-usual." A giant movement against the war has been built.

And if we end this war, it will not be because antiwar Republican or Democrats have been elected to Congress. It will be because massive numbers of people have become convinced the war is wrong, and millions have taken action against the war.

Many people in Congress today were elected because they said they were opposed to the war in Vietnam. But what they say and what they do are two different things! In spite of all the antiwar speeches, in spite of the debates, in spite of the bills, Congress has done absolutely *zero* to end the war.

On Jan. 20 thousands of Americans are marching in Washington, D. C., and in other cities around the country because we have learned that the U. S. government can't be trusted to end the war.

We have learned that the only way to end the war is for the American people to take the question of the war into our own hands and *act* against it. For instance, when the workers in Italy and Australia struck against U. S. ships as a protest against the bombing, they had a much greater effect than if they had all just written Nixon a letter.

The same is true for the abortion struggle. We can't rely on the government. We have to show them that women are fed up and aren't going to let them take away rights we've won.

Sue: But that might take a long time. And in the meantime women will continue to die from botched abortions. We have to get these legislators to vote to keep the reform New York law *right now*!

Jane: You're right on both counts. It's going to be a long battle, and we have to do what we can to influence the legislators right now. But the best way to do both of those things is the same—build an independent force! The legislators are going to be more influenced *right now* by actions that show large numbers and show that we're not going to be passive and "ladylike" but that we're going to be out there fighting, than they will be if they think they can make us some promises and we'll "negotiate" with them.

And for the long battle, take a look at American history. Did women trust the government to give them the right to vote? No, women took to the streets in militant action and forced the government to give us the right to vote.

Did we count on a "friendly and fair" court to free Angela Davis? Protests all around the world were built to assure her freedom.

Did Blacks trust the "good conscience" of Congress to pass the civil rights laws? Protests throughout the South, where many civil rights activists were murdered, forced the passage of the civil rights laws.

Did workers trust the bosses to grant the eight-hour day? No, they fought for the eight-hour day, as well as for public education.

Over and over and over again it has been proved that concessions—from the smallest reforms to the most basic democratic rights—are won only when masses of people mobilize to force a change.



Militant/Greg Cornell

New York Women's Strike rally of more than 35,000 on Aug. 26, 1970. The massive, visible character of this action helped inspire women all over the country, showing them the potential power they possess in the struggle for liberation.

Jane: One thing we've learned is that if we just depend on the strategy of one-to-one lobbying, then we're sure to lose this fight. We can't simply depend on convincing these legislators on moral or rational grounds. The way we convince them is by showing them that we're a political force.

Just look at what's happened in the past year. The New York law is in danger precisely because the anti-abortion forces have out-organized the abortion rights forces. The so-called right-to-life people have been very active—holding picket lines, debates, demonstrations, TV debates, meetings, etc.

The only way we'll be able to take on these "right-to-lifers" is to meet them on their own ground. We have to organize as massive a movement as possible to defeat them. We have to win people to our side, and one-to-one lobbying isn't going to do that.

Sue: Why not? Especially if lots of people lobby?

Jane: One-to-one lobbying isn't oriented toward convincing or involving large numbers of people. Lobbying is aimed simply at convincing a few legislators, not toward the tens of thousands of people who are confused by the anti-abortion arguments and who have yet to be convinced. Lobbying turns us away from masses of people, and toward a small group of officials.

In fact, not only does an orientation toward lobbying not reach out to new women, it actually discourages new women from getting involved. The tens of thousands who support abortion law repeal

that if we raise too much of a ruckus it would embarrass these politicians.

That's what happened in the McGovern campaign, remember?

We can't afford to keep quiet. I think our strategy must be to build a loud, powerful, independent force.

Sue: What force do you mean? And independent of what?

Jane: We do have a force on our side. In fact, we have the *only* power in existence that's capable of wringing concessions from the capitalist government—and that's the power of the majority of American people, if they organize to fight for something. But that power hasn't been organized yet, it hasn't been unified. That's our job. To reach out, convince people, and organize that power—especially the power of women.

Sue: But you didn't tell me what you mean by independent.

Jane: I mean independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. Those two parties, on both a state and a national level, are controlled by big businessmen and bankers and uphold this entire rotten system. They don't want to lose control of women—they need to control us to keep their system going.

They're responsible for these laws to begin with. They're responsible for the women who have died from illegal abortions, not to mention the millions who have died in Vietnam. Our struggle can't be dependent on them or subordinate to them.

N.Y. abortion struggle

'We are not about to surrender this gain'

A Jan. 11 news conference in New York City, organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), marked a high point in the growing offensive to defend the right to abortion in New York. Hosted by the the Cleaners and Dyers union Local 239, the gathering heard statements from an impressive range of individuals active in many different organizations.

Reporters from the major newspapers and radio and TV attended; the *New York Times* and the *New*

ciple of [separation of] church and state in our history. It represents the use of vast money and power—an estimated \$1-million was spent by church-supported groups in Michigan recently to impose the view of one religion on all other Americans."

Brenda Feigen-Fasteau, American Civil Liberties Union: "Those of us who believe in individual liberty and the right of a woman not to be forced by the government to bear children are on the offensive now. We must



Militant/Flax Hermes

WONAAC national coordinator Susan LaMont outlines abortion action offensive at Jan. 11 New York news conference. To her left are Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and Ms. editor Gloria Steinem.

York Post both ran articles on the news conference.

The following are excerpts from some of the statements presented. Dr. Benjamin Spock and Assemblyman Franz Leichter were unable to attend but sent written statements. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm also sent a message of support.

Others who participated in the news conference included State Senator Carol Bellamy and Mike Blumenfeld, deputy administrator of the New York City Health Services Administration.

Susan LaMont, WONAAC national coordinator: "Those of us in the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition feel that what happens in New York will have a tremendous impact on the struggle for abortion rights throughout the country. Therefore, we are launching an abortion action offensive, aimed at reaching the millions of New Yorkers who agree with us, which will galvanize and mobilize public support. . . . One of the biggest events coming up this spring is the International Abortion Tribunal, which will be held in Town Hall, New York City, March 9-11."

Eleanor Holmes Norton, head of New York City Human Rights Commission: "I feel a special duty today to speak in behalf of those women who have least access to abortion throughout this state's history and the history of this country and who are literally under siege in New York City today. . . . If we take away legal abortion, every woman, in every circumstance, will suffer. But it will mean untold suffering to Black and Puerto Rican women. We cannot let that happen."

Lawrence Lader, National Association for the Repeal of All Abortion Laws: "We believe the attempt by the Roman Catholic hierarchy to overthrow the New York State abortion law is the most dangerous attack on the prin-

fight for our rights and the principle of individual liberty aggressively."

Henry Foner, president, Joint Board of Furrier, Leather and Machine Workers Union and vice-president of New York Liberal Party: "I intend to speak to my own union and see to it that we are represented in the lobby in Albany, that we speak out in behalf of our own members and in behalf of the right of women to have a free choice."

Franz Leichter, New York state assemblyman: "Among the many steps we will take to express support for the present law is a hearing I and other legislators are sponsoring with the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition and women throughout the state on Jan. 30 in Albany."

Bella Abzug, U.S. Congress, (D-N.Y.): "Once we win this fight, I hope that we then turn our full attention to the campaign for adoption of my federal Abortion Rights Act, which would declare invalid any state laws restricting abortion. . . . I understand that the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition has already collected 50,000 signatures in support of my bill, and I know there will be many more."

Gloria Steinem, *Ms.* editor: "I hope that we put an end to the idea that [abortion] is not a political issue. It is a political issue."

Kate Millett, author: "We in the women's movement are not about to surrender this one gain we have made against an adamant and chauvinist society. Under no circumstances will we capitulate. . . ."

Dr. Benjamin Spock: "Thank God New York State joined the twentieth century in regard to abortion. Let's not allow the neanderthals to take it back."

Abortion hearings Jan. 30

Program for March tribunal takes shape

By HELEN SCHIFF

NEW YORK, Jan. 15—Abortion rights forces in New York State are focusing their attention on the Jan. 30 legislative hearings on abortion in Albany. The hearings were initiated by Assemblyman Franz Leichter, in cooperation with the New York Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). A noon rally at the Capitol steps will precede the hearings.

Buses and car pools have already been organized for the hearings from Buffalo, Rochester, Suffolk and Nassau counties on Long Island, Woodstock, Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, Westchester, Oneida, Staten Island, and New York City.

In addition, the executive board and membership of Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) have just announced their support for the hearings.

For further information on the Jan. 30 hearings, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 315, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 675-9150.

The biggest event in the abortion action offensive this spring, both nationally and internationally, is the International Abortion Tribunal, which will be held at Town Hall in New York City, March 9-11.

A WONAAC National Coordinating Committee (NCC) meeting, attended by more than 60 women, was held here Jan. 13 to discuss plans for the tribunal.

In the dramatic format of a trial, supporters of abortion rights will present their case—that abortion is a woman's right to choose. A panel of women commissioners will act as the judges; the audience will serve at the jury.

The tribunal will open Friday evening, March 9, with the indictments of those who have denied women access to safe, legal abortions. Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), and WONAAC national coordinator Dr. Barbara Roberts have agreed to serve on the commission.

A multimedia presentation on the history of women's struggle to control their own reproductive lives will also be featured at the opening session.

On Saturday morning, March 10, the tribunal will be devoted to international testimony—both professional and personal. That afternoon there will be a presentation of the testimony gathered at local abortion hearings throughout the U.S. last fall.

On Saturday evening a rally in defense of the New York abortion law will be held to draw attention to the New York struggle. Congresswoman Bella Abzug, Black feminist attorney Florynce Kennedy, and Gordon Chase, administrator of the New York City Health Services, are already scheduled to speak.

A letter signed by Jules Feiffer, Barbara Harris, Anne and Dustin Hoffman, Muriel Rukeyser, and Yoko Ono has been sent out to entertainers, requesting them to participate in the Saturday night program.

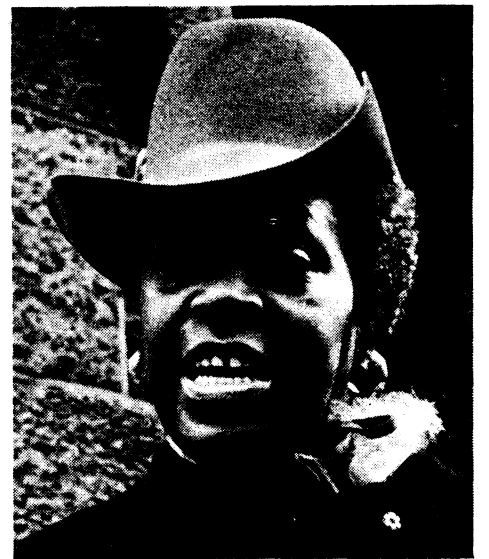
Sunday will be devoted to workshops.

Representatives from WONAAC affiliates in Boston, Washington, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and New Haven reported at the NCC meeting that they plan to rent buses to come to the tribunal.

In Atlanta, the WONAAC chapter demanded and received space in the city's leading daily newspaper, the *Atlanta Constitution*, to answer 12 anti-abortion articles. Debates, teach-ins, statewide organizing meetings, and TV and radio programs are all part of the campaign to build the tribunal.

A report to the NCC from Joan Campana, representing the Canadian Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, gave everyone an idea of the tremendous impact the tribunal can have on the worldwide struggle of women to control their lives.

The NCC gathering voted to make Susan LaMont a national coordinator of WONAAC, along with Dr. Barbara Roberts.



Michael Hardy

Attorney Florynce Kennedy will be speaking at March 10 rally in defense of New York abortion law.

Ms. spotlights 'found women'

The January issue of *Ms.* magazine contains a feature called "Found Women." It is a collection of short biographies of women from all over the country who exemplify the kind of confidence, assertiveness, and competence that women are increasingly striving for since the rise of the women's liberation movement.

They range from Eve Queler, orchestra conductor; to Connie Slaughter, the 26-year-old Black attorney who filed suit against the state of Mississippi for the deaths of the two students at Jackson State in 1970; to Barbara Roberts, abortionist and abortion rights fighter; to Joanne Glus, a hi-lift operator who won an equal pay suit to the tune of \$548,000 for 246 women.

On Jan. 8 *Ms.* brought 28 of

these women to New York for a news conference, followed by a luncheon for the "found women," the *Ms.* staff, and women from the media.

The impact of the women's statements was to dramatize the fact that the women's liberation movement is not any one organization or group of individuals. Rather, as *Ms.* put it, the movement is wherever women are fighting "to change their own lives, the lives of their sisters, and the world around them."

Pat Carbine, publisher and editor-in-chief of *Ms.*, announced at the luncheon that *Ms.* will continue to hold similar meetings in the future at which the *Ms.* staff and media women can discuss topics of interest in the women's movement.

L.A. officials rule Olga Rodriguez can't appear on ballot as 'socialist'

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 15 — The eight Los Angeles municipal candidates endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were told this week that they may not use the word "socialist" in designating themselves on their filing applications or on the ballot. The candidates were informed of this decision in a letter from the elections supervisor three days after filing.

Municipal elections in Los Angeles are "nonpartisan." According to the city charter: "The names of candidates for each office shall be arranged on the ballot for the primary nominating and general municipal elections in alphabetical order. There should be nothing on any ballot indicative of the party affiliation, source of candidacy, or support of any candidate."

Instead, each candidate designates in three words or less his or her "principal occupation, vocation or profession." The slate endorsed by the SWP and the YSA used the designation "Young Socialist activist" or "Socialist Workers activist."

Since the candidates were not informed of this at the time of filing, the election supervisor's letter stated: "You will be allowed to come to the office of the city clerk's Election Division to amend your principal occupation on your Declaration of Intention. If you do not amend it, the word *Socialist* will be deleted by this office and will not appear on the ballot." (Emphasis added.)

A letter to the election supervisor, signed by Olga Rodriguez, candidate for mayor, and the other candidates on the socialist slate, protested the action. The wording on the Declaration of Intention was changed pending discussions with a lawyer on whether to challenge in court this obviously discriminatory move by the election officials.

The "nonpartisan" election code is a fraud. Municipal elections in Los Angeles are as partisan as anywhere else. The major capitalist candidates are backed by their parties. The party affiliation of the Democratic and Republican contenders is known to everyone through press coverage and

radio and TV reports. It is only the smaller parties, whose candidates are not so well known, who suffer from these laws.

Olga Rodriguez held a news conference Jan. 13 in the rotunda of the city hall to protest incumbent mayoral candidate Sam Yorty's crass use of public funds and facilities to kick off his campaign. Rodriguez demanded that Yorty reimburse the city treasury for a campaign luncheon he held.

Morris Starsky, Rodriguez's campaign manager, will attend a meeting

campaign supporters are actively building the Inauguration Day antiwar demonstration. Although Yorty, a Democrat, complains that it would cost too much to end pollution, provide free mass transportation, and build more schools, hospitals, and day-care centers, he has not once spoken out against U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. Two other mayoral candidates, Democrats Tom Bradley and Jesse Unruh, have also refused to endorse the Jan. 20 antiwar action.

Rodriguez told the press, "Everyone



Militant/Harry Ring

Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for L.A. mayor, being interviewed by radio reporter.

of the city council's public works committee, which will hear a request from Rodriguez to use the city hall press room.

Petitioning began this week in a drive to secure a minimum of 500 signatures of registered Los Angeles voters for each candidate. One thousand signatures per candidate will be collected to ensure that enough valid signatures are submitted. On Jan. 5 a court order allowed petitioning to begin pending the outcome of a Jan. 18 hearing on the legality of the residency and filing-fee requirements.

Meanwhile, Rodriguez and the other socialist candidates and their cam-

who wants to make real change in Los Angeles and cut off the violence of this government at its source should join with me and other people who are opposed to the war in demonstrating against it Jan. 20 at noon in Pershing Square. I urge all candidates for public office in this election to participate in this demonstration."

Those interested in campaign activities or in making contributions should contact the Socialist Workers campaign office, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029, or phone (213) 463-1917.

Suit to challenge Calif. election code

By JUDY UHL

Of the 23 states that failed to list a socialist presidential candidate on their ballots, the state with the largest share of voters and the most restrictive laws is California. According to the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, it would take at least 180 persons working full time for a year—with no days off—to collect enough signatures to qualify a new political party.

California requires that petitions be signed by 664,340 voters, equal to 10 percent of the vote for governor in the last election.

An alternative method is to convince 66,434 persons to register in the name of the new party. The odds against success by this method are obvious. Voters are asked to affiliate with a new party before its views are publicized. There is no assurance that the party will be recognized by the time of the next primary election. If it is not, the voters have forfeited their chance to cast a ballot in the primary, where many nonpartisan issues are taken up.

Only once has a party succeeded in registering enough voters. In 1967, a massive campaign, inspired by antiwar opposition to Lyndon Johnson

and fear of the inroads being made by George Wallace, resulted in the certification of the Peace and Freedom Party by this method.

The example of the recent Raza Unida Party attempt to qualify shows how the present California law has been modified to further limit the possibility of a repeat of the Peace and Freedom ballot success.

The California Raza Unida Party has been conducting a campaign to register enough voters in the name of the party. But many of the voters who previously registered Raza Unida have recently been dropped from the voter rolls because a new law requires voters to cast ballots in each general election to remain registered.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the voters with the highest non-voting record were those persons registered in the name of a political party not yet recognized by the state. In Los Angeles alone, 11,540 members of unqualified parties, primarily Raza Unida registrants, were dropped from the rolls. Now these people will have to be registered all over again if they are to be counted toward Raza Unida ballot status.

Because the legislature has refused to change the requirements, smaller

parties have turned to the courts.

Ohio law required 433,100 signatures; California, 664,340. Ohio required new parties to set up a party apparatus, with state and local committees. California also requires a large and complex party apparatus. Ohio, like California, required candidates of new political parties to go through a primary election.

The Socialist Workers Party filed suit against the California law in 1970. The federal court refused to decide the issue at that time. According to the justices, the SWP had filed the suit too close to the election.

The court did recognize that the courts should decide the issue, an important step forward in view of a 1957 California Supreme Court ruling that the question was solely a legislative matter.

In 1968 the U.S. Supreme Court set an important national precedent when it invalidated the Ohio election law. Speaking for the court in the *Williams v. Rhodes* decision, Justice Black wrote, "Competition in ideas and governmental policies is at the core of our electoral process and of the First Amendment freedoms. New parties struggling for their place must

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Raza Unida Party in S. Calif. race

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—La Raza Unida Party has entered Andrés Torres, a professor of Chicano studies, in the race for state senator in the 22nd District in the San Fernando Valley.

A special election is being held to fill the vacancy created by the death of Democrat Tom Carrell.

Torres told *The Militant* of the discriminatory requirements the Chicano party must meet to qualify for the ballot. Democratic and Republican candidates have to collect only 40 to 65 signatures of party members on petitions. Raza Unida, on the other hand, is required to gain 500 signatures of registered voters. Despite this obstacle, Raza Unida activists are finding the support needed to get on the ballot. "In two short drives we got nine hundred signatures," said Torres.

Unless one candidate wins 50 percent of the vote in the Jan. 30 primary (which is unlikely), there will be a runoff. One Democrat, one Republican, and one Peace and Freedom candidate will automatically be placed on the ballot for the runoff.

"In the [primary] election itself," Torres explained, "we have to out-poll the top vote-getter of one of the established parties." If La Raza Unida can do this, Torres will be on the ballot.

A former steelworker and railroad switchman, Torres is now an assistant professor of Chicano studies at California State University at Northridge.

He pointed out that although the salary for the senatorial office is \$19,000 a year, some of his opponents are spending as much as \$100,000 on their campaign.

A leading Democratic contender, Assemblyman James Keysor, has charged, according to the Jan. 12 *Los Angeles Times*, that the Republican Party may be spending as much as \$250,000 to win the election.

The reason this seat is worth so much money to the capitalist politicians is that it will decide the balance of power in the state Senate, where Democrats and Republicans are now deadlocked 19 to 19.

La Raza Unida is protesting the gerrymandering of the Chicano community in the San Fernando Valley. They are demanding that any redistricting plan adopted by the state legislature allow the Chicano community to vote as a whole.

During his campaign activities, Torres explained, he has found that "there are many people who are sympathetic with the ideas that we are espousing. But they are trapped in the Republican and Democratic parties, thinking that through these particular parties they are eventually going to solve the problems."

"I point out to them that this country has been run since the 1800s by the Democrats and Republicans, that every law in the books was written by them and nobody else."

"We see them as a one-party system with two components collaborating to perpetuate the existing system."

Anyone interested in the campaign can contact: La Raza Unida Party, 1021 1/2 San Fernando Rd., San Fernando, Calif. 91340. Telephone: (213) 361-6281.

Rent board elections in Berkeley

What's wrong with the 'Community' slate?

On Jan. 23 Berkeley voters will elect five candidates to a newly formed rent control board. This board will be empowered to hold public hearings to determine rent levels and the criteria for evicting tenants. It was created last June when Berkeley residents, fed up with the abuses of landlords and real estate interests, voted to freeze all rents in the city.

Three slates are running for the positions: a regular Democratic Party ticket, a group known as the Community Rent Control Slate, and a Socialist Workers Party slate. The "Community" slate represents a number of diverse forces. On it are Bill Walker, a member of the Democratic Party's Berkeley Black Caucus; Karen Stevenson of the Black Panther Survival Program; Barbara Dudley, a sympathizer of the New American Movement; Ella Walker, a Black businesswoman; and Marty Schiftenbauer, a longtime Berkeley radical activist.

The coalition behind the "Community" ticket is a replica of the April Coalition formed two years ago to elect a slate of candidates to the Berkeley city council. Elections to the city council are scheduled again for this spring, and the Community Rent Control campaign is generally seen as the first step in the revival of the old April Coalition. This has led to a good deal of discussion among radicals in Berkeley on the role of electoral politics in social change, and questions as to why the SWP is running its own slate.

In essence, the Community Rent Control Slate, like the April Coalition before it, is an electoral bloc between assorted radicals, community activists, and "left-wing" groupings inside the Democratic Party. Nick Rabkin, a member of the New American Movement and a supporter of the "Community" slate, discusses his view of its selection in the Dec. 20, 1972, issue of *Grassroots*, a Berkeley community newspaper.

Rabkin explains that "in the absence of a shared political perspective, decisions over candidates were, in fact, most important. Different candidates could choose to represent the platform

in different ways. No organization bound them to its intent."

This was certainly the case with the April Coalition candidates elected in April 1971. "Different candidates" did "choose to represent the platform in



Among the candidates on the Community Rent Control Slate are Barbara Dudley (l), Karen Stevenson, and Marty Schiftenbauer.

different ways." D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons, two of the candidates elected to the city council with the support of the April Coalition, opposed some programs to benefit women, counterposing them to the needs of Blacks.

Bailey and Simmons refused to support the funding of a women's health center and opposed including a section on discrimination against women in a statement on city hiring policy.

Iiona Hancock, the third candidate elected with the support of the April Coalition, responded by refusing to support funding for a Third World Cultural Center. The April Coalition slate had "a shared political perspective" in wanting to get elected, but they had no such agreement on the need to support and defend the interests of all oppressed groups within society.

The lack of a clear program and the inclusion of candidates representing sections of the Democratic Party within the Community Rent Control Slate promise further developments along these lines should the slate win. Although the platform passed by the

convention that nominated the "Community" slate is sprinkled with radical rhetoric, it is vague in its specific prescriptions.

It promises to eliminate "excessive" profits, to stop evictions where ten-

ants fulfill "reasonable obligations," and it insists that landlords must have "a just cause to evict." Just what is meant by "excessive," "reasonable," and "just"?

The SWP program is clearer. The SWP agrees with the "Community" slate's call for an immediate rollback of all rents to the Aug. 15, 1971, level. But the SWP further proposes that a maximum of 10 percent of a person's income be charged for rent. "If landlords claim 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!" (See the Jan. 19 *Militant* for the full program.)

In contrast to this, the *Daily Californian*, the student newspaper at the University of California at Berkeley, reports: "The radical and liberal slates say they will raise or lower rents on an individual basis, depending on a number of considerations.

"If the rent's too high, we'll lower it; if it's too low, we'll raise it," said Dudley of the radical slate."

Members of this "radical" slate say that landlords should get a "fair" rate

of return from their housing investment, one that is sufficient to "protect investment."

At a Unitarian Church meeting on Jan. 7 Barbara Dudley was asked if this could mean that profits could go as high as 20 percent in some cases. "Yes," she answered, "it is possible, but I don't think that that would be the average case." The Fair Rent Slate, which is most directly tied to the Democratic Party, calls for a maximum rate of return to the landlord of "only" 5 to 10 percent.

But the worst aspect of the "Community" slate is that it holds out a dead-end perspective for changing society. The crisis in housing is part of the general crisis of American society. It is part and parcel of the whole profit-system. The "Community" slate, however, has no specific proposals to get at the root of this crisis.

In some respects the "Community" slate is similar to an earlier development in American radicalism. In the early 1900s a number of American cities had "socialist" governments. These socialist reformers provided relatively honest and relatively efficient city governments and made some worthwhile municipal reforms, but they are mostly forgotten today.

They failed to rouse the population around the broader issues of national and international politics, to put forward a program for social revolution, and to organize their followers into a party that meant to challenge the right of the capitalists to rule.

The real politics of the "radicals" who are leading the Community Rent Control Slate are indicated by their refusal to break with the Democratic Party and to call on others to do so as well. The rule of the capitalist class can hardly be challenged without fighting the political parties through which it rules.

The Community Rent Control Slate's refusal to take on the Democratic Party not only rules it out as a revolutionary force. It also ensures that if it is elected, the "Community" slate will back down from a real fight for the interests of the tenants of Berkeley.

Reprisals follow inmate strike at San Quentin

By JEFF BENEKE

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 14—There has been no letup in the wave of repression against the inmates at San Quentin prison following the recent two-day strike there, which involved 85 percent of the prison population. Though prison officials and the daily press are keeping silent on the situation, it was possible to learn of the extent of the repression from a few of the inmates.

Through interviews with inmates Nathan Eli on Jan. 4 and Fleeta Drumgo on Jan. 6, representatives of the Prison Law Collective learned that approximately 600 prisoners are not being allowed to leave their cells except in some cases for showers and meals. Of these 600, 150 are being held in total isolation cells. Some of them were thrown into strip cells, where they are forced to sleep on bare concrete without clothing. A hole in the floor serves as their toilet.

Officials say they ordered the present lockup because of two small fires discovered Jan. 4, the day most inmates

returned to work. According to Warden Louis Nelson, it was necessary to "find the men who were causing the trouble" because he "didn't want the place to burn down."

To date, no inmate has been charged with arson, though dozens of "suspects" are being rounded up and thrown into isolation cells. Two reasons authorities have given to justify the disciplinary measures are that some of the inmates possessed strike literature and others refused to work during the strike.

A letter from an inmate to the Committee for Prisoners' Humanity and Justice in San Rafael, Calif., gives some indication of present conditions inside San Quentin. The letter, dated Jan. 8, described the atmosphere in the prison as "extremely tense," with "constant harassment" from the guards.

The prisoner reports that more than half of the inmates in the east cell block were being confined to their cells and that only two meals a day are being served. There has been no medical treatment for any of the inmates

since Dec. 28.

It was also learned that five inmates are in strip cells as a result of a fight that broke out Jan. 7 in the adjustment center. The five include Fleeta Drumgo, Hugo Pinnell, and Willy Tate, all members of the San Quentin Six charged with murder in connection with the Aug. 19, 1971, incident in which three guards and three inmates were killed in the center.

Larry Justice, who is facing trial for killing a guard in July 1971, and former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader Elmer Pratt are also being held.

Drumgo was being escorted back to his cell following a visit when he was apparently attacked by some guards. The four other inmates witnessed the attack and allegedly began throwing food, feces, and urine at the guards in an attempt to defend Drumgo.

Prison officials still refuse to meet with a negotiating committee to discuss the demands of the strike and the disciplinary measures being taken against the strikers.



Militant/Siege Beck

Demonstrators in front of San Quentin last July. In center is Andrew Pulley SWP vice-presidential candidate in 1972.

Fuentes: need bilingual education, more money

Issues in N.Y. District I school fight

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK — Luis Fuentes has been in the center of the New York City school crisis since he was appointed superintendent for District 1 on the Lower East Side last July. He is now appearing before closed hearings conducted by former police commissioner Vincent Broderick at the central board of education.

These hearings are a result of charges of "anti-Semitism" initiated by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and vigorously supported by Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers.

The ADL refused to cooperate with and then ignored the results of an investigation by the District 1 local school board last October. The board's report concluded that the ADL's charges were unsubstantiated. The Broderick hearings began Dec. 1.

Fuentes and District 1 parent activists completed a highly successful tour of six New York City campuses Dec. 19. The tour's purpose was to present the truth about the real issues in the struggle for community control

World Federation, which has a majority on the student government, backed the Fuentes appearance despite threats by the campus Jewish Defense League to disrupt the meeting. On two days' notice an audience of 125 — largely Puerto Rican and Black — assembled and made it clear that they supported Fuentes and District 1 against the spurious charges of anti-Semitism.

Need for bilingual education

Shanker's allocation of large resources to the attack on District 1 has obstructed the local board's attempt to change conditions in the Lower East Side schools, especially their efforts to create a bilingual and bicultural district.

In his tour, Fuentes made a case for implicating the UFT and the CSA (Council of Supervisors and Administrators, the organization of principals and other school administrators) in the educational disaster in District 1.

"There is perhaps one issue," he said, "that demonstrates best the total opposition of these unions to any posi-

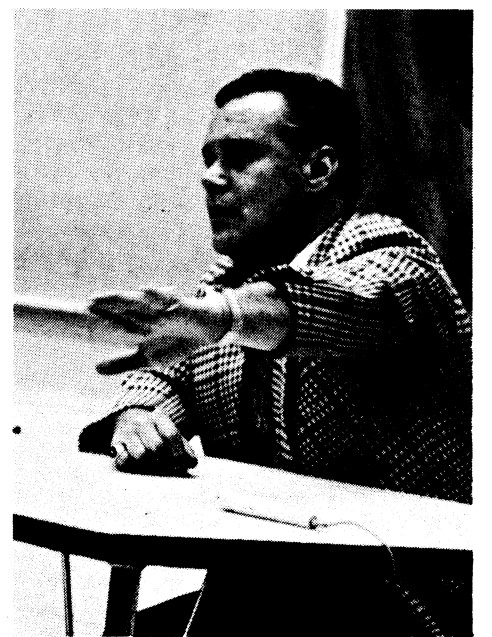
teachers.

"In September, when I came to District 1, there were over 800 regular teachers in the 20 schools of our district. Six spoke Spanish, one, Chinese. Our teachers and students can't even talk to each other.

"In a situation where illiteracy is linked with the systematic deprivation of Puerto Rican and Chinese students of the right to learn their language, Shanker lets it be implied that District 1 faces a reactionary strike if any 'racist' attempt is made to change the ethnic composition of the teaching staff."

Fuentes pointed out that Shanker, after smashing the attempts by the Black community of Ocean Hill-Brownsville to change its staff during the 1968 school crisis, made sure that the 1969 "decentralization" law prohibited local school boards from having any power to hire, replace, or evaluate teachers.

But Fuentes and the local board have committed themselves to fight for an extension of their powers so that there is the possibility of them



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Luis Fuentes, superintendent in District 1.

ship to the historic and decent impulse of the working man to organize."

He stated, "Community and unions should be allies, should be provoking together concerted government support of education. Nonetheless, the union leadership of the UFT and the CSA has irrevocably chosen the path of cooperating with those in government and business who manipulate and dominate the society. This union leadership has consistently made war on the minority communities."

Fuentes said he hopes the teachers will join the community in the struggle for the District 1 budget, which will be taking place at the same time as the school board election campaign.

Over the last three years District 1 has lost 170 teachers because of cutbacks. This year alone \$555,000, or about 5 percent of the district's budget, was cut. It was a similar cut in East Harlem's District 4 that led to the massive community boycott of schools there in late November and early December.

The District 1 school board has demanded a 270 percent increase — from \$15.7-million to \$42.2-million — in funds for the next school year. Of this increase, a minimum of \$7.2-million is slated for bilingual and related programs, including a \$4-million increase in funds for bilingual paraprofessionals.

By way of comparison, City School Chancellor Harvey Scribner, in requesting the highest figure ever, asked the city for only \$15.4-million for bilingual programs for the entire city. Approximately one-tenth of the Spanish-speaking students in New York City live in District 1.

On Dec. 19 Fuentes, local school board members, and 150 community activists defended District 1's present boundaries at a central board of education hearing on redistricting. Although Isaiah Robinson, board of education member for Manhattan, promised that no changes would be made, District 1 representatives pointed out that their district had been gerrymandered behind their backs before.

There is a fear that because the district has shown its militancy, the board of education might attempt to include big sections of the largely white East Side above Fourteenth Street. This would have the effect of adding great numbers of white voters who do not send their children to the public schools but who could vote for a reactionary District 1 slate in May.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Dec. 19 hearing on redistricting. Community activists from District 1 opposed the redrawing of present boundaries and pointed out that their district has been gerrymandered before.

in District 1 and convince student activists to work in this struggle, particularly in the community school board elections to be held in May.

District 1's efforts to achieve community control have been in the news for more than a year and have inspired vicious attacks from the mass media, liberal politicians, conservative Jewish groups, and the Shanker leadership of the UFT. For this reason there was great interest among Puerto Rican students in particular in getting a factual account of what Fuentes, the school board, and the parents were doing.

More than 600 students — the majority of whom were Puerto Rican and Black — heard Fuentes in the course of the tour. One hundred and fifty signed up to work with the Coalition for Education in District 1, the organization that has led the community struggle there for three years and was one of the sponsors of the tour.

The tour was also endorsed by student governments; Black student unions; Puerto Rican organizations, such as LUCHA at New York University and the Union Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos at Queens College; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

At Brooklyn College the Third

time change: bilingual education. I am a superintendent selected by a community whose school district consists of 73 percent Puerto Rican youngsters, 15 percent Black, 8 percent Chinese, and the remainder are Jewish, Polish, Ukrainian, Indian, and Italian.

"Eighty-five percent of these youngsters are functional illiterates by the time they reach the eighth grade — three to four years behind grade level in reading. There are those who call these statistics a sign of failure. But if 85 percent of the products of any industry shared a basic characteristic, we would assume that it was the intention of the industry to mark its product with that characteristic.

"The 15 percent of the products not so marked with this characteristic would be the ones considered deviant. And thus it is that I conclude that the 15 percent of the children in my district who graduate from our schools able to read and write at their grade level are deviant. The system is 85 percent successful because illiteracy is its product."

Fuentes continued, "There are 2,000 children in District 1 who speak no English at all, 4,000 who speak it so hesitantly they cannot be understood. Understood by whom? By their

solving the District 1 crisis. Fuentes made it clear that he and the local board will not serve as "overseers for junkie production lines."

Shankerism

Although Fuentes placed the blame for the antagonism between the Lower East Side community and the teaching staff on Shankerism, he indicated that Shanker's policies "bear no relation-



Albert Shanker, president of United Federation of Teachers.

Goal of 10,000 readers by May

Young Socialist sales campaign underway

By LAURA MILLER

JAN. 15—Publications of the radical youth movement tend to be sporadic and short-lived ventures. The *Young Socialist*, which just launched a national campaign to increase its monthly sales to 10,000 by May, is a notable exception.

The *YS* has been published since 1957. It has appeared in a number of different formats, including a newspaper, a bimonthly magazine, and a monthly magazine. Its current format—a 16-page monthly newspaper—was adopted last fall.

YS editor Rich Finkel recently discussed some reasons for the success of the paper.

"The *YS*," he said, "is the only regular, national youth newspaper that reports on, analyzes, and helps build the struggles of youth today—the Black movement, the women's liberation movement, the fight against the war, the Chicano struggle, and the struggles of students and workers."

"We want to gain new readers in order to win people to these struggles and let them know that there's an organization—the Young Socialist Alliance—that's participating in these struggles because it's interested in changing the entire society."

I asked Finkel how the paper has been received.

"More young people are interested in radical change than ever before," he replied, "and this is strongly reflected in the response to the *YS* among students. One of the main reasons for the sales campaign is to reach as many people as possible with the socialist answers and proposals that the paper is talking about."

"*YS* salespeople have discovered that the paper can be sold easily almost anywhere—on campus, at movies and rock concerts, shopping centers, airports, you name it. Some of the best responses have come from high

school students, and we're planning to sell the paper regularly at high schools across the country."

Are there particular features of the *YS* that students find most interesting?

"Our coverage of the war and discussion of the various debates in the antiwar movement is probably one of our strongest selling points. We've been covering the antiwar movement since it first began and we'll continue to devote a lot of attention to it until the U.S. is forced out of Indochina and the Vietnamese are free to run their own country."

Finkel went on, "That's another thing that many students respect about the *YS*—the fact that it consistently defends those who are oppressed in this country."

"For instance, we were the first youth publication to defend Malcolm X. While others in the student and radical movement were calling him a 'hatemonger,' we devoted a lot of space to his ideas on Black nationalism and self-determination. And we're still doing it. Our February issue reprints one of Malcolm's most famous speeches: 'The Ballot or the Bullet.'"

"We have consistently highlighted the struggle of women. We spoke out against the reactionary abortion laws as early as 1958. And we've regularly carried news of the women's movement throughout the world."

"We've always been staunch internationalists. In recent issues, we've run articles on the student movement in Argentina and Egypt. This month we have an interview with three leaders of the student struggle in Belgium."

Does Finkel anticipate difficulty in meeting the 10,000 goal of the sales drive?

"No big undertaking like this is easy," he answered. "It's going to take a lot of hard work and determina-

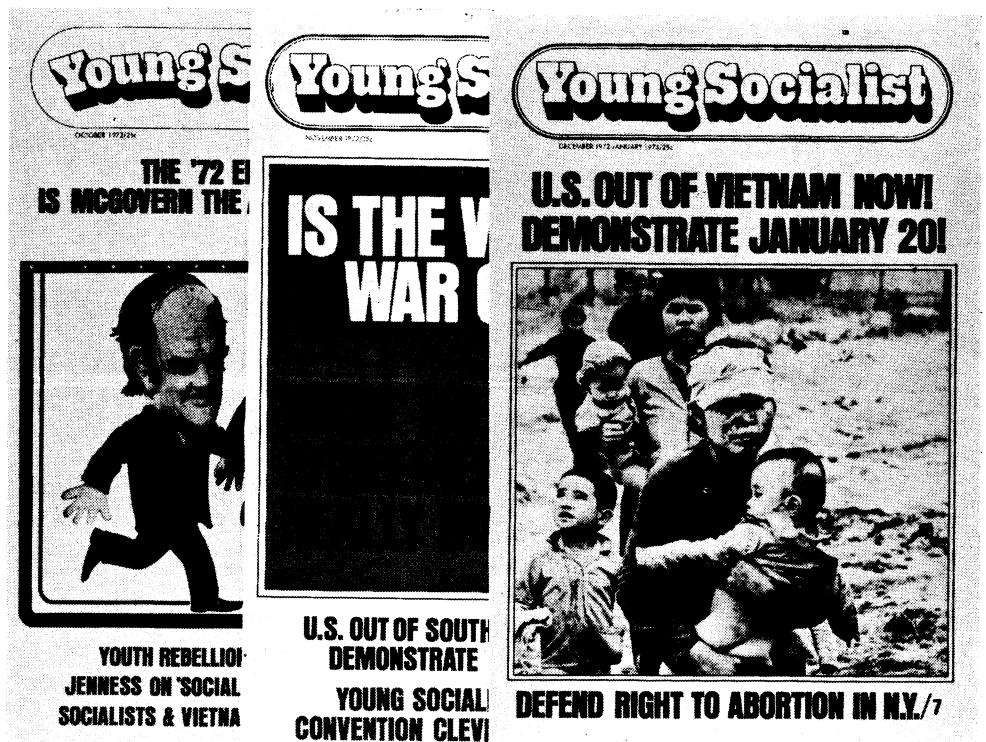
tion. And very careful organization of the campaign—*YS* salespeople have to be out hawking the paper wherever young people gather."

"But we're confident that we're going to succeed. There's a lot going in our favor."

"First of all, the YSA decided at its national convention last November to make sales of the *YS* a top priority. *YSAers* will be taking major responsibility for organizing the sales cam-

thinking on a particular question. That person should feel free to order a stack of papers to distribute to others."

"We're offering the top five *YS* salespeople each month a choice of one of five hard-bound books from Pathfinder Press: *Land or Death* by Hugo Blanco; *By Any Means Necessary* by Malcolm X; *The Decline of the Dollar* by Ernest Mandel; or *My Life or The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)*, both by Leon Trotsky."



paign and selling the paper.

"We've also gotten a good response to the sales drive from a lot of our other readers. We want to involve as many activists as possible in selling the paper."

"Say, for example, an activist in a campus Black Student Union or a feminist reads a *YS* article and decides that it presents his or her own

"Of course, the biggest thing going for us is the paper itself. Once you show a person a copy of the *Young Socialist*, the rest is easy."

Those interested in selling the *YS* can write to Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, or contact the nearest chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (see the Socialist Directory on page 22).

Uganda: the meaning of Amin's nationalizations

By TONY THOMAS

At the close of December, Uganda's president, General Idi Amin, announced a series of measures directed against foreign corporations and British residents of Uganda. These policies have provoked a renewed international campaign against his regime by the imperialist powers, particularly the U.S. and Britain.

According to the Dec. 29 *United Nations Report*, published by Black nationalist journalist Winston Berry, the Amin regime seized on Dec. 18 "all Ugandan tea estates as well as the eight largest industrial concerns in Uganda, most of which belonged to British firms and citizens."

Thirty-four British companies and estates are involved, as well as one U.S.-owned firm, International Television Sales. Amin said the seizures were "an expression of the desire and aspiration of the people of Uganda to be masters of their own country."

Amin came to power Jan. 25, 1971, in a coup that toppled the regime of Dr. Milton Obote. The coup had been encouraged by the imperialists, who felt threatened by Obote's plans for limited nationalizations. At that time Amin pledged firm allegiance to British imperialism. He also expressed his warm admiration for the Zionist regime of Israel and brought Israeli military and civilian advisers into Uganda.

However, Amin's base of support among the different nationalities that had opposed Obote has narrowed in the past year. In some areas there have been rebellions against his regime, and mutinies have taken place

in the army. In October, Uganda faced an invasion by a force of exiles, based in Tanzania, who were loyal to Obote.

During the past year, Amin has responded by taking measures calculated to appeal to nationalist sentiments and to build up his support among capitalist and middle-class layers in Uganda.

Some of his steps have had an anti-imperialist character—such as his expulsion of Israeli advisers and his stated support to the Arab peoples against Zionism—although this has been accompanied by reactionary, anti-Semitic statements.

Others have not, such as his ex-

pulsion of thousands of Asian residents of Uganda (mostly Indian and Pakistani) who were formally citizens of Great Britain. Popular sentiment favored this step since the Asians dominated the small businesses of Uganda.

Amin tried to further shore up his regime by creating a xenophobic frenzy. He claimed that neighboring African regimes were plotting to invade Uganda. At the same time he was making territorial claims on these countries.

Amin's anti-imperialist measures and the general instability of his regime have led the imperialist powers to become increasingly hostile. They fear the Ugandan masses will go beyond his limited measures and set off a social revolution that would affect their holdings.

This hostility reached a peak at the time of the expulsion of the Asians, when an international press campaign was launched to portray Amin as a "buffoon," a "racist," and a "Nazi." Britain, the main imperialist power involved in Uganda, took a number of economic sanctions against Uganda at that time.

Amin's admirers have pictured the most recent seizures as an anticapitalist as well as an anti-imperialist action. But according to the Jan. 1 *Time* magazine, Amin stated the firms "would not exactly be 'nationalized,' because 'that is a Communist term.' Besides, the enterprises will not be run by the government but will be sold off to black citizens who can raise the capital—presumably through government loans."

British employees of the govern-



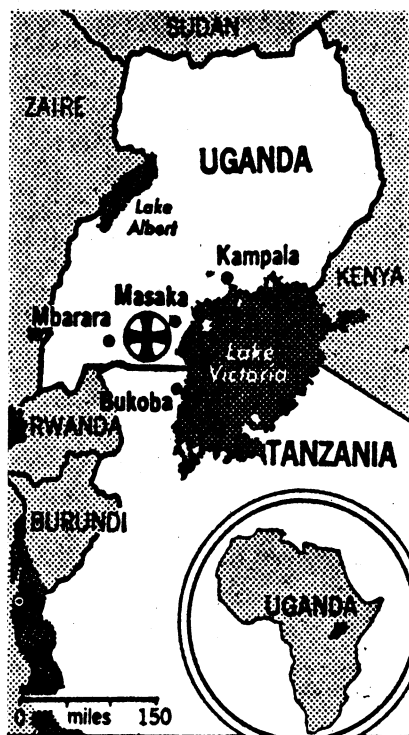
General Idi Amin

ment and local firms were also told to leave by Dec. 31 or suffer a 40 percent drop in pay. This would bring their pay scales down from their current privileged levels to what Amin termed "local standards." He also placed limit on the amount of capital that departing British citizens could remove from the country.

A further attempt to appeal to anti-imperialist sentiment was a campaign to change the names of roads, national parks, and other institutions to bear the names of leaders of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. British names such as Queens Road were replaced with names honoring Malcolm X and Patrice Lumumba, as well as Nasser, Nkrumah, Sukharno, and Nehru.

Not surprisingly, these actions have aroused the opposition of the imperialist powers. On Dec. 19 Washington

Continued on page 22



An appeal to Angela Davis

The Czechoslovak Frame-up Trials by Caroline Lund. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 15 pp. 35 cents.

August 21, 1968. On that day an invasion force of 650,000 troops from the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries occupied Czechoslovakia, snuffing out what became known to the world as the "Prague spring," an attempt to build "socialism with a human face."

The Czechoslovak events still reverberate throughout the Kremlin-oriented Communist parties. Last summer, for example, a number of CPs in Western Europe and Australia protested the frame-up trials of 46 persons associated with the movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia.

And Jiri Pelikan, an exiled Czechoslovak Communist who was a leader of the "Prague spring" and former director of Czechoslovak TV, wrote a moving appeal in behalf of the political prisoners. He addressed the ap-

Pamphlets

peal to Angela Davis, a prominent member of the American CP who has been persecuted here for her work in support of Black political prisoners.

This latest pamphlet from Pathfinder Press contains the Pelikan appeal—which Davis never answered—and statements protesting the frame-ups from the Australian, Dutch, and Italian CPs.

It also contains two articles by Caroline Lund, staff writer for *The Militant*, which take up the American CP's abject defense of the Czechoslovak trials.

The American CP was one of the few pro-Moscow parties to give unyielding support to the 1968 invasion and the Kremlin lie about a threatened "counterrevolution."

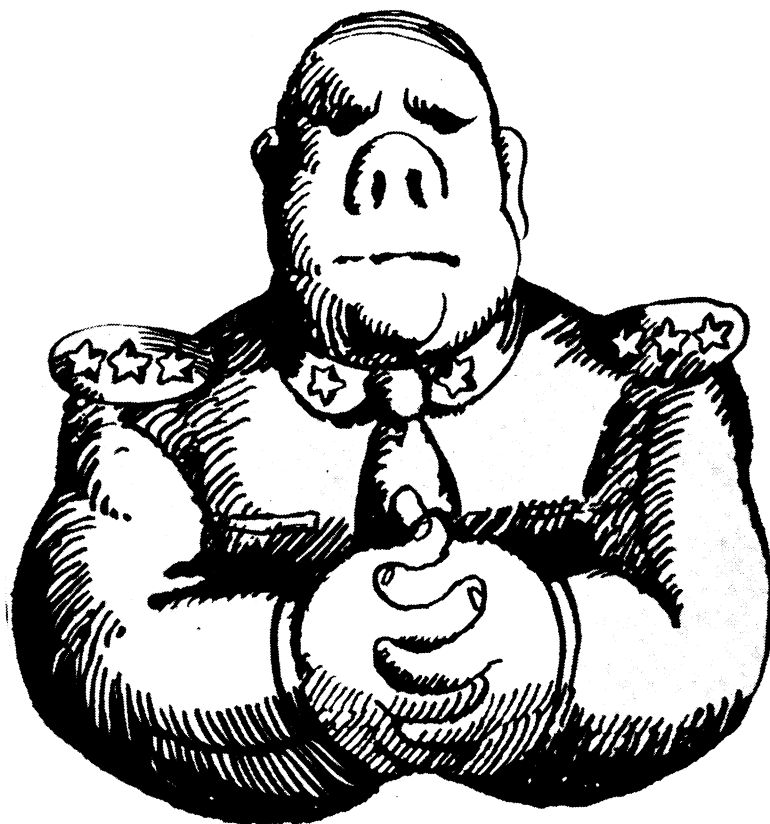
But this claim was refuted by a correspondent of the American CP on the scene at the time. "There was no counter-revolution here. Only plans for better socialism, for democratic socialism," wrote George Wheeler in the Aug. 31, 1968, issue of the *People's World*, the CP's West Coast newspaper.

This was his description of the demands the Czechoslovak masses raised for the limitation of the power of the secret police, freedom to travel, and the right to express differences within the Communist Party.

The depth of this movement, which saw the formation of workers councils and threatened to go beyond liberalization to the creation of a genuine workers' democracy, brought sharp protests of the invasion from Western CPs accustomed to toeing the Kremlin line.

Documents such as the Pelikan appeal show that the movement is still alive, a specter that haunts bureaucratic rule all over Eastern Europe—and especially in the Soviet Union.

—DERRICK MORRISON



The rights of GIs

The Rights of Servicemen by Robert Rivkin. Avon Books. New York 1972. 154 pp. Paper 95 cents.

Attention! Robert Rivkin, a lawyer specializing in military law who works with the American Civil Liberties Union, has written an excellent handbook on the rights of servicemen and women. You may want to get it if you are in the military or get one to send to someone who is.

The book is short. One wit commented that any book written about the rights of enlisted personnel must necessarily be short. But servicemen and women have rights, many more than they suspect or are told about. The book's size does not prevent it from being thorough, and very readable. It's a no-nonsense work, free of "legalese," that will succeed in its stated goal of giving GIs the confidence to confront military superiors who overstep legal bounds.

Ten chapters cover subjects ranging from military law and the courts-martial system, to the right of privacy, filing complaints against military superiors, and First Amendment rights of freedom of expression.

Rivkin knows the ins and outs of military life, both legal and practical. He recognizes that First Amendment rights are fragile

Books

and have only been won, protected, and extended through struggle. These rights include the right to publish political and social commentaries off base on your own time, the right to join an organization, the right to possess literature, the right to petition legislators on grievances, and the right to demonstrate in civilian clothing in political actions. These rights have been won with the onset of antiwar, antimilitary, and Black nationalist sentiment and activity in the armed services.

A model for organizing GIs against racism, the Vietnam war, and for democratic rights was the work of GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson, S. C., in 1969. The story of their successful efforts is told in *GIs Speak Out Against the War* by Fred Halstead (Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, \$1.75). This book makes a good companion volume to Rivkin's.

The events at Fort Jackson resulted in important victories such as the May 1969 Army directive *Guidance on Dissent*, which is included as an appendix to *GIs Speak Out*. The directive acknowledges for the first time in writing the extent of GI rights.

Rivkin includes citations and quotes from key military regulations. He lists places where regulations can be looked up and addresses where they can be ordered, many for free. Also useful is a section listing a number of foreign and domestic military counseling groups and lawyer-referral agencies.

As a lawyer who formerly practiced military law, I know of no better handbook for GIs and for civilians who work with them. I only regret that the book did not come out earlier. I would have passed a copy along to each of my clients, with the assurance that Rivkin gives that the book is your private property and cannot be taken away from you by the brass.

This book is one of a recent series of American Civil Liberties Union handbooks that serve as guides to the rights of such groups as teachers, mental patients, prisoners, students, women, and the very poor. The general editors of this series are Norman Dorsen and Aryeh Neier, who are respectively general counsel and executive director of the ACLU.

The Rights of Servicemen (and the other books in the series) can be ordered from Civil Liberties Books, 22 E. 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Get one soldier, that's an order!

—MICHAEL SMITH

Rage

Rage. Directed by and starring George C. Scott. 1972.

Four thousand sheep were killed in 1968 by poison gas being tested by the U.S. Army at Dugway Proving Ground in Utah. Another 1,000 sheep perished in early 1971 at the same test site, despite claims by the Army that the gas was no longer being used. Although the Pentagon attempted to brush off these events as one-in-a-mil-

Film

lion boo-boos—the incidents had certain bone-chilling as well as nerve-deadening implications.

The movie *Rage*, actor George C. Scott's first effort as a director, is an attempt to reintroduce these events into the minds of moviegoers.

Sheepfarmer Dan Logan, played by Scott, and his son Chris are sprayed with a deadly experimental gas, MX3, while out on a camping trip. The next morning Logan finds the hillside littered with dead sheep (the blood spotting their noses becomes one of the recurring images of Logan's fate.)

Chris dies, but the military brass and the doctors they control conspire to keep this news from the boy's father. The remainder of the movie is the story of the rage that transforms Dan Logan from a patient sheepfarmer at harmony with his environment into an individual terrorist whose single purpose in the last few days of his life is to destroy the military installations where MX3 was created.

The film's pessimism is most grotesquely expressed in the last scene, in which Logan dies at the feet of his enemy, the U.S. Army. Surrounded by a host of MPs and helicopters, he is unable to complete his mission of revenge.

Scott has demonstrated two important points with this first film: (1) despite his many successful years in the world of Hollywood, he has maintained a compulsion to express his indignation in the most direct forms possible; (2) although practically without equal as an actor in front of the camera, Scott has considerable difficulty in working behind it.

For example, in order to provide a transition from an awkward silence early in the film, director Scott has actor Scott spit out a long stream of tobacco juice. The camera obediently follows this cinematically meaningless brown fluid all the way from Scott's mouth into the next scene. Thus the transition is accomplished, but only at the expense of the film's credibility.

Most of the big-media film critics (*Time*, *Life*, *New York Times*, for example) panned *Rage* because of its clear-cut values and blunt technique. But the overall impact of the film is extremely powerful, despite disruptions like the one cited above.

What the film critics called a "failure" was a more compelling and worthwhile project than all but a few of the last year's "successes." And Scott, the peerless actor turned less-skillful director, has become a more significant and admirable film figure as a result of his experiment.

—DAVID SALNER

Enemy is Zionist regime, not Jews

How ADL distorts Palestinian struggle

By PETER SEIDMAN

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has produced a document entitled "Danger on the Left" to try to justify its claim that the SWP and other radical organizations in the U.S. have crossed the line into "outright anti-Semitism" with their opposition to the Zionist state of Israel.

The ADL takes the position that since, in its opinion, "Jewish communities the world over have a deep, abiding commitment to the survival of Israel," any opposition to Israel is inherently anti-Semitic. The logic of this position forces them to maintain that the driving force behind the Palestinian liberation movement is not a desire for self-determination, but rather a rabid anti-Semitism. By extension, all supporters of the Palestinian people's right are also accused of being anti-Semitic.

The real basis of the Palestinian liberation struggle lies not in anti-Semitism but in opposition to the Zionist policies that led to the creation of Israel at the expense of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine.

It is true that because the Zionists carried out their crimes in the name of "the Jewish people," it has been possible for reactionary forces in the Middle East to use the anti-Zionist feelings of Palestinians as a base for anti-Semitic campaigns. But this is not the basic issue in the fight against the state of Israel, nor are the Palestinian liberation fighters motivated by anti-Semitism.

The ADL deliberately misquotes the statements of Palestinians in order to "prove" its charge that they are anti-Semitic. For example, the "fact sheet" quotes from *The Militant* of Oct. 9, 1970, a passage from a document entitled "Towards a Democratic State in Palestine," which this paper reprinted from Al Fateh, a Palestinian liberation organization.

The ADL describes this as a "broad attack on the Jews of all countries," and prints the passage as follows: "Jews contributed men, money and influence to make Israel a reality and to perpetuate the crimes committed against the Palestinians. The people of the Book . . . changed roles from oppressed to oppressor." The ADL claims that this quote shows, in a "glaringly apparent" way, "disdain for the Jewish people."

What did the Al Fateh resolution really say? First of all, the whole point of the resolution was to define what was meant by the call for a democratic and secular Palestine—where an end to Zion-

ist exclusivism would mean not that the "Jews would be driven into the sea" but that peoples regardless of their religion or culture would live peacefully as equals.

Second, the document noted the growing number of Jews who had allied themselves with the Palestinians in support of these views.

And third, the particular passage selectively quoted by the ADL revealed the very real sensitivity to the condition of the Jews expressed by Al Fateh in its resolution.

Here is how the resolution appeared in *The Militant*: "Jews contributed men, money and influence to make Israel a reality and to perpetuate the crimes committed against the Palestinians. The people of the Book, the men of light, the victims of Russian pogroms, of Nazi genocide, of Dachau and other Polish concentration camps shut their eyes and ears in Palestine and changed roles from oppressed to oppressor. This is THE Jewish dilemma of modern times."

Far from "disdain," this document reveals that genuine fighters against oppression challenge injustice of every kind. In their resolutions, the ADL and other Zionist organizations have shown no such sensitivity to the plight of the people Israel oppresses.

It is strong testimony to the liberating and humanitarian thrust of the Arab revolution that it is the oppressed, from the despair of their refugee camps, who seek to define the moral dilemma of their oppressors.

Another "proof" the ADL offers for its charge of anti-Semitism against the SWP is the editorial that appeared in *The Militant* on Sept. 15, 1972, after the death of 11 Israeli athletes kidnapped by members of Black September, a Palestinian organization. The ADL quotes this passage from the editorial: "The deaths of 11 Israeli participants in the Olympics on Sept. 5 brought forth a hypocritical uproar of indignation from government officials and news media in capitalist countries around the world."

The ADL then proceeds to attack *The Militant* because "there was no uproar of indignation whatsoever from *The Militant*, which criticized the murderous outrage merely as being 'ineffective' and a 'diversion.' The SWP paper added that the purpose of the world's outcry had been 'to make the criminal look like the victim'—thus laying the blame for the massacre on the corpses of the murdered Jews while blaming the Arab terrorists only for a mistake in tactics."

But this is a lie. *The Militant* did not place the blame for the massacre on the 11 Israeli victims. Rather, the editorial blamed the Zionist state of Israel: "The entire publicity campaign is designed by the capitalist rulers to bolster the image cultivated by Israel as a small, defenseless country at the mercy of the Arab people. The reality is the opposite."

"The state of Israel—backed to the hilt by U.S. military might—is based upon the brutal suppression of three million Palestinian Arabs. The Israeli government expelled hundreds of thousands of Arabs from their homeland, expropriated their



Der Spiegel

SWP and Arab liberation movement oppose Israeli government and repressive apparatus, not the Jewish people.

land and property, and condemned them to miserable lives in refugee camps. The Israeli state's wars of aggression have cost the lives of many thousands of Arab civilians. The 'humanitarian' Israeli state tortures Arab liberation fighters that it captures, uses napalm against Arab civilians, and destroys entire villages as retribution for acts of resistance by Palestinian liberation fighters.

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

In fact, as long as the Zionist state exists, the people of Israel will face Munich-like dangers or worse—because the state of Israel stands in the way of liberation for an entire oppressed nation. This is precisely why revolutionists oppose Zionism as any kind of defense for the Jewish people.

The capitalist press did not record its outrage at Munich because of its concern for the Jewish people—no, the headlines were aimed against the Arab revolution.

When the Olympic games were held in Munich in 1936, capitalist newspapers did not publicize the anti-Semitic exclusion of Jewish athletes from the German team, nor any of the other anti-Semitic crimes of the Nazi government. Has the capitalist press become more benevolent since then? Or is it not that the advancement of imperialist aims today, unlike in 1936, requires headlines about the death of the Israeli athletes.

In another article we will show how support to Zionism leads to political solidarity with imperialism throughout the world.



Results of Israeli attack on Lebanon

Der Spiegel

Militant Gets Around

Militant supporters around the country might want to try out some new sales techniques this year. One method that has been around for a long time, but is still underutilized, is newsstand and bookstore distribution.

For the last four years, Paul Doganges from the Upper West Side in New York has been spending a few hours each week distributing *The Militant*. By servicing 25-35 newsstand locations in Manhattan each Saturday, he and Jimmy Kutcher account for monthly sales of some 400 *Militants*, 120 copies of the *International Socialist Review*, and 80 copies of *Intercontinental Press*.

Doganges says comparable results can be achieved in any other city, and he has some hints for areas just starting off. The first step is simply to take some sample copies to select bookstores and newsstands and explain the discounts and credit-on-returns policy. (Newsstands and bookstores pay 12.5 cents for each *Militant* sold, 30

cents for each *ISR* sold, and nothing for those not sold.)

"Emphasize that these are not fly-by-night publications but have been around for many years," Doganges adds. "In addition, guarantee regularity of service. Usually little more than this low-key, neutral, businesslike approach is necessary." He suggests that about 10 copies of each publication be left initially. This can be adjusted later to conform with actual sales.

After some outlets have been established, it's important to service them without fail each week at the same time. This entails delivering the new bundles, picking up the old copies, and collecting money for those sold. Doganges has found that having one person in charge of keeping records of the locations, bundle sizes, and number of copies sold each week is absolutely necessary.

Many newsstands and bookstores prefer this method of servicing because it eliminates responsi-

Nancy Cole



bility for paper work and payments. However, *The Militant* and *ISR* business offices can service them directly on a consignment basis (giving full credit for the return of mastheads of all unsold copies). And if areas come in contact with commercial distributors interested in handling *The Militant* or *ISR*, the business office should be contacted to follow up.

The business office will provide free sample copies to any areas that need them for approaching bookstores and newsstands.

Along with regular hawking, newsstand and bookstore distribution can play an important part in getting *The Militant* around. In most cities, this is a sales method that allows for expansion by continuing to open new accounts. And every bookstore or newsstand carrying *The Militant* and *ISR*, as Doganges puts it, "provides at least 40 hours per week exposure to potentially interested people."

...Hayden

Continued from page 5

If Nixon were willing to let that happen, why did he undertake one of the biggest airlifts in history to fill Thieu's armories and hangars when it looked as if a cease-fire might occur? If Nixon were really ready to cut loose from South Vietnam, why the latest destruction of Hanoi and Haiphong by the B-52s, and the insistence on even more concessions than those in the nine points? Can anyone think that Nixon would not be willing to use the bombers still based in Thailand and on Guam, and the carrier-based planes, to punish any alleged "violation" of the accords?

Hayden tries to dismiss this danger by saying that "if the US chooses to re-escalate with more bombing in the future, it can do so, but only at a greater disadvantage than now." But if the international antiwar movement can be lulled into thinking that the war is over and the U.S. has given up, and if Nixon can use the inevitable "violations" of the accords as a justification for U.S. bombing, why would he be at a "greater disadvantage than now?"

The Vietnamese in Hanoi, in an article written before they felt compelled to abandon their long-standing demand that the Thieu regime be scrapped as part of any agreement, correctly observed what would happen if a cease-fire was agreed to without resolving the question of who is to rule in South Vietnam. The article appeared in the September issue of *Vietnam Courier*, published in Hanoi.

"... Let's take a closer look at things and see what will be the practical results. First, Mr. Nixon will be able to present himself to the US electorate as having made peace, and, what is no less important, the Saigon regime can appear as the legal government of the country, all attempt to overthrow it being now a violation of the agreements signed, which might set in motion a terrible mechanism of reprisals. Mr. Nixon will have won on both scores: to get himself re-elected and to consolidate the power of his placemen in Saigon, not to mention the recovery of captured US militarymen."

This was quite an accurate predic-

tion of the actual course of events.

It is an illusion to believe that genuine peace can come to Vietnam through any U.S.-imposed accords. The basic social contradictions that produced the civil war in South Vietnam, into which the U.S. intervened on the side of the landlord-capitalist clique in Saigon, have not been resolved. The class struggle in South Vietnam will continue, and without question, the United States will continue to do everything in its power to prop up the proimperialist regime and to maintain a base for itself in Southeast Asia.

As I.F. Stone correctly points out, "It will be a miracle if the new cease-fire does not breed another, a third, Indochinese War."

The antiwar movement, in the United States and on a world scale, must continue to do everything it can to expose Nixon's maneuvers, and to mobilize opposition to his continuing violation of the right of Vietnam to self-determination. There can be no peace in Vietnam until the U.S. gets completely out of Southeast Asia, and abandons its goal of crushing the Vietnamese revolution.

...protests

Continued from page 5

mittee, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and the SMC.

Marching for the first time under their own banners, Raza Unida Party activists in Chicago are building a contingent for the Jan. 20 demonstration there. The Vietnam Caucus of the Chicago Teachers Union, is also planning a contingent. The union is currently on strike.

Five hundred people marched in a Brooklyn antiwar action on Saturday afternoon, Jan. 13, and a smaller number marched in New York's Greenwich Village. Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union in New York has scheduled lunchtime antiwar rallies at work centers all over the city on Jan. 19.

NPAC and SMC have also issued a call for a national antiwar conference to be held in Washington, D. C., the weekend of Feb. 23-25. For information, contact the NPAC and SMC national offices at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Telephone: (212) 691-3270. In Washington, NPAC and SMC are located at 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Room 1122, Washington, D. C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 293-3855.

...Uganda

Continued from page 19

threatened to suspend all aid to Uganda unless the owners of International Television Sales were compensated.

Britain raised a bigger uproar. According to the Dec. 20 *New York Times*, Alec Douglas-Home, British foreign secretary, said that Britain would demand "prompt, adequate and effective compensation for all British interests affected." British newspapers, which branded Amin as a racist after the expulsion of the Asians, initiated a similar campaign around this issue. Some threats of intervention have been made.

Amin's actions against the foreign-owned firms are designed to benefit a tiny upper-middle-class stratum in Uganda and to prop up his reactionary regime. He has no intention of doing anything to benefit the masses of Ugandan workers and poor peasants who produce the wealth of these corporations.

The Amin regime stands in danger of being toppled by imperialist intervention or by proimperialist forces within Uganda. Amin should remember that he himself came to power as an expression of imperialist attempts to thwart the limited nationalizations Obote initiated.

Only when the land and industries of Uganda are in the hands of the workers and poor farmers, and only when the Ugandan masses are armed to resist imperialism, can the people of Uganda be "masters of their own country." And that requires getting rid of Amin's capitalist regime, as well as opposing any imperialist-backed intervention in Uganda.

...ballot

Continued from page 16

have the time and opportunity to organize in order to meet reasonable requirements for ballot position, just as the old parties have had in the past."

In 1972, attorneys for the Com-

mittee for Democratic Election Laws attempted to file a suit against the election laws in the California Supreme Court. That court refused to hear the suit, giving no reason for its decision.

In 1973, CoDEL will again seek a hearing, this time in the federal courts. Vincent Hallinan, noted civil liberties attorney, is handling the case for CoDEL on behalf of the Socialist Workers, Socialist Labor, and Prohibition parties. CoDEL is also seeking plaintiffs from other political groups in California.

Attorneys hope to present oral testimony on a number of aspects of the law. For example, they will introduce expert testimony to show how the California law compares to similar statutes in other states.

Testimony will also show the difficulty of collecting signatures, and of registering voters in the name of an unrecognized party. Members of the California legislature's Joint Committee for Revision of the Election Laws have also volunteered to testify on the legislature's attitude toward revision of the law.

According to Julie Roberts, a CoDEL volunteer working on preparations for the suit, generating public support in California for a revision of the current law will be a crucial part of CoDEL's campaign. Literature will soon be available outlining the history of the California law and the attempt to repeal it.

For more information on the CoDEL suit, or to send contributions, write to: CoDEL, Box 40445, San Francisco, Calif. 94114, or Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

N.Y. campaign

The New York City Local of the Socialist Workers Party will launch its city-wide ticket for the 1973 elections at a rally on Feb. 10. The rally will be held at 8 p.m. in Tishman Auditorium at the New York University Law School (Washington Square South between MacDougal and Sullivan). Admission is \$1. For further information call (202) 982-8214.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isobell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 11071/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.

San Diego: SWP and YSA, 43091/2 51 St., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 287-0787.

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

San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 543 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m. - 7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 427 Main St. #206, Hartford, Conn. 06103. Tel: (203) 246-6797.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, P.O. Box 176, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Lawrence Roth/Mark Harris, 505 S. Graham, #341, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St., Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, 10975 Sheraton Dr., Baton Rouge, La. 70815.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, c/o Rich Ropers, 903 Northwest Apts., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Red Bank: YSA, P.O. Box 222, Rumson, N.J. 07760.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C. R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 12161/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, Box 1658, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S.Dak. 57102.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA and SWP, P.O. Box 7753, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

Lubbock: YSA, c/o Tim McGovern, P.O. Box 5090, Tech. Station, Lubbock, Texas 79409.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

Calendar

ATLANTA

HOW TO FIGHT THE OPPONENTS OF ABORTION. Speakers: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate; Tobian Schwartz, cocounsel in the Georgia abortion law case before the Supreme Court; Dr. Lavonne Painter, Atlanta chapter of NOW; Cheryl Pence, Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition. Fri., Feb. 2, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., downtown. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A part of the Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BROOKLYN

IRELAND IN TURMOIL—Panel discussion in commemoration of 'Bloody Sunday.' Speakers: Denis Cassin, national organizer of the Irish Republican Clubs; George Johnson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

HOUSTON

HOUSTON SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND, JANUARY 26, 27, 28. At the University of Houston, University Center. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m.: **The Soviet Union, China, and the Defense of the Vietnamese Revolution** by Lynn Henderson. Donation: \$1. Sat., Jan. 27, three-part series, 10 a.m., 1 p.m., 3 p.m.: **Marxist Economic Theory** by Lynn Henderson. Sun., Jan. 28, two-part series, 1 p.m. and 3 p.m.: **The Revolutionary Party and the Trade Unions** by Tom Leonard. Donation: \$2.25 for whole weekend, individual sessions 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum and Houston Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 674-0612.

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"EL PUEBLO SE LEVANTA"—A film on the Puerto Rican struggle for liberation and the development of the Young Lords Party. Speaker: Woody Diaz, Puerto

Rican activist at University of California, Riverside. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE TRUTH ABOUT "RIGHT TO LIFE." Speakers: Irene Davall, research director of the suit challenging the tax-free status of the Catholic Church and member of the Feminist Party; Ann Verdon, former 'Right to Life'; Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

NIXON'S PHASE 3: PROGRESS FOR LABOR? Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

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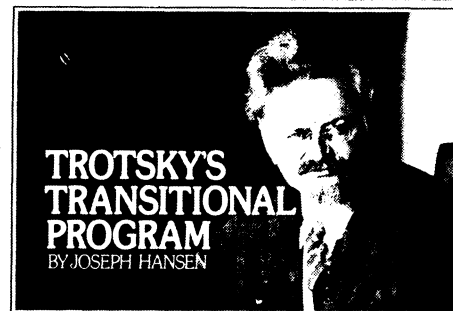
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THE MILITANT

Scandinavians spearhead Viet protests



Part of crowd at Dec. 23 demonstration of 10,000 in Copenhagen. On Jan. 10 North Vietnamese Communist Party newspaper Nhan Dan gave special thanks to antiwar Scandinavians, saying they had shown 'a brilliant example of international solidarity, and of the vigilance and determination of the peoples against American imperialism, mankind's most ferocious enemy.'

From Intercontinental Press

By DAVID THORSTAD

A vast anti-Vietnam war petition campaign is under way in Sweden. The decision to launch the campaign was made at the end of December by the five parties with members in the Riksdag (parliament). These are the Social Democratic Workers party, the Center party, the People's party, the Moderate Coalition party, and the Left party of Communists. It is scheduled to conclude on February 1.

The petition, which was drawn up in response to the December bombings of North Vietnam, calls for an "immediate halt to the bombings of Vietnam" and urges "all contending parties to sign a peace agreement based on the principles that the U.S.A. and North Vietnam indicated they had reached agreement on in October."

The five parties call on "all trade-union, political, religious, and other idealistic organizations to actively participate in carrying out this national demonstration for peace and independence in Vietnam."

Petitions with space for signatures totaling twice the Swedish population have been printed and are being distributed to every corner of the country. The reported aim is to collect some 2 million signatures by the end of the campaign. Sweden has a population of only 8 million.

Premier Olof Palme's sharp statement comparing the United States air assault on North Vietnam to Nazi atrocities clearly reflected a general revulsion throughout Sweden. This was expressed in a number of ways, including massive support for the petition campaign. On the first day of signature-gathering, December 29, the distribution of petitions had only begun to get under way. Yet, reported the December 30 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, "at the few places where materials had arrived, people stood in line in order to sign. Teams from the various parties and NLF [National Liberation Front] organizations were surrounded by people who wanted to take petitions." On one street corner, there was a line hour after hour of persons waiting to sign, and more than 200 signed in forty-five minutes.

The United NLF Groups (DFFG—

De Förenade FNL-Grupper), an antiwar organization, had barely enough petitions to meet the demand, according to *Dagens Nyheter*. "DFFG received only 16,000 petitions, but plans to mimeograph the rest itself. In the first run, it plans to print 50,000."

The response of many, if not most, Swedes was that the bombing had gone just too far. One elderly lady who signed explained: "Normally I don't take a position on things like this because I feel you shouldn't stand too much on one side or the other, but when it comes to the war in Vietnam you just have to protest. All peoples must be allowed to have what they want. I hope we can bring a stop to these horrors as quickly as possible."

Another housewife, who said her entire family planned to sign, said: "What is happening in Vietnam is so frightful, and I can only describe the bombings being carried out against these poor Vietnamese farmers as an outrage." She said she had recently seen a photograph of Mrs. Richard Nixon holding an armful of roses and added, "If I were her, I would try to hide behind the roses."

The depths of the indignation in Sweden against the U.S. bombing was reflected in an article in the December 30 *Dagens Nyheter* by Lars Gyllenstein expanding on Palme's comparison of Nixon to Hitler. The article was entitled "The Nazi Olympics All Over again," and it asserted that the Apollo moon mission in December 1972 played the same role in American war strategy that the 1936 Berlin Olympic games played in Hitler's: "President Nixon and his administration are sending astronauts to the moon—strangely enough at just the moment when that government is planning or beginning to unleash new terrorist acts in Indochina. It is a spectacular of the same kind as the Nazi Olympics of 1936—and the pattern is being re-played today as unmistakably as if it were being discovered for the first time."

Speaking from the throne on the occasion of the opening of the Riksdag January 11, King Gustaf VI Adolf took a determined swipe at U.S. Vietnam policy. "The Vietnamese people must be given the opportunity to shape their own destiny," the ninety-year-old king said. "The merciless

bombing must not be resumed."

Scandinavian indignation at the U.S. bombing is not limited to Sweden. There is talk of launching a similar petition campaign in Norway. Finland announced its decision to recognize North Vietnam on December 28, partly in response to the new bombing.

When Nixon responded to Palme's criticism by asking Sweden not to send a new ambassador to the United States, he succeeded only in further estranging his administration from public opinion in Scandinavia. One Finnish newspaper reported the American reaction under a big headline "Mass Murder is Mass Murder."

A newspaper in the capital, *Helsingin Sanomat*, termed Nixon's move an indication that his government was basing its decisions on the politics of desperation.

The Swedish-language paper in Finland, *Arbetsbladet*, noted public opinion in Sweden is almost 100 percent opposed to the war, and in Finland people are beginning to feel that North Vietnam is on the threshold of obliteration.

Dagens Nyheter also reported December 30 that "the Danish dock workers in Aarhus and Copenhagen have decided to boycott all unloading of goods to and from the USA as a protest against the American bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong. The boycott is to continue until the bombing stops." The dock workers also asked the Danish trade-union movement to push for an international boycott of trade with the United States. This proposal was scheduled to be discussed at a meeting of European trade-union leaders in Copenhagen January 2. In addition, Hans Ericson, representative of the Danish transport workers, proposed December 28 that his international union, which has some 6 million members, organize some action against the war. "The representative of the seamen's union, Gunnar Karlsson, expressed strong sympathy for a boycott action from the Australian seamen's union against the U.S.A.," reported *Dagens Nyheter* December 29. He said he was hoping that the transport workers' international union "will launch an international blockade within the next few days."

Nixon worried

Recent demonstrations and other antiwar protests in Europe have been of such scope that both Nixon and the European governments are afraid to go ahead with a planned tour by Nixon this spring. They fear that new demonstrations will break out, reported the Jan. 11 *New York Times*.

On Jan. 16 West German Chancellor Willy Brandt finally bent to popular pressures demanding that he criticize Nixon's bombing policies. Brandt stated that continuation of the war would result in a deterioration of U.S.-European relations.

Brandt's statement came on the heels of an antiwar demonstration of more than 20,000 in Bonn on Jan. 14—the largest antiwar action ever held in West Germany. In East Berlin more than 150,000 demonstrated against the war, according to the Jan. 15 *Washington Post*. Another demonstration was reported to have taken place in Melbourne, Australia.

Demonstrations in solidarity with the U.S. antiwar movement are scheduled in cities throughout Canada and in London for Jan. 20, Inauguration Day. The Canadian actions have been endorsed by David Lewis, head of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party.



100,000 demonstrate in Utrecht, The Netherlands, Jan. 13.