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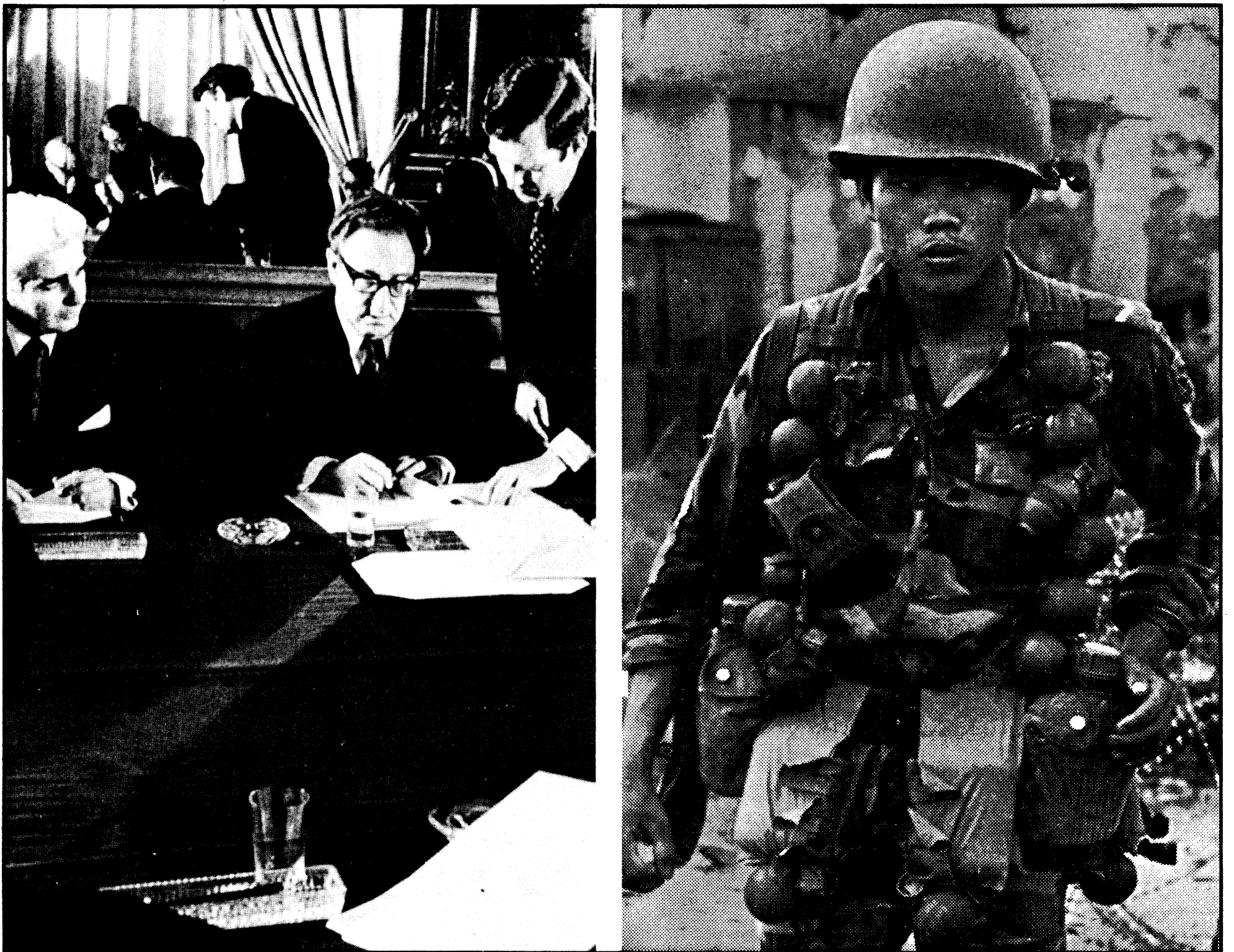
# THE MILITANT

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

## Vietnam revolution & Nixon's world strategy

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While Henry Kissinger initialed cease-fire agreement in Paris, Saigon troops prepared to enforce Thieu's decrees in South Vietnam. See page 9.

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**Behind Nixon's budget cutbacks/<sup>3</sup>**

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## THE MILITANT

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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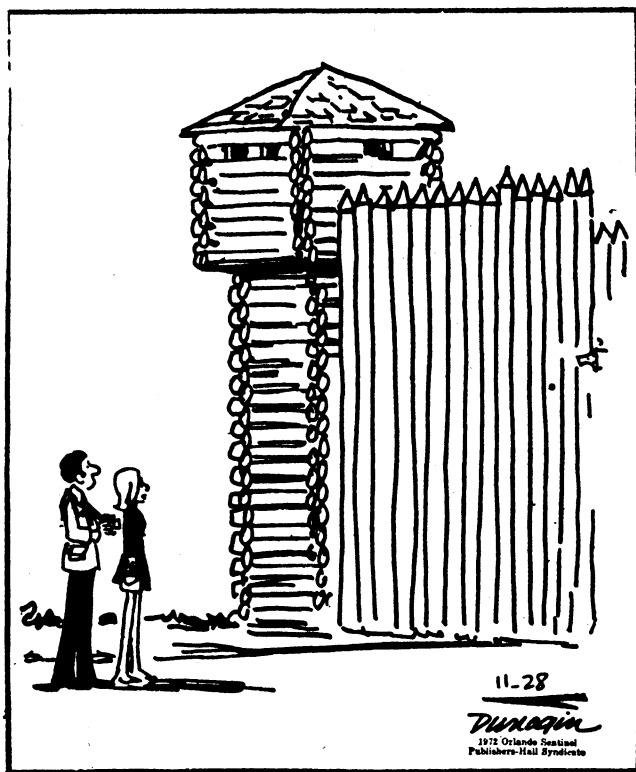
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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES:** The January edition of *Akwesasne Notes* has a 30-page section devoted to last November's Trail of Broken Treaties and the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. It includes a complete account of what happened, with photos, cartoons, reprints of editorials and columns from major newspapers during and after the occupation, statements of government officials, and the demands of the Indians involved in the action.

The issue can be ordered from *Akwesasne Notes*, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683. Single copies are free, orders of 20 or more cost 25 cents per copy.

Sid Mills and Hank Adams, two of the leaders in the November protest, were informed that they and six others have been named in federal indictments for damages to the Bureau of Indian Affairs building. Earlier the government had promised that there would be no prosecutions.



"THIS MUST BE THE NEW BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BUILDING."

**POLICE HASSLE RAZA UNIDA:** With little more than a week to go before the Jan. 30 primary elections, police conducted a raid Jan. 19 on a Raza Unida Party dance in Sun Valley, Calif. The dance was organized to raise funds for the campaign of Andres Torres for California state senator from the 22nd District in the San Fernando Valley.

Speaking at a news conference, Torres charged Los Angeles police with singling out his campaign for harassment. He told *The Militant* that seven persons, including five Raza Unida Party volunteers, were arrested on charges such as interfering with an officer and drunkenness. One minor was charged with illegally consuming alcoholic beverages.

Trouble began when two plainclothes cops armed with clubs and guns circulated in the crowd of about 150, threatening to close down the dance. Seeing this as a provocation, dance organizers asked the cops to leave and decided to close the dance early to avoid further problems.

As they were cleaning up, about 20 uniformed cops arrived and made the arrests.

Torres called on his Democratic and Republican opponents to express their opposition to the harassment of campaign workers. So far, none have responded.

**GAY RIGHTS VICTORY IN OHIO:** When Ohio's newly reformed criminal code goes into effect next January, it will be the seventh state to have removed legal restrictions on gay sex. Other states that have legalized homosexuality are Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Oregon, and Delaware.

**GAY ACTIVIST RUNNING IN N.Y. CITY COUNCIL RACE:** Jim Owles, a former president of the N.Y. Gay Activists Alliance, announced Jan. 27 that he would seek the Democratic Party nomination for a city council seat here. Owles is the first avowed homosexual to run for office in New York City.

**MEMORIAL MEETING FOR AMILCAR CABRAL:** Close to 400 people turned out Jan. 24 at St. Philips Church in New York City for a memorial meeting to honor Amilcar Cabral. Cabral, who was murdered Jan. 20 in Conakry, Guinea, was the leader of PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands). His organization was fighting Portuguese control

of Guinea-Bissau. It is believed he was assassinated by Portuguese agents.

Speakers at the memorial meeting included Abel Guimaraes of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and Owusu Sadaukai, president of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C., and chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee. Robert Van Lierop of Africa Information Service chaired the meeting. Reverend Lucius Walker of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization gave the eulogy.

Community activists, various officials of African nations, and delegates to the UN were in the audience. The Africa Information Service sponsored the meeting.

**VIETNAMESE SAILOR SPEAKS AT PORTLAND FORUM:** Ngo Chi Thien, a sailor in the South Vietnamese navy, spoke at the Portland, Ore., Militant Forum Jan. 12 on "Political conditions under the Thieu regime."

Militant correspondent Peter Grey writes that Thien has spent the last two years in San Diego, where he was sent for medical training. He became an opponent of the Thieu regime while in the U.S., and instead of returning to Vietnam for military service he came to Oregon. The Nixon administration is pressing for his deportation—a prospect meaning imprisonment or death.

U.S. immigration laws provide for political asylum for people fearing punishment from their government because of their political views, and Thien is fighting the attempts to deport him.

## Houston SWP faces renewed harassment

HOUSTON, Jan. 30 — The Houston Socialist Workers Party responded this week to a recent series of attacks against it. A letter to Houston Police Chief Herman Short listed eight separate attacks on the SWP headquarters and the cars of SWP members. The list included four smashed windows in the headquarters and a total of 11 auto tires ruined while the cars were parked in front of the headquarters.

The most serious incident occurred the night of Jan. 27, when the SWP headquarters were broken into and ransacked. Many important records and more than \$100 of supplies and equipment were stolen.

The letter pointed out that two years ago the Houston SWP was subjected to a similar, but more serious, string of terrorist attacks. It also pointed out that the Ku Klux Klansmen indicted for bombing the SWP headquarters and the Pacifica radio station transmitter were recently set free when the district attorney dropped all charges against them.

Two license-plate numbers of automobiles that may have been used in the recent attacks were turned over to the police. The SWP demanded that Police Chief Short put a stop to these attacks.

**SUPREME COURT RULES ON CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE:** For the first time the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that defendants have a constitutional right to have juries screened for racial prejudice. On Jan. 17 the court ordered a new trial for Gene Ham, a South Carolina civil rights worker who was sentenced to 18 months in jail on a marijuana charge. Ham insisted that police had been out to get him because of his political activities, but the trial judge refused to ask prospective jurors whether they could disregard Ham's race. In the same case, the court refused to extend the ruling to include prejudice against beards.

## Notice to photographers

*The Militant welcomes photographs and undeveloped film from its readers. We do not, however, have the facilities to process color film, so photographers should use black and white.*

**THE MILITANT GETS REPRINTED:** The Jan. 25 issue of *High Street*, an underground newspaper from Oxford, Ohio, reprinted Stacey Joslin's review of Midge Decter's *The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation*.

**ANTIWAR ACTIONS:** In addition to the antiwar actions reported in last week's *Militant*, smaller demonstrations took place in cities across the country. One thousand people demonstrated in Champaign, Ill., and 700 marched in St. Louis. Youngstown, Ohio, and Phoenix each had demonstrations of about 100.

—DAVE FRANKEL

# Nixon's budget slashes social programs, sets arms spending at near-record level

By DICK ROBERTS

Richard Nixon declared in his second inaugural address, "Government must learn to take less from people so that people can do more for themselves." The president also declared, "In our own lives, let each of us ask not just what will government do for me, but what I can do for myself."

The meaning of these words came clear in the budget Nixon presented to Congress Jan. 29—a budget that attempts to slash government social-service spending to a minimum, eliminating altogether a number of federal "antipoverty" programs, while jacking up war expenditures to the second highest level since World War II. Hardest hit by the new administration budget will be the poor in the nation's largest cities.

Virtually all of the token programs the Johnson administration initiated to improve conditions in the big cities are to be slashed under the Nixon budget. The Office of Economic Opportunity would be eliminated. The Head Start program designed to help pre-school children is slated to be terminated before June 30.

Reductions are scheduled in programs to provide inexpensive milk to schoolchildren and to upgrade the teaching of foreign languages in schools. Federal aid for hospital construction is to be ended, on the assumption that the U.S. now has as many hospital beds as it needs, although the price of hospitalization has never been higher.

A \$1-billion-a-year program to hire the "hard-core" unemployed for public-service jobs is to be dropped. Such programs as Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps may be terminated.



"... let each of us ask not just what will government do for me, but what I can do for myself."



Nixon wants to spend more money on bombs and other weapons, while cutting poverty programs, including Head Start and school milk programs, to a minimum.



minated.

Nixon's once-ballyhooed plan to provide a minimum income of \$2,400 for a family of four—the "family assistance plan"—is given no funds in the budget.

The freeze on nearly all housing, urban-renewal projects, and "model-cities" programs will be continued.

But the war budget—despite the "cease-fire" in Vietnam—is being increased \$4.2-billion, to \$79-billion for fiscal year 1974, beginning next July 1. "A substantial rise, of nearly \$1-billion, is being sought for research and development on a wide array of strategic and conventional weapons, including the B-1 bomber, an advanced site defense antimissile system and a heavily armed helicopter," according to the Jan. 30 *New York Times*.

The same newspaper reported that the budget includes a 7.5 percent increase in "anticrime programs." Nixon declared that this "reflects my determination to enforce the laws of this country. . . ."

One of the few justifications the president offered for slashing needed social welfare programs is that the programs weren't getting anything done anyway. This is true to a certain extent. Where millions were spent, billions are needed, and many of the programs are mired in bureaucracy often permeated with corruption.

But masses of people understand

that major government programs are necessary to begin to solve the problems in housing, education, welfare, health, and other areas. Nixon's budget will not be well received by the tens of millions who are being asked to sacrifice. And it is certain that public pressure will force Congress to offer some resistance to Nixon's moves.

President Nixon also stated that taxes will not be raised in 1973. The deception here is quite simple. Taxes have already been raised in 1973. On Jan. 1 employment taxes went up, affecting the vast majority of workers.

It is not widely realized that "social security" taxes have become a significant way of funding the federal government. But in the 1974 budget, they will account for 29 percent of government income. This compares with 42 percent raised in individual income taxes and only 14 percent raised through corporate income taxes.

A more accurate statement of Nixon's intentions would have been, "Government will take more from the people in order to do less for them."

However, resistance is certain to develop to these drastic federal cutbacks, not only on the congressional but also on the city level, where the impact would be the worst. New York City Budget Director David Grossman spelled out some of the effects on the city in a memo to Mayor Lindsay Jan. 31.

Grossman cited the disbanding of various community action programs under OEO; no new commitments for the Emergency Employment Law program; closing out of existing projects and no new commitments to the urban renewal program; and a slashing of funds designed to redevelop the Brooklyn Navy Yard as well as such depressed areas as the South Bronx and Lower East Side.

Grossman noted that additional funds would still come for drug rehabilitation, but these would be totally inadequate. Water pollution funds are restored in part, but the amount is "far below" that authorized by Congress.

The Nixon administration is attempting to force state and city governments to fund desperately needed social programs in order to reduce federal deficits. This is an integral part of the effort of U.S. capitalism to reduce inflation and to stabilize the dollar in world finance.

But the central propellant of inflationary deficits in the government budget are the massive expenditures on the lucrative war industry, which Nixon proposes to increase. It is these expenditures that should be slashed to the bone. That would not only relieve the problem of inflation in this country but it would supply billions of dollars for drastically increasing social welfare programs.

## Black steelworkers win major victory

By BAXTER SMITH

Black workers won a major victory Jan. 16 when the Labor Department ordered an end to discriminatory policies at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Sparrows Point, Md. The ruling affects nearly 8,000 Black employees.

Secretary of Labor James Hodgson issued a 78-page directive following a government-appointed committee's report on job discrimination at the plant. The committee found that Blacks had long been assigned to the "dirtiest, least desirable jobs."

It also charged that Bethlehem policy forced Blacks to stay with these jobs because anyone transferring to another unit lost seniority and pay status, and had to begin at the bottom in the new assignment.

Hodgson ordered Bethlehem to offer those Black workers employed there prior to 1968 the opportunity to trans-

fer to better jobs within the plant without sacrificing their seniority. Under the order, these Blacks would have 90 days to apply for transfers.

If Bethlehem does not comply with the order, it faces the possible loss of millions of dollars in government contracts.

The order was based on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. According to a Labor Department lawyer quoted in the Jan. 17 *New York Times*, it is "the most far-reaching affirmative action decision yet by the Federal Government."

The ruling applies only to Blacks hired prior to 1968 because the committee found that since then Bethlehem had dropped its job-placement bias. Several thousand Blacks, however, may benefit from the directive.

Most Blacks at the plant welcomed the ruling. One Black crane operator,

said he gave up 17 years of seniority when he shifted to another unit seven years ago. He will now have 24 years of seniority, moving him ahead of many others in his predominantly white section.

Reaction to the order from some of the 13,000 whites in the plant was quite harsh. White racist officials in the Steelworkers locals joined with company officials in claiming it would disrupt the efficiency and stability of the plant.

"It's an asinine decision," declared Edward Plato, district director of the Steelworkers union, according to the Jan. 22 *New York Times*. "The order is unworkable and inequitable. It discriminates to end discrimination. I'm not a redneck, but this imposes dual standards. It's doing nothing to improve race relations; in fact, it may well tear them to pieces."

One white rank-and-filer added, according to the *Times*, "You give a colored person a finger and they want the whole hand. . . . Even with my 35 years' seniority at the tin mill, I'm afraid somebody could take my job. . . . Some of them got the idea they're God's chosen people."

Despite the important ruling, the government did not set up any machinery to implement the decision. The racist company and union officials will, at best, make only a token effort to enforce the government order.

They can be expected to try to whip up racist sentiments among the white workers to intimidate the Blacks and prevent them from taking advantage of the ruling. To go beyond tokenism and deal with racist threats and harassment, the Black workers will have to organize to defend and extend their gains.



## 'Phase 3' in action

# Gov't cuts hospital workers pay

By JENNY SIMPSON

NEW YORK—On Jan. 25 the Cost of Living Council announced it had reduced from 8.3 percent to 5.5 percent a wage and benefit increase won by 33,000 low-paid hospital workers here.

The announcement affected the settlement a panel of arbitrators made last June in a contract dispute between Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital union and the League of Voluntary Hospitals. Members of 1199 had been waiting for more than six months for the ruling on the contract. The hospitals refused to pay the increase until the government reviewed the settlement.

As originally negotiated, the contract would have increased the minimum pay of hospital workers from \$130 a week to \$142 in the first year, and to \$154 in the second year.

Leon Davis, president of Local 1199, called the rollback "an attack on low-paid minority members. We will appeal this to the board and take it to the courts. Our members are determined to take such other actions as are necessary to safeguard their rights to be treated as human beings." Hospital workers here are mostly Black and Puerto Rican.

At a recent delegates' meeting of 1199, held before the council ruling, Davis blasted the Nixon administration and the union bureaucrats who are going along with Phase 3. He pointed out that the only industries retaining "mandatory" controls under Phase 3 are the health and food industries. He accused Nixon of seeking to keep a lid on the poorest and most exploited workers in the country.

Most hospital workers remain unorganized. Unorganized hospital

workers in New York City were making as little as \$28 a week in 1963, and many were forced to live on welfare.

The food industry, including waitresses, butchers, farm workers, and meat packers, is also largely unorganized. The fact that both the health and food industries are composed mostly of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano workers makes it clear that Nixon's attack on workers will hit these oppressed nationalities especially hard.

At the recent meeting, Local 1199 delegates appealed to the union leadership to begin a fight to abolish all wage controls. They emphasized that mandatory controls, even if focused only on one or two industries, constitute an attack on all workers.

A proposal aimed at protecting the then-pending contract and dealing with Phase 3 mandatory controls was adopted along the following lines:

- Delegates were to visit every hospital in New York and make it clear that a government decision to grant anything less than the 8.3 percent raise would be viewed as the responsibility of management. (Although the contract was determined by arbitrators originally called in by the hospitals, management had been pressuring since July for a ruling that would cut the increase.)

- 1199 should appeal to AFL-CIO President George Meany to pressure Nixon to remove mandatory controls on 1199 workers and on the food and health industries as a whole.

- 1199 would send out a call to all unions affected by the mandatory controls under Phase 3 for a national conference to map plans for fighting the controls.

The union leadership didn't make it clear at the meeting whether such a conference would be a rank-and-file gathering. It remains the responsibility of the Local 1199 elected delegates to see that it is.



1199 News

Members of Local 1199 demonstrate against Nixon's wage freeze in October 1971.

## Jury seated in Rap Brown trial

By BETTIS SACHS

NEW YORK, Jan. 28—A jury of 11 men and one woman has been selected here in the trial of Black activist H. Rap Brown. Brown and three codefendants, Sam Petty, Levi Valentine, and Arthur Young, are being charged with 24 counts of robbery, attempted murder of five policemen, and illegal possession of weapons.

The charges stem from the defendants' alleged participation in a hold-up of a Manhattan social club in October 1971. If convicted, they face possible maximum sentences of life imprisonment.

Jury selection took two weeks. Most of the questioning of prospective jurors concerned their racial and political views. Selection was delayed as many jurors openly expressed bias either for or against the defendants. Of the 12 jurors selected, two are Black, one is Puerto Rican, and the rest are white. The "foreman" is a Black woman. The jurors range in age from their late 20s to mid-60s.

Brown's attorneys are William Kunstler and Howard Moore Jr. O. T. Wells, Charles McKenney (of the Panther 21 case), and Marguerite Hines are representing Valentine, Petty, and Young, respectively. Brown is acting as cocounsel in his case.

Brown was arrested in October 1971 after being shot and beaten on a roof-

top by police. He was taken to Roosevelt Hospital, where three operations were required to save his life. As he lay in a hospital bed, his bail was set at \$250,000 (later reduced to \$200,000). Since his hospitalization, he has spent more than a year in jail awaiting trial.

Ed Brown, Rap Brown's brother, told *The Militant* the charges are totally fabricated. He said they are the logical result of the intense persecution of Rap Brown that began in 1967, when he was accused of "counseling to arson" in Cambridge, Md.

As a leader of the growing Black power movement, Rap Brown was harassed, threatened, and persecuted to the point where, according to Ed Brown, he felt his life was in danger.

In March 1970 he disappeared after a bomb exploded in the car of two of his co-workers in SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), Ralph Featherstone and William "Che" Payne, killing them both. The explosion occurred in Bel Air, Md., the site chosen for Brown's riot and arson trial. It is probable that the bomb was intended for Brown.

Ed Brown stated that "there is obviously a concerted effort on the part of the government to do away with him. This follows the pattern of what's been happening to all Black militants."

Tight security surrounds the courtroom, and all observers are frisked by police before entering. The trial is expected to last for at least two months, and Ed Brown urges people to attend the trial to show support for the defendants.

The trial is being held at 100 Center St. (New York State Supreme Court) on the eleventh floor from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday through Thursday. Judge Arnold Fraiman granted a defense motion to recess on Fridays, which are holidays for the four Moslem defendants.

JAN. 30—An incident involving prospective jurors in the H. Rap Brown case may result in a mistrial, the *New York Post* reported today.

Supreme Court Justice Peter McQuil-lan revealed that on Jan. 22 a jury clerk, Louis Moss, tried to convince jurors to support efforts in the state legislature to end the unanimous-verdict rule.

The clerk added that in the meantime, "If you find you're the only holdout for acquittal... give in." This was a clear attempt to pressure them into returning a "guilty" verdict.

According to the *Post*, Moss complained that "there are lots of revolutionaries that are walking out of here scot free because of hung juries."

## Rhodesian threat to Zambia mounts

By MARCEL BLACK

A series of border incidents between the military forces of the independent African republic of Zambia and the white-settler regime of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) have taken place since the Jan. 9 closure of the Rhodesia-Zambia border.

Rhodesia closed the border after an upsurge of guerrilla activities by Zimbabwe liberation groups, which are demanding control over that country by its Black African majority. Zambia has been the target of the blockade and of other economic measures taken by the Republic of South Africa because it allows the Zimbabwean freedom fighters to maintain bases on its territory.

According to the Jan. 21 *New York Times*, Rhodesian authorities charged that "on three separate occasions Zambian soldiers had opened fire on Rhodesian and South African forces from the northern bank of the [Zambezi] river." The Zambezi River is the border between Zambia and Rhodesia.

A Jan. 20 Associated Press dispatch from Lusaka, Zambia, reported the Zambian government's charge that "three persons were killed and five critically wounded by Rhodesian land mines planted inside Zambian borders, and that the country had moved up troops to defend her frontier."



Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith worries about mounting opposition to his regime.

The dispatch reported that a Zambian government spokesman "charged Rhodesia with seeking an excuse to 'launch a military attack' on Zambia."

A Zambian government spokesman told Reuters Jan. 19 that 4,000 South African troops had arrived in Zambia after the announcement of the blockade. They were deployed along the Zambia-Rhodesia border in support of the Rhodesians.

Rhodesian and South African authorities have tried to present the incidents as "Zambian aggression," although they clearly result from attempts to prevent Zimbabwean freedom fighters from reaching their homeland from Zambia.

These charges against Zambia, along with the Rhodesian infiltration of Zambia and the mobilizations of South African and Rhodesian forces at the Zambia border, pose the threat of a possible invasion of Zambia if the situation of the white-settler minority continues to worsen.



# Anti-abortion groups attack court decision

By CINDY JAQUITH

JAN. 29—The anti-abortion forces continue to condemn last week's Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, although they have yet to come up with a plan of action to counter this historic victory for women. Their activities, however, indicate they have no intention of giving up the fight.

The most vocal opponents of the court ruling have been leading figures in the Catholic Church hierarchy. Vatican Radio denounced the court decision Jan. 23, saying, "Abortion is no more and no less than the killing of a human being."

In Washington, D.C., Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle urged all pastors in his archdiocese to attack the court's action in their sermons yesterday. One



Anti-abortion groups still press their reactionary campaign.

of those complying was Dr. Clarence Enzer, who told parishioners at St. Mary's Church that the legalizing of abortion could put America "on the same road that was traveled a generation ago by the German people under the domination of Hitler."

Outside St. Matthew's Cathedral in Washington, members of the ultraright Society for the Christian Commonwealth marched yesterday carrying "Excommunicate Brennan" and "Down With the Supreme Court" signs. Justice William Brennan is the only Roman Catholic on the Supreme Court.

The Jan. 27 New York *Daily News* reported that Catholic Church leaders and lawyers would meet in Washing-

ton over the weekend to plan a campaign against the legalization of abortion.

"... although they have not ruled out the possibility of backing a constitutional amendment to overturn the ruling, they do not at this time regard such a move likely to succeed," the *News* said.

Cardinal John Cody of Chicago recently outlined some other tactics anti-abortion forces may use. Cody is the chairman of the Committee for Pro-Life Affairs of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. His committee is calling on state legislatures to "restrict the practice of abortion as much as they can" and for Catholic hospitals, doctors, and nurses to refuse to perform abortions on demand.

Some protest actions have been organized by the anti-abortion forces. But so far, none of these actions has approached the size of the anti-abortion demonstrations held at the height of the abortion debate last spring.

Three hundred people demonstrated in Cleveland Jan. 27 against the Supreme Court decision. Youth for Life organized the action, which was picketed by members of the Abortion Project Coalition, an abortion rights group. Two TV stations covered the coalition's picket line.

In Boston, 200 people came to a meeting called by Citizens for Life following the announcement of the court's ruling. The organization says it will launch an educational campaign to convince women that abortion is wrong.

Justice Harry Blackmun was the target of an anti-abortion demonstration of 50 people on Jan. 24, when he came to Cedar Falls, Iowa, to address the Chamber of Commerce. Blackmun, who wrote the Supreme Court majority decision, is a Nixon appointee.

In a statement to the press last week, Susan LaMont, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, explained that "the 'right-to-life' forces are not simply going to pack up and go home. . . . The abortion rights movement must be alert to any attempts to pass laws which fall outside the framework of this decision, and to press for complete availability of abortion to women at any time."

## Women picket Cardinal Cody news conference

CHICAGO, Jan. 25—Women from the Illinois Women's Abortion Action Coalition picketed a news conference Cardinal John Cody held here Jan. 23 on the recent Supreme Court abortion ruling.

Cody told reporters the Catholic Church would use "all means possible" to oppose the ruling, which makes abortion a women's right to choose. He added that Catholic women who get abortions will be excommunicated, and that he couldn't envision any state passing a law that would be "morally acceptable."

Cody is chairman of the Committee for Pro-Life Affairs of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. He and other reactionaries will be trying to take advantage of an ambiguous legal situation in Illinois.

In May 1971, a three-judge federal

panel ruled the Illinois anti-abortion law unconstitutional. For 11 days abortions were legally performed in the state. Then Edward Hanrahan, Cook County state's attorney at that time, won an injunction banning abortions.

This injunction is still in effect, but the Illinois Supreme Court is expected to rule on it when its next session opens Feb. 20.

Opponents of legal abortion, spearheaded by Illinois Right to Life, plan a demonstration Feb. 3 in Chicago against the U.S. Supreme Court ruling. The Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition (IWAC) is organizing a picket line at the demonstration to protest the right wing's attempts to deny women abortions. In addition, IWAC has initiated a meeting Feb. 10 to discuss the victory women have won with the legalization of abortion.

## After court ruling Abortion law repeal pressed across U.S.

By CINDY JAQUITH

JAN. 30—The U.S. Supreme Court ruled Jan. 22 that the abortion laws in 46 states and the District of Columbia are unconstitutional. The legislatures in those states must now pass new laws that conform to the Supreme Court ruling.

This means that no state can deny women the right to abortion during the first 12 weeks, states cannot impose restrictions on where or how abortions are performed, such as requiring that they be performed in a hospital instead of in a clinic or doctor's office.

States may outlaw abortion on demand during the last ten weeks of pregnancy, but they must still allow abortion "to preserve the life or health of the mother."

Following the court ruling, a bill to repeal all restrictions on abortions was introduced into the New York State legislature and signed by 30 legislators. The bill would remove all regulations on abortion except health codes in practice for other medical procedures. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) supports the repeal measure.

WONAAC National Coordinator Susan LaMont told *The Militant* that "WONAAC views the Supreme Court decision as a major victory for abortion rights. At the same time, we feel there should be no restrictions on a woman's right to choose, and we will be supporting repeal bills wherever they are introduced into state legislatures."

Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) announced Jan. 26 that she will continue to work for passage of the Abortion Rights Act, the bill she introduced into Congress during its last session. Speaking at a news conference called by the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL), Abzug explained that her bill would "eliminate any state laws of any nature concerning the regulation of abortion."

Lee Gidding, executive director of NARAL, told reporters that the organization is urging its chapters to help get repeal bills introduced into state legislatures.

In Massachusetts, a class-action suit challenging the constitutionality of the state's abortion law is already in the courts. Lawyers for the *Women v. Massachusetts* suit are now filing for a declaratory judgment from the court in light of the Supreme Court ruling.

Two hundred women plaintiffs launched the *Women v. Massachusetts*

suit in November 1971. The groups that helped initiate the court challenge included the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition, the Boston Women's Legal Group, and the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts.

The Cleveland Civil Liberties Union is discussing the possibility of a test case in Ohio to overturn the state anti-abortion law.

New York WONAAC had been building support for legislative hearings on abortion in the state capital on Jan. 30. Due to the Supreme Court's favorable ruling, WONAAC canceled the hearings and is now organizing a rally and forum on the abortion victory for Feb. 2.

Other cities plan rallies, meetings, and conferences in the next few weeks to discuss the abortion issue in light of the Supreme Court decision. Gatherings are planned in the Bay Area, Feb. 8; Chicago and Boston, Feb. 10; Los Angeles, Feb. 13; Cleveland, Feb. 21; Denver, Feb. 24; and Houston, Minneapolis, and Seattle, the weekend of March 2-3.

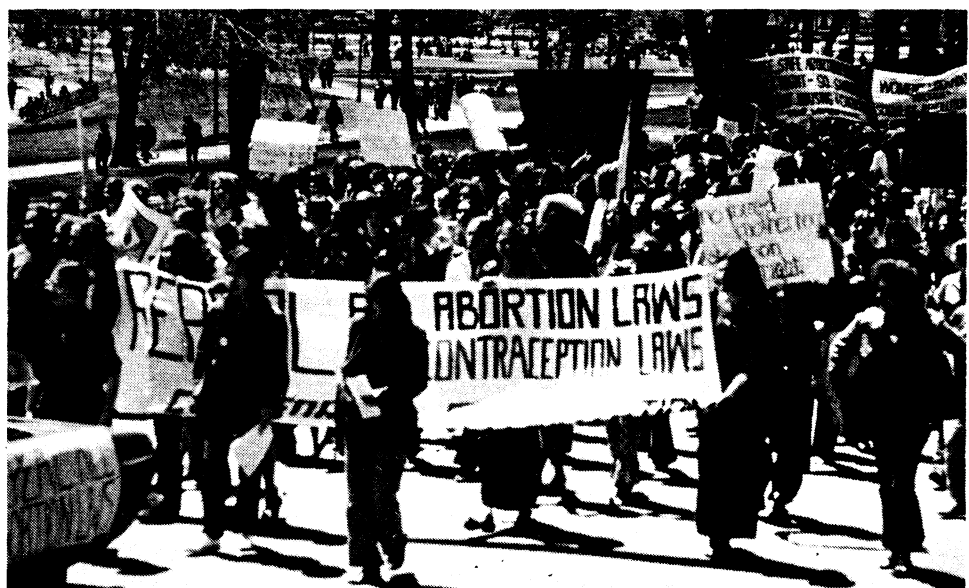


Militant/Betsy Whittaker

WONAAC national coordinator Barbara Roberts and others picket White House last October demanding that Supreme Court recognize right to abortion.

Women in Portland went ahead with an abortion tribunal on Jan. 24 that had been scheduled prior to the Supreme Court decision. Seventy-five women attended the meeting which focused in part on the abortion rights victory.

For further information on these activities, contact the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 437, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 675-9150.



Growing protests against anti-abortion laws were major factor in Supreme Court's decision to legalize abortion. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) organized many of these actions, such as the one above in Boston, May, 1972.

# In Our Opinion

## LBJ

"Lyndon the Liberator"—these are the terms in which former Secretary of State Dean Rusk and other Democratic Party politicians are eulogizing the late Lyndon Johnson.

"Lyndon Johnson will be a political asset in 1976," declared Hubert Humphrey, who was LBJ's vice-president and who lost the 1968 election in part because of his association with Johnson's Vietnam policies.

Even former Senator Eugene McCarthy, who successfully confronted Johnson early in the 1968 Democratic primaries, joined in the praise: "Other than the war, of course, liberals didn't have much to fault Johnson on. . . ."

This is an example of how the rulers of this country leap at any opportunity to refurbish the image of one of their own so as to patch up their credibility as "representatives" of the American people. In the case of LBJ, they have a particularly difficult task.

Despite many popular social welfare measures initiated under his administration, Johnson's Vietnam war record made him one of the most thoroughly hated presidents in the history of this country. His name will always be associated with such sentiments as "Hey, hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"

LBJ was driven out of office by the antiwar movement. In his last months in office, he was afraid to appear publicly in the country he supposedly represented; he feared massive antiwar demonstrations.

Not satisfied with keeping Vietnam safe for capitalism, LBJ financed an army of white mercenary killers from South Africa to put down a revolutionary struggle in the Congo in 1964. He also sent U.S. troops to crush a rebellion in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

LBJ's admirers are now trying to defend his record as a politician who fought for civil rights for Black people. In reality, LBJ was a Dixiecrat who went from being an open racist to being a liberal in order to more effectively slow down and disorient the movement for Black freedom. He is the one who argued against the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) on the Senate floor in 1946, saying: "I notice when I go to New York, that the colored people have congregated in Harlem. That is due to an in-born instinct . . . By this bill [FEPC] there is an attempt to change something that God made." (*Congressional Record*, Vol. 92, p. 579.)

LBJ pushed for, and won, congressional passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, not because he was on the side of Blacks, but because the government of this country was faced with a growing mass movement of Black people who were determined to get some measure of justice, by any means necessary. Although Johnson liked to take credit for the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, the gains that were won were due to the power of the Black freedom movement.

Similarly, the social legislation credited to LBJ—Medicare, the limited programs in housing and education, the so-called war on poverty—were forced out of the government by such explosions as Harlem in 1964, Watts in 1965, Newark and Detroit in 1967.

Working people can remember LBJ for voting for the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" act in the House of Representatives in 1946. In 1967 he invoked the same act to force striking electricians back to work on terms dictated by West Coast shipyard owners.

Johnson's "war on poverty" was about as effective as putting a band-aid on a cancer victim. Although some programs benefited a limited number of people, they scarcely made a dent in the problems facing the majority of the poor and the oppressed.

In his own personal war on poverty, however, LBJ was quite successful. He started out in politics almost penniless. Through his efforts in public office he amassed a fortune of more than \$20-million.

Accounts in the capitalist press would have us believe that LBJ's personal "Great Society" was achieved through the down-home good business sense of Lady Bird Johnson.

But one aspect of Johnson's wheeling and dealing came to light shortly before Kennedy was assassinated. This scandal involved Bobby Baker, an old and trusted friend of LBJ, who had served as secretary to the Senate Democratic majority when Johnson was Senate majority leader.

Baker had used his official position to build a substantial nest egg for himself. A Senate subcommittee disclosed shady dealings involving Baker and LBJ family interests in Texas.

All in all, Lyndon Johnson did his best to defend the racist, imperialist system of capitalist exploitation. In doing so, he did well by himself and his family, too.

# Letters

## Treaty violations

Larry Seigle's "Reply to Tom Hayden" in the Jan. 26 *Militant* is absolutely correct. There can be no doubt that execution of the peace treaty would shortly be followed by cries of "Violation!" on the part of the Thieu regime and the United States government, especially since disagreements in interpretation of various provisions of the agreement are already a matter of public record.

Any resistance by Vietnamese liberation forces to the mass arrests and massacres now being planned by Thieu will doubtless be considered a treaty violation, as will any PRG attempts to consolidate support in so-called contested areas. Nixon will certainly intervene under such circumstances (most likely by renewing the terror bombing of the North), *unless the independent antiwar movement is strong enough to stop him.*

The Hayden line ("the peace treaty is a victory for the Vietnamese") is an invitation for us to demobilize the antiwar movement and to leave the Vietnamese to the tender mercies of Nixon, Thieu, Brezhnev, and Chou.

Our response must be: No Demobilization! No Deals! U.S. Out of Southeast Asia NOW! As the Vietnamese have endured, so must the American antiwar movement endure until a true peace is established throughout Southeast Asia.

*Rich Rubenstein  
Chicago, Ill.*

## Prison brutality

Friday, Jan. 26, one of the indicted brothers of Attica who is currently held in Auburn prison was brutally assaulted by officers for hesitating when being ordered to submit to a second rectal examination within five minutes.

Otis McGaughy had gone through this dehumanizing procedure on the way down to visit his attorneys with the Attica Defense Committee. Although the visit was constantly watched by guards stationed outside the glass door, he was ordered to submit again upon being returned to his cell.

This procedure, carried out with an air of vengeful retaliation by Auburn guards, many of whom were at Attica in September 1971, is just part of the harassment we are still being subjected to.

The attack on McGaughy followed by only two days the gassing of another Attica brother, Vernon Le-franque. The gas filtered throughout our cells for the following days. We want the people to know what is happening to us, and we desperately call on you for help.

We urge people to write to Robert Henderson, Warden, Auburn Prison, 135 State St., Auburn, N.Y. 13021; or Russell Oswald, Commissioner, Department of Corrections, Twin Towers Building, Auburn, N.Y. 13021.

*The Indicted Brothers  
Auburn Concentration Camp  
Auburn, N.Y.*

## To Leonard Woodcock

We were dismayed to hear that you accepted a position on Nixon's "new" Labor-Management Advisory Board. The membership

of the United Auto Workers has the right to decide what kind of pay we consider just and reasonable. That is supposed to be why we have conventions; that is why the membership has the right to accept or turn down a contract negotiated by the leadership.

But your participation on the "new" board can mean only one or both of two things. It can mean that you are willing to get together behind closed doors with management and government officials to come to an agreement before the 1973 negotiations. It can also mean that you lack confidence in yourself and in our union, and that you have already given up on any significant progress in solving our problems in 1973, and are using some phony "guidelines" as an excuse for your failure.

If either or both of these reasons are true, you should not only get off the board, but you should resign as president of the UAW!

The UAW must not put its stamp of approval on these anti-labor programs of the Nixon administration. Phase 3, like phases 1 and 2 before it, was not set up to help working people. Even you, Brother Woodcock, along with George Meany, have shouted, and correctly, that working people were hurt, while Big Business prospered under phases 1 and 2.

This time around, Nixon is hardly pretending that he plans to control prices or profits. This program only makes more certain that prices, rents, profits, executive bonuses, interest payments, and so on will go up more rapidly than before. Only wages will limp ever more deeply behind.

*Pete Kelly*

*Jordan Sims*

*The United National Caucus  
Centerline, Mich.*

## Like it is

*The Militant* really helps me keep abreast of what's happening. You are doing a great job of "telling it like it is."

*A prisoner  
Pennsylvania*

## Super-gods

New York State Senator James Donovan, Republican of Chadwicks and the Senate sponsor of repeal of the present abortion law, called on Congress to amend the United States Constitution to provide "the unborn" with equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Question: Who anointed as super-gods Mr. Donovan and all the anti-abortionists who want to force each and every acorn to become an oak tree?

*D. Serrotti  
Long Island, N.Y.*

## Boycott narwal tusks

In quoting from the Neiman-Marcus Christmas catalogue, the Great Society column left out one thing. It's something that will go great with everyone who is concerned with preserving endangered species, namely a set of "giant narwhal [a type of whale] tusks to decorate a fireplace,

entry or window area. . . . Set in bases of pewter-like metal studded with agates." \$5,000 a pair:

J. S.  
San Diego, Calif.

### Bargains galore

By the way, did you know that Neiman-Marcus has a 5 & 10 department? Five and 10 dollars, that is.

E. Z.  
Houston, Texas

### Catholic hierarchy

"It is the most disastrous legislation in 200 years of this country. . . ."—Catholic diocese.

The celibate Catholic hierarchy still wishes to impose itself upon women in absolute control over their lives, their bodies.

What is disastrous is the power exerted by the Catholic hierarchy. Where is our Constitution with its law separating church and state? How has the Catholic hierarchy, up to this time, been able to impose its dictums upon a people, and in particular, upon women?

D. K.  
San Francisco, Calif.

### Suggestion

I enjoy *The Militant* very much. but find you tend to repeat yourselves often. I like the present format and particularly enjoy *The Great Society*.

One suggestion though: I'd like to see you print excerpts from some of the major works of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. I've read much of their work, but I feel there is much more to be learned. I think if we expose people to their ideas we will be able to expose the capitalists' lies about the "evils" of socialism.

Keep up the good work.

V. D.  
Newton, Mass.

### From a GI in Vietnam

I sit here reluctantly in my barracks in Vietnam. I did not choose to come here, and while here I have done all I could to sway the apathetic to our side.

I dream of how the world could be with an end to poverty and thirst, ignorance and slavery, capitalism and war.

Though today I am just a dreamer, tomorrow I shall be an activist. I will do my best to sway the masses to our side.

Though I am involved in this imperialist-capitalist war, I have never forgotten that I am a socialist. I have been proud and open about it and have found myself in jeopardy at times.

A. G. I.  
Vietnam

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.



## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith

# Why being Black is health hazard

"For years Black people have been used as sort of guinea pigs. . . . First you try it in mice, then in rats, and then in Blacks—because chimpanzees are too expensive."

These are the words of Dr. Edmund Casey, president of the National Medical Association (NMA), a Black physician's organization. Dr. Casey was commenting on the syphilis experiment on Blacks in Alabama and other aspects of the medical profession's attitude toward health care in the Black community.

His remarks and those of other doctors appeared in an article on Black health care in the Jan. 26 New York *Daily News*.

These doctors show that U. S. Blacks are far more likely to die from common diseases and ailments than whites. The major health problem of Blacks is hypertension. This disease, which afflicts one in seven Blacks, claims more than 13,500 Black lives each year. Blacks are twice as likely to get it than whites.

- Blacks have twice the chance of being killed by a stroke. Stroke is the nation's third leading cause of death.

- Infant mortality is three times higher among Black children, and Black women during child birth have four times the chance of not making it compared to white women.

- These problems and others combine to make the Black life expectancy 64.1 years. Whites can expect 71 years.

The medical profession has little knowledge of the scientific causes of some of these ailments. But worse than that, the federal government and the medical profession aren't doing much to correct the situation.

Many Black doctors, though, have strong opin-

ions on the subject. Dr. Alyce Gullattee of Howard University in Washington, D. C., puts it this way: "It is the health of oppression. . . . Social pressures create an environment for sickness."

She was referring to the growing belief that the incidence of these diseases among Blacks has distinct social origins. Malnutrition and other general poverty conditions have been cited as the cause. Dr. Gullattee pointed out that a lack of well-paying jobs leads to poor nutrition.

Moreover, poverty is accompanied with inability to get medical treatment. This means, for example, that an untreated sore throat can lead to rheumatic fever. Lead poisoning, a result of rundown housing, often goes undiagnosed.

Dr. Norma Goodwin of New York City's Health and Hospitals Corporation stated, "Any disease which is not diagnosed early and not treated takes a great toll."

Dr. Casey of the NMA gave an example of the need for early evaluation. Approximately 10 percent of all Black women who give birth lack prenatal care, and there is no way of knowing whether these women are on adequate diets. A serious lack of protein, in the mother's diet will almost inevitably lead to infant mortality.

Dr. Chester Pierce, a professor of psychiatry and education at Harvard University, summed it up by pointing out that Black people's health is adversely affected because it is harder for them to make it in this racist and capitalist society. He accurately concluded, "When at birth the Black child's chances, by virtue of his skin color alone, for a long and comfortable life are statistically different from the white child's, then racism is causing problems."



## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

# The rich get richer...and richer

The system in this country operates to keep poor people poor and to make rich people richer. Almost everyone knows this, especially those who do all the hard work and get little for it. But occasionally someone studies income distribution to prove the fact.

Last summer a study by Letitia Upton and Nancy Lyons of the Cambridge Institute showed that since World War II the richest fifth of U. S. families got more than the bottom three-fifths. In 1970, those three-fifths at the bottom were families with an annual income of less than \$11,000. The poorest fifth got \$5,000 or less, mostly less. There were 10.4 million such families. This means that there are still at least 50 million people who live in dire poverty.

Any family with an annual income of \$14,000 or more was in the top fifth of the population in 1970, and this must be true today despite inflation. Only 5 percent got more than \$24,000.

The Upton-Lyons study demonstrated that from 1958 to 1968 the rich got absolutely and relatively richer. The richest fifth owned 77 percent of all personal wealth in 1962—three times more than what was owned by the bottom 80 percent.

The 1 percent at the very top own at least 25 percent of all industry and resources in this country, and have for generations. Sixty of the richest families still own and control this country.

Some advocates of "peoples capitalism" may dispute this fact, citing the statistic that individual stock investors increased from 9 million in 1956 to 31 million in 1970. But the proportion of stock owned by the richest 1 percent of the population increased from 69.5 percent in 1953 to 71.6 percent in 1962.

A more recent study shows that the trend toward concentration of wealth in the hands of a few continues and affects the distribution of income among wage and salary earners. This is a necessary result of a system that operates for the benefit of the coupon clippers.

The December 1972 issue of the Labor Department's *Monthly Labor Review* reports that "analysis of Census data covering a period of steadily rising incomes (1958 to 1970) shows a slight but persistent trend toward inequality."

Using unpublished data from the Bureau of the Census, Peter Henle, senior specialist on labor for the Library of Congress, discovered that the lowest paid one-fifth of all male workers received only 4.6 percent of all wage and salary income in 1970, down from 5.1 percent in 1958.

During the same time span, wages and salaries of the highest paid one-fifth increased from 38.15 percent to 40.55 percent. This was accounted for by a sharp increase in the number of professionals earning \$40,000 to \$50,000 a year.

According to Henle, "The strong trend toward inequality among blue-collar occupations may have resulted from either of the following: 1) a flow of lesser educated youngsters to the low end of the distribution; or 2) a pattern of compensation increases within these occupations which, possibly reflecting union wage pressures, obtained greater increases for already higher paid workers."

Young people entering the labor market in hourly-rated jobs are low paid, regardless of their formal education. Skilled workers, protected by their unions, have won wage raises. But wages have not kept up with rising prices, and no workers are in the \$40,000 a year bracket. The vast majority of skilled workers remain within the lower 60 percent wage range, below \$11,000 per year in inflated dollars.

This growing discrepancy between the low wages of workers and the high rake-off by those who don't work, combined with mounting social tensions, will force the union movement to take a closer look at how and why government wage controls perpetuate inequality.



# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Maybe they used B-52s**—Spain's dictator Franco and Portugal's President Tomas went on a two-day bird shooting party which, according to an official Spanish announcement, bagged 1,791 partridges.

**Long-term investment**—London thieves who ignored \$1,500 of caviar to take \$500 of beef have undoubtedly been studying market trends.

**Behind-the-lines wear and tear**—More than half the Air Force generals who retired in 1971 qualified for disability pay even though 70 percent of them were still qualifying for flight pay six months before retiring. "There appear

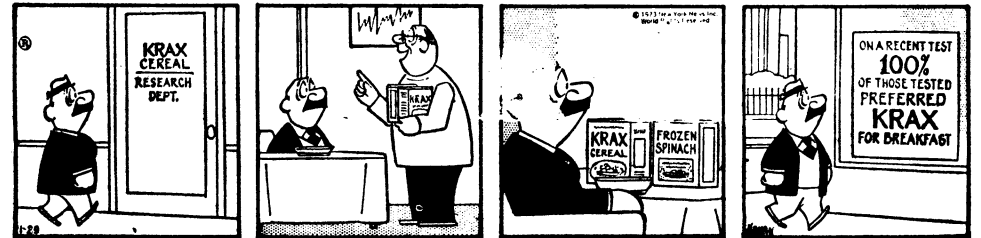
to be some abuses," shrewdly observed Senator Harry Byrd of the the Armed Services Committee.

**Hope they can swallow it**—British scientists are feeding cattle old newspapers. They said that newsprint soaked in water and treated with fungus is wholesome and nutritious when added to regular feed.

**Taking care of business**—North Carolina courts upheld the conviction of a street preacher who was offering the word of god at a Winston-Salem shopping mall without benefit of the permit required for such activity. The preacher-permit ordinance was adopted after merchants complained street preaching was interfering with sales.

**The strands of history**—Albany, N. Y., police are conducting an intensive hunt for the hair of George Washington and other revolutionary war figures. The strands, contained in lockets, were ripped off from a revolutionary-era mansion serving as a museum. "These items are priceless," the museum superintendent said.

**Unfiltered**—A West German scientist reports that coffin nails are equally dangerous for nonusers. Prof. Ferdinand Schmidt said laboratory tests confirm that the smoke and fumes from the burning end of a cigarette contain more cancer-producing agents than the mainstream inhaled by the user.



## Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



### Hire 'go-go girls' to cure job blues?

Nixon's nominee for secretary of labor, Peter Brennan, recently told a Senate hearing how he would deal with the alienation of assembly-line workers: "Maybe we should bring in some go-go girls to dance," he commented, according to the Jan. 19 *Wall Street Journal*.

Brennan's disgusting sense of humor leaves little doubt about his lack of concern for the needs of working women. In fact, he seems to fit the bill for Nixon's purposes on all counts, not just on women's issues.

But neither Nixon nor Brennan can simply ignore or ridicule the demands women are raising. They apparently hope to absorb the growing sentiment for equal rights with the creation of "advisory bodies" on women's problems. One such body is the advisory committee on the economic role of women, which has 13 female members and three male members.

The appointees include Julia Greer, vice-president of Communications Workers Local 4010 in Detroit; Lenore Hershey, managing editor of *Ladies' Home Journal*; Queens College Professor Cynthia Epstein; Dr. Bernice Sandler, a former member of WEAL (Women's Equity Action League);

Dr. Stephen Fuller, vice-president of General Motors; and Arthur Rasmussen, president of Household Finance Corporation.

Writing in the Jan. 18 *New York Times*, Eileen Shanahan described the committee as "representing a cross-section of business, labor, higher education, and publishing." She added that "only a few of the women have reputations as militant feminists."

Nevertheless, Nixon's Council of Economic Advisors has run into trouble with the committee over a draft presidential report on the economy. For the first time, this report includes a chapter on working women.

Shanahan reported that a majority of the women on the advisory committee disapproved of the report. They felt it dealt with working women from the point of view of those women who work for other than financial reasons.

The women members contended that the majority of female workers hold jobs because they need the money. They cited some figures: 65 percent of all women who work have husbands earning less than \$7,000 a year or no husbands at all. This is the case for 80 percent of the work-

ing women from oppressed nationalities.

There are three Black women on the advisory committee. All three, as well as some of the white women members, attacked the report's omission of the special problems Black women face. Despite the fact that more than half of the Black families headed by women fall below the poverty level, the report never mentioned the words "Black," "minority," or "poverty."

In addition, they pointed out, the report failed to discuss the obvious need for child-care facilities for working women. Marina Whitman, one of Nixon's appointees to the Council of Economic Advisors, apparently tried to dismiss this question with the excuse that more study is needed first to see if child-care centers might be harmful to children's welfare. (What about the welfare of children left at home alone while their mothers go to work?)

Nixon has had bad luck with his recent commissions. The one on population growth called for legalizing abortion, and the one on drugs urged repeal of some laws governing the use of marijuana. It looks like he's headed for more trouble with his committee on the economic role of women.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



### How 'la migra' patrols the border

More and more information is being uncovered concerning the corrupt and repressive activities of the Immigration Service and the Border Patrol. These racist agencies, known as "la migra" by *mexicanos* are charged with the task of policing the Mexican border.

The border has existed since 1848, when the U.S. defeated Mexico. The peace agreement, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, provided for free passage across the border to Mexicans. But these and other rights of *mexicanos* stipulated in the treaty have been systematically violated.

Since Mexicans here without visas are "illegal" according to U.S. law, *migra* officials and gringo capitalists can exploit them mercilessly.

Lower-echelon border patrolmen have been spilling the beans recently about their superiors. It seems that everyday "policing" activities of *la migra* include accepting bribes, smuggling, extortion, forgery, and rape.

Recently a San Ysidro, Calif., *migra* official, Frank Castro, was convicted of forging immigration papers. His customers sold them at exorbitant prices to *mexicanos* across the border. In the last four years, according to press accounts, he raked in more than \$200,000.

Two other men at the San Ysidro station, Joseph Byrne and Walter O'Donnell, are currently being tried for accepting \$60,000 to allow a solid 24 tons of marijuana to pass through.

Dale Swancutt, an assistant chief patrol agent, was quoted in the Jan. 9 *Los Angeles Times* as saying, "Smuggling [of *mexicanos*] is a big business now and has escalated immensely in the last seven years. It is bigger than narcotics smuggling and far safer for the smugglers because of leniency of the courts."

Last May 31 Martha Lopez, a Mexican national, was arrested and then raped by border patrolman Kenneth Cock. The facts are reported in the San Diego County Raza Unida Party Newsletter of July and September 1972.

*Migra* officials in Texas have a cozy relationship with local ranchers, including Richmond Harper of Eagle Pass, who was indicted last July on charges of smuggling \$1,000,000 worth of explosives and weapons into Mexico.

Martin Waldron, writing in the Dec. 19 *New York Times*, got the story from patrolmen. He reports that ranchers allow border officials to hunt and fish for free on their property. In return,

their ranches are considered "off limits" to inspectors.

The Border Patrol also has the power to "lease out" to its rancher friends *mexicanos* it has captured without papers. They are given the choice of going to jail or working for \$4 a day, about one-third the going rate for ranch hands.

*Mexicanas* are allowed to cross the border every day to work as maids for \$10 a week in Anglo households.

The Patrol is equipped with road graders and tractors to "drag" the bank of the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) to spot illegal crossings. However, the only time the patrolmen ever use the equipment is to make firebreaks for their rancher friends. (It would be a shame if all that good hunting and fishing land ever burned up.)

This corruption makes for sloppy border control, and Federal authorities have indicated concern about it recently. I have a suggestion for them. Get rid of the Border Patrol and the Immigration Service. Allow *mexicanos* to cross the border without any restriction whatsoever, grant everyone a visa who asks for it, as is their right. That would take care of corruption on the border.

# Thieu air force continues bombing raids in S. Vietnam; U.S. bombs Laos, Cambodia

By CAROLINE LUND

JAN. 30 — Only hours after the Paris accords went into effect Jan. 28 it was clear that there is no peace in Vietnam.

*New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr wrote that just as a radio announcement of the beginning of the cease-fire came over the air in Trang Bang, South Vietnam, "a 500-pound bomb dropped from a South Vietnamese fighter plane and exploded with a shattering crash 250 yards

only a minimal pretense of complying with the accords. He has Nixon's assurances of continued support, whatever happens.

"President Nguyen Van Thieu has told his army and his administration that no territory need be conceded to the Communists, that any Vietcong flag that flies should be torn down, that anyone raising a flag should be arrested or shot," reported Peter Kann in the Jan. 29 *Wall Street Journal*.

Kann continues: "If the flags go

air units in Thailand and with the Seventh Fleet in the Pacific and said: 'Hanoi certainly is aware of the existence of these elements, where they will be deployed, and can draw some conclusions.'"

Washington's attempts to prop up the corrupt Thieu regime have gone to such ludicrous extremes that, as the *Times* reported Jan. 26, the U.S. "has swamped the South Vietnamese Air Force with hundreds of warplanes it can neither fly nor maintain."

Most of the planes are sitting in storage hangars because the Saigon armed forces don't have enough pilots who know how to use them. The Saigon air force will need some 15,000 additional personnel in order to use and maintain the planes. Most of the training of pilots is done in the United States, paid for by U.S. taxpayers.

Thieu's police made it clear to some reporters that they were ready to violate the accords to whatever extent they could get away with it. Thus *New York Times* reporter Craig R. Whitney reported from Quang Tri: "A jeep carrying this reporter, a photographer, another correspondent and a driver stopped on the way back to Hue because of the sound of a roaring battle, machine gun fire, crashing mortars and exploding grenades at 11 A.M., three hours after the cease-fire.

"A few minutes later, a jeep carrying the Thua Thien province chief, Ton That Khiem, and the police chief stopped on its way south. The chief ripped out the photographer's film, and confiscated the driver's identity card. His men shot out two tires of the jeep."

Thieu's deliberate violations of the agreement were also illustrated in his regime's treatment of the representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government who came to Saigon to participate in the Four Party Joint Military Commission established to monitor the cease-fire. Two groups of PRG and North Vietnamese delegates to the Four Party commission were forced to remain on their planes because of the Thieu regime's insistence that they fill out immigration forms as if they were from another country.

The feelings of American working people toward the Vietnam accords continue to be dominated by doubts that peace has actually been achieved and distrust of the U.S. government for its entire war policy.

"I only know four people who liked

the war — Nixon, Johnson, Kennedy and Eisenhower," said Herbie Ehmann, interviewed by the *New York Times* in a New York bar Jan. 24. A common sentiment was expressed by one person who said, "I want to know why we couldn't have had the same settlement years ago."

An older woman told a *Times* interviewer in Ohio, "I'm not going to get excited till they quit fighting. I welcome peace, but you can't trust

## Thieu prisoners in grave danger

Amnesty International announced Jan. 26 that it has grounds to fear for the safety of the political prisoners held in South Vietnam. "The Vietnam peace settlement has failed to provide adequate safeguards for the estimated 100,000 civilian detainees in South Vietnam," the organization stated.

"There is real danger that key members of the South Vietnamese non-Communist opposition who are detained will be killed before the supervisory commissions come into operation."

It cites "evidence that selective elimination of opposition members had begun," noting that "300 prisoners traveling on a boat from Con Son to the mainland are reported to have been killed."

politicians any more." A construction worker added, "in a year's time they'll be back fighting again somewhere else. I just don't know why."

Another *Times* interviewer in Missouri heard this comment from the son of a bar owner: "the war has made a negative attitude about serving in the Army. When I was [draft age] everyone was willing to fight for the country. Hell, now everyone has to look at each war and figure out if it's really worth it."

A nationwide Gallup poll conducted two days after Nixon's announcement of the settlement found that although 80 percent of Americans said they were satisfied with the agreement, 50 percent thought the U.S. should not send any more military aid to South Vietnam, even if the Vietnamese rebels gain the upper hand.

Seventy-one percent felt the U.S. should not bomb North Vietnam again even if the North tried to take control of the South, and 79 percent felt the U.S. should never again send troops to aid the South.

## Reaction in Congress

After doing nothing whatsoever to stop the Vietnam war, Congress could breathe a sigh of relief that Nixon had supposedly ended it. On Jan. 24, during a White House briefing on the accords, Nixon was given a standing ovation by members of Congress, including the "doves."

George McGovern, onetime chief dove, also did what he could to whitewash Nixon's historic crimes. Today there is no point in "attempting to assign the blame for this tragedy," he said. "There is blame enough for all of us, and we must all help bear it."

To help maintain their credibility, however, Senators Frank Church (D-Idaho) and Clifford Case (R-N.J.) introduced legislation Jan. 26 that would bar U.S. reentry into the war

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Like this GI, most Americans are sick of the war but many distrust the government's talk of 'peace.' Seventy-one percent oppose resumption of any bombing of North Vietnam, even if the North were to try to 'take control' of the South.

up the highway. It was followed by many more bombs."

The next day Mohr reported that "South Vietnamese forces were openly ignoring the cease-fire agreement in the area northwest of Saigon today, but on a relatively small scale and selectively."

The Saigon regime's use of bombers is a flagrant violation of the accords, which stipulate a cease-fire in place. The agreement permits only "unarmed" aircraft flights.

Mohr also reported that "the sounds

up, we go in and tear them down, and if they resist, we kill them," one senior official says."

On the day the cease-fire went into effect, the Saigon regime announced that it had received new assurances that the U.S. "will intervene again immediately" if the Saigon regime should be endangered. Sylvan Fox, writing from Saigon in the Jan. 28 *New York Times* quoted a "well-informed South Vietnamese official" as saying that the assurance of prompt U.S. intervention was given by Nixon

## NPAC, SMC set nat'l meeting

A meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition coordinating committee and representatives of the Student Mobilization Committee took place in New York City Jan. 27.

The meeting decided to call for a joint steering committee meeting of NPAC and SMC for Feb. 24 in Washington, D.C. The meeting will be held at the Metropolitan AME Church, 1518 M St. N.W., beginning at noon. The joint meeting will discuss future plans for the two organizations.

The steering committee meeting will be preceded by a picket line around the White House from 10 to 11:30 a.m. to demand that the U.S. withdraw completely and unconditionally from Southeast Asia.

of an American B-52 bombing raid could also be heard faintly from Cambodia, a few miles away."

On Jan. 28 the Nixon administration admitted that some 100 U.S. planes, including B-52s, were continuing bombing raids in Laos following the cease-fire. This is despite the fact that the accords call for the removal of all foreign military forces from Laos and Cambodia.

The U.S. rulers have tried to justify their continuation of the bombing of Laos on the grounds that the bombing is by planes based in Thailand and not in Laos. In addition, however, Washington has financed through the Central Intelligence Agency an army of some 4,000 Thai troops, who are fighting in Laos.

Saigon President Thieu is making

to Thieu, and also passed through "private" channels.

"They said that if the cease-fire is violated in a blatant way, the United States will intervene again immediately," the source told Fox.

To reemphasize the same point Nixon sent Vice-president Agnew to Saigon Jan. 28 to convince Thieu that, as Agnew's press secretary put it, "we're not abandoning our friends."

On the same day, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Sullivan told reporters that in the event of a breakdown of the cease-fire, "there are no inhibitions upon us [the U.S.]," as far as U.S. military response is concerned.

According to an account in the *New York Times*, Sullivan "pointed out that the United States would retain



Agnew personally gave Thieu Nixon's assurances that the U.S. recognizes Saigon as 'the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam.'

# The Vietnamese revolution and Nixon's world strategy



By **BARRY SHEPPARD**

The signing of the Vietnam accords marks a new stage in the 30-year struggle of the Vietnamese masses for national and social liberation. In its most recent phase, Washington's intervention has made this struggle the focal point of the world struggle between imperialism and revolution. In turn, world politics is playing a key role in shaping the course of events in Vietnam.

To understand what this new stage means, the accords have to be placed in the overall context of the history of the war and world politics.

Beginning with resistance to Japanese imperialism in World War II, the Vietnamese revolution has continued almost without interruption. It has paralleled and been part of the great upsurge of the colonial masses.

The colonial revolution on a world scale, as in Vietnam, was given a mighty thrust forward as a result of World War II. The weakening of the old imperialist empires and the Soviet victory against German imperialism were important factors underlying this upsurge. The victory of the Chinese revolution added fresh impetus, especially in Vietnam.

Twice the Vietnamese, under the leadership of the Vietminh, achieved virtual victory throughout Vietnam—in 1945 with the collapse of the Japanese empire, and again in 1954 after the defeat of the French. In both instances, the policies pursued by Moscow, and then in 1954 by Moscow and Peking, were the key factors in robbing the Vietnamese of the fruits of their victory.

In the 1945-46 period, the Kremlin was seeking to carry out its agreements with its war-time allies on the post-war division of the world. Vietnam was to remain in the French "sphere of influence." This policy led the Ho Chi Minh leadership to allow British troops to enter Vietnam, and then a reintroduction of French forces. During the same period, Mao Tsetung was seeking to form a coalition with Chiang Kai-shek in China.

The French rapidly violated the accords they had signed and moved to

break Vietminh control in order to reestablish their authority. This set the stage for a new war of the Vietnamese people, this time against the French, in the context of the developing cold war and the Korean war. This war culminated with the Vietminh military victory at Dienbienphu in 1954. The country was once again largely in Vietminh hands. The pro-imperialist regime of Bao Dai was virtually nonexistent.

## Geneva conference

But the 1954 Geneva conference imposed a "settlement" on the Vietnamese that again robbed them of much of their victory, although not all of it. The Geneva conference succeeded in reducing the territory under Vietminh control to what became the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Vietminh troops in the south were withdrawn to the north, the country was divided, and the imperialists gained time to consolidate a regime in the south.

Moscow and Peking played key roles in the Geneva conference in imposing this unjust settlement on the Vietnamese.

U.S. imperialism moved in to replace the French, not by making South Vietnam an outright colony, but through a neocolonialist policy of setting up a capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon. Ngo Dinh Diem was chosen for the job.

In the first stage, the Vietminh hailed the accords, pointing to the promise that elections would be held to reunify the country. This helped demobilize the struggle in the south, which gave the imperialists time to build up their puppet regime.

Once this was accomplished, Diem disregarded the provisions of the accords concerning democracy and elections. He launched a struggle to eliminate any opposition and to reverse the remaining revolutionary gains made in areas formerly under Vietminh control. Especially important were his efforts to reverse the land reform the peasants had made in such areas.

Against Diem's counterrevolution, resistance once again appeared among

the masses. Scattered at first, the resistance became widespread by the late 1950s. In 1960 the National Liberation Front was formed. After this, North Vietnam began to give support to the rebellion in the southern part of the country.

By 1965, the civil war had reached the point that in spite of U.S. aid—materiel, money, "special forces," and limited numbers of troops—the Saigon regime was in danger of collapsing. The U.S. imperialists decided to enter the conflict more directly.



Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar march on Washington. The massive movement in opposition to U.S. intervention in Vietnam limited Washington's options.

Washington's escalation of the war proceeded cautiously, step by step, to test the reaction of Moscow and Peking. Neither effectively countered. By 1968, American troop strength exceeded 500,000, supported by the most powerful military machine on earth. But in spite of the U.S. invasion, Washington could not "nail the coon-

skin to the wall," as Johnson defined imperialism's war aims. Washington was unable to crush the revolutionary forces.

## Heroism of Vietnamese

There are two major reasons why Washington was unable to accomplish this then or in the years since. The primary reason has been the Vietnamese people's unparalleled heroism and their tenacious struggle for national liberation and unification of Vietnam. What an example they have set in the face of one of the most ferocious attacks in history!

The fact that Washington has failed to crush militarily the Vietnamese liberation fighters will have an important impact on the world revolution. It demonstrates that it is possible—even for colonial peoples in small countries—to struggle against imperialism. It indicates a new relationship of forces in the world that makes imperialism's drive to hold the colonial revolution within capitalist bounds more difficult.

The second reason derives from the first. The example of struggle the Vietnamese set inspired a new generation of youth throughout the world. This provided the initial and most dedicated cadres of a new antiwar movement, international in scope, that has had a powerful contingent within the U.S. itself.

In this country, the antiwar movement began as a small minority on the campuses, came to reflect a majority of student opinion, and reached out to the broad masses of the population. Through its teach-ins, rallies, and above all, its mass demonstrations, this movement mobilized hundreds of thousands and came to reflect the antiwar sentiments of millions. The deepening antiwar sentiment had a profound impact on the draftee army sent to fight the dirty war.

Washington was forced to take into account the political costs of the war, internationally and at home. For example, it would have paid a very high price in terms of political stability at home, and even in the Army itself, had it forced U.S. troops to take casualties on the scale that would have been necessary to defeat the Vietnamese. U.S. combat deaths at the rate of 100 a week came to be more and more unacceptable to the

American people.

The antiwar movement around the world has heightened the awareness of a section of the masses to imperialism's crimes, and sensitized them to react against other imperialist adventures. This is also true in the U.S.

The American antiwar movement gave a tremendous impetus to a



general radicalization in this country. Attitudes of distrust toward the government run deep. Disaffection with capitalist authority has spilled over to other areas.

This deep alienation of large masses on a question of such central importance as war will not be easily reversed. This further ties the hands of the imperialist policy-makers. Nixon threatens to intervene again if the struggle in South Vietnam goes against Thieu. But he can only do so by risking massive political opposition at home. The new attitude on the part of Americans makes any other imperialist adventure—which sooner or later is inevitable—more difficult for Washington.

In 1968, caught between the tenacious resistance of the Vietnamese and the mounting antiwar sentiment at home and abroad, imperialism decided upon a new course.

After the Tet offensive, and after his advisers informed him that sending another 200,000 soldiers would not significantly alter the military situation, Johnson announced he would seek negotiations with the Vietnamese. At the same time, he announced his decision not to run for a second term.

These moves were designed to placate antiwar sentiment. Washington was also trying to buy time to continue the military pressure on the revolutionary forces while the Saigon regime was built up.

The Tet offensive had clearly demonstrated that the Saigon regime was incapable of defending itself against the NLF and North Vietnamese forces. U.S. troops bore the brunt of the fighting. Until Saigon's army and regime could be strengthened, any settlement of the war would be very dangerous from the imperialist point of view.

Nixon took office pledging he had a "secret" plan to end the war. In his first months in office he intensified military pressure on the Vietnamese, and U.S. casualties mounted. Then, in the summer of 1969, he announced that U.S. troops would be gradually replaced by a greatly beefed-up Saigon army. A program was launched to strengthen the Saigon regime.

The continuation of the war, even in its new form, did not diminish antiwar sentiment but intensified it. The promise of peace only made the war more unacceptable. After a pause to see what Nixon would do when he took office, antiwar actions in 1969, 1970, and 1971 became the most massive ever.

Washington's steps to extend the war to Cambodia were met by the May 1970 student strike and mass actions. The huge April 24, 1971, march on Washington came after the failure of the invasion of Laos in February 1971.

The aborted attack on North Vietnamese forces in Laos by Saigon troops, backed by U.S. transport and logistics, demonstrated the failure of "Vietnamization" to forge an army capable of meeting the North Vietnamese forces. Thus, from the imperialist point of view, any agreement would have to preclude a full-scale test of strength between North Vietnamese and Saigon forces.

But Hanoi and the NLF still remained adamant against any settlement of this kind, correctly pointing out that it would amount to keeping the Saigon regime in power. At this point, Hanoi and the NLF still demanded that any settlement must include dismantling the Saigon regime.

To achieve the kind of settlement Washington favored it was necessary to secure the cooperation of Moscow and Peking. Such a deal would have to be part of a wider agreement with the leaders of both large workers states, an agreement that would give them certain concessions they considered important.

Washington's calculation that the bureaucratic leaderships in Moscow

and Peking would be amenable to a deal that included a settlement in Vietnam was not without foundation.

Both the Soviet Union and China are workers states where capitalism has been overthrown. But both are saddled with a privileged bureaucratic layer or caste. This bureaucracy decides policy primarily on the basis of its own narrow interests, and not on the interests of the world revolution.

The rulers of the Soviet Union and the rulers of China both subscribe to Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," which places the national interests of the Soviet Union, or China, as narrowly conceived by the ruling bureaucratic layer, above the interests of the revolution in Vietnam or anywhere else. Both view the revolution in Vietnam as small change in their efforts to secure "peaceful coexistence" with Washington.



Above: Nixon greeted by Soviet Communist Party Secretary Brezhnev during trip to Moscow in May 1972. Below: Nixon and Chou En-lai reviewing honor guard in Peking, February 1972.

In the course of the war, neither Moscow nor Peking adequately defended the Vietnamese, politically or militarily. They failed to form a united front on a governmental level against the imperialist aggression. Neither built an international united antiwar action front, nor mobilized even their followers throughout the world.

During Washington's step-by-step escalation of the war, neither indicated that an attack on North Vietnam would be considered as an attack on the Soviet Union or China. This must be especially emphasized in the case of the Soviet Union, since it has the power to deter U.S. imperialism.

As was indicated in page after page of the Pentagon papers, the strategists in Washington would not have pressed their attack on North Vietnam if the Soviet Union had made the same commitment to Hanoi that it has to Eastern Europe, for example.

The Soviet aid to Vietnam was a tiny fraction of the enormous amount the U.S. poured into the conflict. The Soviet Union has provided Egypt, a capitalist country, with more aid than it has given North Vietnam. Not only in quantity, but also in quality, the aid given Egypt has been far superior. While North Vietnam got the antiquated SAM-2 missiles, for example, Egypt received more advanced Soviet

missiles and aircraft.

The aid given the Vietnamese was just enough to keep them alive and fighting, but not enough to seriously challenge the U.S., especially in the air. The meager quantity of aid kept Vietnam dependent on Moscow and Peking and vulnerable to pressure from them.

Nixon's summit meetings in Peking in February and in Moscow in May of last year concluded a deal that—it is now apparent—involved the aid of both powers in "ending the war." These summits set the stage, after some months of relentless military and political pressure, for the Hanoi leadership to offer to "separate the military and political questions."

The actual agreements arrived at in the summit meetings are shrouded in secrecy. But their broad outlines are becoming more apparent. Washington appears willing to recognize—

Thieu's armies began to crumble and flee before the revolutionary advance. The Nixon administration now admits that only massive U.S. intervention in the form of bombing and the mining of North Vietnamese ports saved the day for Thieu.

The offensive again demonstrated that Vietnamization was not enough to preserve the Saigon regime. Political pressure had to be mounted to secure an agreement that would guarantee to Washington's satisfaction that Hanoi's troops could not attack the Saigon army. The alternative, Nixon threatened, would be sustained, massive bombing that would "wipe out" North Vietnam.

Moscow decided to go ahead with the summit meeting, stabbing the Vietnamese in the back and twisting the blade. Moscow refused even to draw any limit to the destruction it would permit Nixon to unleash on North Vietnam.

With Hanoi's spring offensive, and then Nixon's mining of the ports and bombing, the antiwar movement began to remobilize in the U.S. and throughout the world. Sentiment was running strong against Nixon. It was a propitious moment for the Soviet Union to announce it would defend North Vietnam.

But the announcement that the summit would proceed cut the ground out from under the antiwar movement. Masses believed that Nixon would now be able to end the war with Moscow and Peking's help. Thus, Nixon was able to intensify the bombing in Indochina tremendously without fear of effective counteraction by Moscow, and without provoking a massive antiwar response.

While the full facts are not known, we are justified in assuming that both Moscow and Peking applied strong pressure on Hanoi to settle with Washington. Numerous "leaks" in Washington indicate this, and Brezhnev even boasted of it in a Jan. 30 speech.

North Vietnam now stood alone as a state power, although it continued to enjoy the support of progressive humanity everywhere. Under the combined pressure of Washington's military attack, Moscow and Peking's refusal to provide adequate aid, and political pressure from Moscow and Peking, Hanoi finally accepted the cease-fire accords under terms they had previously rejected.

These accords leave the Thieu regime in control of the major cities, keep Vietnam divided, and contain other conditions Washington has forced on the Vietnamese.

The next stage in Vietnam will be marked by instability. The accords reflect the fact that the liberation forces have been unable to achieve national liberation and reunification, and also that they have not been crushed. Two powers continue to exist in South Vietnam—the Saigon regime of the landlords and capitalists, and the liberation forces based upon the peasants and workers. Such a situation is inherently unstable. One or the other of these forces must eventually predominate. The outcome can only be decided by struggle.

In this respect, the situation in South Vietnam is much more explosive than just after the 1954 accords. Then, the Vietminh forces were withdrawn to the north. Now, North Vietnamese and NLF troops remain in control of areas of the south. In 1954, the pro-imperialist regime was practically nonexistent and had to be built up. Today, Thieu's regime is armed to the teeth. Two massive armed forces face each other.

Enormous problems grip South Vietnam. There is little industry. Agriculture, the backbone of the nation, is massively disrupted.

The accords solve none of the social problems that have been at the root of the war, including land reform, political democracy, national independence, and reunification.

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temporarily—the overturns of capitalism that occurred after World War II in North Korea, China, and Eastern Europe, as well as in the Soviet Union. Trade and other concessions are to be granted to these countries.

In return, imperialism expects the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking to use their influence among the masses to help prevent any further overturns of capitalism, including in South Vietnam. If this works in South Vietnam, Washington will extend the same policy—recognition of the status quo—to North Vietnam.

But even if the detente should succeed in cooling the struggle in Vietnam for a period, it will not bring peace, either in Vietnam or in the rest of the world. Imperialism's long-range strategy remains not only to halt the world revolution, but to reverse it if conditions permit.

The struggle in Vietnam is both the fly in the ointment of this scheme, and the compelling reason behind Washington's willingness to seek such a deal at this time.

### Spring offensive

The weakness of Thieu's army was once again revealed in Hanoi's offensive last spring. The offensive came in between the two summit meetings, infuriating the Kremlin bureaucrats.

# Thousands protest Viet war from London to Mexico City



Antiwar demonstration of 4,000 to 5,000 in Geneva, Switzerland, the largest there in decades.

La Breche

## From Intercontinental Press

### London

Nearly 12,000 persons marched in London on January 20 in the largest demonstration against the war in Vietnam since 1968. A contingent of about 3,000, marching behind the banner of the Indochina Solidarity Conference, joined demonstrators assembled at a Trafalgar Square rally organized by the British Council for Peace in Vietnam.

Together they marched to the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square, where one participating group burned an effigy of Nixon.

Many demonstrators carried signs and banners saying "Sign Now." The slogans of "Solidarity Till Final Victory" and "Out Now" were also raised.

### Vienna

On January 19, the day before Nixon was sworn in, demonstrations were held in all the larger cities of Austria in support of the struggle of the three peoples of Indochina against American imperialism.

In Vienna, the demonstration was the largest of its kind yet seen in Austria. It was organized by the Indochina Solidaritätskomitee, which includes all the anti-imperialist forces from the left Social Democrats to the Communist party youth, the far-left groups, and the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten [Revolutionary Marxist Group, the Austrian supporters of the Fourth International].

Some 8,000 demonstrators marched through the city, chanting slogans calling for an immediate end to all aggressive acts against the peoples of Indochina and for signing the nine-point treaty. Other important slogans were: "Total support until the final victory," "Americans out of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—Victory in the People's War," "The Austrian trade-union federation must boycott the American aggressors," "Nixon, we don't believe a word of it—Genocide is still genocide."

In the welcoming speech, a member of the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten said: "We must not let ourselves be deluded by Nixon. Imperialism never willingly releases one of its victims. Even if there is a cease-fire, this will not mean the final victory of the revolution. What the United States will do to maintain the puppet clique if it is endangered after the cease-fire will depend primarily on the international

solidarity movement. So we must not, under any circumstances, relax our solidarity."

At the concluding rally, the representative of the Social Democratic party, Joseph Hindels, noting especially Olof Palme's statements, demanded that the Austrian government issue a strong condemnation of Nixon's policy.

### Rome

After the onset of the new wave of bombings in Vietnam, anti-imperialist demonstrations multiplied in most Italian cities. Powerful demonstrations took place in particular in Milan and Rome, initiated both by the traditional workers' parties—which made a bloc with petty-bourgeois or bourgeois currents—and by revolutionary-left groups and movements.

The January 9 demonstration in Rome was a particularly significant success, coming on the eve of other vitally important events—the January 12 general strike and the struggle against the national congress of the neofascist movement on January 18. It was initiated by seven revolutionary-left organizations, the Fourth International, Avanguardia Operaia, Potere Operaio, Viva il Comunismo, Il Comunista, the Gruppo Gramsci, and the Communist party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist).

The *il Manifesto* group gave its backing on the eve of the demonstrations, as did *Lotta Continua*, whose participation, however, was very limited.

Between 10,000 and 12,000 persons, most of them young militants, marched through the center of the city carrying a great number of red flags and banners. The official slogans were: "Oppose American imperialism and its Italian accomplices!" "The Italian proletariat should shoulder with the armed struggle of Vietnam until the final victory!" "The revolutionary left supports the Vietnamese Revolution!"

On January 7 the Rome group of the Italian section of the Fourth International carried out an action at the international airport in this city. On the main concourse, a banner was raised with the inscription: "With Vietnam until the final victory."

Leaflets in four languages were distributed. Slogans against Nixon were inscribed on the Pan American booth. The two main dailies in the capital, one of which is an unofficial organ of the Communist party, published reports of the action.

### Mexico City

Some 600 persons defied an official ban and an overwhelming array of police January 20 to demonstrate here in solidarity with the international protests against the war in Vietnam. After several sharp clashes the marchers dispersed in the face of attacks by the granaderos (riot troops).

According to police reports, fifty persons were arrested, all of whom were later released. These included six construction workers from a nearby site, who were badly beaten by the arresting police. The accusation was that they supplied rocks to the demonstrators. Many of the marchers were also beaten up by the cops.

The police did not spare their forces. They brought out special armored cars, jeeps with tear-gas launchers, patrols, and a large number of plainclothes detectives. Thousands of granaderos were deployed in small groups. In addition, several army detachments were hidden in the nearby streets.

Two demonstrations had been called, one by the Comité de Movilización pro Vietnam (Vietnam Mobilization Committee), the other by a group called Democrats in Mexico. On January 19, General Gutiérrez Santos, the head of the police department, issued an order banning both. The first group, he said, included people who had "caused trouble" before. The other group was led by "foreigners," that is, American residents in Mexico.

The Comité de Movilización pro Vietnam, which met on January 16 to plan the demonstration, included more than thirty left groups and independent unions such as the two Christian Democratic labor organizations, the Union Nacional de Trabajadores (National Union of Workers) and the Frente Auténtico del Trabajo (Authentic Workers' Front).

It is impossible to know how many persons came out for the Comité's demonstration because considerable confusion was caused by the police ban and the concentration of repressive forces. Many protesters left before a group of 600 tried to get the march started.

This was the first time since 1968 that the government has banned a demonstration against the Vietnam war. In 1970, some 10,000 persons marched in protest against the invasion of Cambodia. In 1972, a crowd of 20,000 came out.

## Antiwar GIs face punitive transfer

Some 40 antiwar GIs stationed at different posts in Germany are reportedly being ordered back to the United States, some of them on 72 hours notice. Five of the GIs received their transfer orders last month. Transfers of the others are reportedly being staggered by the Army brass to avoid publicity.

When the GI antiwar movement brought the transfers to the attention of the press, the Army admitted that the five were being ordered to the U.S. because of conduct of "possible discredit to the United States."

What did they do? Spec. 4 Andrew Berman, 25, stationed in Mannheim, wrote three letters protesting the war to the Army publication *Stars and Stripes*. All of the letters were published. Sergeant Terry Bott, also 25, stationed in Wiesbaden, said he had contributed articles to a GI underground monthly, *FTA With Pride*.

Others had participated in German antiwar demonstrations or passed out leaflets protesting the Christmas bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, but none of the five knew of doing anything contrary to Army regulations.

The GIs are receiving advice from the Lawyers Military Defense Committee in Heidelberg, which provides free legal advice to servicemen. The military rights project of the American Civil Liberties Union is also taking steps to see that the GIs are accorded their rights.

Lawyers involved in defending the five GIs told reporters that the Army's grounds for transferring the men constituted a denial of their right to freedom of expression.

Meanwhile, other indications of widespread antiwar sentiment in the U.S. Armed Forces have come to light, especially since the terror bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. On Jan. 19 the Air Force admitted that Captain Michael Heck was not the only pilot to refuse to participate in the bombing of North Vietnam. Captain Dwight J. Evans Jr., pilot of an F-4 Phantom fighter-bomber, has been charged with failing to obey an order to fly a combat mission against North Vietnam.

Captain Evans refused to fly Dec. 18, the day Nixon ordered the raids on Hanoi and Haiphong to begin.

Also, the Air Force disclosed, two other B-52 crewmen have been discharged as conscientious objectors and two others who refused to fly combat missions in Vietnam were discharged honorably.

In another development, an ex-helicopter pilot, James Meade Jr., publicly denounced the Vietnam war in early January. Meade is classified as 100 percent disabled from wounds he received in the war. On Jan. 2 he wrote an open letter to North Vietnamese politburo member Le Duc Tho asking "forgiveness" for his participation in the war.

Meade's letter stated that in America's "quest" of world leadership through the use of its military power, it is dooming itself. The American people are not evil even though our government makes us seem evil. . . .



# World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 9, 1973

## Israeli socialists' answer to Zionist witch-hunt

[The following editorial appeared in the January 1973 issue of *Matzpen*, monthly organ of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist).]

Witch-hunt would be an understatement in describing the hysterical McCarthyite campaign now being conducted by the Israeli press after the discovery of what it calls "the Jewish-Arab Spy and Terror Network." Contrary to the general opinion, we believe this hysteria to be *real*, not fictitious and artificial.

For the first time since statehood, newspapers are filled with sensationalist reports claiming the active participation of Israeli-Jews in the Palestinian liberation struggle. It is clear that if all the detained were Arabs, the Israeli press and public would not have so panicked over the matter. The arrest of tens and hundreds of so-called saboteurs and terrorists (the current terms used by journalistic charlatans) and their detainment for long years in prison shocks nobody and does not make front-page news.

The fact that Israeli-Jews *together with* Palestinian Arabs have been accused and arrested by the government is the factor that accounts for the Zionist establishment's panic.

The sole source of the "facts" released to the public is the regime—and its oppressive tools, Shin Bet (the secret police) and the police. We do not accept these "facts" and we do not believe them. Moreover, the obvious contradictions in the reports from "official sources" make it clear to all who are not blinded by "the new patriotic blaze" that the Shin Bet has engineered a first-class frame-up and provocation. The police spokesmen boast that Shin Bet agents had penetrated the "network" from the beginning and vigilantly observed its actions. Only observed?

It is well known that in other countries, when "security agents" have pen-

etrated extremist groups, they have not been mere passive observers. On the contrary, these provocateurs have been the most "extreme," the most "militant"; they have planted incriminating "evidence" and afterwards become the chief accusers and state witnesses. So it was in Germany with the Baader-Meinhof group and in the United States with the "Weatherpeople" and the Black Panthers. And in Israel?

The Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist) has called for international support for the struggle against the witch-hunt and torture in Israel. It asks that individuals and organizations send telegrams or messages of protest to Prime Minister Golda Meir, Jerusalem, Israel. Copies of such protests should be sent to ISO, P.O.B. 2234, Jerusalem, Israel. Financial support for the ISO(Marxist) campaign against the repression can be sent to the same address.

We know of at least one Jewish provocateur who over many years has seriously harmed anti-Zionist left organizations. This instigator, who issued calls to "action" and urged "picking up the gun," openly slandered many of *Matzpen's* members, claiming that they were Shin Bet agents, and confused many naive youngsters who were taken in by his "revolutionary" banalities. In recent months he has been seen circulating around the Red Front and now, while his friends are in prison, he is walking around free, giving interviews to journalists and continuing his vile farce.

Moreover, from the political viewpoint, the government's accusation is patently absurd. We do not accept it. True, there are political and programmatic differences between the ISO and the Red Front. The articles and critiques of the two organizations have been published in their respective journals. But their world view is based on socialism and Marxism. And in no way can socialism and Marxism be compatible with the "individualist terror" and "spy networks" that the government has accused members of the Red Front of engaging in.

But this is not the main question. The crucial question is: Should the struggle against Zionism be purely an Arab struggle?

The whole existence of the Zionist regime is based on national discrimination. After establishing the Israeli state on expropriated land, after transforming the Palestinians into a land-

less people, into residents of miserable refugee camps, Israel continues to maintain a regime whose basic principle was and still is national discrimination against Arabs.

The Israeli Arabs are victims of systematic oppression: expulsions, expropriations, administrative arrests, confinements, discrimination in all spheres of life, explicit and implicit racism. These are just a few aspects of the national oppression suffered by Palestinians under Israeli rule. According to the racist logic of the Zionist state, the simple fact of being a Jew grants one a certain immunity, even if one is a member of a revolutionary organization. Arab and Jewish members of the *same* organization are treated differently by the government. The former are arrested and confined; the latter go free.

Up to a point it is permissible for a Jew to be against the Zionist regime. Only when that point is exceeded does brutal repression come down. (Recall the expulsion orders and preventive arrests used against the Israeli Black Panthers, the back-to-work orders, court procedures, and even military trials used against striking workers—all in accordance with the infamous Emergency Security Regulations.)

But this is nothing compared with the brutal oppression that comes down on Arabs who participate in political struggle against the regime. To realize the extent of discrimination and political oppression, it is enough to recall the case of the 800 Rakah (New Communist List) activists who were detained just prior to the 1969 elections, and the fact that the majority of Arab members of anti-Zionist organizations are detained and administratively confined.

The "principle" is clear: *What is permitted the Jew is forbidden the Arab*, even in relation to anti-Zionist political organizations.

On the other hand, it is "natural" for Palestinians who have been expropriated and oppressed under Israeli rule to fight against Zionism and for national liberation. But when Jews who were born and raised in this country and who have been forced Zionist poison spit it up, rise up, and declare: We are fed up with Zionist Israel. We are tired of oppression. It is up to us to abolish the Zionist regime that oppresses and expropriates the Palestinian Arab nation and leads the Israeli-Jews into the death trap of eternal war against the Arab masses—then the government and the Zionist establishment, imprisoned by their racist logic, simply cannot understand.

The mere idea that a common struggle of Jews and Arabs against conquering and oppressive Zionism is

*Continued on following page*



Militant/John Gray

Many groups and individuals in the U.S. have in the past demonstrated their opposition to Israeli aggression in Palestine. Now the Israeli left, including organizations of anti-Zionist Jews and Arabs, are calling for international denunciation of the Zionist regime's policies of political repression and torture.



## ...Zionist witch-hunt

*Continued from preceding page*

possible—even where a given organization may have an incorrect political line—makes the establishment shudder.

Then government spokesmen, "liberals," and the palace guards of the Zionist left all band together in common denunciation of "Jews who have dared raise their hands against other Jews." The entire racist logic of Zionism is contained in this denunciation.

The government's hypocritical claim that "we should not generalize the actions of isolated individuals to all 'leftist organizations'" is not based on any liberal or democratic principle. Let's not fall into that trap. The slick strategies of the government are not designed to "cleanse" and vindicate the left. The purpose is to prove to the alarmed public that the detained Jewish suspects are "deviants." "If they are examined," declared Golda the Great, "it will become clear that they are insane." This automatic response is a necessity for her, as it is for the entire Zionist establishment, both right and "left." For without this "truth," a horrible danger for them rears its head: the threat of a common Jewish-Arab revolutionary struggle. If an organization like the Red Front jolted the Zionist camp out of its arrogant indifference it is easy to imagine the danger and threat that would confront them in a mass Arab-Jewish struggle.

against Zionism, imperialism, and Arab reaction.

The violence of the oppressed against the oppressor is just, and therefore we support it. The struggle against oppressive and expropriating Zionism is just, and therefore we support it without reservation. However, every justifiable method is not necessarily an effective method. We have repeated time and time again that victory in the anti-Zionist struggle will be achieved only through revolutionary struggle, that is, through the *conscious* struggle of Jews and Arabs for a Socialist Arab East.

Today the Arab masses and even more so the Jewish masses are far from realizing this. Confronted with arrogant, seemingly victorious Zionism occupying the conquered territories and supported by the most powerful imperialist force in history, confronted with the decline of revolutionary consciousness in the region, some naive youths fed up with the horror, the "deviance," the oppression, and the expropriation are no doubt looking for a "shortcut." They are looking for a way to substitute the action of isolated individuals for the *conscious* action of the masses. But every shortcut hinders and obstructs the real anti-Zionist struggle. Against the violence of isolated individuals, the Zionist regime will always come out on top.

Not only is the regime easily capable of defeating such actions, it also uses them for its own interests by stirring up the public against the whole anti-Zionist left and by strengthening "national unity" consciousness.

But with the revolutionary violence of the masses rising up against the aggressors and exploiters, the situation is completely different. Against this, even the strongest, most predatory regime with the most sophisticated means of oppression at its disposal cannot stand. The revolutionary objective must be the building of the only instrument capable of realizing the revolutionary potential of the Arab and Jewish masses of the region—the building of the regionwide Leninist party, which is the indispensable instrument for a victorious struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.

This is a long and difficult path. It is the path we have chosen and from which we shall not be deterred. In spite of the witch-hunt being carried out against leftist groups in general and against Matzpen and Siah [Israeli New Left] in particular; in spite of the outcries of the institutional "left," and in spite of the terror campaign currently being carried out among the Arab population against anyone not ready to become a submissive servant of Zionism, we will intensify the anti-Zionist struggle and the efforts to build a Jewish-Arab proletarian party—the irreplaceable instrument for the defeat of imperialism and its local lackeys—for the victory of the socialist revolution in the Arab East. □

## Argentine elections

### 2,200 workers

[The following articles are from the January 12 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina. They describe the development of the election campaign of the Workers and Socialist Front, which was launched at a meeting of 2,000 workers and young people December 16. The presidential ticket fielded by the Workers and Socialist Front is Juan Coral and Nora Ciapponi for president and vice-president.]

By the time the deadline arrived for obtaining official status for lists of candidates, the Socialist Workers party had put up candidates in twelve districts: the federal capital and the provinces of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Chubut, La Pampa, Mendoza, Misiones, Neuquén, Rio Negro, San Luis, Santa Fe, and Tucumán. A total of around 2,200 candidates are running for the various offices. Many of them are not affiliated with our party but are representing the Workers' Front or the Socialist Front.

In the provincial elections in Neuquén, the party is running in an alliance with the Partido Demócrata Progresista [Progressive Democratic party], which, on a provincial level, accepted workers' candidacies, voted a socialist program, and is opposing the candidacy of Manrique.

As we went to press, we still did not have exact statistical data on the number of candidates running in all districts. At the moment, we can report the composition of the tickets in the following districts:

In Córdoba, the candidate is the leader of SISTRAC [Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord—Concord Workers Union], José Páez, together with the leader of the teachers union in private education, María del Carmen González. Another leader of SISTRAC, Domingo Bizzi, is a candidate for national deputy, and an official of SISTRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Materfer—Materfer Workers Union], Raúl Suffi, is running for mayor of Córdoba.

In the province of Buenos Aires, the ticket consists of Jorge Mera (a leader of the bank workers and a former general representative of the workers at Banco Nación) and Adela Mayer (the first woman to be elect-

## 'The struggle ended too soon'

### Interview with Bangladesh guerrilla fighter

"What has happened since the liberation? Around 10,000 former guerrilla soldiers are sitting in jail accused of various crimes. When we were fighting the Pakistani army, they called us terrorists and evil-doers, and now we have been described the same way by the new regime. I wonder who the real patriots were in Bangladesh."

The speaker, Major Jalil, was one of the guerrilla leaders in the Bangladesh war for independence. An interview with him by Ingvar Oja was published in the November 23 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*.

Major Jalil was arrested and thrown into prison just after the end of the war with Pakistan. He spent a little more than six months in various jails throughout the country, for the most part in Jessore and Dacca. Most of his time was spent in solitary confinement in a Dacca jail. He was released in the summer of 1972 following a secret trial. Since then he has been living what he termed an "underground existence" in Dacca.

Oja had come across Jalil's troops in December 1971 during the Indo-Pakistani war. "Major Jalil was popular as a guerrilla leader," he wrote, "and his fame spread even further after he was imprisoned."

"I was the first guerrilla soldier to be put in prison and brought to trial," Jalil explained. He was accused of illegally appropriating two jeeps and 10,000 rupees [at that time 4.76 rupees equalled US \$1], which he had obtained from a civil servant in

Khulna who had worked for the Pakistani regime until its surrender. Jalil signed a receipt for the materials.

The charge, he claims, is ludicrous. "If I had wanted to appropriate money to myself, I could have gotten billions of rupees in the region that I commanded during the freedom struggle. Nobody could have stopped me."

The real reason he was jailed, he maintains, was his sharp opposition to the behavior of the Indian troops both during, and especially after the December war. "I can understand it if soldiers in a victorious army take

neous act, but that it was carried out on orders from higher up."

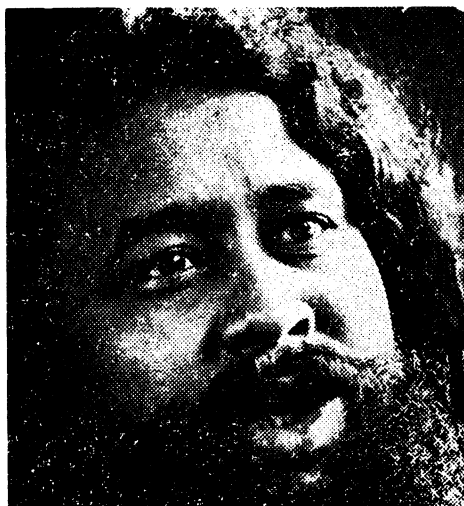
A factor in the decision to arrest him would appear to be the orders he issued to his troops following the Pakistani surrender. They were to shoot on the spot all looters, whether Bengali or Indian soldiers. The order led to armed clashes between guerrillas and the Indian armed forces in Khulna.

While Jalil was in jail in Dacca, he reported, the prison was visited by Mujibur Rahman, who had recently returned from West Pakistan. Rahman did not even greet Jalil, the guerrilla leader noted, in spite of the fact that "it was in his name that we fought."

Jalil said that "we are thankful to India and don't want to be enemies of the Indian people," but he made clear that any "further interference" would not be welcome. "If the dynamism that existed among the guerrillas had been utilized, we could have built up the country within two years, but that dynamism was stopped by an invisible power."

The reference to India, Oja explained, was unmistakable. "In this way," the journalist observed, Jalil "is echoing the statement I heard other guerrilla leaders in Bangladesh make: The struggle ended too soon."

Asked about his political program, Jalil replied: "Socialism is definitely the only solution to the many problems facing Bangladesh. Mujibur Rahman is doing his best, but that does not mean that there can be no change in leadership. This country does not belong to just one party." □



Major Jalil

watches, money, and other things they run across," Jalil said, "but when an army begins to dismantle factories and carry them off, then I can do nothing but protest. I do not believe that this dismantling operation was a sponta-

## Independentists in Puerto Rican legislature

In the session of the Puerto Rican legislature that opened January 2, independentists were represented for the first time in twelve years. Rubén Berrios was elected to an at-large Senate seat. Two other members of the PIP [Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño—Puerto Rican Independence party], Carlos Gallisa and Luis Angel Torres, were seated in accordance with the constitutional provision guaranteeing representation to minority parties winning more than 5 percent of the vote in general elections. The PIP got 5.5 percent of the November gubernatorial vote.

The small separatist delegation

## ' candidates enter race

ed a delegate in the CAP). The candidate for mayor of La Plata is Alejandro Bustos, the general representative of the workers in the State Printing Works, and for mayor of Bahia Blanca, Doctor Luis Dragunsky.

In Santa Fe, the gubernatorial candidate is a telephone worker, José Martín; and for lieutenant governor, an accountant, Carlos Mayola. A construction worker, Oscar Gallo, is running for mayor of Rosario.

The candidates for the governorship of San Luis and Río Negro provinces (where the lieutenant governorship is not an elective post) are, respectively, Doctor Jorge Manzur and René Casamiquela, a teacher.

Finally, two doctors, Arturo Brandt and Vicente Díaz, make up the ticket in Misiones, where the first announced candidate for national senator is a leader of the light and power workers, Lorenzo Fernández.

In La Pampa, the candidates for governor and lieutenant governor are workers: Roberto Zapata, a railroad worker, and Leonide Romero, a construction worker.

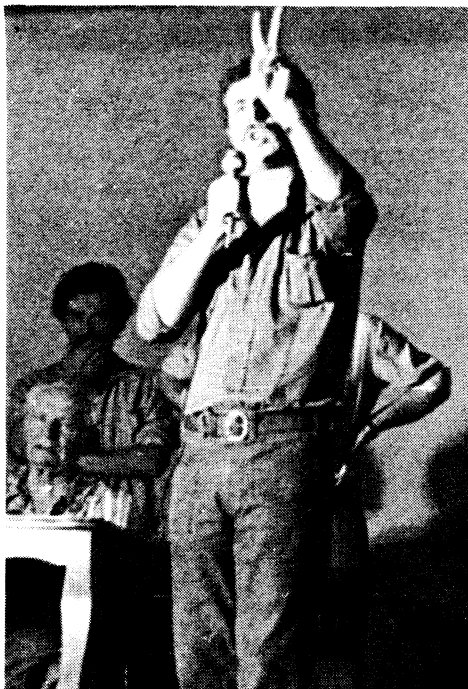
Heading the list of candidates for municipal posts in the federal capital are Eduardo Sorans, leader of the Chrysler strike (representing the Workers' Front), Francisco Fontana (PSP), and bank workers' leader Héctor Alvarez (the Workers' Front). Heading the list of candidates for national deputy are Radamés Grano, former leader of the retail clerks, and Alberto Lissarrague, general representative of the insurance workers and a compañero of the PSP.

On the basis of a political document signed on January 4, the Socialist Workers party and the Federal Capital Federation of the Partido Socialista Popular [PSP—Popular Socialist party] have formed a Socialist Front.

A preamble in ten points establishes the need to struggle against the "Great National Agreement" and to form a front of Argentine socialist forces that would be "open to all who agree on a clear, class-struggle, anti-imperialist program for bringing about a socialist Argentina." The front considers it valid and essential to jointly intervene in the electoral process (even though this is not the way in which power

quickly proved an irritant in the "commonwealth" legislature. "They [the PIP representatives] took the oath under protest, Berrios said," according to the January 3 *San Juan Star*, "because they could not swear allegiance to the U.S. Constitution 'nor to a colonialist constitution such as that of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.'"

Shortly after being sworn in, the PIP legislators walked out of the inauguration ceremonies in protest against the presence of Joaquín Balaguer, the president of the Dominican Republic elected in 1966 after his country was occupied by U.S. troops. Berrios said: "Balaguer is the heir of [the dictator Rafael Leonidas] Trujillo. He has jailed thousands of Dominican patriots and permitted the murder of dozens of members of the opposition. It was immoral of the Governor to invite Balaguer to the inauguration." □

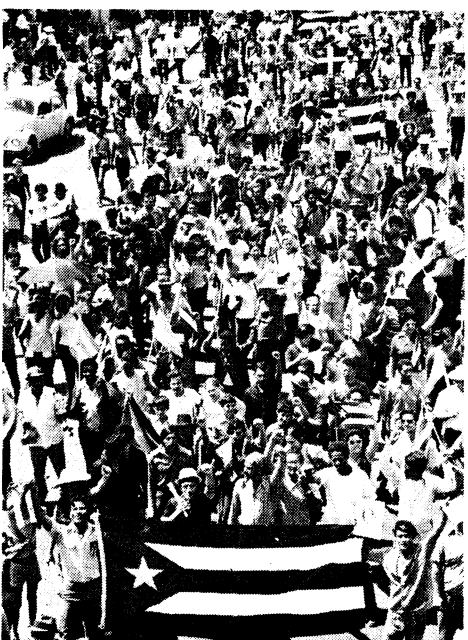


Eduardo Sorans, leader of a major strike against Chrysler Corporation, heads list of municipal candidates in Buenos Aires.

will be won) in order to confront the liberal, populist and reformist parties. It was decided to attempt to win other organizations to the front and to approve the policy of the Front of Workers' Candidates as the best way to oppose the various bourgeois alternatives and to raise the need for independent political action on the part of the workers.

Following the preamble, seven motions specify the nature of the front, urge that it be extended to the entire country, and set March 11, 1973, as the date when the term of its provisional leadership will expire. At that time, the relations between the participating forces and the actions they have carried out in common will be reevaluated. Both organizations will maintain their independence as far as their own activities are concerned and will put up a list of candidates with the Workers' Front. Nationally, the front will support the Coral-Ciapponi ticket.

The working out of this agreement sets an example for all socialist forces and shows that a fighting union of class-struggle and socialist forces can be achieved through the workers' candidates and the Workers' Front. □



Puerto Rican independence march in September 1971.

## World news notes

### Will they ban copy machines?

The way Soviet bureaucrats treat copying machines demonstrates how deathly afraid they are of any freedom of expression. *New York Times* writer Hedrick Smith, in a January 19 article, reports that Soviet officials see copying machines as a threat because they fear they are being used to reproduce writings critical of the regime.

Soviet laws prohibit the unauthorized reproduction of any literature whatsoever, but the bureaucrats apparently feel this isn't enough. Smith says that "a typical institution such as the State Public Scientific and Technical Library in the heart of Moscow has a handful of copying machines in a special second-floor room behind doors that are armor-plated and sealed shut with ropes and wax on weekends and holidays.

"Normally, windows in such rooms have special wire grating over them so that copies cannot be smuggled out through windows, Soviet intellectuals said. Some of these copying rooms are also said to be equipped with electronic burglar alarms, they added."

### British complicity in Vietnam war

In an article in the January 12 issue of the British pacifist weekly *Peace News*, Ben Crow presents impressive evidence on the complicity of Prime Minister Heath in Nixon's Christmas-season carpet-bombing of Vietnam.

"One month before Christmas," Crow reports, "three weeks before the start of the bombing, residents of Newbury and Thatcham in Berkshire began to complain that American planes taking off and landing from the USAF [U.S. Air Force] base at Greenham Common were unusually and excessively noisy."

Later the USAF Third Air Force headquarters admitted that these flights were munitions shipments by C5As, the world's largest military cargo planes. "All these C5As," wrote Crow, "are based in the USA and are regularly used to fly supplies to South East Asia."

This is not the first time that secret bomb shipments from Britain to Vietnam have come to light: "James Fenton, writing in the *New Statesman* of June 30 [1972], revealed that large quantities of 750lb bombs were being moved through Sheerness via Zeebrugge, to Vietnam. The government, after several days' incompetent stalling, finally admitted that these bombs were being moved for use in Vietnam."

Crow concludes that "it seems a fair bet that British complicity has been much more significant for the fate of Indochina than we can easily understand."

### Like the surface of the moon

Despite a population of only 100,000 persons, Sudbury, Ontario, is among the front-runners in the international pollution race. Patrick Wallace, in a special report in the January 19 *Wall Street Journal*, says: "So complete is the environmental devastation that U.S. astronauts used the area to practice moon-walking."

When atmospheric conditions are right, Sudbury's nickel and copper smelters pour "huge amounts of sulphur dioxide gas and other pollutants onto the ground, roasting local flora to a crisp." Sudbury citizens call these incidents "fumigations."

"Dante," Wallace writes, "would appreciate the nightly inferno of clanking rail cars disgorging their molten fire-red slag, expanding the huge black mound of nickel-smelter residue that stretches along the highway into town. . . . Within a 25-mile radius, there is practically no vegetation, just thousands of dead tree stumps left over from widespread timber-cutting of the late 19th Century. Whenever it rains mucky silt washes into the city streets from the denuded hills. Dust-puffing smokestacks create a reddish-brown pall over the area."

### Campaign for Greek prisoners

An organization called Greek American Solidarity is mounting a campaign in defense of two brothers, Alexandros and Stathis Panagoulis, presently held in Greek prisons. Alexandros has been held in solitary confinement for more than four years and subjected to torture. His brother was arrested five months ago in an unsuccessful attempt to help Alexandros escape.

Greek American Solidarity is asking people to sign a petition that says: "I demand that all U.S. financial assistance to the Greek dictators be stopped immediately. I urge that all organizations and leaders, political, religious, labor, cultural and educational, express their concern about the Panagoulis brothers and demand the release of all Greek political prisoners." Signatures appended to this statement should be sent immediately to: Greek American Solidarity, P. O. Box 794, Minneapolis, Minn. 55440.

## An end to the international recession

By Ernest Mandel

The international capitalist recession seems to have ended. All the imperialist countries, except Italy, foresee accelerated growth in 1973. The three key countries of the international capitalist economy—the United States, West Germany, and Japan—are experiencing a clearly ascending phase in industrial production. The time has therefore come to sketch out a preliminary balance sheet of the 1969-72 recession, to examine its specific features, and to deduce some general tendencies in the comprehensive development of capitalist economy.

### The Most Serious Recession of the Postwar Period

The 1969-72 recession was undoubtedly the most serious experienced by the postwar capitalist economy. The volume of trading on the Wall Street stock exchange fell by 40 percent in anticipation of the recession. This time, in contrast to the preceding recessions that have occurred since 1945, nearly all the imperialist countries, except France, were drawn in. Also unlike earlier recessions, recovery came very slowly, especially in the United States and Great Britain, and was accompanied by a persistent and even accelerated inflation.

Certainly, the recessions in the United States, West Germany, and Japan were not completely simultaneous. There was a space of about six months between the bottoming out in the United States and the beginning of the downturn in Germany. International capitalism had great need of these six months; without them, the situation would have been much more serious than it finally was.

Moreover, if the recession was serious in the United States, it was less so in West Germany. The decline in employment suffered by the West German economy during the 1971-72 recession was only about half what it had been during the 1966-67 recession. Nevertheless, the slowness of recovery in the United States was such that most capitalist countries felt the effects of the West German recession before the effects of the American recession had faded away. Hence the persistence of economic difficulties and of unemployment in Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, and Australia, to mention only a few of the countries affected by the repercussions. It is only now, when the United States is reaching full production and when recovery is under way in West Germany that the situation is beginning to ease up.

The deepest causes of the recession have been described many times. The central motive forces of the postwar

capitalist boom drew to an end. Productive capacity expanded beyond the consumptive capacity created by "effective demand" (that is, the buying power determined by the relations of class antagonisms under capitalism). Conditions of excess capacity have appeared in a series of key sectors: coal, steel, shipbuilding, natural and synthetic textiles, electrical home appliances, and no doubt also in the automobile and electronics industries. These branches now experience only shorter and shorter periods of expansion, interrupted by increasingly persistent periods of stagnation and decline.

The long period of expansion bolstered the militancy and organizational strength of the working class. The workers are not prepared to pay the cost of rising inflation, the only way for the capitalist system to avoid a very serious crisis. Hence the exacerbation of on-the-job conflicts, the proliferation of strikes, of higher and higher wage demands to keep pace with the rapid rise of prices. Because the employers have not succeeded in definitively breaking the workers' militancy, the rate of profit has been eroded by two factors: by the decrease in the rate at which capacity is utilized and by the stagnation of the rate of exploitation of the working class.

A long-term decline in the rate of profit coinciding with an unfavorable conjuncture usually results in bankruptcies and spectacular crashes. So it was this time. Penn Central, the largest U.S. railroad; Rolls Royce, the symbol of English capitalism; Montedison, the Italian chemical giant—all went down the drain. A few other "showpieces" of international capitalism, such as the U.S. aircraft companies Lockheed and Boeing, the "greats" of the Italian electrical appliance industry, and most of the German metal trusts, came within a hair's breadth of crashing. Only the big banks continued to steadily increase their profits.

### Trade War and Export of Inflation

As is always the case during an international capitalist recession, inter-imperialist contradictions were exacerbated during the 1969-71 period. Above all, the West European powers and Japan made serious inroads into positions held by American imperialism since the second world war, both in trade and finance. Then, beginning with Nixon's August 15, 1971, speech, American imperialism passed to the counterattack.

Did the counterattack succeed? In the monetary field, the competitors of the United States were unable to get together and organize a collective response. On this level American imperialism therefore scored some

points. Nixon exported inflation. It declined in the United States and increased in the rest of the imperialist world.

Paradoxically, in the area of trade, success was elusive. The deficit in the American balance of trade is greater than ever. American imports continue to increase faster than exports. The short-term chances for a leveling off of the American balance of payments deficit are hardly propitious.

Under these circumstances the resistance of the USA's partner-competitors to accepting "devalued dollars" as payment for this American balance of payments deficit will increase. The dollar is less and less suitable for the role of world currency. "Confidence" in it has been badly shaken.

American imperialism will continue its trade-war offensive, which will take on a pronounced protectionist character in several areas. Nevertheless, inflation continues at full steam, and with it the attempts to gain some advantage by adjustments in the rate of exchange (that is, by devaluations).

This growing disorder in the international monetary system threatens to halt extension of credit and of international trade. The imperialist powers will have to react. Freedom to manipulate national currencies will become increasingly limited. Already, European currencies have been "floated collectively." The tendency is thus toward a system under which the independence of national governmental decisions on questions of monetary and credit policy will be subject to greater and greater constraints, which will accentuate the tendency to return to an industrial cycle marked by simultaneity in all countries.

### Recession, Inflation, Class Struggle

For the first time, the 1969-72 recession was accompanied by accelerated inflation on an international scale. More than ever, inflation remains the only way to halt the crisis at a certain level (that is the big difference between "classical" crises and today's recessions). But a stronger and stronger dose of inflation will be needed to do the job. The Republican Nixon, theoretical champion of the "balanced budget," could end the recession only by deficit spending at a record level in American history. In Great Britain industrial production picked up only after an increment on the order of 25 percent in one year in the amount of currency in circulation.

Why, under these conditions, has inflation been able to slow down in the United States? Basically because the American working class—under the pressure of the betrayal of the trade-union bureaucrats, who "went along" with the wage freeze imposed by Nixon—has allowed its standard of living to be reduced and has suffered massive unemployment. In capitalist Europe the workers' resistance to any form of incomes policy has been stronger and until now has prevented the bourgeoisie from making the workers foot the bill by raising prices.

But this situation will hardly last forever. With accelerated expansion, unemployment will no doubt finally decline in the United States. Then the workers will be able to take revenge for the "lean years" imposed on them by Nixon. As soon as unemployment seriously drops, outbreaks of strikes can be expected.

Thus, in the long term, Nixon will have succeeded in exporting inflation and unemployment only to import an upsurge of workers' struggles. Small comfort for U.S. imperialism!

In the rest of the imperialist world, inflation will remain at a high level, and with it the discontent and the related militancy of the workers. These will combine with the structural causes of class conflict revealed by May 1968—reaction against speedup, against intensification of exploitation, against the brutalization of assembly-line production, against management authority, and against the relations of capitalist production in general. All these phenomena have been accentuated since the recession. They will scarcely disappear with the end of the recession.

The prospects for the international capitalist economy are thus hardly optimistic. While it may be able to rely on some new openings in the Eastern countries, while the agricultural crisis has been somewhat ameliorated by the shortage of beef in West Europe and by the massive grain shipments to the Soviet Union and China, while the prospect of an "oil shortage" will stimulate investment in the energy industry, the currently beginning boom will not last very long. The pre-1967 situation will not reappear. Monetary, financial, and industrial difficulties will combine with the growing social tensions to make the 1970s as a whole a decade of slowdown of economic expansion and of multiplication of explosions of the class struggle.

January 7, 1973

## YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE DERRY

If you think you really know what's going on in Ireland today, you might try the following test:

- What were the main topics of discussion at the recent convention of the Official Republican movement?
- What are the major differences between the Officials and the Provisionals today?
- What is the strength of the Republicans, and the nationalist population, in the North today?

• Insofar as their political outlook is concerned, what important changes have occurred in the Official ranks?

If you were able to answer these questions correctly, you probably read the **United Irishman**, **An Phoblacht**, the **Starry Plough**, the **Irish Times**, and several Gaelic-language monthlies. Either that, or you read **Intercontinental Press**.

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European workers have fought attempts by the ruling classes to make wage earners foot the bill for inflation. Here German metal workers demonstrate for 11 percent wage increase in October 1971.



## Wide news coverage

# Cleveland socialist in mayoral campaign

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND—"I think the antiwar movement was directly responsible for his decision not to run for reelection," said Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, when asked what she thought about the war policies of Lyndon Baines Johnson. Her remarks appeared in the Jan. 23 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in an article entitled "Peaceleaders critical of LBJ."

"Every single president in the past decade has portrayed himself as a peace candidate," she explained. "I was opposed to President Johnson's policies as I am to President Nixon's."

Last fall the SWP presidential slate of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley polled nearly 10,000 votes in Cuyahoga County (which includes Cleveland), despite Secretary of State Ted Brown's ruling Jenness off the ballot because she was "too young." Two SWP congressional candidates who were on the ballot, Cecil Lampkin and Caryl Loeb, each polled more than 3,000 votes. At that time a television news reporter referred to the SWP as the "third party" in Cuyahoga County.

The 1973 SWP mayoral campaign has picked up where the 1972 campaign left off. On Jan. 24, following Nixon's announcement of the ceasefire agreement, the *Plain Dealer* published an article entitled "Ohio leaders join in heralding peace." Between the comments of Cyrus Eaton and the board chairman of Goodyear Tire and Rubber, Roberta Scherr was quoted as saying: "The agreement . . . will not bring peace to Indochina. The social revolution going on in Southeast Asia cannot be settled at a conference table. There can be no real solution to the war that allows the U.S. to retain its bases in South-

east Asia and its puppet government in Saigon."

An earlier statement by Scherr welcoming the Supreme Court abortion ruling was picked up by Associated Press and aired on WJMO, a radio station popular in Cleveland's Black community.

The Cleveland socialist campaign is just getting under way. The first major event will be a Feb. 10 banquet at the campaign headquarters, 4420 Superior Ave., in Cleveland.

Speakers at the banquet, in addition to Scherr, will include Cathy Palumbo, a coordinator of the Cleveland Abortion Project Coalition; Ann Weld Harrington of the Cleveland Gay Activists Alliance; and Richard Cramer, a coordinator of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition. The banquet will begin at 6:30 p.m. Tickets are \$5, \$3 for students.



Roberta Scherr

Militant/Meriwether Shepherd

## Socialist headquarters open for San Diego race

By HOLBROOK MAHN

SAN DIEGO, Jan. 28—The successful opening of a campaign headquarters and bookstore here yesterday reflected the interest in the city's first Socialist Workers Party campaign. Leslie Dork, 22, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the SWP, is running for State Senate from the 38th District.

Dork talked with about 50 campaign supporters who came to meet her, pick up campaign literature, and look at the bookstore. In a statement, she outlined the choice voters in the 38th District are being offered:

"As a socialist and an activist in the antiwar and feminist movements, I offer solutions to the problems of the 38th District that the Democratic and Republican parties cannot. The Republican and Democratic candidates all support the capitalist system, which is responsible for war, racism, sexism, violence, unemployment, inflation, and pollution."

The campaign has continued to receive extensive media coverage. This past week Dork was interviewed by political reporters from the *San Diego Union* and the *Union Tribune*, the city's two daily newspapers. She appeared for half an hour on a local TV station and for an hour on KGB, one of the area's most popular radio stations.

She is scheduled to appear on KFMB-TV, the CBS affiliate, for a short interview, and on KPBS-TV, the San Diego State University station, for half an hour. On Feb. 8, at 7:45 p.m., she will address the National Women's Political Caucus in San Diego at the gas and electric company's auditorium.

People who are interested in further campaign activities, or in making a contribution to Dork's campaign, should contact the campaign headquarters at 5617 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92105. Telephone: (714) 582-3352.

# L.A. socialists file nominating petitions

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 29—The L.A. municipal candidates endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance filed their nominating petitions last week. A minimum of 500 signatures for each candidate is required, and no more than 1,000 signatures may be submitted.

Difficulties in obtaining signatures arose because only a limited number of petition forms are issued, thus limiting the number of petitioners who can collect signatures at any one time. Also, 1.8-million California residents did not vote in the presidential elections and are therefore no longer registered to vote. Gerrymandered election districts also make it difficult to tell which district people signing the petitions live in.

Candidates who have achieved official ballot status will be announced by the city clerk's office by Feb. 7.

The socialist candidates and Ida Mae Willis, an independent Black candidate for city council, filed personal financial statements today in connection with their suit against filing fees. Judge David Thomas will rule Jan. 31 on which municipal candidates, if any, will be allowed to file without paying the fee. A separate hearing is scheduled on restrictive residency requirements, which the suit is also challenging.

This week Olga Rodríguez taped a 15-minute statement for cable TV in which she blasted the undemocratic restrictions used to prevent many independent candidates from running for public office. She also charged that the "nonpartisan" character of the city elections is a device to obscure

issues and prevent the candidates of smaller parties from identifying their party affiliation.

Rodríguez is scheduled to appear at a lunch meeting of ITT employees this week. She will also participate, along with the other mayoral candidates, in a TV program sponsored by the League of Women Voters. The program will be aired at prime time just before the April 3 primary election.



Militant/Laura Moorhead

Olga Rodríguez speaking at Jan. 20 antiwar rally in Los Angeles.

Sally Anderson, Young Socialist activist running for board of education, received the endorsement of the League of Gay Voters Jan. 23. This newly formed group is helping to publicize her campaign. It has scheduled a special news conference for the gay and feminist press to announce its support for Anderson's candidacy.

This weekend Anderson will speak to a Gay Activists Alliance meeting and to the statewide convention of the California Committee on Sexual Law Reform.

## Berkeley 'radicals' lose in rent control election

By JOHN VOTAVA

BERKELEY—The moderate Democratic slate swept all five seats in the rent control board election held here Jan. 23. The "Berkeley Five," the most conservative of the three slates running, polled between 15,000 and 16,400 votes.

Members of the "Community Control" slate, made up of radicals and liberal Democrats affiliated with the April Coalition, received between 10,000 and 13,300 votes. The Socialist Workers Party slate was credited with between 300 and 550 votes.

The defeat of the "Community" slate was somewhat of a surprise. One factor in the election was the scare campaign the *Berkeley Gazette* and community newspapers waged, claiming that a victory of the radical slate would drive all landlords from the city and leave Berkeley a place of abandoned apartment buildings. At the same time, the "Community" slate

failed to mobilize its supporters in an enthusiastic campaign.

Marty Schiftenbauer, one of the slate's candidates, was quoted the day after the election as saying, "Most precincts that voted for rent control [last June] did not come out. We lost because we didn't get out the radical vote. We didn't run a radical enough campaign, and the voters weren't excited enough."

The voter turnout was 43 percent. More than 50 percent of the people in the wealthy and conservative Berkeley Hills turned out, while just over 30 percent of the student areas voted.

Rent control is still not an established fact in Berkeley, and many feel it will be an important issue in the April city council elections. Two days after the election for rent control board, a local judge granted the landlords an injunction against any enforcement of rent control. The landlords are arguing that the Berkeley rent control law is unconstitutional.



Members of 'Community' slate in Berkeley rent board elections. More moderate Democratic Party slate was elected.

# Judge to rule on Fort Dix leafletting case

TRENTON, N.J., Jan. 29 — Federal District Judge Clarkson Fisher heard further testimony and legal arguments today in the suit seeking to open Fort Dix to antiwar and socialist leafletters.

The suit was filed in the fall of 1972 in behalf of Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley, and Dr. Benjamin Spock, presidential candidates who had been barred from campaigning on the military post. Joining as plaintiffs were representatives of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) and Philadelphia Resistance who had been ejected from the base for handing out literature to GIs.

In a historic decision, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals ruled last October that the antiwar and socialist candidates must be allowed to hold a campaign rally on the post. A successful rally took place there Nov. 4.

Today's hearing was held to decide whether the temporary restraining order issued by the court of appeals should be made permanent, and whether the court ruling should be extended to cover the non-candidate plaintiffs, who weren't covered in the appeals court decision.

According to federal statutes, the issue at hand must be valued "in excess of \$10,000" before federal courts can assume jurisdiction in a case of

that he has no choice but to rule in favor of the plaintiffs on the jurisdictional question. Kairys was also confident that he would grant the motion for a permanent restraining order.

If Fisher rules in favor of the plaintiffs, antiwar and socialist leafletters will be allowed on Fort Dix and other military bases in New Jersey. It will also be an important precedent for similar cases throughout the country.

The U.S. attorney indicated that he will appeal the case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has already considered the case once, denying by a 5-to-4 decision a last-minute government motion to stay the temporary order permitting the Nov. 4 rally. That vote, however, did not necessarily indicate how the court will rule on the substance of the case.

Kairys is handling the case on behalf of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

## Cleveland union women fight for ERA

By JEAN TUSSEY

CLEVELAND — Following failure of the lame-duck session of the Ohio State legislature to act on the Equal Rights Amendment, supporters of the ERA are marshaling forces to fight for ratification in 1973. To date, 23 of the required 38 states have ratified the measure.

One group active in the campaign is the Cleveland Council of Union Women, which has been working to obtain union support for the ERA.

The Council submitted a proposal on the ERA to the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor in December. CFL delegates voted to establish a committee that would study the proposal. Subsequently, however, the CFL executive board said the proposal was at variance with national AFL-CIO policy. The proposal has not been reported out of committee.

The Council was initiated last summer by officers of the local chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and representatives of the Women's Rights Committee of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild. Dorothy Sain, an international vice-president of the Guild and former president of the Cleveland Guild, is president of the Council.

Women participating in the Council's July 9 meeting included members of the Women's Rights Committee of the Welfare Chapter of the local American Federation of State, County and

Municipal Employees (AFSCME); a trustee of another chapter of AFSCME; and two Communications Workers stewards at Bell Telephone. Also, the regional educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, an executive board member of District Union 427 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, a member of the Cleveland Teachers Union, and an organizer for Cleveland Typographical Union Local 53.

In a statement adopted Oct. 15, the union women proclaimed their purpose is "to unite women in the labor movement for effective action in achieving a complete partnership with our union brothers in order to better serve the interests of all working people."

"Toward this end we recognize and affirm that it is necessary for women to share equal rights and opportunities with men in employment and in the unions, and we must take initiative and accept responsibility in organizing, educating and building a powerful labor movement to advance our common cause."

"We are no longer satisfied with our minor role in the labor movement. While some of us have achieved some recognition, our aim is to educate, encourage and assist in whatever way possible all labor women in Cleveland to have more of a voice not only within their own unions, but within the entire local, state, and national labor organizations."

## N.Y. cops launch attack on Black community

The president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) of New York City held a news conference Jan. 31 to declare that New York police were in the midst of a guerrilla war against a "Black Liberation Army" that was out to kill cops.

The PBA is demanding that patrolmen be authorized to carry shotguns and automatic weapons, and be furnished with bullet-proof patrol cars and vests. Patrolmen admit that 95 percent of the police already own their own automatics and are carrying them on duty despite regulations.

The news conference is part of a broad offensive the New York police department has launched, with the support of Democratic Mayor John Lindsay, against the Black community in the wake of two alleged ambushes of police in the city within 72 hours.

Cops are scouring the Black communities searching for six Black suspects who are said to be associated with what police call the Black Liberation Army. Sometimes police imply that this alleged organization is a highly organized conspiracy against police. When questioned, however, a New York police official said: "The B. L. A. is like an umbrella name for militants. There is no structure. It's the same thing as criminals using the phrase 'the underworld.'"

Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy announced Jan. 26 that he was authorizing 1,000 extra tours of duty for policemen in 11 precincts, at a cost to taxpayers of \$90,000. Later Mayor Lindsay authorized extension of the extra tours to the whole city.

On Jan. 30 the Black Panther Party held a news conference to denounce this police "shakedown and dragnet" in the Black community. Bernice

Jones, national communications secretary of the party, protested that the cop offensive was designed to "take the spotlight off a highly corrupt police force" and also to "clean up all revolutionaries or would-be revolutionaries off the streets."

The new measures have put so many cops out prowling the streets



Alleged 'plot to kill cops' is used to cover up widespread police brutality in the Black community.

that they are even afraid of killing each other. Plainclothes cops in unmarked and private cars are supplied with new identifying markers each day to help the cops spot each other.

The possible consequences of these police-state measures for the Black community were illustrated Jan. 27 when cops shot with no warning and killed a 16-year-old Black woman in Brooklyn, near the scene of one of the alleged ambushes. The cops claim the young woman's companion was carrying a sawed-off shotgun and that their shooting was neither accidental nor in self-defense but "action in the line of duty."

Incidents like this are not unusual, and illustrate the cops' attitude of "shoot first, ask questions later" in the Black community.

## Magee trial witness can't back up charges

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 30 — The prosecution is having a difficult time trying to back up its murder charges against Ruchell Magee. The charges refer to the death of Judge Harold Haley during an escape attempt by Magee and several other San Quentin prisoners Aug. 7, 1970.

On Jan. 23 the star witness for the prosecution, Municipal Judge Gary Thomas, admitted that he contradicted himself several times while testifying before the grand jury. Thomas insisted, however, that he saw Ruchell Magee shoot Judge Haley with a sawed-off shotgun as the three rode in the prisoners' escape vehicle.

Defense attorney Richard Carrow then asked three court bailiffs to play the roles of Thomas, Magee, and Judge Haley, and to sit where Thomas claimed they were positioned in the escape vehicle. When Carrow asked the bailiff playing Magee to aim the shotgun in accordance with the direction of the actual wound on Judge Haley's head, the bailiff replied, "I can't. I have to move."

Thomas is married to Judge Haley's niece, and was a friend of the judge's. He was permanently crippled by a police sniper who fired into the escape van.

Magee walked out of the courtroom when Judge Morton Colvin denied him the right to personally cross-examine Thomas.



Militant/Peggy Brundy  
Andrew Pulley speaking at campaign rally at Fort Dix.

this kind. The court of appeals decision directed Judge Fisher to hold a hearing to determine this jurisdictional question. Many federal judges have avoided the absurdity of trying to place a dollar value on fundamental constitutional rights by simply declaring that these rights are inherently worth more than \$10,000.

The U.S. attorney, however, contested this, and David Kairys, attorney for the plaintiffs, presented evidence proving that more than this sum was involved. Witnesses for Philadelphia Resistance and the CCCO testified that they would have to spend far more than \$10,000 for advertising to reach GIs with their message if they were prevented from leafletting them on post.

Larry Seigle, 1972 national campaign manager for the SWP, testified that more than \$190,000 had been spent by the SWP national campaign committee. He further pointed out that the office of president was worth \$200,000 a year in salary alone.

Judge Fisher, whose earlier ruling in favor of the Army was overturned by the appeals court, made it clear



Militant/Harry Ring



# Union makes gains with community support

## Chicago teachers vote to end their strike

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO, Jan. 29—Public school teachers here voted Jan. 25 to end their 16-day strike. The 400 member House of Representatives, the governing body of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), voted 295 to 41 to accept the board of education's latest contract offer. Later in the day, the ranks of the 21,000 member CTU voted by a margin of 8 to 1 to accept the offer.

The union either won its original demands or made some gains in each of its eight categories of demands. The following gains were made:

- A 2.5 percent pay increase retroactive to Jan. 1, 1973.
- The extension of present maximum-class-size provisions to all schools and to all high school subjects starting Sept. 1, 1973. This is what was demanded at the beginning of the strike.
- An additional \$2-million for a total of \$5-million for school supplies. Classroom teachers will directly control \$1-million of this.
- Teacher participation in the implementation of new programs.
- Retention of the three-year certification program for full-time substitute teachers.
- Referendum among elementary school teachers to decide whether individual elementary schools will adopt a restructured school day that would add flexibility to teachers' daily schedules.
- An additional 60 minutes a week of self-directed, duty-free preparation time for elementary school teachers. This is a concession from the original demand of one 40-minute period a day for preparation time.
- A 39-week school year at no reduction in pay. This is a retreat from the original demand for a 38-week school year.

One other significant gain of the strike was the right to conduct a bargaining election among elementary school teacher aides so they can have the CTU represent them if they choose.

In addition, the board of education agreed to restore 150 adjustment teachers and 60 assistant principals to the positions they held before the cutbacks last April.

duct such a strong strike was the community support it received, most importantly in the Black community. The organization most responsible for this support in the Black community was Operation PUSH, a civil-rights organization led by the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Operation PUSH was organized more than a year ago following a split in the Chicago chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The *Daily Defender*, a Black community newspaper, also supported the teachers' demands.

SCLC-PUSH forces in the past have been either indifferent or opposed to teachers' strikes. Teachers' strikes were wrong, in their view, regardless of how bad educational facilities were, because students lost valuable schooling time. They also thought that strikes won very little for children.

This time the CTU, in cooperation with Operation PUSH, developed "alternate schools" to provide educational facilities for parents who wanted to send their children to school during the strike. At the high point there were about 200 of these schools in operation.

Children who wanted to attend school could do so without breaking the strike. In addition, organizing these schools made it clear that the union was striking against the board of education, not against parents and students.

The value to the strike of the alternate schools was demonstrated when the board of education tried to use the free-lunch program to open more schools. The union countered by offering to use the alternate schools to distribute the lunches. After this proposal, the board said nothing further on the free-lunch program. This showed the public that the board was not really interested in the children.

Operation PUSH announced at one of its strike-support rallies that many of the alternate schools were educational successes, more so than many regular schools.

The success of the alternate schools also raised the question of who should control public schools. For more than two weeks, many good schools

creased, but in absolute value, teachers' wages will remain constant because of lost days that won't be made up. The settlement also does not take into consideration the rise in the cost of living during 1972.

One provision of the 1972 contract the union did not get removed states that all provisions of the contract are subject to the budget of the board of education. Last year, this provision enabled the board to reduce an 8 percent pay raise to 5.5 percent, and to cut seven days off the school year with loss of pay.

The board of education negotiators announced that they were able to meet many of the union demands because they did not have to pay most teachers for 12 strike days. So the teachers ended

## Teachers in Philly & St. Louis still out

JAN. 30—As the Philadelphia teachers strike enters its fourth week, negotiations between the union and the board of education have broken down. On Jan. 25 Frank Sullivan, president of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, and John Ryan, the union's chief negotiator, were convicted on contempt charges for refusing to comply with an injunction to call off the strike. Judge D. Donald Jamieson gave the two union officers seven days to file an appeal.

In the meantime, the St. Louis teachers strike that began Jan. 22 shows no sign of being settled soon. A court-appointed conciliator is reported to have informed the school board that its proposals were "straight out of the nineteenth century."

up paying for some of the other gains.

In order to resolve the educational crisis and develop a quality educational system, the CTU will have to raise a number of issues and demands.

A cost-of-living escalator clause is necessary in all contracts so that wages rise automatically with any rise in the cost of living.

The union should demand the continued reduction of class size and reduction in the number of classes per teacher. This can only be accomplished if additional teachers are hired.

The union should fight for a democratically elected school board. The present board is appointed by the mayor. If the CTU were to win this demand, it could run its own candidates for the board, and also encourage community groups such as Operation PUSH to run candidates, independently of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The futility of supporting capitalist politicians can be seen from the refusal of Democratic Mayor Richard Daley and Democratic Governor Dan Walker to support the union's demands. The CTU was a strong supporter of Walker's campaign for governor.

The CTU will have to fight all legislation aimed against the teachers' right to strike, and legislation that would force the union to accept binding arbitration.

The union should also begin to deal with major social issues. The CTU should be for women's rights, demanding child-care facilities for teachers and aides. The union should put itself clearly on the side of students' rights, and support the right to organize political groups in the schools, the right to distribute leaflets, etc.

The CTU should demand that money spent for war be allocated to education, and continue to press for the U.S. to get out of all of Indochina.

The union should support the right of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities to control the schools in those communities. The union must fight against racist attacks in the schools, such as the situation in Gage Park High School. The CTU cannot be neutral, nor should it see teacher "security" as the major issue.

In order to win these kinds of demands, the union will have to overcome the opposition of both the city and the state governments. By relying on the strength of the union, and its allies in the labor movement and among the parents and the students, this can be done.



Teachers picketing McCutcheon elementary school during Chicago strike.

During the 12 strike days, teachers lost 6 percent of their annual salaries. In order to partially make up for this, the union agreed to add two days to the school year and to work the five days of spring vacation. Teachers will get holiday plus regular pay for these five days.

The high morale and militancy of the teachers was shown by board of education statistics that the strike was 93 percent effective.

One of the problems of teachers' strikes in the past was the way teachers viewed themselves—as "professionals" who were different from the rest of the working class. As the strike went on, and teachers exposed the lies of the board of education and the silence of both the city and state governments, it was refreshing to hear teachers talk of "the next move of the bosses."

One of the reasons the CTU was able to con-

were in existence that were directly controlled by parents, students, and teachers.

The demands the union won can't solve the educational crisis in Chicago and the rest of the country. To be honest, one would have to say that the new contract patched up the system for another year, maintaining most of the current standards while giving teachers a few gains.

One notable disappointment was the size of the wage "increase." A week before the strike began, the union leadership decided on its own initiative to reduce the proposed wage increase from 10 percent to 2.5 percent. CTU President Robert Healey defended this by claiming it would take public focus off the wage issue. It represented a concession to "public pressure" that teachers are greedy.

The union is claiming a 2.5 percent pay in-



## Answer to Anti-Defamation League

# How Israel serves world imperialism

By PETER SEIDMAN

In its document "Danger on the Left," the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has created a twisted version of reality in order to justify its charge that the Socialist Workers Party is "anti-Semitic."

We have shown in previous articles that the ADL takes the position that those who oppose the state of Israel, including the SWP and the Palestinian liberation fighters, are motivated by anti-Semitism.

The Zionist argument disguises the real nature of the Palestinians' effort to win back the land stolen from them to create the Israeli state. "Danger on the Left" distorts quotations from Al Fatah and *The Militant* in order to make a case for this point of view.

The Zionists maintain that Israel is a secure and necessary haven for Jews in this world. But they do not confront the socialist argument that Israel, whose existence is based on the conquest of the majority by a minority and which must protect this conquest by reliance on imperialism, represents a dangerous trap for the Jewish people.

While revolutionists urge the Jewish people to unite with oppressed Palestinians and other oppressed peoples in struggle against capitalism and imperialism, the Zionists urge reliance on these reactionary forces.

In "Danger on the Left," the ADL says that "political extremism—that of the Left as well as that of the more familiar Right—presents a dire and continuing threat to Jewish security."

"The extremists' anti-Israel war is only one aspect of the peril they present to the Jewish community. Their fundamental struggle is against the democratic system and those liberal values that have afforded safety and opportunity to an historically beleaguered minority people. The creation of social ferment, including the condoning, the advocacy and even the use of violence, is the tactic of their 'revolution,' and it is in revolutionary violence and assaults against the democratic process that Jewish security has been endangered and in which overt anti-

Semitism easily breeds."

The lineup of forces presented by the ADL is clear. On the one hand are Israel, the U.S., and Zionism; and on the other the Palestinian liberation movement, the radical left, and the anti-Semites. The ADL presents this as democracy and tolerance poised against genocide, bigotry, and violence.



Militant/Dave Wulp

ADL attacks the antiwar movement on the grounds that 'influential leaders on the Far Left have already urged that the antiwar organization be used as the nucleus of a mass movement opposing U.S. aid to Israel. . . . This is an example of how Zionism leads to support of imperialist wars.

The ADL even goes so far as to criticize revolutionary opponents of the capitalist state of Israel for ignoring "Israel's socialism and the fact that it is a political democracy born in a war of true national liberation. To recognize these facts would be to contradict the romantic, simplistic image and purpose now assigned to the Arab guerrillas; so Israel becomes an 'imperialist' power and the enemy of the 'people's' war."

The absurdity of this world view is readily apparent. It is precisely the U.S. and its allies, including the Israeli government, that today represent genocidal military policies. The U.S. war against the people of Southeast Asia ranks with Hitler's policy of extermination of the Jews of Europe in its unmitigated savagery. The government of Israel is one of the diminishing number of powers that support this war.

Perhaps for this reason, "Danger on the Left" contains a lengthy section aimed at red-baiting and attacking the U.S. antiwar movement. It is ironic that the ADL, which insists that the state of Israel is necessary so that the Jewish people will never again suffer as they did at the hands of Hitler's Germany, attacks a movement in this country that is fighting to stop the U.S. policy of genocide in Indochina.

Referring to the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, "Danger on the Left" declares: "The Trotskyists have opposed the injection of issues other than Vietnam into the programs of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC), the two anti-war groups they dominate. They fear that the injection of other issues would divide their hard-won coalition and lose them the allies and the following they have acquired by exploiting the widespread opposition to the Vietnam war. But they regard the lessons, the techniques, and even the loyalties garnered in the anti-war movement as 'transferrable' to other

concerns when the time is right. One such concern is the war to destroy Israel."

"The resolution adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at its August, 1971 convention likened the Palestinian guerrillas to *America's enemies in Vietnam*. And it declared:

"The mass anti-war movement has sensitized large numbers of people to the role of U.S. imperialism and to solidarity with the colonial revolution. The expansion of these movements will be important factors in the increasing growth of sentiment in solidarity with the Arab revolution." (Emphasis added.)

The charge that the Trotskyists "dominate" the antiwar movement in order to "exploit" antiwar sentiment is utterly false and absurd, as is the claim that the Vietnamese revolutionaries are the "enemy" of the American people.

The logical outcome of the ADL's Zionist position is a program of red-baiting the antiwar movement; supporting U.S. aggression in Vietnam; defending the capitalist system, which today is the major source of anti-Semitism in the world; and cheerleading for the military expansion of the Israeli state.

It is no wonder that as more and more young Jews begin to sympathize with the struggles of oppressed people around the world, they find themselves joining and supporting causes and movements that put them at odds with the international political stance of the Israeli government and the Zionist organizations.

This has been the case with Jews who support the antiwar movement, and it has been true of many Jews who have become supporters of the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. and other struggles for self-determination around the world.

And, despite the ADL's attempts to spread "Anti-Semitism" slanders, young Jews continue to join the very organizations that the ADL increasingly subjects to attack—the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

## Kitty Hawk sailor acquitted, others still face trial

By MARILEE SAVAGE

SAN DIEGO, Jan. 26—Six of the 24 Black sailors charged with riot and assault aboard the carrier *Kitty Hawk* last October have been brought before courts-martial in San Diego. Five have been handed stiff fines, loss of rank, and discharge; one, Arnold Petty, was acquitted.

Presently on trial is Ronald Glover, 21, who is charged with rioting and eight counts of assault. Yesterday the executive officer of the *Kitty Hawk*, Commander Ben Cloud, testified in his behalf.

Cloud, who is second-in-command of the ship, told of the profanity yelled at him and other Blacks on the night of Oct. 12, 1972, and the threats to kill them and throw them overboard.

Worse than the words was the actual physical assault by armed Marines, called in by Captain Marland Townsend Jr., the ship's commander, to disperse Black sailors meeting peacefully to discuss their grievances. "Instead of bilaterally carrying out the orders, the Marines allowed the assembly of whites, but groups of Blacks were dispersed," Cloud had told a pre-

trial hearing.

An 18-year-old white sailor from the *Kitty Hawk*, Paul Selmen, took the witness stand as an alleged victim of Glover's assaults. But Selmen denied ever being touched by Glover.

While the trial of Glover was in progress, a special subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee released the results of its investigation of "racial violence" in the Navy.

Congressman Floyd Hicks (D-Wash.), chairman of the subcommittee, summarized its findings Jan. 23. "The riot on the *Kitty Hawk*," he said, "consisted of unprovoked assaults by a very few men, most of whom were of below-average mental capacity, most of whom had been aboard for less than one year, and all of whom were Black."

Hicks blamed last November's sit-in at the San Diego naval station on "a small group of skillful agitators within the ranks of the young Black seamen."

The subcommittee report alleges that 74 hours of private testimony in San Diego had failed to turn up a single case (!) of racial discrimination. It

blames the *Kitty Hawk* and *Constellation* incidents on "permissiveness" and a breakdown of "good order and discipline."



*Kitty Hawk* officer Ben Cloud testified in behalf of one Black sailor now on trial.

In response to the Hicks report, Arnold Petty, the acquitted sailor, issued a statement today. "The committee's findings are absurd and without basis in fact," he said. "They believe

that racism does not exist in the Navy to any large extent. They are wrong. In fact, they are so wrong that their report would be laughable if it were not so serious."

Petty reported that he had spent 65 days in a jail cell "knowing I was innocent." Eleven other *Kitty Hawk* defendants remain in jail.

To defend the *Kitty Hawk* sailors against these racist slurs from the Hicks subcommittee and punishment from the Navy, a *Kitty Hawk* defense committee is being formed. The committee hopes to obtain the support and intervention of the Congressional Black Caucus, to set up an authoritative Black commission of inquiry to counter Hicks's whitewash, and to arrange speaking tours for the sailors who have been discharged.

Special emphasis is being placed on mobilizing supporters to attend the remaining courts-martial and to picket outside the 32nd Naval District.

For more information or to contribute to the defense, write: *Kitty Hawk* Defense, c/o Black Servicemen's Caucus, 3109 Imperial Ave., San Diego, Calif. 92102.

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Farm bosses and sweatshop operators in California look to Mexico as a source of super-cheap labor. One of the ways they carry on their murderous exploitation of workers from Mexico is to regulate the flow of so-called illegal aliens—that is, workers without visas or work permits. When help is needed, these undocumented workers are permitted

The Rodino Bill is a dire threat to the well-being of the Mexican and other Latin American workers, and to all American workers.

We saw how the Dixon Arnett Law, which was directed at Mexican workers, also affected all workers in California. It put in a precarious position the ability, first, of Mexican and Latin American workers to defend their wages, working conditions, and employability.

are in the hands of employers, so they're not afraid of regulatory legislation.

Actually, by supposedly placing this heavy fine on the use of workers without visas, all it creates is vulnerability.

It keeps these workers in a situation where they are alienated, marginal, and permanently vulnerable to exploitation. It keeps them in the worst, most dangerous jobs—receiving not only the lowest wages, but

people. That is not enough to prevent the enactment of the Rodino Bill. We need the support of workers of all races, specifically and primarily of white workers in the unions, of Black workers in and out of the unions.

These workers must speak out not only individually with their Congressmen and their neighbors, but also in their trade unions. They must bring to the floor of the trade unions a new understanding that laws that are going to be enforced by employer-controlled governments and agencies cannot deal with this problem. This is a problem of the system.

Persons who are sympathetic are going to have to face head-on some very specious and tendentious arguments that have been developed by proponents of this kind of legislation for many years and have taken hold in the minds of workers.

One is that workers without visas—the so-called illegal workers—steal the jobs of native-born and permanent-resident workers. A proper answer is that it is the corporations that steal the jobs by layoffs, speedup, automation, and by the flight of their companies to more profitable places of operation.

The other argument is that these workers serve as a deterrent to the increase of wages and working conditions for native-born and permanent residents. On the surface this appears to be true.

But it works out to be true only because of the repressive immigration laws on the books. These laws are the ones responsible for keeping these workers in a situation where they can be used to break down wages and working conditions. If these workers were simply given their visas, point-blank, they would be removed as a source of cheap labor. That's the answer to that argument.

Finally, there is the argument that these workers are continually being brought over and used as scabs to break strikes of unions, particularly the Farm Workers Union. The only answer that can be given to this argument is that what we need is not more repressive legislation to maintain this large ready pool of exploitable workers on the border. What we need is a law that will ban the re-

**CASA is initiating a nationally coordinated movement to fight the repressive immigration laws, and they welcome inquiries and support. Those interested should contact: CASA, 2673 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006; Telephone: (213) 487-4171 or 487-4336.**

cruitment, hiring, and transportation of workers, no matter where they come from, to break strikes.

To defeat the Rodino Bill, people in the Chicano movement must unite with their brothers in their *vecindades* [neighborhoods], community organizations, and campus organizations such as MECHA to launch a political fight at the national level. This fight is truly a resistance against racism since most of the workers involved are Mexican and Latin American workers, not white workers.

It should also be pointed out that the Rodino Bill and the Walter-McCarran Act are clear violations of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo through which half of Mexico was taken over by the United States in the Mexican War. This treaty specifically guaranteed free and unfettered passage for Mexicans to visit their families and their places of origin.

## Corona hits Rodino-Kennedy bill

# Why all workers should oppose 'illegal alien' laws

to slip across the border. When there is a labor surplus, there is a stepped-up drive to deport them.

Presently on the books in California—but still not being used because its constitutionality is being tested in the courts—is the Dixon Arnett Law. This statute is supposed to make it an offense for employers to knowingly hire undocumented workers. It is actually intended as a club against the highly exploited workers.

Now there is an effort under way in Washington to have Congress adopt a similar law for the entire country. A bill that would make it a federal offense for employers to knowingly hire "illegal aliens" has already passed the House of Representatives. Known as the Rodino-Kennedy Bill, HR 16188 originated in the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and passed the House Sept. 12, 1972.

The main authors of the bill are Subcommittee Chairman Peter Rodino (D-Md.) and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.).

The Rodino-Kennedy Bill proposes to revise the Immigration and Nationality Act. It states, "It shall be unlawful for any employer . . . knowingly to employ . . . any alien in the United States who has not been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence." Fines and imprisonment are provided for employers who violate it.

Drawn up by liberals, the law appears to be directed against employers and employment agencies. However, loopholes have been thoughtfully provided to make sure no boss will ever be convicted for violating this law.

First of all, employers are no longer liable once they have asked the prospective workers to submit a signed statement saying they are citizens or have legal documents.

Furthermore, even if the boss does not do this and is found to be in violation of the law, only a citation will be issued. The boss has *two years* to correct the situation before being liable to being fined.

The *Militant* spoke with Bert Corona, one of the leading opponents of these racist laws. Corona is a founder of CASA—Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers), an organization of undocumented Raza workers.

CASA has sponsored demonstrations and other activities to fight against deportations. It is currently spearheading a national campaign against the Rodino-Kennedy Bill.

The following are some of the things Corona had to say about the bill.



Los Angeles demonstration demanding end to deportation of undocumented workers, March 1972.

But also it created a situation whereby employers could tell other non-Latin workers that they better produce more, that they better maintain the speedup, that they'd better not demand too-high a wage level because the employers could always get ready-and-willing Mexican workers to work for peanuts.

The Rodino Bill ostensibly seeks to fine employers who employ workers without visas. But the real intent, the hidden motive and the ominous consequences that all of us know will result are not in the fining of employers.

That is merely the smokescreen to attract support from many quarters that would otherwise be opposed to this kind of law. I'm referring specifically to the liberal groups, the liberal establishment, the Democratic Party people who can find some political mileage in such a law.

Even employers set up laws that will supposedly seek to fine them. After all, the agencies of enforcement

even wages below the minimum standards set in various states.

It works in this manner. Employers tell these workers, "We would love to give you some work, but you know we will be fined. Therefore, we are very sorry, we can't help you." The worker, being in dire need of earning money to support and feed his family, is then willing to offer himself *sub rosa*—clandestinely—at the lowest possible wages and the worst kind of working conditions.

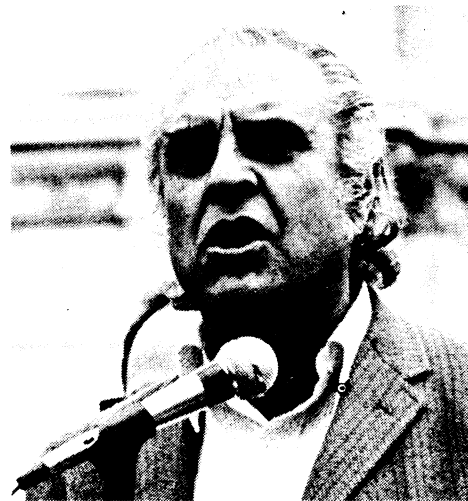
Furthermore, it gives employers who are insecure or racist an added reason for not hiring any Mexican or Latin-looking or -sounding workers.

They can say, "Well, I do not know whether your green card [visa] is a legitimate one, and you appear to me to be a Mexican; therefore I'd rather not take the chance."

To combat the bill, all the people who are most affected must be organized. They are not criminals. They have constitutional rights, and they have very close blood ties with U.S. citizens. They're making a great contribution to the development and maintenance of this country, and they have every right to organize and to protest what is about to happen to them.

Beyond that the organization of this campaign requires that all other Mexican and Latin American organizations, those who were born here, those who already have their visas—their community organizations, churches, cultural organizations, political parties—all join with the workers without visas in a drive to stop the enactment of the Rodino Bill.

But even if you would organize the entire Mexican and Latin American community in this country, it would only involve some 15 to 18 million



Bert Corona speaking at May 21, 1972, emergency antiwar march on Washington, D.C.

# A Militant Interview Corky Gonzales: evolut

By HARRY RING

Since its founding in the mid-60s, the Denver Crusade for Justice has been in the forefront of the development of the Chicano movement.

Among the very first to popularize the concept of Chicano nationalism, the Crusade presented *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* to the movement. The plan puts forward the concept of Chicanos as an oppressed people claiming as their homeland the entire Southwest area—Aztlán—the United States took from Mexico by force of arms.

Consistent with the concept of the Chicanos as a people fighting for their national liberation, the Crusade was perhaps the very first to project the need for building a Chicano party in opposition



El Gallo

Corky Gonzales addresses Denver antiwar rally following demonstration led by Chicano contingent.

to the Democrats and Republicans.

During the past presidential contest, when there was heavy pressure on the Chicano movement to line up behind McGovern, the Denver forces played a central role in keeping the movement on an independent course. At the September 1972 El Paso convention of Raza Unida parties, the Colorado delegation was the clearest and most consistent voice for maintaining a policy of opposition to both major parties.

The Crusade became widely known and respected throughout the movement when it hosted three national Chicano youth conferences in Denver, beginning in 1969. At these conferences the Crusade put forward the Plan of Aztlán and the idea of an independent Chicano party.

Also, those who came to Denver for the conferences were able to see that the Crusade was a movement of action as well as a promoter of nationalist consciousness.

The first national youth conference met in Denver in March 1969, a week after the Crusade led an explosive walkout of Chicano high school students that affected the entire Denver school system. That now historic "blowout" made clear that the Crusade was a grass-roots movement in the process of developing a significant base in the Denver barrios.

The central leader of the Crusade for Justice, and of the Colorado Raza Unida Party it initiated, is Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales.

A warm, dynamic personality, he is known to almost all simply as Corky. In Denver he has been well known since his youth. With the rise of the Chicano movement, he has become a significant figure throughout Aztlán. Now, with the publication by Bantam Books of a popular edition of his poem *I Am Joaquín*, he is becoming better known nationally.

Corky's life story is a very unusual one. But he has not made a practice of talking about himself for publication. However, when I was in Denver recently he agreed to an interview for *The Militant* about his personal evolution.

Corky literally fought his way up from the streets of Denver's barrios. As a teen-ager he won national awards as an amateur boxer. He went on to become one of the country's top professional flyweights (112 pounds and under).

He operated a successful bar and was at one

time the biggest bail bondsman in Colorado. He was the first Chicano precinct captain in the Democratic Party. He was Colorado chairman of the Viva Kennedy Committee, which brought out Chicano votes for the Democrats in the 1960 election.

Then, as a successful figure in his mid-30s, he turned his back on the whole business and became a movement activist, a revolutionary. The purpose of the interview was to find out what factors shaped this unique development.

Corky was the youngest of seven children. His father had worked in the mines of Colorado and New Mexico. As work became scarce, he and the family became migrant farm hands living in Denver between seasons and in the fields of Colorado during the harvests.

"Every migrant family wants one of their kids to go to school," Corky explained. As the youngest, he was the one who got to go.

During the school year, Corky lived with an older brother. When school let out for the summer he would join the family working in the fields.

Back in Denver for school, he would find whatever work he could.

"I worked as a bindery boy in a printshop," he recalled. "I worked as a pinsetter. I worked on the hide gangs in the packing houses. It was the dirtiest, stinkiest job in the world but it paid pretty good for young people. Because I was so small, I had to put on extra clothes to look a little heavier."

Working in the city and in the fields, Corky still pursued his studies, skipped grades and graduated from high school at 16 in a racist school system where most Chicanos are driven out before they're half finished.

One of the best in his street gang with his fists, Corky became an amateur boxer. (With expenses, a good "amateur" can squeeze out a living.)

He gave the outward appearance of a tough, capable young man determined to make it out of the barrio. But his consciousness was not untouched by his experiences.

He began reading early, using the library or buying nickel used books from the local Goodwill store. Rainy days during harvesting were a good time to get reading done. He liked poetry particularly and read a good deal of it.

But it wasn't simply books that started him thinking. Experience working in the fields drove home the meaning of racist oppression. He recalls such incidents as the family driving out to a farm where the boss offered 25 cents a hamper

team and immediately became embroiled with the boxing commission. Defying a regulation that required such teams to hire a trainer, he acted as trainer, saving the cost of hiring one. When the commissioners said no, he took them into court.

As a pro he had a manager with the unusual habit of treating his fighters decently and trying to protect their interests. The boxing commission found such conduct suspect and gave him an exceptionally hard time. One day Corky's manager lost his temper and flooded the secretary of the boxing commission. He was barred as a manager in the state, and so Corky found himself boxing mainly outside Colorado. He found the travel a broadening experience.

"I went to Chicago," he explained. "They put the Black guys in the Black Y and we lived at the Chicago Athletic Club. I started saying, 'Well, wow, I'm a white man!' Only then I'd come back and I was a Mexican. Go for a swim at the local park? Monday through Friday was for Anglos. Saturday was Mexicans' day—'spicks' day—and Sunday was 'niggers' day."

But Corky was doing well fighting. He had 24 straight wins and was sure he could make it. Boxing gave him firsthand insight into the power and influence of politicians. He began figuring that if he got into politics he'd really have it made.

Meanwhile, he made enough to buy a bar. One of his brothers operated it, and he kept fighting.

But always there was the sense of contradiction. "You've been through it," Corky said. "You've felt the rejection. You've seen the suffering, and you've been involved in it. You know what it is to be hungry. You know what it is to be insulted, to be discriminated against, to be intimidated, to be harassed, to be brutalized."

"You go through the political situation. You see the barriers for the mass of people. You know that you can make it individually. But it's a matter of what you lose in the process. In most cases it's your manhood."

In 1953, after six years of boxing, he decided to get out before he became the physical wreck most fighters wind up as.

The bar was successful, but he never accumulated any great amount of money. Mostly he loaned it out or gave it away. "I guess I had a guilt feeling about money," he says, "and I didn't hold onto it long."

And the ever present rebel instinct didn't make the bar operation easier. It was the only one, he recalls, that made a practice of not paying off the cops. The result, he says, was, "I had more



El Gallo

for picking peas. But when they turned out in the morning to start work he would tell them he could only pay 20 cents.

Corky would watch his father—for whom he had tremendous respect and admiration—being put in a position of simply having to accept being cheated. You felt frustrated and even ashamed, Corky said. But if you don't work that day you don't eat that night.

To escape that life, Corky concentrated on boxing. But even while driving himself to make it, he was a rebel. He organized an amateur boxing

trouble with the police department than a professional burglar."

Operating a barrio bar led almost naturally to the bail bond business and Democratic Party politics.

Bailing people out began simply as a matter of helping people in trouble. It developed into a major enterprise. Yet when the district attorney proposed that bail bonding become a municipal operation, he was somewhat surprised to find that the only bondsman in town to support the proposal was Corky.



# ion of a Chicano leader



Demonstration at Capitol building in Denver during Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in March 1969.

The bonding business finally gave Corky the opportunity to get away from the bar. "Fighting damages you physically," he said. "The bar business damages you morally. The bar owner is in a business of keeping people drunk — not correcting any problems."

Again, Corky was not the typical bail bondsman. Success in that business is usually contingent on good relations with the police. But it was while he was a bondsman that Corky organized a major demonstration protesting the police murder of a Chicano.

Yet he came to see the bail bond business, too, was not his thing. "You become a leech," he says, "a prisoner of the capitalist system."

Meanwhile, he was establishing himself in politics. He began by organizing Chicano votes for a liberal Democrat for the state senate. Establishing what was then a new approach, Corky conducted a mass registration drive in the barrio. It was so effective that city officials charged it couldn't be done. They had an investigation, and Corky proved he had in fact registered all the people listed.

In 1958, Corky became Denver's first Chicano precinct captain. He set out to change the Democratic Party.

As a first step, he checked out the Anglo county committee members in his district. Most of them, he verified, were absentees who lived elsewhere but kept an address in the district to hold their post. He had them removed and replaced with Chicanos.

He began drawing young Chicanos into party activity. They began attending Democratic caucus meetings with the idea of exercising some power.

But the realities of the racist setup kept pressing in. They would push to get patronage for Chicanos, but met with little success.

Corky recalled one incident where the governor promised to appoint a Chicano of their choice to a state land board. Then another Chicano put in for the job and Corky was promptly informed neither would get the post.

"I went to see the governor," he said, "and asked, 'You promised to give it to this man, why aren't you going to give it?'"

"Well, your people are fighting each other. Two of them want the job."

"I asked how many Anglos have applied for the job. He said 46. I said, what's the difference there? He said, that's competition."

"You begin to realize," Corky said, "that you're a pimp for the man, for the establishment. You're bringing in your people's votes. . . . You hate to admit that you're being used, but one day you have to look in the mirror."

And while his thinking was being influenced by the realities of life within the Democratic Party, Corky was also being influenced by events in the world. Of particular significance was the Cuban revolution.

He began reading about Cuba. He came into contact with Harry Nier, the Denver attorney who founded a local chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Nier had been to Cuba and was able

to describe the transformation occurring there.

Nier recalls that period well. "We had trouble at our initial Fair Play meetings with counter-revolutionary Cubans," he told me. "Then Corky brought some of his people down to protect the meetings. They were a very comforting sight."

While Corky was beginning to listen to the radicals, he was also arguing with them. "I have to work where the people are," he recalls telling them. "And the people are in the Democratic Party. We're all traditional Democrats."

Meanwhile, another major force moved onto the political arena and added significantly to the process of Corky's political evolution. Like many others, he was deeply affected by the development in the 1960s of the Black movement. He began reading the major Black writers — Richard Wright, James Baldwin.

He followed with particular interest the development of Malcolm X, carefully studying all of his speeches. Many of Corky's later declarations on Chicano nationalism reflected the extent to which his thinking had been influenced by Malcolm.

As he read the Black writers, Corky began to ask himself where the Chicano writers were. As of then he didn't find any, but he did begin to read about Mexico.

A popular work on Pancho Villa led to his discovery of the great Mexican revolutionary Zapata. His study of Mexican history led him to digging for material about the Chicano in the Southwest. His nationalist concepts began to take shape.

At the same time, he became an early opponent of the racist Vietnam war. In 1964, while still a Democratic Party official, he took a public stand against the war. In 1965 he was a featured speaker at an antiwar rally and has actively supported the antiwar movement ever since.

In Denver, the Crusade has helped build all the major antiwar demonstrations and provided monitors for them. Corky was framed up and jailed for his participation in the 1970 Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium, which ended with a bloody police attack.

Throughout the first half of the '60s, his disillusionment with the Democratic Party increased. He headed several OEO projects in Denver, but static began coming from Washington. The bureaucrats expressed concern that he was placing "too many Hispanos" in jobs.

In 1964 he resigned as Democratic precinct captain, but says he didn't really break with the party until 1966. "We were still sending legislative proposals to the state house, still endorsing people, that foolish kind of thing."

In 1966, he liquidated the bail bond business and turned to the work of building the Crusade for Justice.

The original nucleus was mainly people that Corky had activated in the Democratic Party. While resolving to embark on an independent course, the break with the Democrats was even then still a process. "We started to close the door," Corky said, "but still not entirely. As we faced the contradictions we tried to resolve them. It was a matter of politicizing ourselves."

Part of the process was establishing contact with other groups moving in a similar direction. In 1967, the Crusade people participated in a Mexican-American conference in El Paso. Later that year people came to Denver from California, Texas, and New Mexico for five days of workshops.

In 1968, the Crusade decided to participate in the Poor People's Washington encampment. This was important, Corky explains, because it gave the Crusade contact with Black and Latino groups nationally. It also was a significant factor, he says, in giving the Chicano movement an identity nationally.

In 1969, the Crusade organized the first national Chicano youth conference. Corky says they expected maybe 300 people and were happily surprised when more than 1,500 turned out. This conference adopted the Plan of Aztlán.

In 1970 another conference was called, and this time more than 3,000 came. It was here that the idea of a Chicano party was projected. By then Corky was hammering at the theme that Chicanos must end all collaboration with the major parties. "Eight grains of arsenic will kill you. Four grains will kill you," he argued. "Which is the 'lesser evil?'"

Meanwhile, after holding a successful liberation school in the summer of 1968, a permanent school for Chicanos was established. It runs from kindergarten through college to provide a decent formal education and equally important, to educate in Chicano culture and politics for the purpose of developing cadres for the movement. The Tlatelolco school — named in memory of the Mexican students killed in Tlatelolco Plaza in 1968 by the police — is extremely successful. It is a major base of strength for the Crusade and La Raza Unida Party. It is a unique, impressive institution and will be the subject of another article.

High point of the week is the Wednesday night Fishermen's meeting. Conducted regularly since 1966, these educational sessions to develop informed, committed political cadre explore all areas of politics. Corky is generally the principal speaker, but there are guest speakers as well as reports on various conferences, activities, and so on.

The usual attendance is 75 to 100. When an action is under way as many as 300 turn out. In many respects these meetings are a nerve center for the entire Denver movement. Activists in other organizations and Chicano students will often attend when particular projects are on the agenda.

An important theme of the meetings, Corky says, is to imbue people with a spirit of pride in the independent course they are taking. He urges them not to be jealous of the one who has made it within the system. "The reason they have him is because he sells. We don't sell. We don't sell ourselves to escape being brutalized, being denied jobs, being jailed, or being killed."

"That's a very awesome thing for a society that's used to buying. When you can't buy a human being, you don't own anything."

Corky Gonzales has a right to say that. He refused to be bought.



Militant/Harry Ring

Corky Gonzales was a keynote speaker at September 1972 national convention of Raza Unida parties in El Paso, Texas.

## Corona Habla

Bert Corona Habla del Partido de la Raza Unida y del Alarma en Contra de los 'Ilegales' by Bert Corona. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 23 pp. 35 cents.

In light of the recent harassment and deportation of Latin American immigrants in New York City by "La Migra" (Immigration Service), the publication of a Spanish edition of this powerful speech is particularly timely. This is the first pamphlet Pathfinder Press has published in Spanish, and hopefully it won't be the last.

Bert Corona is a leader of an organization in Los Angeles of "illegal aliens," undocumented *mexicanos* and *latinos*. The group is called CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo—Center for Autonomous Social Action).

Corona's experience, both in organizing undocumented workers and in the trade-union movement, has shaped his analysis. The Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, and the Vanderbilts, he explains, are the ones responsible for the suffering of La Raza, of Chicanos, of *Puertorriqueños*, of

## Pamphlets

Central and South Americans.

The capitalists are the ones behind the imperialist ravaging of Latin America that has forced the starving masses to seek a way out by coming to the U.S. They are also the ones who pull the strings of the puppets in the Democratic and Republican parties.

A sizable portion of Corona's speech is devoted to explaining the Democratic Party's history of betrayals, not only against Chicanos, but against the entire labor movement—from the Taft-Hartley Act to support for Nixon's antilabor economic policies.

"We should not let ourselves be guided by hypocrites . . . like Kennedy and Muskie," says Corona. ". . . it is the economic system that is to blame for the fact that there aren't enough jobs."

Perhaps the most important aspect of this speech is that it argues for the need to organize independently of the capitalist parties. Corona points to the example provided by La Raza Unida parties.

The speech was originally delivered in Spanish. An English translation (*Bert Corona Speaks on La Raza Unida Party and The 'Illegal Alien' Scare*) is also available from Pathfinder. But to get the full flavor of it, those who know the language should read the Spanish edition.

—MIRTA VIDAL



Militant/Harry Ring

March 1972 anti-deportation demonstration in Los Angeles.

## Russia: 1917-1918



The Red Army

*Year One of the Russian Revolution* by Victor Serge. Translated and edited by Peter Sedgwick. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. New York, 1972. 372 pp. Cloth, \$8.95.

Originally published in Paris in 1930, this is the first English edition of Victor Serge's rich narrative of the first year following the victorious Russian revolution of 1917.

Completed in 1928, while Serge stood in disgrace in the Soviet Union as a former Left Oppositionist, the book was sent abroad in separate and detached fragments to avoid the censors. They considered it an uncompromising heresy against Stalin's re-writing of Soviet history.

A couple of years later, even Serge himself felt it necessary to omit the name of Trotsky from a novel on the civil war period. In 1936, while he was leaving the Soviet Union after three years of exile in central Asia, the secret police seized his manuscript of *Year Two of the Russian Revolution*.

Unlike Serge's other historical and political works, *Year One* contains no autobiographical reminiscences or personal accounts. Instead he draws on contemporary sources, and with the skill of a novelist and journalist weaves together an accurate, colorful, and fast-moving narrative.

The insurrection itself, which overthrew Kerensky's procapitalist government and brought the workers to power on Oct. 25, 1917,

## Books

only marked a high point in the unfolding of the Russian revolution. It took months for the revolution to reach outlying regions. Many areas were alternately under the control of the Bolsheviks or the counterrevolutionaries as the civil war blazed back and forth for the next few years.

The new government immediately felt the blows of both the dispossessed ruling classes, who hoped to restore their power, and of international capitalism, which saw the victory of the revolution as a threat to its own stability.

Having promised to end Russia's disastrous role in World War I, the Bolsheviks immediately declared peace with Germany and opened negotiations in Brest-Litovsk. Militarily weak and facing civil war, the young Soviet state was forced to sign an unfavorable peace treaty. They declared to the world that "to make peace by yielding to superior force is not a betrayal of proletarian internationalism." At the same time the Soviets called on the German workers to oppose the treaty and to nullify it by overthrowing their own ruling class.

As Serge points out in a chapter devoted to the German revolution, the German workers did overthrow the Kaiser in November 1918. The Social-Democrats betrayed them, however, thus cutting the Soviet Union off from the aid it desperately needed.

The Allies, on the other hand, wanted Russia to continue in their war against Germany and refused to recognize the Brest-Litovsk treaty. Supplying the Czechoslovak troops who had risen against the workers government and were plundering the Ural and Volga regions, engineering counterrevolutionary coups in town after town, and landing Japanese troops at Vladivostok and British troops at Archangel, the Allies hoped to quickly take Moscow and Petrograd, the two centers of the revolution. But they were held at bay, and the Red Army eventually grew strong enough to drive them out.

Serge also laces his book with sketches of the leading revolutionaries of 1917-1918, such as Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky, Zinoviev, Yoffe, Rakovsky, and Bukharin. No doubt, the minor role he gave to Stalin only served to further irk the censors.

—ERNEST HARSCH

## Sappho

*Sappho Was A Right On Woman* by Sidney Abbott and Barbara Love. Stein and Day. New York, 1972. 250 pp. Cloth, \$7.95.

Many new books on homosexuality have appeared in the past year, yet the vast majority deal mainly, if not wholly, with male homosexuals.

*Sappho* (the book takes its title from the Greek poet who lived on the isle of Lesbos) is one of the first books written on lesbianism by lesbians. Abbott and Love are both well-known activists in the gay and women's liberation movements.

*Sappho* depicts the horrors of a lesbian's life in this society—the socially prescribed guilt and the jeopardizing

## Books

of job, education, and family relationships if one's sexual orientation is known.

The authors describe the mafia-controlled bars that exploit customers but are the only available gathering place: "The bars (lesbian) are usually hidden away. . . . Often the bar is not marked. . . . the decor is often barren and seedy: red lights, wallpaper imitating brocade, a jukebox. Prices for watered down drinks are high: you pay for protection. Men sometimes wander in. . . . Some want to win over a lesbian, a supreme challenge, positive proof of masculinity."

*Sappho* also discusses the importance of lesbians working in the women's liberation movement and devotes much space to struggles against lesbian-baiting within feminist organizations.

In the chapter "Curing Society," the authors point out that "society, by some sleight of hand, has shifted the blame for its atrocities against homosexuals to homosexuals themselves. Clearly it is a clever trick when victims of injustice are made to look guilty."

While indicting society for the oppression of gays, Abbott and Love tend to substitute the pursuit of individual life-styles for a strategy of mobilizing people to struggle against gay oppression.

Related to this, they accept the concept that to be a "real" feminist, one must be a lesbian: "Lesbians live what Feminists theorize about: they embody Feminism." Many women in the feminist and gay movements have rejected this idea, pointing out that women cannot be liberated merely by adopting a particular sexual preference.

What is perhaps most significant about this book is that 10 years ago it would have been almost impossible to publish such a positive view of lesbianism. With the rise of the struggle for gay rights in the late 1960s came the rise of new and informative literature on homosexuality. Hopefully, more literature will be added to the meager collection *Sappho* is part of.

—KAREN BANCROFT

# Pentagon papers trial exposes evidence suppressed by gov't

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 27—The defense in the Pentagon papers trial has established that the Defense Department, the Justice Department, and the prosecution staff joined in a conspiracy to illegally suppress evidence favorable to defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo.

With the revelation Jan. 26, Judge Matt Byrne suspended trial proceedings and ordered the suppressed material brought into court.

Disclosure of the existence of secret reports substantiating the defendants' plea of innocence was smoked out during presentation of "expert" testimony by Pentagon witnesses that publication of the Pentagon papers had allegedly aided the Vietnamese "enemy" and was injurious to U.S. national defense.

When the trial of Ellsberg and Rus-

The first prosecution witness, Frank Bartimo, is a ranking Defense Department attorney. In the course of his testimony, he conceded his office had set up a study group after the *New York Times* published previously secret information from the Pentagon papers. The purpose of the study was to determine if disclosure of the material was damaging to U.S. defense.

Judge Byrne blocked defense efforts to determine what the conclusion of that study was. However, it was established that a copy of the study had been furnished to prosecutor Nissen's superior in the Justice Department.

Asked under cross-examination if he had discussed the report with Nissen, the Pentagon attorney stated he couldn't remember. He also couldn't remember the names of the six people who worked on the report. He didn't

proceedings by reading from a portion of the secret government study, which had now been provided to him.

The excerpts he read were sufficient to confirm that in its critical aspects, the disclosed Pentagon papers material did not in any way affect "national defense."

Judge Byrne suspended the trial until Jan. 30. He also ordered that two ranking officials of the Defense and Justice departments appear in court to answer questions about the report and bring with them all available material relating to the case.

The development constitutes a stunning setback to the government effort to railroad Ellsberg and Russo to prison for making information available to the American people about what was really happening in Vietnam.

If the law were fully and properly enforced, a prosecutor who suppressed evidence favorable to the defense after being instructed by the court to produce such evidence would face charges of contempt of court, perjury, and suppression of evidence.

Meanwhile, the Ellsberg-Russo defense scored another gain in its fight against government deceit and trickery.

Last spring the trial was postponed after the government inadvertently disclosed that an unidentified member of the defense team had been the victim of a government telephone tap.

The government argued that the tap was on the phone of a "foreign power," and that the monitored conversation had nothing to do with the trial. The Supreme Court upheld this assertion, and the trial resumed.

Now the defense team has filed a damage suit seeking compensation for this invasion of privacy. The government moved to stay the damage trial, arguing that such a civil suit should await the outcome of the Pentagon papers trial.

The defense responded that the government had argued before the Supreme Court that the tapped phone conversation had no relation whatsoever to the Ellsberg-Russo trial. The court announced Jan. 26 that it agreed with this argument, and the damage trial will now proceed.



Militant/Harry Ring

Members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War who have been regularly attending Pentagon papers trial in support of defendants. In center is Ron Kovic, disabled veteran who has spoken at several antiwar rallies.

so first began last spring, the defense made a standard motion that the prosecution make available to the court any evidence in its possession that would tend to confirm the defendants' innocence.

When the motion was approved, prosecutor David Nissen formally assured the court that no such evidence existed.

But when the trial resumed in mid-January, this assertion came under attack.

even seem sure if he had himself read it.

The judge instructed Bartimo to find these things out. Two days later Bartimo said his office couldn't find the report. He was instructed to return to Washington to locate it and furnish the court a copy. He was also ordered to produce all correspondence with the Justice Department on the Pentagon papers case.

A week later, on Jan. 26, Judge Byrne tossed a bombshell into the

## The Militant Gets Around

Nancy Cole



Despite the weather, December and January have been good sales months for some *Militant* supporters, judging by recent sales reports. One of the easiest locations at which to organize sales is movie theaters. And with the movie industry trying to cash in on the radicalization, there's no lack of films geared toward antiestablishment youth.

Our salespeople in Catskill, N. Y. — Sam and Diane Chetta — write of their sale at "Slaughterhouse-Five": "We had a hunch we might do pretty well. . . . We sold seven copies of two issues of *The Militant* and eight copies of the *Young Socialist* in no more than a half hour! And we probably could have sold 50 more. So we suggest that especially when there is a war-related or women's liberation movie showing, get out there hawking."

The Phoenix Young Socialist Alliance, which sold 171 out of their December bundle of 175, sells regularly at a theater showing underground films. Angelo Mercure writes,

"Every Saturday night at midnight, when the movies are shown, I simply walk along the ticket line and inform people of 'the radical newsweekly with the largest circulation in the U.S.' When I make the few older people who attend these movies aware of *The Militant's* long established existence as a radical journal, they promptly buy copies."

The Port Authority Bus Terminal in New York City has proven to be a fruitful place to sell regardless of weather since it's enclosed and always full of people. During December the Upper West Side Socialist Workers Party and YSA sold a total of 160 *Militants* there.

Similarly, airports provide a busy thoroughfare for *Militant* sellers — and an excellent opportunity to reach GIs. During the summer the authorities at the San Francisco International Airport tried to prevent people from selling *The Militant*. But, according to Mark Zola, "through a threatened civil liberties suit, after several sellers had

been arrested by the local police, charges were dropped. The airport management agreed to let us conduct 'distributions' of literature as long as they were informed in writing in advance."

San Diego *Militant* sellers have also found sales at the airport rewarding, especially to sailors and GIs. They sold 144 there during December.

Please send me a bundle of *The Militant* and bill me at the end of each month (12.5¢ each; circle the size wanted):

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# District 1 demands funds from New York school bd.

By C. M. TAVAREZ

and NORMAN OLIVER

NEW YORK — "Your statistics never tell the full truth. Why can't we get dollar totals about what you're planning to spend school by school, so that we as parents can have a voice about what's spent?"

"You hide the real statistics, keep the real money, and maintain the destruction of our children. We want the funds which by law belong to us!" declared Miriam Gonzalez, president of the District 1 parents council, at a New York City board of education hearing on the 1973-1974 budget.

At the beginning of the Jan. 22 hearing at the board's downtown Brooklyn headquarters, about 200 parents, teachers, students, and administrators from District 1 demonstrated outside. They demanded that there be no budget cuts and chanted such slogans as "Vietnam no more, District 1 is our war!"

District 1 is located in Manhattan's Lower East Side, and the demonstrators from this predominantly Puerto Rican community constituted the bulk of the hearing audience.

Early in the day-long session, Abe Levine, vice-president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), criticized the deteriorating conditions of the city school system and said more money was needed to develop quality education for all children.

Although Levine said the UFT had initiated a coalition to fight for the full funding of education, he did not support the demands of the District 1 parents and students.

Luis Fuentes, superintendent of the District 1 community school board, also spoke. He dealt with the unfair criteria used in allocating funds to the various districts — criteria that favor richer, white communities. He said the central board's "objective formula" for determining the distribution of funds does not consider language difficulties.

The District 1 board is demanding that this be changed so that community boards would be entitled to city funds to finance bilingual education. The inadequate funds currently available for bilingual education are provided by the federal government.

Fuentes explained to the board that bilingual education was essential. "If the board doesn't provide funds for bilingual education," he stated, "the community board will be forced to make vacancies in its present staff in order to hire personnel who better serve the needs of the students."

Fuentes got a standing ovation, and many of the parents who spoke afterward echoed his remarks.



Luis Fuentes

Militant/Mark Satinoff



# Czechoslovak writers call for amnesty

From Intercontinental Press

Some forty Czechoslovak writers signed a petition towards the end of 1972 requesting that President Ludvik Svoboda grant a Christmas amnesty to political prisoners. According to an Agence France-Presse report in the December 27 *Le Monde*, the petition "is continuing to cause a big stir in intellectual circles in Prague."

Among the signers were the novelists Ludvik Vaculik, Pavel Kohout, Adolf Branald, and Bohumil Hrabal; playwrights Vaclav Havel, Ivan Klima, Josef Topol, Jan Kopecky, and Frantisek Pavlicek; the poet Jaroslav Seifert; critics like Jaroslav Putik and Svatopluk Pekarek; and the philosopher Karel Kosik.

A number of members of the new Union of Czech Writers also signed the petition, but several of them withdrew their names after the union violently objected. The union had condemned the petition a week earlier as the "provocative" work of "a few individuals compromised by their active involvement in the preparations for a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in 1968." The petition, according to the union, was a "campaign organized at the instigation and with the support of anti-Communist centers in the West that hide an inhuman hatred for the socialist system in Czechoslovakia behind a hypocritical interest in human beings."

Agence France-Presse also reported that the Czech minister of education, Josef Havlin, has ordered a ban on all publications of scientific works by any Czechoslovak scholar who was expelled from the Communist party or ousted from the university for political or ideological reasons. This measure was protested in an open letter by Assistant Professor Frantisek Janouch, himself affected by the order, as "unconstitutional and illegal" and a "violation of Czechoslovak law."

# ...Thieu

Continued from page 9

without congressional approval. Loyal administration spokesmen in the Senate vowed to fight the measure. It remains to be seen whether any such legislation will ever be passed.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon has arranged an elaborate scheme to hold all returned U.S. prisoners of war in camps until they can be "debriefed." The Pentagon has forbidden any of the men to speak with reporters prior to this "debriefing" period, no doubt afraid that some might make antiwar statements.

# ...strategy

Continued from page 11

Millions of Vietnamese have been dislocated by the war, mostly peasants forced into the cities or refugee camps. Millions will want to—and must—return to their land, which will often be in areas under NLF control. Thieu is attempting to resist this. The class struggle in South Vietnam will continue around this and other issues.

In the countryside, there remains the need to deepen the agrarian revolution and extend it throughout all of South Vietnam; to eliminate the landed proprietors, usurers, big traders, and the gangster-watchdogs of the Thieu regime.

In the cities, there remains the struggle against the high cost of living, speculation, hoarding of vital goods and necessities, and exploitation of the masses by the capitalists.

In both the cities and the countryside, a burning issue is the fight for the release of the 200,000 political prisoners Thieu is holding, for political rights, and for complete freedom of action for all organizations outlawed by the Saigon regime.

Carrying out any of these struggles would entail mass struggle against the Thieu regime and its military and administrative apparatus.

## Leadership

An important factor in the outcome of these and other struggles that will

emerge will be the quality of leadership given them by the NLF and Hanoi.

What will be the position of Hanoi and the NLF leaders as the class struggle unfolds in South Vietnam? This remains to be seen.

Moscow and Peking are putting strong pressure on the Vietnamese to contain the mass struggles that are likely to emerge, to accept the continuation of the Thieu regime, and to seek an accommodation with it through the "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord," which Thieu wields a veto over. If this should occur, it will signal a major setback for the revolution in South Vietnam.

Most ominous in this regard is the final part of the accords, which gives a prior stamp of approval to the upcoming international conference that will "guarantee peace" in Vietnam. This conference can only bring more pressure to bear on the Vietnamese from imperialism, and from Moscow and Peking.

Whatever happens next in Vietnam, these accords will not bring peace any more than the 1954 Geneva accords did. In the aftermath of Geneva the Vietnamese masses once again, slowly at first, resisted the attempt to impose on them a proimperialist landlord-capitalist regime. They will do so again.

# ...Detroit

Continued from page 24

Jan. 23. Those present demanded a 60-day "cease-fire" by the STRESS unit. Police Commissioner John Nichols and Mayor Roman Gribbs later told the press they could not accept the demand to halt STRESS activities. Nichols also denied charges of harassment of Blacks by police.

On Jan. 25, the Community Forums, sponsored by the North Detroit Coalition, demanded a thorough investigation of STRESS. The meeting, held in All Saints Episcopal Church in northwest Detroit, also called for suspension of appropriations for STRESS

until after the investigation.

Councilwoman Erma Henderson was greeted with applause when she told the meeting, "STRESS must go. The time is way past for it to leave the streets." Henderson criticized the police department's citizen complaint section as ineffective because it is composed of police personnel. Ernest Mazey, Detroit Civil Liberties Union chairman, called the section a "graveyard of grievances" and a "whitewash operation."

One of three suspects in the Dec. 4 killing of STRESS officers, Hayward Brown, 18, was bound over for trial on a total of nine charges this week. Brown is charged with first degree murder, attempted murder, and arson. He was captured Jan. 11 and viciously beaten by a pack of berserk cops who claimed he injured himself in a "fall."

Brown is being defended by Kenneth Cockrell, a Black attorney who is well known for his successful defense of Blacks victimized by police in Detroit.

Typical of police harassment was an incident that occurred Jan. 25 when police descended on predominantly Black Chadsey High School. Claiming they had a report that one of the alleged cop killers was present, they surrounded the school while it was in session. With rifles ready, they searched the building and adjacent area, intimidating the Black students present. They failed to find their suspect.

On Jan. 22 a damage suit asking more than \$2-million was filed in Wayne County Circuit Court by the family of 57-year-old Durwood Foshee. Foshee was gunned down by Detroit police Dec. 8.

Police claimed they were acting on a tip that Mark Bethune, one of the three STRESS suspects, was in Foshee's home. According to relatives, the police broke into his home and shot him in his bed. Police claimed Foshee shot at them first.

In either case, police admit Foshee was not guilty of any crime, unless defending oneself against unidentified armed intruders in the night is now a crime.

# Socialist Directory

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## CHICAGO

**SYMPOSIUM—VIETNAM PEACE TREATY: WHAT DOES IT MEAN?** Speakers include: Rich Rubenstein, coordinator of Chicago Peace Action Coalition. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Ausp. Militant Forum. Donation: \$1, students 75c. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

## DETROIT

**THE SCHOOL CRISIS.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

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## SAN FRANCISCO

**TECHNOLOGY AND REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Fred Stanton, Socialist Workers Party organizer, former science student. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 626-9958.

## TWIN CITIES

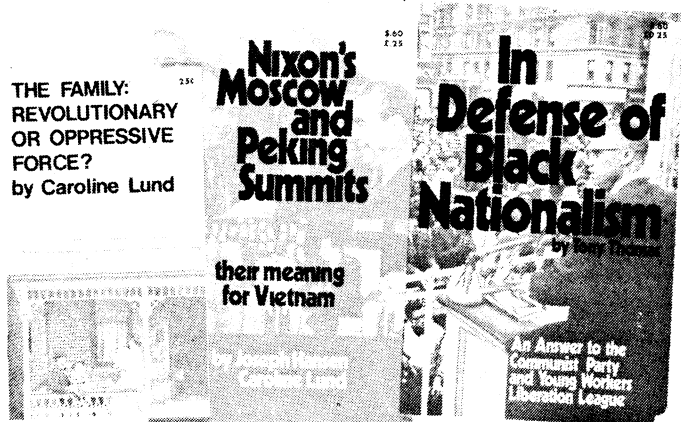
**HAS THE SUPREME COURT LIBERATED WOMEN?** Speaker: Betsy Farley, activist in U of Minnesota women's liberation; Minnesota Women's Abortion Action Coalition; Upper Midwest chairwoman of Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. Skaglund Hall, 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

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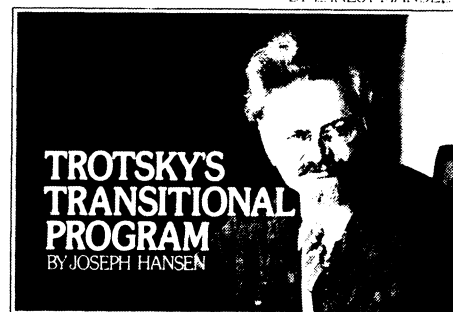
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Banquet and Rally, Saturday, Feb. 10. Refreshments, 6:30 p.m. Dinner, 7 p.m. Rally 8 p.m. Featured speaker: ROBERTA SCHERR, 1973 Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland. Donation: \$5, students \$3. Rally only, \$1. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior. For reservations, call (216) 391-5553.

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Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y.

# THE MILITANT

## Anniversary of Ireland's Bloody Sunday is commemorated in several U.S. cities

By GEORGE JOHNSON

NEW YORK, Jan. 28 — Five hundred supporters of the struggle for freedom in Ireland marched here Jan. 27 to commemorate the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, when a year ago 13 peaceful civil rights marchers were murdered by British soldiers in Derry.

The demonstration was organized in response to a call by Bernadette Devlin urging worldwide commemorative actions for the slain martyrs in an attempt to focus international attention on the Irish struggle.

The turnout was large, considering that it was cold and raining during the march and the picket and rally that followed. Estimates at planning meetings had been for several hundred, assuming good weather.

Spirits were high. Demonstrators chanted "British troops must go" during the picket and rally, which were held in front of the British Information office here.

Almost all the speakers at the rally noted that the demonstration had been endorsed by a very broad spectrum of political viewpoints, and said that such unity in action should continue.

This was especially true for Kenneth Tierney, who spoke for the Irish Northern Aid Committee. Tierney is one of the Fort Worth Five, activists who have been ordered to testify before a federal grand jury in Texas that is trying to intimidate supporters of the Irish struggle.

Tierney and the other four have refused to testify, and for this they have been cited for contempt. The Supreme Court refused Jan. 22 to hear their appeal, and they now face imprisonment in Texas for the duration of the grand jury's term (now scheduled to run through November).

Antiwar activist Sister Elizabeth McAlister spoke, as did representatives of the American Committee for Ulster Justice, the Anti-Internment Coalition,

Con Edison Emerald Society, Irish Republican Clubs, National Association for Irish Freedom, New York Bartenders and Waitresses Association, and Saor Eire Cumann.

All the above groups, as well as the Gaelic Athletic Association and the United Irish Counties Association, endorsed the demonstration.

By JOHN ISENHOWER

PHILA., Jan. 27 — About 100 demonstrators picketed the British Overseas Airways Corporation here today in the pouring rain to commemorate Bloody Sunday. The Philadelphia Irish Republican Clubs organized the action.

Signs carried by the protesters demanded "British Troops Out of Ireland Now," "End the Repression—Abolish the Special Powers Act," and "Ireland for the Irish."



Militant/Jack Barrett

Demonstration at Los Angeles International Airport.



Picket line in front of BOAC office in Philadelphia.

Militant/Bill Hutton

Jack McKinney, columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily News*, read greetings to the demonstrators from Bernadette Devlin, thanking them for their support and solidarity. The featured speaker, Eoin O Murchu from the Official Irish Republican Army, spoke about the continued repression in Ireland, the need to abolish the Special Powers Act, and the urgency of unity in action to oust the invading British Army.

Thomas Kinsella, one of Ireland's best known poets, gave a reading of "Butcher's Dozen," a poem composed in response to the hypocrisy of the British government's whitewash of the Derry murders.

The rally concluded with the reading of the name of the 13 martyrs. As each name was read a small coffin-shaped poster bearing the name of the man was raised.

The demonstration received news coverage in the *Philadelphia Bulletin* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and

on the city's two major TV stations, WCAU and KYW.

By KATHLEEN O'NAN

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 28 — About 50 Irish and Irish-Americans demonstrated in front of the BOAC terminal at L.A. International Airport. A piper in kilts played Irish revolutionary songs in commemoration of Bloody Sunday. Demonstrators carried signs with slogans such as "Boycott BOAC," "Outlaw Whitelaw," and "End U.S. Internment of Irish-Americans."

A newly formed Irish support coalition, the Friends of Ireland, organized the action. Groups represented included the Official Irish Republican Clubs, Northern Aid Committee, and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. The coalition plans to organize a St. Patrick's Day demonstration in front of the British consulate. For further information call (213) 396-5260.

## Demand abolition of 'STRESS'

## Detroit Blacks holding hearings on cops

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, Jan. 30 — Demands to abolish the Detroit police's STRESS unit have come from a broad range of Black individuals and organizations in the past week.

STRESS (Stop the Robberies — Enjoy Safe Streets) is responsible for killing more than 15 Blacks in the past year, many innocent of any crime. The unit spearheads the continuing wave of harassment and terror unleashed against Detroit's Black community in the aftermath of a shootout between STRESS officers and several Black youths.

On Jan. 24, representatives of more than 34 Black organizations held a news conference to condemn the police harassment. Calling themselves the United Black Coalition (UBC), they announced they had sent telegrams to various federal and state officials requesting a congressional investigation into the police terror.

Many individuals and organizations joined in the call, including state representatives Daisy Elliot, Alma Stallworth, Jackie Vaughn III, and Ray-

mond Hood; State Senator Coleman Young; and Congressman John Conyers.

Also the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, Black secretariat of the Archdiocese of Detroit, Republic of New Africa, Black Panther Party, Booker T. Washington Business Association, Wolverine Bar, Dental and Medical Associations, and the conservative Cotillion Club.

The breadth of support the UBC has received typifies the united response of the Black community. Many of those signing the UBC statement agreed to serve as commissioners on the Black commission of inquiry into police terror formed the previous week.

At a news conference today, the Black commission announced that it had scheduled a series of hearings in various parts of the Black community. Speaking at the news conference were Frank Ditto of the "Black Talk" TV show; Ray Rickman, chief aide to Congressman John Conyers; and Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the Black commission.



Hayward Brown, victim of beating by Detroit special police squad.

The purpose of the hearings is to expose the true extent of the police terror and mount a public campaign to end it. The hearings were organized after a common council hearing Jan. 11 whitewashed the STRESS cops' actions and turned the citizens' complaints over to the police department.

The first four hearings will listen to testimony, while the fifth will discuss proposals for action. The schedule is:

Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m., New Calvary Baptist Church, 3975 Concord on Detroit's East Side;

Feb. 8, 7:30 p.m., North End Family Center, 150 Belmont;

Feb. 11, 3 p.m., St. Cecilia's, Livernois and Burlingame on Detroit's West Side;

Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m., Presentation Catholic High School, Meyers and Pembroke;

Feb. 17, 10 a.m., at Wayne State University.

St. Paul's Cathedral on Detroit's East Side was the site of Forest Park District Council hearings on STRESS

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