

# THE MILITANT

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

## Saigon regime steps up terror campaign

— page 5



Jan.31. Young Vietnamese refugees near Long Thanh, southeast of Saigon. Thieu regime is trying to prevent refugees from returning to areas controlled by NLF.

## Evelyn Reed on Catholic Church and women's right to abortion

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N.Y. victory rally hails Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. See page 3.

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## THE MILITANT

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**A NEW THREAT TO MARTIN SOSTRE:** Not content with framing him up on a narcotics charge and sending him to prison for 42 years, New York authorities are now trying to transfer Martin Sostre to the new Prescription Center at the Dannemora State Mental Hospital. The Martin Sostre Defense Committee writes that "this is the maxi-maxi prison especially opened for inmates considered 'incorrigible.' Mind-destroying drugs, electro-shock treatments, lobotomies and other horrors are used here against militant prisoners who are considered trouble-makers by the State."

Recently the chief prosecution witness against Sostre, Arto Williams, admitted that he made a deal with the Buffalo, N.Y., DA's office to frame Sostre in return for dropping several felony charges against him. The Sostre Defense Committee is trying to have the case reopened on the basis of this new evidence. In the meantime, it asks that letters protesting the transfer of Sostre to Dannemora be sent to Commissioner of Corrections Russell Oswald, Governor Smith Office Building, Box 7033, Albany, N.Y. 12225.

## March 8 actions will hit Argentine repression

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has announced plans for spring activities across the country. Highlighting the actions will be teach-ins and, on March 8, picket lines at Argentine consulates and tourist offices.

USLA's work on behalf of political prisoners is well known. Last fall it sponsored the tour of Daniel Zadunaisky, an activist in the Argentine movement to defend political prisoners. Zadunaisky spoke at 65 meetings in 15 cities, reaching thousands of people.

His tour received 30 hours of radio time, some TV coverage, and coverage in major daily papers in Atlanta, Boston, Denver, New York, Portland, and St. Paul. Movement papers across the country also carried a number of articles about his tour.

Although Zadunaisky has left the U.S. to speak in Canada, the effect of his tour here is still being felt. The Jan. 29 issue of *The Great Speckled Bird*, a movement newspaper in Atlanta, published a two-page interview with him on the political situation in Argentina.

Also as a result of Zadunaisky's tour, petitions protesting the violations of human rights in Argentina bearing hundreds of names were sent to Argentine President Alejandro Lanusse. Signers included many academic figures, writer Nat Hentoff, filmmaker Emile de Antonio, and 15 inmates of Attica prison.

The March 8 picket lines will again protest the plight of Argentine political prisoners, this time on the eve of the March 11 elections in that country. They will also demand repeal of the repressive laws and the state of siege under which the Lanusse dictatorship rules Argentina and freedom for all political prisoners. March 8 marks the second anniversary of the murder of three Argentine students by political police.

Those who would like to work on the spring activities planned by USLA, or who would like further information, should contact USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

**KOFSKY WINS A ROUND:** Assistant professor of history Frank Kofsky, who was denied tenure at California State University at Sacramento, has announced that the faculty committee on tenure reversed its decision. The committee decided to allow Kofsky to continue teaching until May 1974. Kofsky, author of *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music* (published by Pathfinder Press), had been charged with being "unduly pro-Black," among other things.

Kofsky replied to the charges by saying, "I notice that this university has never seen fit to deny tenure to a professor for being unduly pro-white." He said that the faculty committee's earlier denial of his request for tenure had backfired and focused attention on the lack of rapport between white professors and Black students.

**'THE MILITANT' IN GERMANY:** Inprekorr, the German-language information bulletin of the Fourth International, published in Stuttgart by the German Trotskyist movement, reprints articles by Doug Jenness and Larry Seigle in its Jan. 15 issue. Jenness's article, "Should socialists demand Nixon 'sign the treaty'?" appeared in the Nov. 24 *Militant*. Seigle's article, a reply to Tom Hayden on the "peace" accords, appeared in our Jan. 26 issue.

**D.A. IN TOMBS CASE FEELING THE PRESSURE:** Admitting that "we're in a position where we're seemingly being vindictive," Manhattan District Attorney Frank Hogan announced that he will go through with the prosecution of Herbert X Blyden and Stanley King for their part in the 1970 rebellion at the Manhattan House of Detention (the Tombs). Hogan's statement followed the dismissal of 72 out of the 77 charges against Blyden by Judge Xavier Riccobono, and the announcement that charges against King were being similarly reduced.

Blyden, who is scheduled to go on trial Feb. 13, now faces a maximum of seven years imprisonment. He previously faced a life term. So far, four prisoners and one guard who were tried on similar charges stemming from the Tombs rebellion have all been acquitted. In announcing the reduction of charges against King, Hogan said, "we are not unmoved by the juries' assessment of the charges."

**'A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF DISENCHANTMENT':** That was what the 14,398 votes that went to the SWP presidential ticket in Louisiana last November meant, according to Phil Seghers. Seghers, a writer for the Louisiana State University newspaper, the *Daily Reveille*, also believes that the large SWP vote indicated "a turning away from the McGovern political camp." Seghers interviewed LSU students who voted SWP. Most "said they felt a vote for McGovern would not be a strong enough protest vote against President Nixon," according to Seghers's Jan. 16 article.



Militant/Laura Miller

Shown above is one reason why some people realized that a vote for McGovern wasn't a strong enough protest vote. More than 50,000 McGovern 'Truth Kits' were sold during the SWP 1972 campaign.

**PUERTO RICAN REPRESENTATIVES ASK PARDON FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS:** By a unanimous vote, the Puerto Rican House of Representatives asked President Nixon Feb. 2 to pardon five political prisoners jailed 20 years ago "for acts whose only motivation was to achieve independence for Puerto Rico."

The resolution was presented by Carlos Gallisa, the vice-president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party and one of two PIP members recently elected as representatives. The resolution asked for immediate and unconditional liberty for Oscar Collazo, who took part in an unsuccessful attack on Harry Truman in 1950, and for Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Andres Figueroa Cordero, who participated in a 1954 attack on the U.S. House of Representatives. All five were members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party.

**IT ALL DEPENDS ON WHAT YOU'RE WILLING TO SELL:** An increasing number of radical professors are finding that the much-touted "marketplace of ideas" carries a very limited inventory. The latest victim in the continuing purge of those who don't toe the line is Mark Green, a professor of chemistry at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

Green was suspended Oct. 9 after showing his class a film on the effects of napalm and other chemical weapons the U.S. uses in Southeast Asia. He was reinstated a week later after 500 students demonstrated in his support. But on Jan. 11 Green was told that the quality of his research and teaching had gone down, and that after the winter term of 1974 he will be out of a job. Green says he'll appeal the decision to deny him tenure.

—DAVE FRANKEL

# French feminists to speak at March 10 meeting

## Rally hails Supreme Ct. abortion decision

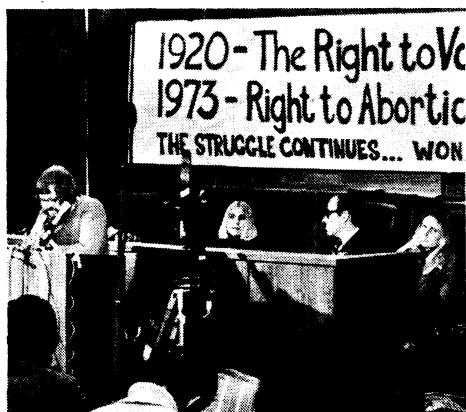
By HELEN SCHIFF

NEW YORK, Feb. 2—More than 200 women and men filled an auditorium at New York University here tonight to celebrate the historic victory for women marked by the Supreme Court decision on abortion.

The mood of the meeting, called by the New York Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), was captured by the banner in the front of the auditorium: "1920 The Right to Vote—1973 The Right to Abortion—The Struggle Continues."

The spirit of the crowd was tempered by the recognition that the women's and abortion rights movements must remain mobilized and vigilant, ready to fight any counterattack from the anti-abortion forces.

Enthusiastic applause greeted two featured speakers, Jean Touche from Belgium and Nicole Marie from the French Mouvement de Libération des Femmes (MLF—Women's Liberation Movement). Touche asked the meeting to send a telegram of support to Dr. Willy Peers, the Belgian recently imprisoned for performing abortions.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Jean Touche tells about case of Dr. Willy Peers, Belgian abortionist imprisoned by authorities.

Congratulatory messages were sent to WONAAC from the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws and from the first conference of Women's National Abortion and Contraception Campaign in Britain.

From France came the following telegram: "I am happy at your victory. I wish I could be with you for your celebration. Let us continue the fight. In sisterhood, Simone de Beauvoir."

After reading these telegrams, Ginny Hildebrand of New York WONAAC announced plans for a meeting on the International Struggle for Abortion Rights. WONAAC has called the meeting for March 10 in New York City, to take the place of the previously scheduled International Abortion Tribunal. The meeting will also commemorate International Women's Day.

At the invitation of WONAAC, Gisèle Halimi, Michelle Chevalier, and Claude Servan-Schreiber have agreed to participate in the March 10 meeting. Halimi is the well-known radical lawyer who defended Marie-Claire Chevalier and her mother in the recent abortion trial that rocked France. Servan-Schreiber is a noted journalist for the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Along with Halimi, she is a leader of the French abortion rights group Choisir (Choice).

Hildebrand told the audience, "The momentum of a first victory is a powerful weapon which we now hold. We have a responsibility to wield it in support of our sisters around the world and to further our own struggle."

Susan LaMont, a national coordinator of WONAAC, read the speech prepared by Dr. Barbara Roberts, who was unable to attend because of flight delays. The speech by Roberts, who is also a national coordinator of WONAAC, described one of the first



WONAAC victory rally Feb. 2 in New York

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

class-action suits against the anti-abortion laws, *Women v. Connecticut*.

"Many of you know," Roberts's speech read, "that WONAAC was formed out of the campaign around *Women v. Connecticut* to give a national focus to the many statewide fights that were being waged. We formed in the summer of 1971, very conscious that the Supreme Court would be hearing the Texas and Georgia [abortion] cases in the fall."

"One of the first things WONAAC did was to file an amicus brief in these cases. In the fall, just before the Supreme Court heard the initial arguments, we held demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, demanding the repeal of all abortion laws, publicizing our slogan 'Abortion is a woman's right to choose.' We have held speak-outs, debates, marches, hearings, and conferences to keep the issue of abortion in the public consciousness. . . ."

Franz Leichter, a New York state assemblyman who has worked with WONAAC, said: "We have won a bat-

tle, but we certainly haven't won the struggle yet. . . . the fight remains to be won to make abortions really available to everyone without cost, without any stigma, without any social prohibition attached to it. . . ."

The first step to removing these restrictions, Leichter said, was to pass the abortion law repeal bill in New York, submitted by himself and 29 other state legislators.

Other speakers at the rally included Harriet Pilpel, attorney for Planned Parenthood; Brenda Feigen-Fasteau of the American Civil Liberties Union; Democratic State Assemblywoman Carol Bellamy; Mike Blumenfeld, New York City health services deputy administrator; and Anita Murray, a WONAAC activist who has recently been named to head the Committee on Reproduction and its Control of the Manhattan National Organization for Women.

For more information on the March 10 international meeting in New York, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 437, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

## Government caught lying

### Judge refuses to dismiss Ellsberg charges

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The scarcity of justice in the U.S. system of "justice" was again pointed up when Judge Matt Byrne denied a motion to dismiss the indictment against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, defendants in the Pentagon papers case.

The motion for dismissal came Feb. 2 after the defense established that the prosecution, in clear defiance of a court order, had deliberately suppressed evidence pointing to the innocence of the defendants. In 1963, the Supreme Court ruled that "suppression of evidence favorable to an accused on request violates due process. . . ."

When the trial of Ellsberg and Russo first began last April, the defense moved that the prosecution make available to the court any evidence in its possession of an "exculpatory" nature. The judge accepted the motion, but federal prosecutor David Nissen assured him there was no such evidence.

Ellsberg and Russo are being tried for theft of government property and violation of the Espionage Act. The charge of "theft" is patently trumped up since the government still has the material it claims was stolen. Ellsberg and Russo simply xeroxed material legally in their possession. They made the material—the 20-volume Pentagon papers—available to the media to inform the American people how the government was deceiving

them about Vietnam.

The indictment counts relating to the Espionage Act were based on the allegation that Ellsberg and Russo had disclosed "classified" material that aided "the enemy." But, the defense has now established, government studies ordered prior to the indictment confirm that this simply was not true.

If these facts had been disclosed to the grand jury that weighed the case against Ellsberg and Russo, it is not excluded that they would never have been indicted. And if the information had been available at the beginning of the present trial—before ranking generals testified that the papers had in fact "aided the enemy"—the attitude of the jurors might well be different.

The defense succeeded in forcing Pentagon officials to admit the existence of reports dealing with the "sensitivity" of the Pentagon papers. The defense then produced a surprise witness who gave the real story on this.

The witness was Lieutenant Colonel Edward Miller. He is a retired Air Force officer who served as a security review official in the Pentagon.

Miller testified that in December 1971 he and several others were directed to review nine volumes of the already published Pentagon papers to see if they contained any information justifying their security classification. They were told that the nine volumes were to be used in the case "against Ellsberg" and that their report would

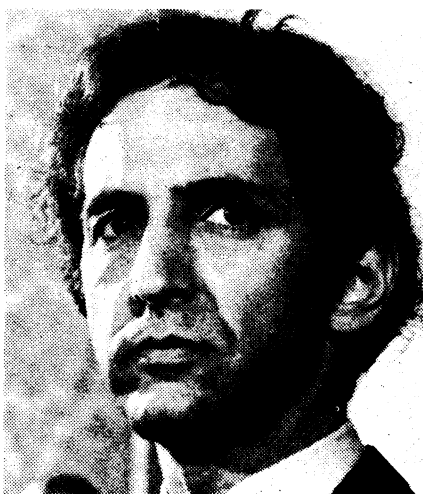
go to the Justice Department.

The volumes were reviewed, Miller testified, and it was concluded that they contained no information harmful to "national security" or worthy of classification.

Several days after they submitted their report, Miller told the court, top Pentagon officials instructed him to get the report "out of the files as if [it] never existed." Later, Miller testified, he saw a written memo to this effect.

Miller's findings as to the nonsensitive character of the Pentagon papers has been confirmed by other government-ordered reports just now in the court's possession.

Judge Byrne has turned over to the defense government reports dealing



Daniel Ellsberg

with 18 of the 20 volumes. He did so on the basis that these reports constitute "exculpatory" evidence. Much of it flatly contradicts assertions U.S. generals made under oath to persuade the jury that publication of the papers had aided Hanoi and the National Liberation Front in planning military strategy.

Defense attorney Leonard Boudin, in presenting the motion to dismiss the indictment, charged that the "conduct of the officials of Defense and Justice in the Pentagon papers case is the antithesis of the 'untainted administration of justice.'" Byrne denied without explanation the motion for dismissal, along with a motion for mistrial that followed.

The present revelations thoroughly expose the frame-up character of the government effort to convict Ellsberg and Russo. It makes clear that government secrecy, palmed off as "national security," is intended not to keep information from a foreign "enemy" but from the American people. Nor are such practices restricted to concealing the truth about activities abroad.

In April 1971, for example, Pentagon papers prosecutor David Nissen and his superiors were threatened with jailing by another federal judge for their failure to turn over secret federal grand jury proceedings relating to the indictment of several Los Angeles cops for civil rights violations.



# Watergate trail leads to White House

By CINDY JAQUITH

FEB. 7—As the Watergate trial closed last week, Judge John Sirica told the two defendants that the jury is "going to want to know if there are other people, that is, higher-ups in the Republican Party, who are involved in this case."

Today some of the "higher-ups" in the White House were tied directly to the Watergate incident in an article in the *New York Times* by Seymour Hersh. "A well-informed Government official," said Hersh, has admitted that former White House staff assistant Gordon C. Strachan acted as the initial contact between G. Gordon Liddy, one of the Watergate defendants, and Donald Segretti, who has been implicated in schemes to disrupt the McGovern campaign.

President Nixon had told a news conference Aug. 29 that an investigation of his staff showed "no one in the White House staff, no one in this Administration, presently employed, was involved in this very bizarre incident." Strachan was still working for the White House at that time.

Today's new information conforms to the pattern of corruption exposed in the case so far. On Jan. 30, the Watergate jury found Liddy, the legal counsel for the Committee to Re-elect the President, and James W. McCord Jr., a former CIA agent who was security coordinator for the Nixon campaign, guilty on all counts. The charges included conspiracy, burglary, bugging, and wiretapping, resulting from a break-in at the national Democratic Party headquarters last summer.

Five other defendants in the case pleaded guilty at the outset of the trial.

As the trial proceeded, it became clear that neither the defense nor the prosecution was interested in bringing all the facts to light. Judge Sirica, a lifelong Republican, commented at the trial's end that he was "still not satisfied that all of the pertinent facts . . . have been produced before an American jury."

At one point Sirica said he had "great doubts" that a prosecution witness had told "the entire truth." The prosecution refused to call to the witness stand several persons Sirica had suggested to them.

For its part, the defense offered what *Time* magazine called an "implausible variety of motives," centering on the argument that the defendants were worried about a plot against the Republicans by radicals.

Testimony did establish that Liddy received \$199,000 in cash from the Nixon campaign, with the full knowledge of former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans and former Attorney General John Mitchell.

But the trial ended without determining where the trail of payments began. Even the pro-Nixon *New York Daily News* urged in a Feb. 1 editorial that the White House let out the truth about the case. "Certainly Mr. Nixon owes no gratitude or loyalty to underlings who criminally abused his trust," the *News* said.

On Feb. 5, senators Sam Ervin (D-N.C.) and Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) introduced a resolution setting up a special committee to investigate the Watergate affair. The resolution would grant the committee subpoena powers and a \$500,000 budget.

# U.S. prepares Laos, Cambodia 'peace' with bombs, Agnew trip

By PETER SEIDMAN

FEB. 7—As the cease-fire declared in Vietnam begins to take effect, Washington is paying more and more attention to implementing settlements that will prop up the weak procapitalist regimes of Prince Souvanna Phouma in Laos and Lon Nol in Cambodia.

The U.S. has stepped up its bombing of Laos in the face of a powerful Pathet Lao offensive that not only threatens to divide the southern panhandle of Laos in two, but also jeopardizes the important U.S. air base in Nakhon Phanom, Thailand.

The Feb. 7 *New York Times* said, "Over-all, the situation for the Government forces throughout Laos was described by a military informant today as 'bad,' with the troops spread dangerously thin and facing strong opposition in many sectors."

While the current offensive reveals the power of the liberation forces and the weakness of the Souvanna Phouma regime, most observers regard the intense fighting in Laos as a final effort to gain territory before an expected cease-fire.

Talks resumed between the Vientiane government and the Pathet Lao last October. On Jan. 31, the Pathet Lao agreed to separate the issue of negotiating a military cease-fire from the question of negotiating a solution to the political conflict. They also agreed to hold secret talks parallel to the public negotiating sessions.

According to the Feb. 7 *New York Times*, Souvanna Phouma "expressed confidence . . . that a cease-fire would be concluded here within one week—at the latest by Feb. 15—despite the onset of a general Communist military offensive and an evident hardening of the Communist negotiating position."

While little has been reported of the substance of the talks now going on in Vientiane, the Feb. 4 *New York Times* claimed that "essentially, all parties concerned now appear to be considering a settlement along the agreement of 1962, which provided for unification of the country under a coalition Government."

On Feb. 2, Vice-president Agnew arrived in Vientiane as part of his tour through Southeast Asia. The weakness of his Laotian puppet regime was revealed by the elaborate security surrounding his visit. As Agnew descended from his plane, two helicopters armed with machine guns circled overhead.

After his visit, Agnew expressed the hope that a cease-fire would soon be reached and said: "We shall maintain our respect and support for Lao independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality as set forth in the Geneva agreements of 1962."

What Washington meant by this was clarified Feb. 5, when the State Department announced, according to the Feb. 6 *New York Times*, "that it was clearly understood by North Vietnam that the United States could continue military aid to Laos and Cambodia under the agreement for a cease-fire in Vietnam."

The State Department said the U.S. intended to continue military aid to the governments of Laos and Cambodia. Such aid is now running at a combined total of more than \$500-million a year for the two countries. While there are no talks going on in Cambodia, Premier Lon Nol declared a unilateral cease-fire there on all offensive operations Jan. 29 to permit "the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese time to withdraw from our territory in peace." Prince Norodom Sihanouk, deposed ruler of Cambodia, warned in Peking Jan. 27 that the war would not end until the Lon Nol regime was "wiped out." He changed his position four days later, however, after traveling to Hanoi. Sihanouk then said he would order the forces under his command to halt offensive operations.

Asserting that his new policy had the full support of Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai, Sihanouk said, "If the United States is prepared to act in a friendly manner with an independent and nonaligned Cambodia, we are prepared for a rapid reconciliation with Washington."

In another stop on his high-security junket across Southeast Asia, Agnew met with Lon Nol Feb. 1. The vice-president warned that "peace" would not come to Indochina "as long as a formal cease-fire had not been established here and as long as all foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Cambodia." This was a clear reference to North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia.

This ultimatum was backed up by a report from an "authoritative Cambodian source" that appeared in the Feb. 6 *New York Times*. The "source" indicated that Kissinger's aide, General Alexander Haig, assured the Cambodian government during his



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trip to Phnom Penh in January that the U.S. "would resume bombing in Cambodia if the North Vietnamese troops resumed offensive operations against Government troops."

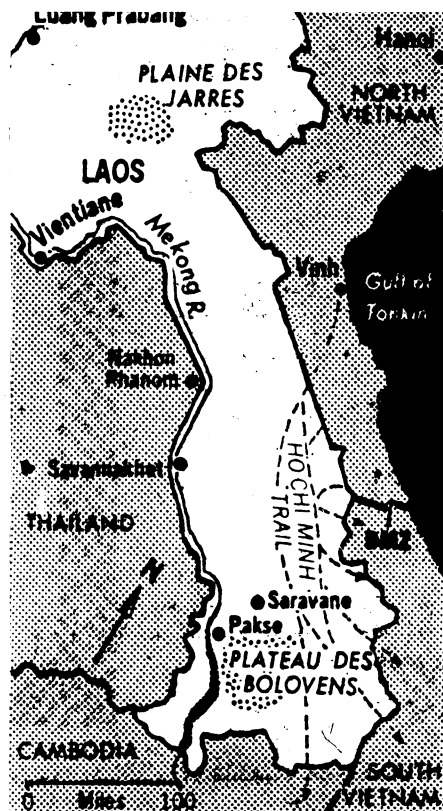
At the same time, American officials assured the Cambodians they had reached an unwritten "understanding" with Hanoi that the North Vietnamese troops would be withdrawn from Cambodia.

Hence the U.S. imperialists are making clear their determination to resume bombing in Cambodia if they believe there is any substantial military or political threat to the Lon Nol dictatorship.

There are signs to indicate that this



Lon Nol



U.S. threat is the primary power behind Lon Nol. Anti-government feeling is being expressed not only by the liberation fighters but, according to the Feb. 2 *New York Times*, also by "an important group, the Democratic party [which] issued a statement saying that only a new government . . . could bring about reconciliation. Roughly the same message came from representatives of the Association of Cambodian Youth, who announced opposition to any government that was monarchic, feudal, dictatorial, military or founded on personal power."

On Feb. 5, according to a UPI dispatch from Phnom Penh, "Several thousand workers went on strike . . . shutting down every major factory in the capital. The walkout was ordered by the syndicate of Khmer workers and farmers, a nationwide labor union, in protest against the government's refusal to enact into law major concessions won Jan. 26."



# South Vietnam after the cease-fire

## Thieu intensifies reign of terror

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 6—Phoucthanh is a small village in the Mekong Delta of South Vietnam where fighting is still taking place. As the cease-fire moved into its second week, National Liberation Front forces occupied the hamlet.

Washington Post staff writer Peter Osnos reported Feb. 5 the situation in Phoucthanh as described to him by a Saigon militia platoon leader:

"As of the morning of Jan. 28, when the Vietnam cease-fire took effect, the hamlet was under the control of the Saigon government, meaning there was a functioning local administration and the people were counted, at least nominally, as supporters of President Thieu's regime.

"Then on Feb. 1, what the platoon leader described as Vietcong occupied the hamlet, apparently without resistance or incidents and are still there. Later, some North Vietnamese soldiers also came in, he said.

"Early today, he said, the Communists ripped down the red and yellow flags of the government that had been hoisted everywhere on the orders of the Saigon authorities and replaced them with the blue, red and yellow flags of the Vietcong's Provisional Revolutionary Government."

"That was when government troops started to fight their way back into the hamlet," Osnos said. A "nasty little firefight" was under way as Osnos dispatched his story.

Phoucthanh is officially listed as a "contested area" by U.S. military authorities, and there are hundreds of similar villages throughout South Vietnam.

"The question is," Osnos asks, "who is to be held responsible for the cease-fire violation? The Communists for entering the village? The government for attempting to drive them out? Or both?"

This will be the main consideration of the cease-fire observation teams that are beginning to set up operations. As of Feb. 4, the International Commission of Control and Supervision (Hungary, Poland, Canada, Indonesia) had established regional headquarters.

But the Joint Military Commission to which the ICCS reports (U.S., South Vietnam, Provisional Revolutionary Government, and North Vietnam) has not yet begun operating in the field.

This is apparently because of the delaying tactics of the Saigon regime. But neither Saigon nor Washington will discuss the affairs of the Joint Commission, and Saigon has held the Communist delegations to it incommunicado.

The New York Times reported from South Vietnam Feb. 6 that "the South Vietnamese Government had, in procedural matters, outmaneuvered and virtually stalemated the Communist delegates representing North Vietnam and the Vietcong.

"The Communist members of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission were being shuttled to tightly guarded South Vietnamese military installations where they were invisible to the population and unable to make contact with civilians, and pose no political or propaganda threat."

Earlier, on Jan. 31, Times Saigon correspondent Joseph B. Treaster reported that "the South Vietnamese armed forces and police have sharply restricted the movement of foreign newsmen since the cease-fire went into effect . . . and have threatened some of them at gunpoint. . . .

"The South Vietnamese seem most anxious to bar newsmen from witnessing Government violations of the cease-fire and from making any contact with Vietcong or North Vietnamese soldiers."

Several reporters for major U.S. newspapers including the Times and Wall Street Journal have been arrested in this process.

### Thieu regime

But the question of the military cease-fire is only one aspect of the complex new stage of civil war in South Vietnam. Times correspondent Charles Mohr described the Saigon

are to be shot on the spot. Any Communist soldiers or political workers seen in the towns are to be shot.

"Anyone caught carrying or distributing Viet Cong banknotes is to be shot. Police are to use any force necessary to disperse 'disguised political rallies.' 'Neutralist and pro-Communist elements' are to be arrested and brought before military tribunals 'in the quickest possible time.' This order went into effect even before the cease-fire, with waves of arrests in most of the towns in South Vietnam. . . ."

British reporter Sayle had strong doubts that Washington could afford to withdraw U.S. military personnel



Members of the International Commission of Control and Supervision preparing to move into the countryside.

regime in a news analysis Jan. 30. "The bourgeoisie, after having lived through years of 'revolutionary' or political warfare, gives virtually no sign that it has recognized the need to make, or will make, any significant social reforms."

Mohr continued, "Their attitudes toward education, authority and privilege seem unchanged. The old American advice to 'win hearts and minds' is hardly even given lip service anymore. South Vietnam remains what it was in the late nineteen-fifties, an inequitable society that functions poorly."

### Police repression

The corrupt regime of landlords, bankers, and militarists in Saigon remains in power because of U.S. financial and military backing, and its own sizable army and police force. A correspondent for the British Sunday Times, Murray Sayle, described South Vietnam the day after the cease-fire was ordered.

"Police and troops are ordered to shoot at everyone stirring up trouble among the population or inciting to rebellion and support of the Communists. Those caught distributing Viet Cong literature or flags are to be arrested.

"Anyone trying to cross the lines to enter a Viet Cong area is to be arrested. Government employees, soldiers or policemen who abandon their posts or try to defect to the other side

from South Vietnam. "The peace agreement specifically forbids foreign military advisers serving in South Vietnam," Sayle noted. "So does the Laos peace agreement of 1962, but this has not stopped Americans and North Vietnamese waging clandestine war in Laos for a decade and preparations are well under way for a covert American advisory military presence here.

"The existing American Consulate in Da Nang is to be enlarged and new ones are planned for the cities of Nha Trang, Bien Hoa and Can Tho—which happen to be the headquarters of the Vietnamese Army's Two, Three and Four Corps. Here, on the pattern of Laos, it is likely that numerous 'military attachés' will be stationed—there are 97 assistant military attachés with the US Embassy in Vientiane and there have been reports here of a planned staff of 1,000 for the military attaché's department of the US Embassy and consulates in South Vietnam. Altogether a peacetime American presence of 10,000 seems likely, all in one way or another connected with military matters. . . ."

It has the elements of a broken record starting over again. That is because today, as in 1961 when John F. Kennedy ordered thousands of U.S. "advisers" to prop up the Diem regime, South Vietnam is ruled by a hated dictatorial clique that represents the interests of world imperialism, and not the needs of the Vietnamese people.

# U.S. fails in attempt to deport Iranian student

SEATTLE, Feb. 6—Bahram Atai, an Iranian student who is the national secretary of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, has won his fight to stop the U.S. from deporting him, the committee announced today.

John Boyd, Seattle district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), restored Atai's student status and approved his transfer of schools. Atai is currently a full-time graduate student at the University of Portland in Oregon. Boyd's decision came in response to a motion Seattle attorney Michael Withey submitted in mid-January.

Atai received a deportation order in the fall of 1972. He had been instrumental in organizing the defense of Babak Zahraie, an Iranian student at the University of Washington. Zahraie had been threatened with deportation because of his political views and activities in opposition to the dictatorial regime of the Shah and in defense of political prisoners in Iran. The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie viewed the attempt to deport Atai as an effort to punish him for his active support of Zahraie.

Atai had faced technical charges of not being a bona fide student last year. In his motion, Withey summarized extensive evidence from university officials exposing these charges as false.

Atai told The Militant he views his victory as "a major step forward in our campaign to establish full democratic rights for foreign students." He felt that the work of the defense committee was the major factor responsible for his victory.

"My victory is an important example of how to stand up and fight back against INS intimidation, harassment, and victimization," he said.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie includes a broad range of organizations and individuals who have united in an effort to stop the deportations of several Iranian students. Among the sponsors of the committee are several members of Congress, former senators Wayne Morse and Eugene McCarthy, leaders of the antiwar and women's liberation movements, and many foreign student groups in the U.S. Recently, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Allard Lowenstein, and Luis Fuentes, among many others, have joined as sponsors.

Spurred on by the victory in the Atai case, the committee will now step up its activities in the case of Babak Zahraie and Siamak Zahraie. Both Zahraie brothers now face deportation from the U.S. A hearing has been scheduled for Feb. 8 to consider Babak Zahraie's application for permanent residency status.

Siamak Zahraie recently won a postponement to Feb. 15 of his scheduled deportation date. He has also filed for permanent residency, and a hearing date on this application is expected to be set soon.

The committee urgently needs funds to continue its efforts. Donations can be sent to the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, P.O. Box 15422, Wedgewood Station, Seattle, Wash. 98115. Telephone: (206) 543-8958.

# In Our Opinion

## Rocky's drug bill

Intense debate continues over New York Governor Rockefeller's proposal for a mandatory life sentence with no possibility of parole for persons who sell certain illegal "hard drugs" or commit a violent crime after taking such drugs.

A less publicized but very dangerous aspect of the bill would also demand life terms for "conspiracy to sell or possess any quantity of a dangerous drug." This section would greatly facilitate police frame-ups of political activists.

Rockefeller has also called for 100 new judges to help the state prosecute the large number of addicts who could be rounded up under his proposed law.

This bill represents a real threat to the Black and Puerto Rican communities and to young people in general, the main victims of the social scourge of heroin addiction.

The entire concept behind this bill and all laws like it is wrong. They are aimed at the wrong target. To solve the problem of addiction it is necessary to attack the social conditions that drive people to seek an escape from reality. Any laws aimed at cracking down on users and pushers are aimed at a result of the problem, not its causes.

Recent events have made it clearer than ever that we can't look to the capitalist government for solutions. It was revealed this month that at least one-fifth of all the heroin and cocaine seized by New York police in their highly publicized drug raids, about \$73-million worth, has been "stolen" from the police department—that is, expropriated by the police and put back into circulation at great profit to themselves.

Whatever vote-catching, "get-tough" laws the government passes, enforcement of those laws will continue to be in the hands of the police, who are the protectors and perpetrators of the illegal traffic. We can be sure that if Rockefeller's legislation is passed, the police—among the biggest pushers in the city—will not find themselves behind bars.

Those who will find themselves in prison for life under Rockefeller's bill are the victims of drug addiction, the addicts, who turn to pushing to support their habit. They need medical treatment, and the prospect of a better world to live in, not a life prison term. Meanwhile the big-time pushers and their protectors in high society, the police department, and the government will continue to reap their fabulous profits.

Escalating the penalties for drug addiction is no solution to either the problem of addiction or the problem of drug-related crime, such as muggings and burglaries.

Whatever the penalties, drug addiction will continue to exist as long as poverty, unemployment, racism, and the alienation bred by these and other characteristics of capitalism drive people to seek an escape in drugs.

Crime would also continue to exist, even if there were no drug addiction. The poverty and desperation that breed crime are spawned by this capitalist society of riches for the few and degradation for the many. Petty crime—poor people preying on each other—is rooted in social conditions and is only exacerbated by the drug problem.

The real criminals are not the addicts who turn to drugs because they can't find dignity or a sense of purpose in this rotten society. The real criminals are the Rockefellerers, the police chiefs, and all the Democratic and Republican party politicians who uphold and defend a system of exploitation and misery.

The real criminals are the millionaires like Rockefeller who foster racism and unemployment, who steal from working people by collecting high rents for poor housing and charging exorbitant prices for inferior goods, who exploit working people on the job, and who are responsible for genocidal wars.

The solution to the drug problem is to change social conditions. This means a struggle for jobs, better housing and schools. It also means providing federally funded medical facilities for treating addicts. In the Black and Puerto Rican communities, these facilities must be under community control.

The struggle to change social conditions must lead to scraping the entire capitalist system to build a new society of freedom and equality of opportunity, where people will be able to develop their talents and human potential, where young people will feel inspired to live their lives to the fullest rather than wanting to escape from reality.

# Letters

## Peace vigil disrupted

On Sat., Jan. 20, an Inauguration Day Peace vigil was held at the Blessed Sacrament Cathedral in Detroit as part of the nationwide protest against the war.

The service was led by Father Thomas Hinsberg, a Roman Catholic priest who is a well-known figure in the Detroit antiwar movement and has used his position to mobilize local Catholics against the war for many years. As a result of his activity, he has been the object of slander and abuse by right-wing fanatics.

One organization that has a history of harassment of local antiwar groups is Breakthrough, led by Donald Lobsinger. The group usually appears at activities of the antiwar and civil rights movements and attempts to intimidate participants.

Lobsinger was arrested on disorderly conduct charges in February 1971 for attempting to physically break up a religious service for peace. He was put on probation for two years. During that time he limited his activities to picketing and leafletting antiwar rallies.

Breakthrough came to the vigil Jan. 20 armed with their usual picket signs and anticommunist leaflets. But this time they also came equipped for combat.

When Father Hinsberg got up to read a telegram from the participants in the vigil to President Nixon, he was rushed by members of Breakthrough led by Lobsinger and beaten with picket signs.

Hinsberg has filed charges of assault and battery.

*A reader  
Detroit, Mich.*

## Thieu's prisoners

Your article "Reply to Tom Hayden" in the Jan. 26 issue is correct. The Vietnamese have been forced to make concessions. Otherwise, continued killing and destruction. Now there is much emphasis on release of POWs but little on Thieu's prisoners.

*P. E. R.  
Lancaster, Calif.*

## Homosexual rights

A commonly held misconception inadvertently slipped into Dave Frankel's In Brief report in the Feb. 9 *Militant* on the Ohio antihomosexual-law repeal.

It is misleading to state that Ohio has now "legalized homosexuality." In fact, it has legalized homosexual acts. Fortunately, homosexuality per se is not against the law anywhere in the United States. If it were, it would probably force even the homosexual rights movement underground.

*David Thorstad  
New York, N. Y.*

## Musicians for peace

As the son of a former member of the Philadelphia Orchestra, I was somewhat surprised and disappointed when I turned on my TV set Friday night, Jan. 19, to see them playing for Nixon's inaugural concert. It was discouraging to see the talents of this world-renowned body of musicians being used to salute the second term of the "Mad Bomber."

But my initial discouragement was relieved a bit when it was announced during the intermission that 57 of the

106 members of the orchestra had signed a petition condemning Nixon's "genocidal bombing in Vietnam."

Also, 36 openly expressed reservations about playing the concert but were told they were under contractual obligation to do so. Despite this, six musicians asked to be released from this obligation, and according to the announcer, three didn't show up, thus risking their jobs.

In opposition to this, the peace concert conducted by Leonard Bernstein at the Washington Cathedral drew 18,000 people, listening both inside and outside. I'm quite certain that the majority of the Philadelphia Orchestra wished they could have been there.

*Bob Frantz  
Seattle, Wash.*

## Vietnam souvenir

It is interesting—and very depressing—that on Jan. 27, 1973, the day the treaty to end the Vietnam war was signed, the AP Wirephoto network sent out a photograph with the following caption:

(SAI-21) DUC DUC, Jan. 27/73—(AP) SOUVENIR PICTURE. On the last day of the Vietnam War, group of US Army pilots take souvenir picture of a group of Viet Cong killed in fighting south of Danang and put on display in the Duc Duc marketplace.

*Peter Daniels  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada*

## Philly teachers

With regards to the article by Donald Kennedy in the Feb. 2 *Militant* on the Philadelphia teachers' strike, I think that you gave a prejudicial treatment of the facts.

One of the central demands of the teachers has been more pay. This is a noteworthy omission on your part that deprives readers of the opportunity to make up their own mind about the issues.

The statistics you give on the number of strikers, demonstrators, and attendance at the labor meeting and rally were helpful, but you failed to put these in perspective by omitting any information on the total number of teachers in Philadelphia or what percent of the teachers support the strike.

I look to *The Militant* for coverage that is not available in the regular newspapers, not for propaganda, no matter how sympathetic it might be to my own views.

*Q. T.  
Philadelphia, Pa.*

*In reply*—Donald Kennedy's article in the previous week's *Militant*, entitled "Philly teachers firm as strike continues," reported that 90 percent of the 13,000 public school teachers in Philadelphia were observing the strike. Kennedy also stated that the union is demanding a 6.2 percent pay increase.

## Radical historians

Two hundred members of the Radical Historians Caucus of the American Historical Association met Jan. 27-28 in New York City. Topics under discussion ranged from the feminist movement to radical labor history.

*Militant* writer Frank Lovell was the opening speaker at the workshop on labor history. He addressed his



## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

comments to the recently published work *Teamster Rebellion*, by Farrell Dobbs, a book many of the historians were already familiar with.

He stated that Dobbs, a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a key organizer of the historic strikes that led to the unionization of Minneapolis, was writing history not as an outside observer but as a participant. Lovell argued that but for the existence of a small group of skillful revolutionaries, organized in a party and armed with a plan of action the Minneapolis strikes would have failed.

Historians Staughton Lynd and Philip Foner followed Lovell and Ronald Radosh and commented on their presentations.

Seventy dollars of Pathfinder literature was sold, much of it on the feminist struggle. A number of professors expressed interest in using the titles in their classrooms. Many picked up the Pathfinder catalog and a flyer listing Pathfinder titles on feminism. (Both can be obtained free by writing Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014)

Michael Smith  
New York, N. Y.

### Abortion

I take issue with Linda Jenness's sentence "Abortion is basically a medical procedure—no different from an appendectomy—and should not be regulated by the legislatures" in an article entitled "Supreme Court: women have right to abortion!" in the Feb. 2 *Militant*.

Early termination of a pregnancy on a normal, healthy woman need NOT be a surgical procedure. Plastic cannula and vacuum aspiration can be used to terminate pregnancy. The procedure is simple and can easily be performed by paramedics, nurses, abortion counselors.

The male has made abortion a surgical procedure by sadistically entering the uterus with curettes, dilators, sounders, metal-tipped vacuums.

L. H.  
Stamford, Conn.

Linda Jenness replies—I, of course, agree that early termination of pregnancy need not be a surgical procedure and that it can be performed by paramedics, nurses, etc.

I was trying to stress the fact that abortion is a medical procedure and should be taken out of the criminal law code. I was not trying to imply that it required surgery as an appendectomy does. If the analogy confuses the point I'm trying to make, I will certainly try to find a better one in the future.

I also agree that abortions have been mystified because of their illegality and that now—with advanced scientific techniques and the Supreme Court decision—that can begin to change.

Linda Jenness  
New York, N. Y.

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

## Padded chairs & Cadillacs

The recently elected leaders of the United Mine Workers of America are strangers in the Washington headquarters of their own union. And they are strangers to the roving bands of union bureaucrats who make their headquarters in that city, including that odd collection huddled around George Meany at the AFL-CIO building.

The first thing that distinguishes UMW President Arnold Miller, Vice-president Mike Trbovich, and Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick is that they haven't been out of the coal mines long enough to be corrupted by the Washington environment. They are still uncomfortable in the padded chairs at union headquarters, where they are expected, in accordance with tradition, to do business with senators and the owners of the coal industry.

These men have another and more important distinction. They are aware of the sources of corruption and are trying to avoid them. The first thing they did after taking office was to cut their own salaries as they promised when they campaigned for their jobs. They also seem anxious to get out of Washington and get the union headquarters located in the minefields, where it belongs.

Arnold Miller recently told a *Los Angeles Times* reporter, "For myself, I don't have no lust for power and financial gain. When we move back to the coal fields, I won't hesitate to cut my salary again. I'm not about to forget where I come from."

Most union bureaucrats around Washington couldn't believe it, and didn't want to hear about it, when Miller cut his own salary from \$50,000 to \$35,000 a year. All UMW officials took similar cuts. But a miner told one of them, "You've cut back, but you're still pretty damned generous to yourself."

Harry Patrick, who sits in the treasurer's seat, says, "Here in Washington, I work with bankers and real-estate brokers. We're in the power structure here. You can get to thinking like them. We

can't let ourselves become like them."

Former president W. A. Boyle had arranged to give himself a \$50,000-a-year lifetime pension, but this was canceled—for Boyle and for future presidents. Patrick says he has no desire to retire on a pension higher than any rank-and-file miner. "That'll give us more incentive to get a better pension for the miners."

Such thoughts are generally considered subversive in Washington, especially in the trade-union hierarchy. This may account for the fact that the weekly *AFL-CIO News* is as silent as a tomb on these new developments in the Mine Workers union.

Miller sought a meeting with Meany to discuss AFL-CIO affiliation and other matters, but got no response. It is clear that Miller and Meany do not speak the same language, and Meany is smart enough to know that. There is no indication that Miller thinks he can convert Meany to the workers' way of life.

Over at the UMW headquarters they decided to auction off the three Cadillac limousines reserved for official use. Raffle tickets will be sold to miners so the winners will get a chance to see what they helped pay for in the past. Winning one of these gas-eaters will be no favor to those with the lucky numbers, but it may be of educational value to them and other members of their UMW locals.

These initial decisions by the new UMW leaders are not ironclad guarantees against the development of a new bureaucratic clique in the union, sponsored by the coal companies. But these new officials are certainly heading in the right direction by returning to the minefields.

The UMW convention will be held later this year, and chances are that it will be as representative of the miners as these new officials are. They deserve support and praise for a good beginning on a very hard road.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



## Shopping—the un-Safeway

The Safeway chain with its 1,931 stores did \$4.5-billion in business last year. Its stores in Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and West Germany raked in another billion. They are the second largest supermarket chain in the U.S. and the largest in Aztlan (the Southwest). But now we know how they got to Fat City.

The Interfaith Committee to Aid Farm Workers has charged that Safeway markets falsely label as "lean ground beef" meat that has as much fat as the "ground beef" sold for 30 cents less a pound. The committee is suing Safeway.

If you find your Safeway hamburger a bit chewy, you will be interested to learn that much of the meat used in preparing Safeway hamburger is frozen Australian bull meat. Perhaps the extra fat was thoughtfully provided only to round out the chewiness of the bull meat, but at any rate it's much cheaper.

Nor is this the only way Safeway trims expenses while trimming your wallet. They are also the largest purchaser of scab lettuce and a major buyer of wine made from scab grapes. This is why the United Farm Workers Union is boycotting Safeway stores.

The meatheads who run Safeway work hand-in-glove with the farm bosses who oppress Chicano field workers. Safeway supported Proposition 22 on the California ballot last fall. Initiated by the racist growers, Prop 22 would have taken away the right of farm workers to organize the union of their choice.

Apparently, the adulteration of meat is not a rare practice. The district attorney's office in Los Angeles is suing other chains for allegedly mislabeling ground beef as "ground lamb" and ground pork as "ground beef."

Hearing all this brought to mind Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle*. In this classic exposé of the meat industry at the turn of the century, Sinclair described some of the ingredients that went into sausages and

other ground meats in the big companies: floor sweepings, sawdust, broken glass, and rats. Well, at least they swept their floors.

Rumor has it that a similar process is going on today as a result of informal agreements between Safeway and farm bosses. It is said that the growers are (in the interest of ecology) steering old, worn-out scabs from the lettuce fields to the Safeway meat department for recycling.

Meanwhile, Safeway executives are girding for possible further attacks. Thomas Cooney, public relations manager for Safeway in Los Angeles, said in response to the charges, "We have a fine reputation in meat, and we take great pride in it." He labeled the lawsuit just "another farm workers' attempt to harass us."

Sounds like a lot of bull to me.



El Malcriado





**Cultural note**—Hollywood is taking a piece of the Mideast action. "Sabra Command," being shot in the Sinai desert, depicts an Israeli army unit hunting Palestinian guerrillas. "We want to show Israelis and Jews in a new light—fighting in the desert and dancing in the discotheques instead of working in shops," explains producer Buddy Ruskin. "And we want to show that the Arab terrorists of today are like the Mafia in its hey-day."

**Some of his best friends are Arabs**—If you suspect that an element of racism may be found in "Sabra Command," be reassured by the attitude of director John O'Connor. Despite some problems, he's pleased with the

Bedouin tribesmen hired for guerrilla scenes. "We have to stop shooting a couple of times a day while they pray," O'Connor said. "But they can do some scenes marvelously—if you tell them to die they lie still for hours."

**Keep it clean, quiet, and quaint**—The Australian Ballet was invited to tour Eastern Europe. According to the company's artistic director, Peggy van Praagh, Soviet authorities "particularly asked us not to bring any electronic music, any contemporary music, or anything with sex in it."

**Setback for olive lobby**—Since the early days of Christianity, olive oil has been prescribed for the sacrament of anointing the sick. However,

it is difficult to obtain in some parts of the world. To deal with this problem, the Pope has now ruled that any vegetable oil may be used in the rite. This should be heartening news to those suffering high blood pressure and concerned with their cholesterol intake.

**Favors hot water**—Nuclear physicist Edward Teller, who accepted with pride being dubbed "father of the bomb," says needed development of nuclear reactors is being held up by environmentalists who protest that reactors "would raise water temperature slightly." He's the same Doc Teller who tried to con early opponents of the bomb with the slick argument that nuclear fallout was "safer than cigarettes."

**Just cough it up**—Cincinnati residents who were into Xmas cookies will be cheered to learn the government ordered the Federal Bake Shops chain to recall 20,000 gingerbread men infested with rodent excreta.

**Thought for the week**—"A fair mind has to wonder whether the illegalization of cigarettes in certain places will improve the general welfare. Or will it lead to opening of puff-easies, where alienated smokers steal from job and family and polite society to indulge their suicidal habit? I suppose a law could be drawn to permit smoking only in private between consenting adults, thereby making it a victimless crime."—Los Angeles Times columnist Art Seidenbaum.

## Women In Revolt

### ERA opponents invoke Bible

Cindy Jaquith



Women won another important victory when the Wyoming state legislature ratified the Equal Rights Amendment Jan. 24. At the same time, however, there were four defeats for the ERA that reflect the growing campaign by the anti-ERA forces.

In the course of the debate in Wyoming over the measure, a group called Women for Maintaining the Differences Between the Sexes and Against the Equal Rights Amendment lobbied unsuccessfully for its defeat. The group's co-chairwoman, Virginia Bumgardner, falsely charged that the Socialist Workers Party's reason for backing the amendment is that drafting women would help "destroy the Army."

Wyoming is the twenty-third state to ratify the ERA. At least 38 states must do so for the amendment to become law.

On Jan. 24 the Utah House of Representatives voted 51 to 20 against the ERA. The heavy influence of the Mormon Church's backward teachings about women was evident in the speech of at least one legislator. According to a Jan. 26 Associated Press report, Democratic Representative Eldon Barlow proclaimed that "any organized society must

have a leader and men are divinely chosen to fulfill that role."

Barlow also raised the specter that the ERA would lead to "divorces on a scale heretofore unheard of" and that it was a "vicious, divisive instrument to destroy the basis of this nation—the family."

The Oklahoma House defeated the ERA Jan. 31. According to a UPI dispatch, male legislators opposed the bill in part because they said it "defied the teachings of the Bible and because women 'are not the same as we are.'"

The Arkansas Senate voted against ratifying the ERA Feb. 1 and the Montana Senate did the same Feb. 2.

Although both the House and Senate in each state must consider the bill, in the case of Utah and Montana, the defeats by one legislative body are considered likely to mean defeat in the other.

The majority of states taking up the ERA thus far have approved it, but as events in the last week show, there is no reason to assume this will continue.

Despite the demoralizing blow the anti-ERA forces

suffered with the Supreme Court decision to legalize abortion, these groups will continue to campaign in the states where the ERA is being debated. The leader of the Stop ERA Committee, Phyllis Schlafly, recently told the *New York Times* that her organization has strong chapters in eight of the states that have not yet ratified the ERA: Arizona, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Virginia.

In addition to these states, legislators will consider the ERA in five others—Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, and Minnesota.

Defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment would be a serious blow to the struggle for women's liberation. Enemies of the feminist movement would use such a defeat to claim that the masses of women don't really want equality.

In every state where the ratification fight is coming up, a well-organized campaign on the part of ERA supporters will be important. To be most effective, such a campaign will have to expose the arguments of the right wing and involve the broadest forces possible, including trade unions, women's organizations, and campus groups.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Racist Kitty Hawk trials continue

Baxter Smith



A Black sailor was convicted by a Navy jury in San Diego this week. Brother Ricks, one of the *Kitty Hawk* defendants, was found guilty of assault and riot charges.

According to *Militant* correspondent Marilee Savage, three white sailors gave testimony that indicated they had been lying when they accused Ricks of hitting them with a stick last Oct. 12.

The whites had been working in sick bay when a "riot" broke out on the ship. Ricks brought a wounded Black sailor into sick bay. A white sailor, who was brought in later, was treated first.

Two of the whites admitted on the stand that Ricks had never touched them, so two charges of assault were dropped. Nonetheless, he was sentenced to two months in jail and a reduction in rank and pay. The Navy did this knowing that he has to support his wife and baby on his Navy pay.

There were five *Kitty Hawk* trials in progress the first week of February. The Navy is under pressure to speed up the trials because all of the Black defendants have been confined to the brig for almost 90 days. Defense lawyers have been trying unsuccessfully to have the men released.

Last month the Black Servicemen's Caucus, a group of ex-servicemen here who are spearheading the defense of the Black sailors, issued a fact sheet on the Oct. 12 "riot." The fact sheet is based on discussions the BSC had with some of the 21 Blacks who were framed up.

The atmosphere aboard the ship, which was stationed off the coast of Vietnam, had been tense for some time. Job discrimination against Blacks was rampant. The brothers were forced into positions as "mess cooks, scrub boys and lavatory cleaners while white sailors . . . received job classifications they wanted."

Black, Chicano, and Filipino sailors worked exclusively in what is called "the hole," or lower levels of the ship. Whites worked the upper levels.

According to the fact sheet, there was a "standing order aboard ship to break up any group of Blacks numbering more than two or three people." Twenty white sailors could sit together at a table but four Blacks could not. The power salute and the dap (Black handshake) were banned.

The "riot" occurred just after a group of 25 to 30 Blacks met with Captain Marland Townsend Jr. over their grievances. At that meeting he was

said to have okayed Blacks congregating peaceably in any number. But as soon as they left his office he called out the Marines. "Heads were busted, hands were broken, backs stabbed, and in one case, a revolver drawn," the fact sheet reports.

The Black Marines refused to attack other brothers. The melee spread as the white sailors joined in on the attack and the Blacks defended themselves. The fact sheet reports 200 of the 638 Blacks aboard got involved—there were 5,000 men aboard the *Kitty Hawk*.

Attached to the fact sheet was an appeal by the BSC to the Congressional Black Caucus to "send a representative immediately to San Diego to investigate and help these brothers." To my knowledge, none of these Black Democrats—who are long on words and short on action—have responded to this appeal.

The recently formed Kitty Hawk Defense Committee is planning a rally and benefit Feb. 11 to raise money and build support for the Black sailors. 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 BARRY SHEPPARD

Leonid Brezhnev, Stalinist chieftan of the Soviet Communist Party, issued a statement Jan. 30 on the Vietnam cease-fire accords. Brezhnev, bragging about the Soviet role in the settlement, asserted that "a road for peaceful democratic development, for upholding true independence and for conducting the policy of national concord and unification opens before South Vietnam" as a result of the accords. (*Daily World*, Feb. 1.)

The rosy picture Brezhnev paints is duplicated by the American Communist Party and the *Daily World*. The pro-Peking *Guardian* newspaper takes a similar position. Both the CP and the *Guardian* give political support to the cease-fire accords, in spite of the fact that they contain many conditions Washington imposed on the Vietnamese. Both assert that if the provisions of the accords are carried

present level.

Before the truce was signed, Washington turned over many of its bases and much materiel to the Saigon army. The Saigon air force was built up to be the third largest in the world. The U.S. can keep Thieu's armies supplied at this level. U.S. bombers and other forces remain massed in Thailand, off the coast of Vietnam, and in other Asian bases.

Military prisoners from all sides will be returned within 60 days.

The cease-fire accords recognize that two armies and two administrations exist in South Vietnam, those of the PRG in several areas and of the Thieu government. Each is to remain in control of the areas it now holds.

#### 'National Reconciliation'

The part of the accords concerning the future of South Vietnam includes provisions calling for free elections, release of political prisoners, and recognition of basic democratic rights.

own"—Washington continues to prop it up with aid, supplies, and the threat of reintervention to protect it if necessary. In addition, Moscow and Peking have made it clear they will do their utmost to guarantee PRG and North Vietnamese "compliance" with the accords.

It is true that in direct combat with the revolutionary forces of North Vietnam and the NLF, the Saigon armies have proved incapable of holding their own without massive U.S. bombing. But if such combat should start again, it would obviously mean the scrapping of the accords.

Burchett correctly says that the struggle in South Vietnam continues, but he indicates that the implementation of the terms of the accords will inevitably lead to the successful completion of the Vietnamese struggle for national liberation.

The actual course of events in South Vietnam will be determined by the living class struggle in Vietnam and

forced to flee their land by the U.S. bombing and are presently in the areas controlled by Thieu's henchmen. The Saigon regime can offer them no perspective. They need to and want to return to their land, much of which is in areas under PRG control. Thieu's present policy is to attempt to prevent by force their return to PRG-controlled areas.

Land reform has been one of the central issues impelling the resistance to the Saigon regime since the middle 1950s. The peasantry will want to assert its ownership of the land, not only in areas under PRG control, where this has largely been carried out, but throughout the countryside. The landlords and their regime will attempt to prevent this and to collect rents wherever possible.

In the cities, the war has exacerbated inflation, speculation, dictatorial denial of democratic rights, unemployment, corruption, and the hoarding of vital necessities—on top of the "normal" exploitation of the masses by capitalism.

The struggle for the political rights of all organizations Thieu banned, for the release of the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, and for democratic rights in general cannot be resolved by mere words in favor of democracy in the accords.

These and other issues of the class struggle—"matters of contention" between the opposing forces—cannot be settled by "negotiations" but only through mass struggle. Take the question of land reform, for example. The peasants want the land, and do not want their blood sucked dry by the rent-gouging landlords. The landlords, however, certainly cannot accept the peasants' position—not if they want to remain landlords!

#### What road to victory?

Genuine national liberation cannot be won through cooperation or reconciliation with the Saigon regime of landlords and capitalists. That regime relies on imperialist support for its continued existence. It must be overthrown before national liberation will be on the agenda.

The accords say that reunification of North and South Vietnam will come about "peacefully" and through negotiations between North and South Vietnam. This also is impossible so long as the Thieu regime remains. North Vietnam is a workers state. Saigon presides over a capitalist state. Reunification is impossible before capitalism is overthrown in South Vietnam.

The heart of the issue remains what it always has been in South Vietnam: which class will rule? The course of the class struggle itself will determine which of the two class forces, represented by the two armies and two regimes in South Vietnam, will eventually predominate.

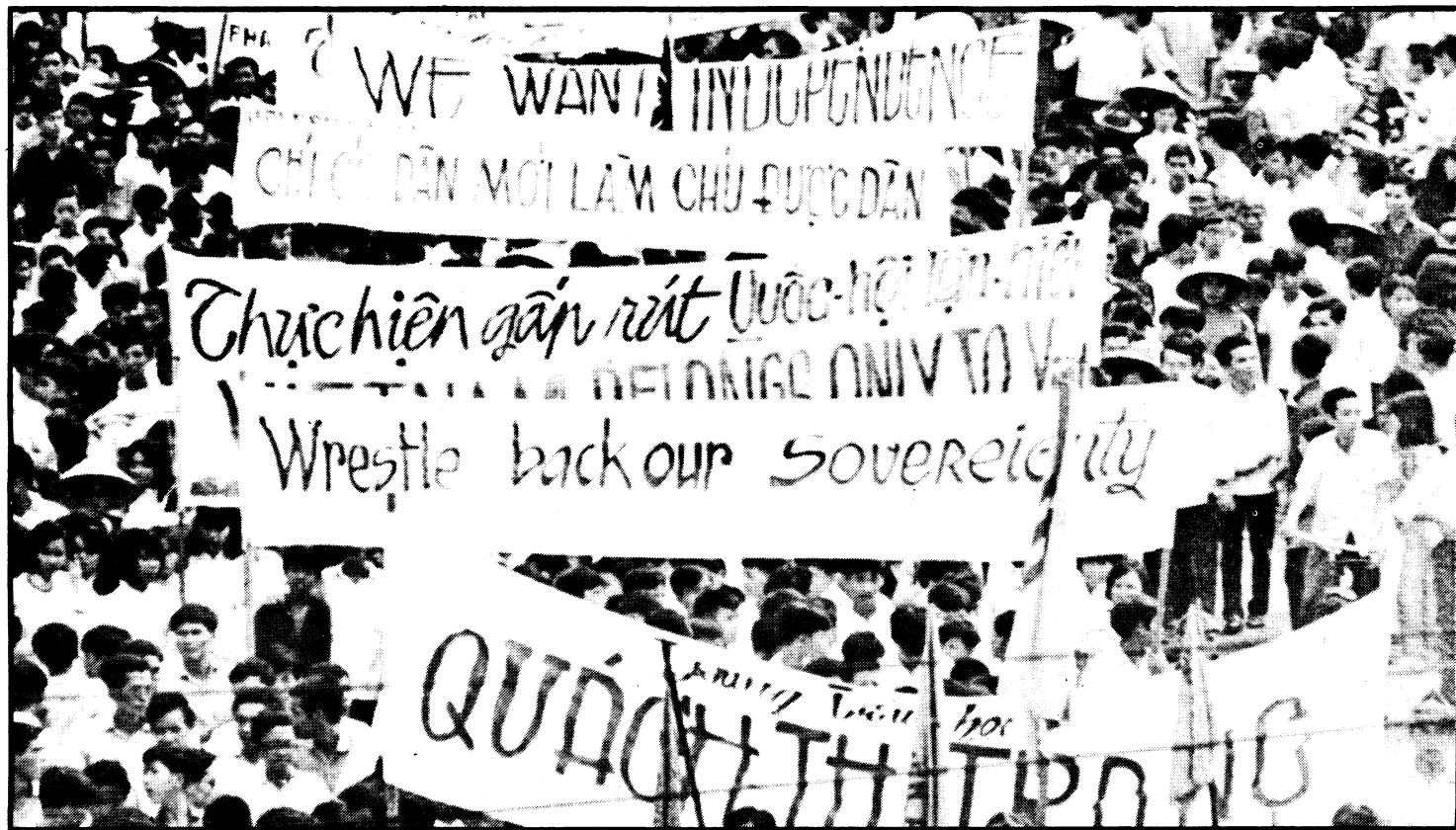
This question cannot be decided by elections. No ruling class in history has ever given up its privileges peacefully. They have always resorted to violence when their rule is threatened. The landlords and capitalists backing the Thieu regime are no exception. The whole history of the war demonstrates that fact.

The CP and the *Guardian* warn that Thieu will try to violate the provisions of the accords concerning democratic elections, the release of political prisoners, and democratic rights in general. Of course! Without question! But given this fact, what does it mean to say that the struggle in South Vietnam will advance along the road outlined by the accords?

The accords outline a policy of collaboration between the PRG and the Saigon regime to set up elections for a new government. This can only work if the PRG agrees to Saigon's terms. If this should occur, it would

*Continued on page 22*

# THE PARIS ACCORDS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN VIETNAM



Saigon, 1966. Anti-government, anti-U.S. demonstrations shook South Vietnam. Social conflicts that led to these struggles have not been resolved.

out, this will be tantamount to a victory for the Vietnamese liberation forces.

This assertion is false. To see why, we should first look at what the accords stipulate. There are two parts to the accords, one concerning the cease-fire, and the other the political future of South Vietnam. The agreement concerning the cease-fire is to be implemented independently from the "political" agreement.

The "political" aspects, concerning the future of South Vietnam, are outlined, but their implementation is left entirely to negotiations between the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Saigon dictatorship.

The military aspects of the accord include a cease-fire throughout South Vietnam and a halt to U.S. bombing of the North. The remaining U.S. troops and materiel will be withdrawn from South Vietnam within 60 days.

North Vietnamese soldiers are permitted to remain in South Vietnam, but no new North Vietnamese forces may be introduced. North Vietnam must withdraw its troops from Laos and Cambodia, ending the use of the supply routes through those countries. North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front forces may receive material to keep their supplies at the

But the implementation of these provisions is left entirely to negotiations between the PRG and the Saigon regime. The two sides are to set up a three-part National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, presumably composed of the PRG, the Saigon regime, and "neutralists" appointed by both sides. Each party can veto any decision of the council.

The accords say this national council will then hold elections for a new government, which will "determine the future" of South Vietnam.

The accords recognize the historical unity of Vietnam in theory but the division into North and South Vietnam in fact. Reunification will supposedly come about by "peaceful means," through negotiations "between North and South Vietnam."

The agreement also says that the "two South Vietnamese parties undertake to respect the cease-fire and maintain peace in South Vietnam, settle all matters of contention through negotiations and avoid all armed conflict."

What do the accords really mean? Writing in the Feb. 7 *Guardian*, Wilfred Burchett expressed the view that the "unorganized, unpopular and corrupt Thieu administration cannot be expected to long survive on its own." But the Thieu regime is not "on its

on a world scale. The accords must be seen in this context. And, as we shall see, the road to victory for that struggle cannot be the road outlined in the accords.

The two administrations and two armies that face each other in South Vietnam represent irreconcilable class forces. The Saigon regime is based on the landlords and capitalists and defends their interests. The PRG and NLF are based on the peasants, workers, and other oppressed layers.

#### An explosive situation

This situation is highly explosive. After so many years of war and revolution, the South Vietnamese people face huge social problems. None of the basic questions, including land reform, national liberation, and reunification, which have been at the root of the war and which so many courageous Vietnamese died fighting for, have been resolved by the accords.

Washington continues to intervene in the affairs of the Vietnamese through its support to the Saigon regime. The country is still divided. National liberation and reunification remain to be won.

Millions have been dislocated by the war. Most are peasants who were,

## 'Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters'

# Gus Hall: Communist Party election strategy wrong for thirty years

By LARRY SEIGLE

Under the title "A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters—the next 4 years of Nixon," the Communist Party has published the full text of Gus Hall's speech to the CP central committee meeting of Dec. 8-10, 1972.

The internal disputes and conflicts revealed in Hall's speech indicate that the CP is facing a crisis of major proportions. The intensity of intra-party rancor and factionalism is higher than it has been for some time.

Like the earthquakes that have shaken American Stalinism before, such as the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary, the current tremors stem from major developments involving Moscow. The source of the dislocation is the new detente between Washington and Moscow, which has been consummated with the settlement imposed on Vietnam.

In the context of the detente, the need for a shift in the line of the CPUSA is quite apparent. For decades, the CP has been buried inside the Democratic Party. It has been oriented toward encouraging the Democrats, as the representatives of the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, to adopt a more friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union. Following the line of the Kremlin bureaucrats, they have appealed for the U.S. government to adopt a policy of "peaceful coexistence" with Moscow.

But the rapprochement has been the instrument of a Republican president, not of the Democrats. It turned out to be Nixon, not a Kennedy or a McGovern, who negotiated the deal with Brezhnev.

As Gus Hall puts it in his report, "In the field of foreign policy, monopoly capital moves towards more realistic policies. . . ."

"In a sense it is ironical," says Hall, "that the old cold warrior Nixon won his re-election partly by retreating from positions on which he had built his lifetime reactionary career. The shift was a surprise to many."

For Hall, the diplomatic moves have "a significance that goes beyond electoral maneuvers. They reflect a new stage in world relationships. They are victories for socialism."

### McGovern campaign

And what of the Democrats? "It is also ironical that in all this the McGovern camp was left holding the cold-war bag. McGovern quoted Nixon against Nixon on the cold war. This only gave McGovern the image of holding on to the cold-war positions. . . . Nixon cleverly used the issue of the millions of jobs that will come from Soviet trade. McGovern . . . was thus against a concrete measure that will provide jobs—namely, trade with the socialist countries. On the Middle East Nixon kept silent. . . . McGovern, on the other hand, made the most vicious, anti-Soviet, cold-war speeches in his attempt to get the Jewish vote. . . ."

"McGovern's was a one-sided position. One position—that of ending the war, was undercut by Nixon's demagoguery and by the concrete actions toward ending it."

Of course, Hall denounces Nixon for his domestic program. But the Kremlin is not concerned with Nixon's domestic policy; they like his foreign policy, and that is all they care about.

The Soviet bureaucracy's attitude toward the contest was stated clearly by Soviet leaders before the election. The Oct. 29, 1972, *New York Times*

headlined its story on the Soviet stance, "Soviet Press, After Ignoring the Campaign, Indicates Moscow Favors Nixon." A dispatch from Moscow in the Oct. 5, 1972, *Los Angeles Times* noted that "Soviet President . . . Podgorny reportedly came very close to endorsing the reelection of President Nixon." The article noted that Podgorny's "attitude seems to reflect a general Soviet sympathy for Mr. Nixon's campaign."

The Soviet leaders' attitude toward Nixon is clearly inconsistent with the CP's long-standing policy of supporting presidential candidates of the Democratic Party. Something had to give,

by the new radicalization because of its abstention from the antiwar, women's liberation, and other struggles, particularly on the campuses. They feel that because of their absence from the scene, other groups, particularly the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, have grown at their expense.

And, especially in recent months, the CP has felt the need for some left rhetoric to cover up its complicity with the Kremlin's monstrous betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution. The role of Moscow is so brazen that it has aroused some disquiet even within the ranks, especially among newer mem-

more serious problem. There are members of this body who did not vote for the Communist ticket."

"The question is," he said, "how are we going to characterize such actions by Communists? Should we be silent? Are we going to say, 'It's understandable. They meant well. They were worried about Nixon.' I don't think so. . . ."

### 'Opportunism' and 'liquidationism'

● The CP "united front" strategy of burying itself in "mass organizations" has been used as a cover for "opportunism" and an "excuse for liquidating the Party."

"Some [CP] trade unionists interpreted it to mean," charged Hall, "that it is all right for them to unite with reformists and in the process become reformists themselves. Others thought it meant that they should join the Reform Democrats and become Reform Democrats themselves. Some Jewish comrades thought it meant they should make such concessions to Jewish nationalism that eventually one could not tell them apart."

● The CP's "three pronged" electoral strategy, which Hall also referred to as a three-legged stool, is a "wrong concept, a wrong basis for our Party's electoral policy." This strategy, which Gus Hall previously articulated and defended, tried to justify combining support to capitalist politicians, mostly Democrats, with support to "independent" candidacies and CP campaigns.

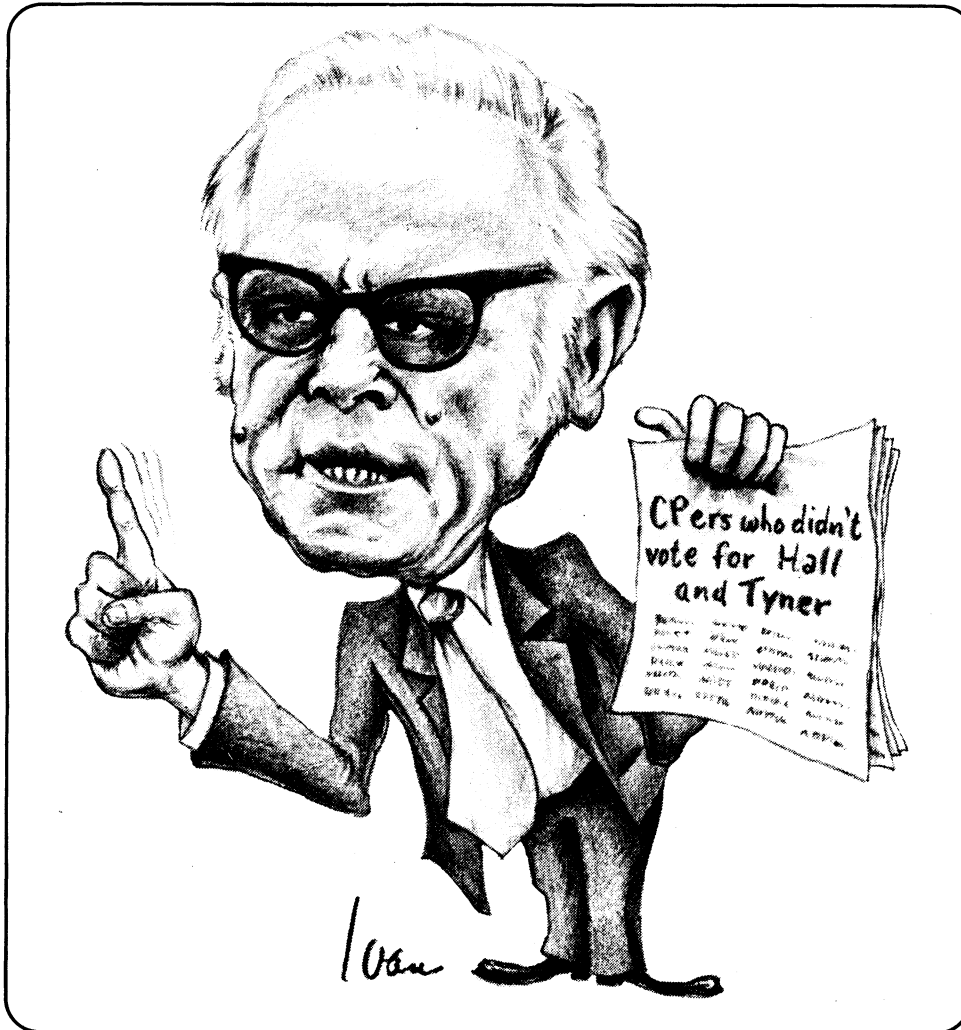
Hall admitted that "we have tried to reinterpret it on many occasions, including the last convention as well as the last meeting of the Central Committee. But it never quite made political sense." He said that the only "operational leg" of the stool has been "the policy of supporting liberal Democrats as the main electoral activity."

Hall said Communists had to "break with the illusion ourselves" that the Democratic Party can be "made into a vehicle for struggle against monopoly."

● The CP has been wrong since the early 1940s for not running its own campaigns. Hall asked, ". . . what were the reasons we did not run Communist presidential candidates for some 30 years?"

". . . even if we could not have made the ballot in one state, should we not have run candidates? There have been a few exceptions where candidates have run for local offices, but these were mostly in cases where it was not necessary to run on the Communist Party line."

● All these errors led to significant "resistance" in the party to the 1972 campaign. "Why should Communists vote for candidates of big business," asked the Communist candidate,



Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party

and it wasn't going to be the Kremlin's foreign policy. The CP had to make a shift, and it is this shift that has provoked the internal crisis.

The CP could not, of course, follow Moscow and openly support Nixon. Rather, the "break" with the Democratic Party has been carried out under the banner of a shift to the "left."

In his speech, Hall calls for a rupture with the CP's 30 years of orientation toward the Democratic Party: "The Left forces should seek to turn the independent forces away from trying to become an opposition within the Democratic Party. The Left could steer them toward independent forms, toward broad electoral and legislative coalitions on issues and actions."

"The moment is ripe," declares Hall, "for active steps toward organizing a mass, working-class-based anti-monopoly party."

### A new orientation

The necessity for a new orientation that would not put the CP at odds with the Kremlin line coincided with other developments within the CP. Younger CPers feel pressure to become more public and open as "Communists."

Also, CP leaders, under pressure from Moscow and from other Stalinist parties, have recognized that the CP has been bypassed to a great extent

by the new radicalization because of its abstention from the antiwar, women's liberation, and other struggles, particularly on the campuses. They feel that because of their absence from the scene, other groups, particularly the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, have grown at their expense.

The bulk of the specific issues contained in Hall's report are in the form of an attack on that section of the CP, including the leadership, who balked at supporting the presidential ticket of Hall and Jarvis Tyner because they were sticking with the previous policy of support to the Democratic nominee.

Hall has some very nasty things to say about the attitude of many CPers toward electoral politics and about their conduct of his campaign.

Hall presents the leaders of the party, of which he has been the top official for more than a decade, with an indictment that includes the following counts:

● Many CP members didn't even vote for the CP. "My guess," complained Hall, "is that 30 per cent, maybe 40 per cent, of Communists did not vote for the Communist Presidential ticket. In some areas it may be even higher. Let us face a still

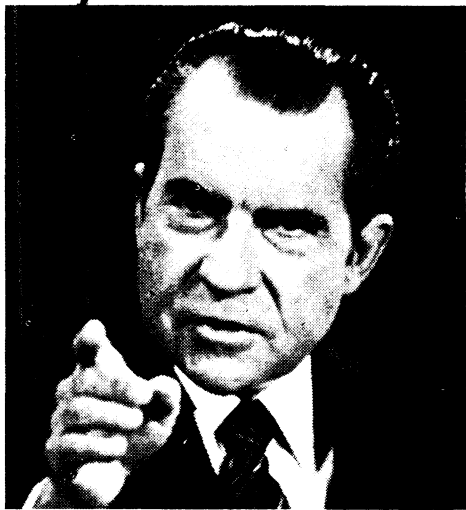


Leonid Brezhnev



"when Communist candidates are running against them? This seems to me to be a serious question for this Party.

"What is the logic that led a Communist editor to write: 'If you did not lose that last spark of human feeling, it is clear you must vote for McGovern.' Such poetic feeling! Comrade



Hall says McGovern was 'left holding the cold-war bag' while Nixon pursued a 'more realistic' foreign policy.

Tyner [Hall's running mate] and I resent such indecent remarks."

Referring to the "resistance" to the 1972 campaign, he said, "We started talking early but we started working late. The leadership did not shift cadre to the election front. We could have been on the ballot in at least 10 more states if not for the hangups." [The Socialist Workers Party was on the ballot in 10 states more than the CP. — L. S.]

Getting to specifics, Hall demanded, "... how do the comrades from California explain the mess there? Or how do the comrades from Texas, Indiana, New York, Massachusetts, or all of New England from Connecticut to Maine, and the southern states explain the shortcomings there? We know what you did not do; more important is why you did not do more." The replies to these questions, if any, were not reported.

### 'Browderism'

The exceedingly sharp tone of Hall's polemic, and the decision to print such a speech publicly, shows how deep the crisis has become. Hall even raises the charge of "Browderism," CP parlance for "right opportunism," against his opponents.

This is not the first open sign of the internal problems. An editorial in the September 1972 *Political Affairs*, the CP magazine, directly repudiated the previous month's editorial on "The McGovern Candidacy." Their earlier statement, the editors point out, "did not sufficiently stress the limitations and negative features of the McGovern candidacy."

The dispute became quite heated at a special meeting of the CP national council in September. At that time, those who wanted to deemphasize or drop altogether the Hall-Tyner campaign in favor of more open support to McGovern were dealt a decisive defeat.

The "new look" has many of the trappings of a turn to the left. The CP now says, in effect, both parties are run by monopoly capital. We must build an anti-monopoly party. We must stop burying ourselves in the Democratic Party.

But the left rhetoric is merely the fancy wrapping paper, at least insofar as Gus Hall and the Nixon fans in the Kremlin are concerned. The essence, for them, is: The Democrats and the Republicans are cut from the

same cloth. Therefore we can deal with either one. Today, it is the Republican, Nixon. Tomorrow ... who knows?

Why the resistance? Gus Hall is responding to Moscow's dictates; the younger activists like it for their own reasons, as indicated earlier. But other



sectors of the CP feel pressure from another direction. They are the ones totally immersed in Democratic Party politics; in the lower ranks of trade-union officialdom; and in other arenas of activity in which the CP has been operating for many years. For them, the pressure was to go all-out for McGovern. The Hall-Tyner campaign was nothing but an embarrassment, an obstacle to their work.

Hall explained this dilemma: "The fact that we had Communist candidates presented a new problem for many of our comrades. ...

"It became a crisis of policy for some, a crisis of relationships with others. The crisis was the sharpest for those who are known as Communists. ...

"How did our comrades solve the problem? Some spoke for the Party's candidates. Some were silent. Some were McGovern supporters. ... Hall has relied on the younger members to help carry this position against the resistance in the party. But this road is full of pitfalls. Precisely because the new line is determined by the vagaries of Soviet foreign policy, it is subject to reversal at any time. The "leftists" may have the rug pulled out from under them. Hall, who has the versatility of a veteran Stalinist hack, can dance to many tunes. But how will the younger leaders face a quick reversal?

Many members of the CP have had a hard time accepting the Kremlin's support for Nixon. They were told not to worry; that is on the level of "diplomacy," which has nothing to do with "politics." But how far can they be expected to go in this direction? Certainly they are not for Nixon, they are against him.

There is another danger for the CP in the course Hall is following. In his sweeping indictment of CP policy for the last 30 years, he has acknowledged the correctness of many of the criticisms of the CP made by the SWP and the YSA. Someone may well ask him, "Do you mean to say that the Trotskyites were right in some of their criticisms of us through all those years?"

To forestall this question, and to inoculate CPers and YWLLers against the obvious answer, Hall has accompanied his new policy with an escalation of anti-Trotskyist slanders. We will examine these questions in future articles.

# Funds needed to launch Young Socialist teams

By DELFINE WELCH

The tradition of footloose radical organizers, soapbox orators, and socialist newspaper sellers, originated at the turn of the century by the early Socialist Party and Industrial Workers of the World, lives again!

From March to May the Young Socialist Alliance will field twelve teams of four people each to travel across the United States spreading socialist ideas.

Plans for the spring teams are based on the success and accomplishments of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams last fall. In the two months preceding the 1972 elections 17 YSJP teams visited every one of the 48 continental states, campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

They sold more than 14,000 subscriptions and 15,000 individual copies of *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*, convinced more than 80 people to join the YSA, and helped to organize 16 new chapters of the YSA—all in only eight weeks.

On every campus they visited—from Eugene, Ore., to Cedar Falls, Iowa, to Gainesville, Fla.—the YSJP teams found an openness and enthusiasm for socialist ideas. The spring teams, in addition to reaching new areas, will follow up on these gains. On many campuses they will visit, students have been reading *The Militant* for several months, and a good number can be expected to join the YSA.

The teams will spend several days on each campus. Their main activity will be selling *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* (monthly newspaper of the YSA). Since each team will probably sell 200 to 400 or more newspapers per week, during the eight weeks they

are on the road tens of thousands of people will be introduced to socialist politics.

The teams will also set up literature tables, organize meetings and debates, sell subscriptions, get interviews with the campus press and radio, and encourage bookstores and professors to use radical books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press.

About \$10,000 will be required to finance the teams: to pay for gas, oil, and road tolls; to print the literature they will distribute and ship it to each team's departure point; to pay the telephone expenses of keeping in contact with the teams; and to provide minimal living expenses for the 48 young socialists who have volunteered for the teams. A Young Socialist Teams Fund has been launched to raise this \$10,000.

The fund got off to a flying start at the Young Socialist national convention last November, where hundreds of dollars were collected and more pledged at a rally. The fall YSJP team participants were honored with a standing ovation. Many of these teams were so enthusiastic about the prospects for spring teams that they pooled their resources to pledge \$50 or \$100 for the project.

So far a total of \$4,270 has been collected. Thousands more must be raised by March 31 to ensure that all twelve teams can be sent off for the full eight weeks. You can help by sending a contribution to the Young Socialist Teams Fund, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Cars in good condition are still needed for many of the teams. If you can provide a car, write or call the YSA local nearest you. (Addresses and phone numbers are listed in the Socialist Directory, p. 22.)

## Where YSA teams will go

ATLANTA will cover—Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi.

BOSTON will cover—Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Upstate New York.

CHICAGO will cover—Illinois, Missouri, Eastern Kansas, Eastern Iowa, South-eastern Wisconsin.

CLEVELAND and DETROIT will cover—Ohio, Kentucky, Michigan, Eastern Indiana, Western Pennsylvania.

DENVER will cover—Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Western Kansas, New Mexico.

HOUSTON and AUSTIN will cover—Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana.

LOS ANGELES and SAN DIEGO will cover—Southern California, Arizona, Southern Nevada.

MINNEAPOLIS will cover—Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Western Iowa, Western Wisconsin.

NEW YORK will cover—New York, New Jersey, Connecticut.

PHILADELPHIA and WASHINGTON will cover—Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Delaware, Eastern Pennsylvania.

SAN FRANCISCO and BERKELEY will cover—Northern California and Northern Nevada.

SEATTLE and PORTLAND will cover—Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana.

## Young Socialist Teams Fund needs \$10,000 by March 31!



\$0 \$5,000 \$10,000

( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the \$10,000 Young Socialist Teams Fund.

( ) I can provide food and housing, set up a speaking engagement or interview, or otherwise help a team visiting my area.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Young Socialist Teams Fund, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Speedup & unemployment are keys to U.S. 'prosperity' in '73



By FRANK LOVELL

Amidst optimistic reports from Washington about the economic boom and a new era of prosperity, there is a feeling of insecurity, uncertainty, and doubt among workers. The employers generally have good reason to rejoice because profits in 1972 reached an all-time high and output per worker per hour is rising rapidly.

According to the publicity, there should also be a general sense of well-being among the working class. There are more jobs than ever before—82 million workers on the payroll, 2.4 million more than in 1972. Average wages are rising, not much, but about 6 percent annually. More people are producing more goods faster and faster, and this ought to bring prices down. Unemployment should also decline because more jobs are available.

But the old free-enterprise system does not work the way they say it should, certainly not at this stage of capitalist development, if it ever did. Prices are going up, not down. There is little change in the unemployment situation, which the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics says is down to 4.8 million from more than five million a year ago.

There were 2.2 million more workers in the labor market this year than last, most of them young workers without steady jobs and unable to find any. Most of the new jobs, 1.8 million, were in what they call "the service producing sector," which means they were often temporary and usually low paid.

Workers cannot live on statistics and projections of good times ahead. They must judge everything by the present and compare this with how they lived in the past. It is not easy to find working men and women who think they are better off today than they were last year or the year before.

Most are worse off. They pay more for everything they get and get less of it. They work harder because more is demanded of them. They look forward to little change in their present situation and hope mostly for a chance to escape to something better. But the chances are not promising.

Major industries are producing more than ever. They have mechanized production, decentralized the productive process, expanded the number of facilities, automated assembly plants, eliminated most manual skills, and reduced the work force at the point of production. This is a continuing process. It takes different forms in different industries, but all industry is undergoing basic transformation.

## New methods

In many cases the work force has been reduced suddenly and brutally by the closing of antiquated plants or otherwise unprofitable operations. In other circumstances, it has taken place gradually by attrition.

In the longshore industry, giant-sized cargo containers are now lifted from ship to train to truck, thus elim-

inating several stages of storing, stowing, and rehandling. The new methods have come into general use over a period of years. In the process, the number of working longshoremen has been gradually cut in half.

The work force was reduced by a freeze on hiring of young workers, allowing time and hard work to take their toll. When young workers managed to find jobs on the waterfront, they are limited to part-time work until the old-timers retire.

In manufacturing industries, especially rubber, electrical, and steel, old plants have been closed and the workers told to look elsewhere for jobs. Some were able to collect a few weeks "severance pay" under provisions of union contracts.

The coal mining industry combined the worst features of both methods. After the United Mineworkers and the major coal companies concluded an agreement in 1950 to mechanize the mines, thousands of "noncompetitive" operators were forced out of business and few new jobs opened up in the big mines. The number of working miners dropped from 600,000 to less than half that many.

Miners this year have gained hope from the successful reform movement in their union, which seeks to raise pensions for the retired and disabled and promises to enforce safety rules in the mines. But this is only the necessary beginning on a long road to regain lost jobs and establish tolerable conditions of life in the coal fields.

Unlike coal, the auto industry is decentralized, its facilities established in all sections of the country. However, the factory work force has been drastically reduced in Detroit and other Michigan cities that were once centers of the auto industry.

The latest automated factories produce more cars with fewer workers. A drive spearheaded by the General Motors Assembly Division has systematically combined operations on the assembly lines and further slashed the work force while maintaining the same high rate of production, 100 cars per hour in some plants.

This work pace simplifies the problem of over-employment in the auto industry. Plant managers have few worries about too many workers with long seniority not yet ready for retirement. Most old-timers who in past years could take the grind when the pace was slower are now gone. An assembly line worker today usually lasts only a few years, often only months. The average age in some of the newer plants is 24.

In peak season some auto factories work three shifts around the clock, but auto workers say they really have two big gangs, one quitting and the other being hired in. Between the two they somehow manage to fill out the three shifts and knock out the cars. The auto companies are looking for ways to make these workers happy without changing the work pace.

Some skilled departments in the auto industry are shriveling up as more crafts become obsolete. The average age of workers in these departments is over 50, and there are no training programs for young craftsmen to replace them.

These changing methods of production have not eliminated the hard, dirty, and dangerous work that is everywhere in all types of employment. It has, however, changed the ratio of industrial workers to those employed in other fields.

## Government jobs

In recent years the federal, state, and city governments have become big employers, hiring millions for all kinds of work. Consequently the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is one of the fastest-growing unions, while the longshore, rubber workers, printers, fishermen, miners, and railroad unions have all declined numerically.

Automation of industry brings *structural unemployment*, displacing millions who will never be rehired because their jobs have been eliminated.

The industrial machine continues to operate without them.

This explains why there are still almost five million registered unemployed workers who cannot find jobs as the economy expands. This figure does not include the millions of "dis-

lin National Bank.

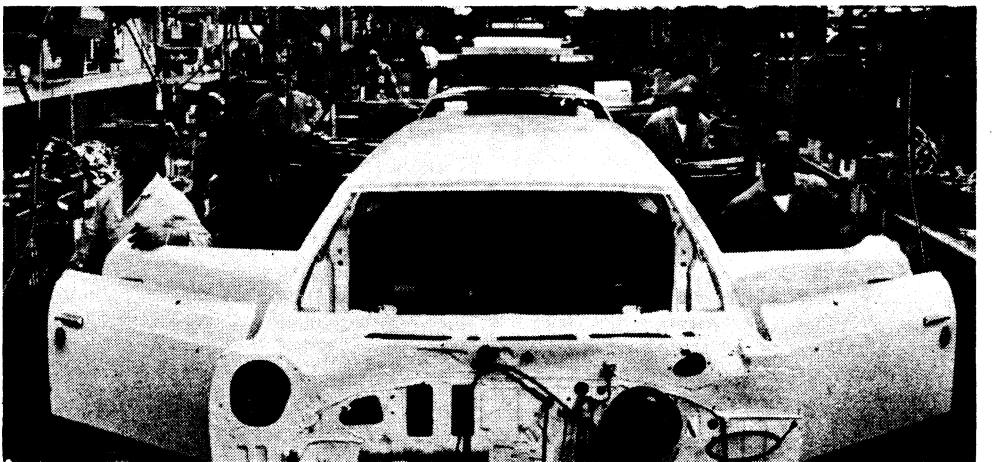
Some of these are government contractors or had somehow lost out on government subsidies and no longer need workers. Sorry, they say. Others have discovered that they can do more with fewer workers and are laying off on that account. They are not sorry. In the case of General Foods, a management consulting firm suggested conducting layoff in stages of 650 workers. Gulf Oil eliminated 2,035 jobs.

"One of the most far-reaching personnel cutbacks in the New York area has been a massive reduction by the New York Telephone Company," says Jensen. In 1972 the company reduced its work force by 8,000, down to 95,000. It plans further reductions of 5,000 by June 1973.

R. R. Donnelly & Sons is a special case. This is one of the biggest open-shop printing outfits in the country, with its main plant in Chicago. It laid off 180 workers at its plant in Old Saybrook, Conn., when *Life* magazine folded last Christmas.

Jobs are insecure everywhere in the printing trade. This industry is becoming one of the most highly automated and expects to eliminate thousands of jobs. Its connection with the publishing industry means the work-force shrinks every time a magazine or newspaper goes out of business.

The down-and-out slide of *Life* elim-



The auto companies are looking for ways to make these workers happy without changing the work pace.

couraged workers" who found out earlier that government employment agencies have no jobs for them.

The attitude of the employing class changes under these circumstances of boom times and vast unemployment. A spot survey of job cutbacks in the New York area by *New York Times* reporter Michael Jensen revealed that jobs are not plentiful. He wrote, "prospective employers are choosing carefully before they hire, and good positions are far from guaranteed for unemployed workers and executives."

The companies and institutions that were laying off or reducing the work-force by not hiring include General Foods, the Norden division of United Aircraft, New York University, New York Telephone, the Central Railroad of New Jersey, Gulf Oil, R. R. Donnelly & Sons (printers), and Frank-

linated 680 jobs beginning in 1971. The printers were additional victims.

*The Guild Reporter*, official organ of the Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO, CLC), reports Jan. 12: "Despite the demise of *Life* magazine and the earlier folding of *Look*, the consensus of industry leaders is that the magazine business was never healthier." The reason these business "leaders" find magazine publishing "healthy" is because the industry continues to reap big profits.

It does so by consolidating and reducing the number of publications. Newspaper publishing is likewise a "healthy" business. But the number of newspapers and magazines is shrinking as unprofitable publications are eliminated. This will continue.

The New York survey of plant

Continued on page 22

# World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 16, 1973

## Australia

### Antiwar boycott embarrassed Nixon

By Sol Salby

Sydney

Both the political and industrial wings of the Australian labor movement responded in a new way to Nixon's latest Vietnam escalation. The old Liberal-Country party government used to slavishly support all escalations. Its sole criticism was reserved for those occasions when it felt the U.S. administration wasn't going far enough.

Under mass pressure the new Labor party government reacted quite differently. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam sent a "strongly worded protest note" to Nixon. The text of the note, however, wasn't made public. Other ministers were more outspoken.

Dr. Cairns, chairman of the Victoria Vietnam Moratorium Committee, who as secondary industry and overseas trade minister is the most senior minister after Whitlam and Deputy Prime Minister Barnard, issued a statement scoring Nixon's policy that was reported in the December 22 *Sydney Morning Herald*.

"I say to the Nixon administration: 'Stop your attack on the Vietnamese people. Leave them alone. Take your armed forces home.'"

As for the negotiations, the statement continued:

"They were used for electoral purposes. Now [that] they have served those purposes the war goes on and the bombings and killings are intensified."

In a later statement Cairns characterized the bombing as "the most brutal, indiscriminate slaughter of defenseless men, women, and children in living memory." He and fellow Labor Senator W.W. Brown called on the people of Melbourne to attend an antiwar demonstration on December 31.

Labour Minister Clyde Cameron, also a senior minister, went further; he charged that the people in control of U.S. policy were "maniacs." He too condemned the "murderous bombing of Hanoi."

According to a report in the January 1 *Sydney Morning Herald* Labor Senator Arthur Gietzelt, speaking at a Sydney antiwar rally on New Year's Eve, said that the government should be persuaded to "appropriate all land owned by US companies in Australia."

"Ban the entry of all US citizens unless they are publicly associated with the antiwar movement."

"Unionists should refuse to unload US ships, refuel US planes and repair

any US equipment, boycott American goods and ban the entry of US films."

Australian trade unionists didn't have to be advised by Senator Gietzelt on the action they should take. Even before the senator made his statement, the Seamen's Union declared all U.S. ships black and refused to man the tugboats to lead them into any Australian port. The Seamen's Union was soon joined by the Waterside Workers Federation, which represents the longshoremen.

Ten unions signed a declaration threatening to take direct action against U.S. economic interests if the bombing did not cease. They suggested a total embargo on all commercial and industrial activities by U.S. interests in Australia. In a similar move the western Australia branch of the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union demanded that the federal union ban all mail to and from the United States. The Building Trades Group in New South Wales threatened a complete ban on the extensive U.S. building interests.

Two ships were immediately affected by the ban; the *Austral Envoy* and the *Monterey*. For several days they were unable to dock. Both passengers and crew were unable to reach the shore.

Labour Minister Cameron refused to comment on the unions' ban, making it clear that it was a union affair. Jim Cairns thought the ban was a

reasonable measure. But all sections of the bourgeois media vehemently attacked the union ban. Even those

*The Sydney Morning Herald* summarised the employers' horror at the new developments in a New Year's Day editorial entitled "Into 1973." These representatives of the conservative wing of the ruling class lamented:

"The language used by senior members of the Australian Government about the US is the language hitherto reserved to Moscow and Peking. One minister describes the Nixon Administration as 'maniacs' and threatens the US with commercial and military sanctions. Another denounces America's 'naked aggression' and backs street demonstration against her."

Australian capitalists were not the only ones offended. Nixon and Kissinger didn't appreciate being referred to as maniacs. Diplomatic relations between the two countries became strained. Being used to the servile role played by Australia under the Liberals, Nixon exerted maximum pressure on the Australian government. U.S. Ambassador Walter Rice tried on three separate occasions to protest directly to Whitlam. On two occasions his protest had to be delivered to someone else as Whitlam "wasn't available." Meanwhile Henry Kissinger himself called on the Australian embassy in Washington and lectured the staff on the merits of the bombings. Secretary of State Rogers also ex-

### How Communist parties defaulted

The powerful action of the Australian and Italian dockers who voted to boycott all U.S. ships as a protest against the Vietnam war was an inspiring example to the international antiwar movement. But it raised the question, Why haven't the mass Communist and Socialist parties of Europe and in other countries encouraged such powerful antiwar actions previously? They certainly have enough influence in the trade unions to do so.

The January 20 issue of *Rouge*, newspaper of the French section of the Fourth International, noted that the exemplary action by the Italian dockers was worth only four lines of coverage in the French

Communist Party's newspaper *l'Humanite*. *Rouge* posed the question: "These U.S. ships that were not able to unload in Genoa, what recourse did they find? Some French port, perhaps."

*Rouge* refers to an appeal of the Federation Syndicale Mondiale (FSM—World Trade-Union Federation) calling on all workers to boycott the production and transport of U.S. arms and munitions destined for Indochina. *Rouge* asks, "What did the leadership of the CGT (Confederation General du Travail—General Federation of Labor, led by the Communist Party) do to apply the instructions of the FSM? Nothing, absolutely nothing."

pressed "official concern" over the boycott.

The U.S. administration had another card up its sleeve. The American government informed the Australian embassy that a big union would retaliate against the seamen's ban. The Nixon administration's knowledge of the retaliatory ban of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) on Australian shipping before it was publicly announced convinced the Labor ministry that it was arranged by the U.S. administration.

While Australia's support for U.S. policies on Vietnam has ended, the ALP bureaucrats very soon were backtracking under pressure from the domestic bourgeoisie and the Nixon administration. For some time Whitlam refused to make any public comment on the unions' ban or his ministers statements. The role of forcing the unions to retreat was left to ACTU's President Hawke. He immediately conferred with Whitlam and Seamen's Union Secretary Elliot V. Elliott. Elliott is a member of the Socialist party of Australia—a pro-Moscow group that split from the "independent" Communist party of Australia.

The unprincipled position of the SPA and the CPA, which has strong influence in the Waterside Workers Federation, led them to accept the "right" of the U.S. to negotiate the fate of Vietnam, ignoring the Vietnamese peoples' right to self-determination and tacitly accept a U.S. "right" to maintain a presence in Vietnam. This provided an opening for Hawke.

Hawke simply argued that since talks have resumed, the way to peace is open and there is no need to maintain the ban. An ACTU recommendation to the seamen was carried unanimously by a mass meeting of seamen on January 9. The ban was lifted.

Whitlam has cracked down on his ministers, barring them from making any statements on foreign affairs. However, the labor-movement response to Nixon's murderous escalation had some long-term effects. The antiwar movement, armed with new support, is showing signs of recovering from a period of dormancy. Whitlam committed himself in his January 9 press conference to taking public action if the bombing of Hanoi should resume.

Whitlam also stated: "I'd like to emphasize that our party, our government has a mandate to do all it can to stop the continuation of this war. I hope this is quite clear to everyone here and abroad."

The January 10 *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that ACTU President Hawke had stated the ACTU would consider a further ban against U.S. ships in the event of new bombings.



## Irish republicans debate perspectives for building a revolutionary party

By Gerry Foley

The dominant theme of the discussion at the Sinn Féin (Official republican) convention December 16-17 in Dublin concerned building a revolutionary party. This objective was set in the keynote speech last year at the June 24 Bodinstown march, the largest annual gathering of republicans, by Seán Garland, the national organizer of Sinn Féin. The December meeting was viewed as preliminary to a special convention next April to discuss a major reorganization of the movement.

As they set their sights toward making a socialist revolution, the republican leaders found themselves faced with more and more complex problems and tasks, and it has become evident that a loose organization with vague political positions is not adequate to this work. This realization was spelled out in the *Ard Comhairle* (National Committee) resolution on organization and structure:

"Sinn Féin recognises that its foremost organisational task is the creation of a revolutionary party of the Irish working-class to act as the vanguard in the social and national revolutionary struggle on which we are engaged. The revolutionary vanguard party cannot be an umbrella organisation embracing different ideologies, and we affirm the need to intensify our development towards ideological unity and clarity within our Movement on the basis of our educational programme. This can only be done on the basis of democratic centralism; democratic in that all decisions are taken on the basis of the fullest consultation with and participation of the membership; centralist in that all decisions are implemented from top to bottom and that minorities accept the view of majorities on all matters of policy. We therefore call upon the incoming *Ard Comhairle* to set up a working committee to examine the organisational structure of the Republican Movement, to produce its draft report within three months."

While these organizational changes were being considered, the level of political discussion rose in the Official republican movement. The convention was unanimous in endorsing the correctness of the basic policy followed in the past period, that is, concentrating on revolutionary political activity and mass organization as opposed to the old apolitical guerrillaist outlook of the Irish Republican Army. At the same time, the formulation of specific policies and demands came under deepgoing criticism.

The Donegal *Comhairle Ceanntair* (District Committee) presented the broadest critique of previous policy. Its resolution dealt with all the major areas of activity. On the North it said: "This *Ard Fheis* [the convention] must recognise that the policy to date in the North has been misdirected in so far as the Civil Rights and democratisation demands have been presented in isolation rather than as part of the revolutionary process. It should be clearly understood that the call for democracy in itself presents no threat to the capitalist interests in

the 6 Counties. While fully supporting democratic demands, revolutionary Socialists must also raise demands which point to the specific interests of the working class throughout Ireland. Therefore more attention must be focused on employment, bad housing, weak Trade Union organisation and other such issues which are common to the working class. While British troops are present in the 6 Counties, we must continue to demand their immediate withdrawal and oppose their presence by all means."

This section of the Donegal CC's resolution, however, illustrates some of the basic weaknesses of the discussion. The implications of the various points were by no means made clear.



Boys taunt Scots guardsman

For instance, no revolutionist could dispute the fact that presenting "Civil Rights" and "democratisation demands" in "isolation from the revolutionary process" has been a grave error, probably the gravest the republican movement has made in its recent history.

But the statement that the "call for democracy in itself presents no threat to the capitalist interests in the 6 Counties" seems to isolate the demand for democratization from the revolutionary process in another way. It is hardly true that the call for democracy in the Northern Ireland context does not threaten capitalism. It has produced the most acute crisis presently faced by any European capitalist regime.

In this context, the call for raising revolutionary "working-class" demands, while axiomatically correct, seems to imply that economic struggle as such is something separate and higher than democratic or political struggle against imperialism. In fact, making such a counterposition would destroy the whole meaning of the term "revolutionary process" and substitute a static, sectarian schema.

At the same time, the idea that there are some kind of economic demands that appeal equally to all sections of the working class in a sense that democratic demands don't is not only con-

tradicted by the whole experience of the Marxist movement in the period of the general crisis of capitalism but by the specific experience of the revolutionary movement in Ireland, and this is clearly explained in the works of the greatest Irish socialist thinker, James Connolly.

The point on "international capitalism" in the Donegal CC's resolution also touched on a weakness of republican policy in the past:

"The Republican Movement rightly recognises that international capitalist domination of Ireland is the main obstacle to progress. However, the anti-EEC [European Common Market] campaign suggested that there was a possible alternative within an Irish capitalist context. The struggle against international capitalism necessarily brings us up against native capitalism. The movement failed to point out that the only real alternative to the Common Market was the establishment of a Socialist Republic. As capitalism is international, Socialism must also be seen in an international context, i.e., the struggle for a Socialist Republic within a Socialist Europe. It is not the task of Socialists to sort out the capitalist alternative."

"We must therefore oppose the effects of international capitalism, e.g. massive redundancies, with calls for workers' action not with Utopian calls for more protection for Irish industries, etc."

This point is also a good one in a general sense, but the authors of the resolution do not say how they would have organized the anti-EEC campaign to make the "socialist alternative" concrete to the non-proletarian popular strata in Ireland or to the masses of workers who have been inculcated with a capitalist outlook. In every country there are groupings who are quick to say "socialism is the only answer" to every problem that arises but who cannot relate their demands and slogans to the concrete experience and understanding of the people.

In particular the rejection of "Utopian calls for more protection for Irish industries" is vague. In every underdeveloped country, socialist revolutions have resulted in reinforced measures to protect and foster industrialization. Do the authors of this resolution think that a socialist revolution can only be made in the context of all or a major part of Europe? This is not clear. On the other hand, the idea that in the age of late imperialism a real independent Irish capitalist development is possible would certainly be "Utopian."

In this sense, the resolution's point that "our involvement in defence of small farmers and other oppressed groups must be designed to raise the consciousness to the need for Socialism" is absolutely correct.

Likewise the point on internal education and democracy was very positive:

"It is essential that the Movement intensify its internal educational programme at central and local level to develop the political consciousness of its members. The clandestine history of the Movement has tended to stifle



Unemployed march inside walls of Derry City and movement propose a retreat from building such a that they infuriate the Protestants.

internal free expression and discussion between members of divergent points of view. The need therefore for internal democracy is evident. Externally, each member should speak with the voice of the majority as expressed through the *Ard Fheis*. This could be summed up as full democracy inside and absolute discipline outside.

"These proposals are presented as ideas towards a revolutionary programme. We call on the incoming *Ard Comhairle* to draw up a detailed plan of action on these proposals. The movement must now consciously develop a revolutionary programme as part of the process of becoming a truly revolutionary organisation."

Despite this general appeal for free discussion, however, none of the speakers in the debate commented on the fact that there was no concrete discussion of the movement's two main activities, the campaign against the EEC and the civil-rights movement. There was no report by a member of the leadership responsible for these areas of activity. What was achieved? What were the problems? What does the republican movement project, in particular, for the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association? As a result of these deficiencies the debate was rambling and contradictory and nothing was clarified.

These are important questions. The civil-rights movement has been the main motor of the struggle in the North. That organization is now clearly on the decline.

There were two tendencies in the discussion at the *ard fheis* concerning tactics in the civil rights struggle.

One tendency was to stress the necessity of avoiding Catholic-Protestant clashes in the North at all cost. Another tendency recognized that any movement that challenged the system in the North was going to provoke communal conflict.

If the first tendency is carried to its logical conclusions, it would mean abandoning the main slogan that has been advanced for several months by the republican movement, "Back to the Streets." If the Officials accepted such a position, it would mean the end, in effect, of their strategy of mobilizing the masses in Northern Ireland, since the experience of the past four years has shown abundantly that any action by the nationalists to protest against the system is going to upset the Protestants. Certainly such an important change should have been



er the occupation by British troops in August 1970. Some in the Republican  
ss actions in the streets for civil rights and other demands, on the grounds

made very clear at the *ard fheis* and debated fully. On the other hand, if the Official republicans oppose such decisions, then it should be made clear who is responsible for them; otherwise the blame will fall on them, since they are known to be the strongest political force in the CRA.

At the *ard fheis* a major resolution on the civil-rights movement was introduced which clarified the policy of the Official republican movement on some issues: "The Republican Movement could not under any circumstances call for the reestablishment of a 6 County parliament. To do so would mean total recognition of Britain's right to impose a Partitionist assembly on the Irish people, and would be in complete conflict with the Republican and Separatist tradition." This resolution made it clear that although the Official republican movement favored demanding democratic rights from the British government and Northern Irish authorities, it did not accept the context of a Northern statelet. In effect, this resolution rejected the "stages" concept earlier held on one level or another by some of the republican leadership, a concept that envisaged "democratization" of the Six-County state as a precondition for struggling for national liberation.

In particular, the preamble to this resolution represented a major step forward in republican thinking toward a consistent revolutionary perspective. Unfortunately this document was not distributed; but many of those present seemed to be familiar with its contents. The main objection to making it public seemed to be that it contained a characterization of the Communist party as reformist, which was repeated in the open debate by the resolution's sponsor, Seamus Costello.

These remarks were attacked by other delegates as "red-baiting," although it was quite clear that Costello was objecting to the politics of the Communist party and not its right to exist or to take part in the struggle for national and social liberation. It was the protesters in fact who followed the method of red-baiting, that is, using emotional scare words to obscure the political issues. They would have made a more positive contribution to the debate by frankly defending the Communist party of Ireland against the charge of reformism. In the long run this is the only way they will be able to retain the respect of the membership.

The main criticism the preamble made of previous republican policy toward the civil-rights movement was that the Officials had appeared to confine their objectives to the civil-rights demands and not put forward clearly enough their own revolutionary nationalist program. The civil-rights demands alone, according to the preamble, fitted in with the Communist party's perspective of reform rather than revolution.

This was a correct assessment of a very dangerous tendency. But at the same time it was not a well-balanced one. The civil-rights demands were not reformist in effect. Their impact was revolutionary. They produced the most powerful mass mobilization in modern Irish history. What was reformist was the CP's determination to formulate these demands in a way that specifically and explicitly accepted the framework of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, British control and the partition, in a way that imposed narrow limits on the dynamic of the struggle. Besides failing to put forward its own revolutionary demands in propaganda and agitation, the republican movement did not fight the Communist party politically in the Civil Rights Association itself and thus allowed the movement to be robbed of its revolutionary momentum. This, among other things, is what left the way open for the development of terrorism in the North, which further accelerated the decline of the mass movement.

Thus, while the preamble reasserted and clarified the revolutionary principles of the Official republican movement, it did not come to grips with the concrete form in which reformist influence has manifested itself and has had its most pernicious effects. It did not chart a militant course for the civil-rights movement.

Of course, the December *ard fheis* did not say the last word about republican policies. It was only another step in a deepgoing discussion that has been in progress for some time and has already gone further than the public statements of the movement and its spokesmen would give any reason to hope. But the failure of the preamble to deal directly with the deficiencies of both the civil-rights movement itself and its effective leadership sets a dangerous precedent.

The fact is that unity on the left

is a dialectical process that involves political clarification, and therefore struggle, as well as united action on common goals. Refusal to face political issues that are necessarily divisive leads to throwing up artificial barriers that cause confusion and disorientation and in the long run lead to far worse divisions. The republican split is at least partially an example of this. The fact that the stated political programs of both the Officials and Provisionals are almost exactly the same has not prevented the most confusing and destructive kind of factional warfare (and physical warfare in some instances) between the two groups.

At the same time the political uncertainty and uncertainty of the Official republican movement has produced a sectarian, isolationist reaction to the political threat posed by the Provisionals. This attitude, among other things, seems to have led the republicans to fear open political conflict with their Communist party allies in the civil-rights movement. The result has been that the militancy and effectiveness of the movement have declined, weakening the mass alternative to terrorism and increasing support for the Provisionals' guerrilla campaign.

The civil-rights question is the acid test for Irish political organizations. Not only does it remain the central issue in the North, but the fight against repression has become the key to the political situation in the South. Because of the *political* and *social* mechanisms of imperialist control in Ireland, and because of the revolutionary traditions of the Irish people, the struggle against repression and discrimination is the cutting edge of the fight against imperialism. In fact, the civil-rights movement is an anti-imperialist movement in essence, and this is becoming clearer and clearer as the British army assumes a more and more active role in repressing the nationalist people. Economic issues underlie this struggle, and as it develops, its economic implications will become even clearer. But the *political* issues of democracy and an end to discrimination are the focus.

There is another reason why it is important for the Official republican movement to define its strategy for the civil-rights movement. It would be a dangerous and almost certainly unfruitful policy to try to separate reorganization of the movement from clarification of the basic political issues and solution of the concrete political problems facing the Official republicans. Democratic centralism can only function in the context of agreement on the fundamental political questions. It requires a leadership elected on the basis of clear political positions, a leadership that assumes full responsibility to the ranks for its political actions. Otherwise, centralism becomes a straitjacket instead of a weapon, represses discussion rather than making it more fruitful and purposeful.

It is unlikely, in fact, given the stage of the Official movement's political development that a real democratic centralist organization can be set up by the April conference. But this meeting can establish structures and procedures conducive to a better discussion within the movement. And while revolutionists everywhere support all movements in Ireland fighting against British imperialism, they cannot help but feel a special concern about this most serious attempt in Irish history to set up a mass revolutionary party. This is especially so since the chances for an effective and united struggle against imperialism hinge to a large degree on the success of this effort. □

## Argentina

# New threat to political prisoners

Cordoba

Several hundred political prisoners of the Argentine dictatorship recently terminated hunger strikes they had maintained for up to 18 days. The strikes were conducted to denounce and bring national attention to the cruel and inhuman treatment of the political prisoners. For a number of days, family members and relatives of the prisoners and various political groups and youth organizations joined the hunger strikes.

At the Rawson penitentiary, the striking prisoners abstained even from drinking liquids for several days. As the strike came to an end, a score were in an emergency prison ward, having lost an average of 22 pounds each.

Some 700 prisoners around the country have been termed "extremely dangerous" under the recently dictated Law 19.863. The legislation applies "without exception to all political prisoners whether they be condemned, processed, or merely held on suspicion at the disposition of the National Executive Power."

The law dictates a special treatment for these "dangerous criminals," most of whom are under 30 years old. This treatment consists of permanent seclusion in solitary cells in almost total isolation from the world outside, and even inside, the prison walls.

The Argentine Federation of Psychiatrists pointed out that this treatment "limits the prisoners to a permanent syndrome of sensory privation that gives rise to grave mental disturbances."

The suppression of all human contact, the confinement, and the uncertainty prescribed by the regulations obviously are designed not just to punish, but to damage if not destroy the personality of the victims and to eliminate completely any trace of rebellion.

Visits with family members and lawyers are few and far between. At the Rawson penitentiary, visitors are made to wait for hours before being permitted to see the prisoners and must shout across a long double-barred hall at them. The prohibition of even the most minimal contact with family members has reached the extreme limits demonstrated by the case of the five-year-old blind son of a prisoner. The boy is forbidden physical contact with his father, virtually the only way he can recognize him.

The situation is so outrageous that the Federal Court of Rosario declared various articles of the political prisoner law unconstitutional December 29. The treatment outlined in this law is specifically prohibited in Article 18 of the Argentine constitution, the same constitution the military dictatorship purports to defend.

It also directly violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Argentina signed in the United Nations. As a result of the universal condemnation of these terrible injustices, the regime has announced that a number of reforms and improvements will be made. □

## Armenian youth denounce nat'l oppression in Turkey

[One struggle of an oppressed nationality that is not well known in the United States is that of the Armenian people in Turkey. Their plight received some attention on the West Coast last November, when 51 Armenians were arrested on a demonstration in Los Angeles. They were protesting at a banquet held by the Turkish-American Society to celebrate the forty-ninth anniversary of the founding of the Turkish republic.]

[For the information of our readers, we are printing the following major excerpts from a statement of the Armenian Youth Federation's Political Action Committee. The statement describes the history of the oppression of the Armenians in Turkey.]

Turkey is celebrating the forty-ninth anniversary of the founding of its republic by Moustafa Kemal. The government of Turkey is propagandizing that Turkey is honoring a great page in its history, and they are also praising their present regime. As usual, the Turkish government fails to explain the historical events which occurred prior to the establishment of the republic by Moustafa Kemal, and they are also distorting the present government's policies in Turkey. The Turkish government conveniently fails to mention that the Turkish republic was established in 1923 following one of the bloodiest pages in history.

After the genocide of the Armenian people by the Young Turks during 1915-1917, Kemal dealt the final blow to the tiny Republic of Armenia and annexed three major provinces to the Turkish republic. Kemal, not being satisfied with his shaky position as the Turkish leader, massacred other minorities; the Greeks in 1922 at Smyrna, and later in the same year 200,000 Kurds were murdered or deported. These murdered numbers added on to the 1.5 million Armenians who perished during the genocide makes the number of people killed by the Turks prior and during the founding of the republic nearly 3 million people.

While the big powers, insensitive to the outcry of the starving mothers and orphaned children, debated who would control the rich oil fields of the Near East, the Turkish republic was founded in the wake of 3 million deaths and built on millions of dollars of personal property damage, destruction of irreplaceable manuscripts, and the destruction of sacred monuments. The fact that the Turkish republic was founded on the ashes of the Armenian, Greek, and Kurdish communities, which comprised a major proportion of the population, is purposely not mentioned by the Turkish government so as not to blur or distort its world image as an ally of the Free World.

As the heir of the despotic Turkish sultans, throughout its 49-year history, the Turkish republic with its oppressive regime has subjected the Armenians and the other minority groups to cruel persecutions. Armenians are forced to lose their ethnic identity in Turkey. The government of Turkey is carrying out a concentrated effort toward "turkifying" Armenian historical landmarks and monuments.

Distorting history, the Turks, who as a barbaric nomad conquered Armenia only in the sixteenth century A.D., are now claiming a culture that

dates back 3,000 years to be their own; this culture is most definitely Armenian.

Turkey's present military fascist regime, which is heavily supported by the tax dollars of the American people, continues its historical policies of the oppression of the minorities in Turkey, especially the Armenians and the Kurds. These minorities and even many Turkish groups are denied their civil and human rights as citizens of Turkey. There is a policy of the elimination of these minorities through forced turkification for the purpose of resolving the various minorities' historical and contemporary problems.

This regime also rakes in every year millions of U.S. tax dollars to supposedly destroy the opium crop fields. In reality this money is being used to grow an even larger crop of opium, which eventually finds its way into the hands of the youth of America, compliments of U.S. tax money.

It is for these various reasons that we condemn, denounce, and refute the celebration of the forty-ninth anniversary of the Turkish republic. It is an oppressive and dictatorial regime bent on destroying its minority groups. □

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*.

If you flunked the test, we'd like to suggest a subscription to *Intercontinental Press*. It's the only American weekly that consistently covers movements like the struggle to free Ireland. Besides news analysis and interviews, *Intercontinental Press* regularly publishes the documents of the struggle itself. Send \$7.50 for six months.

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## World news notes

### Black workers strike in S. Africa

A wave of strikes by Black workers—who comprise 80 percent of the labor force—has the South African government worried. Black workers have struck six companies in the port city of Durban. The latest strike involved 3,000 textile workers. Earlier, 1,000 employees of a brick and tile factory went on strike and staged a mass demonstration for their demands for a wage increase. "Hundreds of marching and chanting workers began gathering at dawn in Durban streets," reported a January 9 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Durban.

### 25,000 honor Cabral in Guinea

Twenty-five thousand people jammed into a stadium in Conakry, Guinea, for the funeral of Amilcar Cabral, the leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). Cabral was murdered Jan. 20, reportedly by agents of Portuguese colonialism.

Sékou Touré, the president of Guinea (Conakry)—which borders on Portuguese-held Guinea (Bissau), presided over the ceremony.

There were delegations from many Black African and Arab states as well as Eastern European nations, China, and North Vietnam.

Among the speakers were Cabral's brother, Vasco; Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Congress of African People in the U.S.; and Pedro Soares of the underground Portuguese Communist Party.

### Indictments in Israeli 'spy' trial

Four Israeli Arabs and two Jews were indicted January 25 in the "espionage and sabotage network" case.

Daoud Turki, Ehud Adiv, Subhi Naarani, Dan Vered, Anis Krawi, and Simon Hadad were specifically charged, according to the January 26 *Jerusalem Post*, with "membership in a hostile organization, contacts with enemy agents, giving them information, and aiding the enemy in the war against Israel."

The government is charging that although Daoud Turki, an Arab from Haifa, was the head of the "network," it was Ehud Adiv, a former paratrooper in the Israeli army, who "did the most damage to the State by passing on vital military information to the Syrian intelligence." This would indicate that the regime will, in the trial, deliberately focus on the Jewish defendants in order to intensify the witch-hunt that has been whipped up around discovery of the alleged "network."

The brief *Jerusalem Post* report of the indictments provides a further indication of this: "Not on trial but figuring prominently in the charges is the extreme left-wing Matzpen group, which the prosecution calls the 'recruiting ground' for the alleged spy ring. Also mentioned is an even more extreme splinter group, the Red Front."

The prosecution has announced that twenty-four additional persons would soon be indicted in the case. Several of those seized have charged the police with torturing several of the prisoners.

Judge Emanuel Slonim of the Haifa District court has set February 11 for hearing the pleas and February 25 for the first hearing.

### Canadian Young Socialists meet

The Canadian revolutionary socialist youth organization, the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, held its national convention December 28-31 in Toronto. Nearly 250 young people attended. Following a seven-month preconvention discussion period, the convention dealt with the international situation, including the developments in the Vietnam war; a critique of the guerrilla warfare strategy; the stage of the radicalization of Canadian youth; strategy for the women's liberation movement; and analysis of the Québec nationalist struggle and last spring's upsurge of the Québec workers movement.

According to a report in the February issue of the *Young Socialist*, the journal of the YS/LJS, "a full discussion was held on the contradiction between the deepening radicalization of students and the present pause in mass activity." Leaders of the YS/LJS analyzed the reasons for the lull in activity and predicted that since none of the basic contradictions giving rise to the student radicalization have been solved, new struggles are bound to break out. According to the *Young Socialist*, "a debate . . . on the role of students in the revolutionary process occurred throughout the six hour discussion" under the general political report.

The convention heard written greetings from sections or sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International in nine countries, as well as greetings in person from representatives of the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, the Communist League in France, and the Socialist Youth Alliance in Australia.

In his message of solidarity, Geoff Mirelowitz of the YSA said that "we in the U.S. have learned from the important activities and analysis" of the Canadian revolutionary socialist movement, especially in regard to the Québec national struggle, revolutionary tactics in the Canadian labor party, the New Democratic Party, and in the women's liberation movement, and the protests against the Amchitka atomic bomb test.



By DEBBY WOODROOFE

The cells are cold and drafty in the winter, sweltering and foul smelling in the summer. The sinks, toilets, and showers are frequently inoperative. It is not unusual to find hair and mouse

tion is being railroaded. You've already been convicted in their eyes. They've already passed judgment on you."

Unable to obtain more than the most cursory consultation with lawyers, inmates are told that the best strategy is to plead guilty to a lesser

fense Service involves rousing fellow inmates to an awareness that they do have certain legal rights. They would like to see a law library on every floor of the Tombs and classes on constitutional rights.

Referring to the passivity that the prison system attempts to implant in

to maintain a facade of justice. They would like to see demonstrations of thousands of indignant New Yorkers outside the Tombs. "People picket the rodeos because the animals are treated badly. Well, what about their fellow human beings inside here?" Timbuk asked.

In the cubicle across from ours, Ricardo DeLeon—one of the Tombs Three who was acquitted last August of charges of leading the 1970 prison rebellion—was consulting with his lawyer. Gesturing in DeLeon's direction, James asserted it was the public attention generated by that trial that led to that milestone victory.

He went on to speculate on the tremendous impact it would have on trial deliberations if the Black and Puerto Rican communities in New York were to fill the courtrooms each day. Timbuk Pyles concurred, urging, "People must come down here and see what the district attorney is doing to us in their name when he says, 'We the people. . .'"

The very background of our interview confirms the importance of bringing public pressure to bear against the prison system. *The Militant* has been fighting for the right to interview Tombs inmates since last July. At that time, I was informed by Al Castro, director of public relations for the department of corrections, that only papers of "general public interest" were granted press privileges, and that *The Militant* did not qualify. "I'm sure you understand," he told me, "that we can't allow any group that has a mimeograph machine in its basement in here."

It was only when Castro was told that *The Militant* was ready to fight for this right in court that he backed down and agreed to set up a press visit with inmates of our choosing.

Even then, however, Castro resorted to other time-buying ploys. When informed *The Militant* wanted to interview members of the Inmate Defense Service, Castro claimed they had just been transferred upstate. "You don't want to interview them anyway," he told me. "All the other papers have already interviewed them. Why don't you talk to some other inmates that never get interviewed."

Declining his offer of presumably hand-picked inmates, *The Militant* persisted in attempting to reach members of the Defense Service, who turned out to have been in the Tombs all along. Finally Castro arranged the interview.

The inmates we spoke to are convinced that it is only because of their contact with influential groups outside of the Tombs that they are still alive. The prison system has its way

Continued on page 22



Frank Martinez



Eugene James Militant/Debbie Woodroffe

## Inside the Tombs 'Cruel & unusual punishment'

excrement in the food. Medical attention is perfunctory and difficult to come by. There are severe restrictions on visiting and mailing rights. The sadistic brutality of the guards is legendary. Inmates must wait an average of six months, and sometimes more than two years, simply to come to trial. And the structure intended to house 902 men now holds more than 1,300.

These are some of the allegations of a class-action suit the Legal Aid Society recently filed on behalf of inmates at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (the Tombs). Charging that confinement in the Tombs represents "cruel and unusual punishment," the suit asserts that the detention center should be shut down "until such time as it can be made safe, sanitary and decent for inmates."

On Jan. 12, Betti Sachs and myself went into the Tombs to interview four Black inmates who are leaders of the fight to improve conditions there. The visit took place in the Tombs chamber—a series of glass-enclosed cubicles to which inmates are brought to speak to their attorneys and the press.

The cubicle contained the bare essentials—a table, several straight chairs, and a framed tone-setting document headed "Article 25—Escape and other offenses related to custody." The guards paced up and down outside as we spoke.

The inmates—Sonni Pyles, Timbuk Pyles, Eugene James, and Frank Martinez—had come into contact with *The Militant* through their support to the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential campaign. They are members of the Inmate Defense Service, a group the Pyles brothers initiated in 1971. Its aim is to extend basic civil and human rights to prisoners.

Martinez and James followed the example of Malcolm X and began their study of law after their arrival at prison. But the Pyles have long been concerned with legal rights. Originally from Mississippi, their father was what they term "an undercover country lawyer." "It had better be undercover for a Black man to be a lawyer in Mississippi," said Sonni Pyles. He would give legal counsel to Blacks who faced having their land taken from them by white racists, and it was from him that Sonni and Timbuk first developed their interest in law.

The Pyleses were sent to the Tombs to face trial for the robbery of a store next door to the New York hotel in which they were living. "I'd be passing by that store everyday. Why would I be so stupid as to rob it?" Timbuk Pyles asked bitterly.

The Tombs is a detention center where those who cannot pay their bail await trial. And, as the Defense Service has pointed out in its statements, the percentage of men coming from the Tombs who are acquitted is very low—a result, they believe, of the total denial of constitutional rights its inmates must endure.

James elaborated, "When they railroad you, you are going to be convicted, and everyone in this institu-



Scene from 1970 Tombs rebellion. 'This is my life. I've got to stand up and fight for my human rights and not let these people take me like this'—Eugene James.

charge. They are given the impression that this is their only hope. As Martinez said, "They get angry if you try to say anything on your own behalf." And should inmates attempt to contest their innocence, they encounter barriers in reaching the necessary witnesses.

James's experience is an example of this. He is in the Tombs on a trumped-up homicide charge. When he demanded to know what evidence



Timbuk Pyles Militant/Debbie Woodroffe

there was against him, he was curtly informed, "Someone saw you." To this he retorted, "Bring this person forth so I can see him and question him." He was told, "We can't find him."

Unable to afford bail and leave prison to track down witnesses, James fears a conviction will be railroaded through. "They have a weak case against you," he explained, "so they make sure your defense is even weaker."

Most of the work of the Inmate De-

its victims, Sonni Pyles told us, "Most of the men think they can't appeal. They think the Tombs is their last stop. The prison takes the fight out of them and before they know it, they are sent upstate for 20 years for a crime they didn't commit."

He went on to describe the devastating effect this can have on a man's future. "It's hard enough for a Black man to survive in this society as it is, without having the added scratch of having been a convict."

The Inmate Defense Service has also attempted to reach out beyond the walls of the Tombs. They have gathered names on countless petitions to Mayor Lindsay and others. They have written Congress. They have sent releases to the New York press. At the moment, they are discussing legal action to win the right of inmates to vote, and the right of all political candidates, including radicals, to speak to inmates and inspect the detention facilities.

Although deeply concerned with winning whatever concessions they can that will make prison life more tolerable, the goals of the Defense Service go beyond this. "We don't want to make the Detention House no home. A pretty jail is still a jail," James said.

The group also seeks to create public awareness of the inequities of a society that will sentence a Black person to life for some petty crime, and let ruling class whites such as the war criminal Nixon and those behind the Watergate scandal go free. They pointed with outrage to recent disclosures of boundless corruption within the New York City Police Department. "The police are nothing but crooks, yet they are out on the streets passing judgment on us," Sonni Pyles added.

Although the Defense Service believes that knowledge of law can serve as a weapon in their struggle, they assert that outside pressure is also necessary to force the prison hierarchy

# N.Y. Dist. 1 parents to screen school bd. candidates

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK — The leading organization in the struggle for community control of the schools on the Lower East Side of Manhattan met Feb. 4 to determine the basis for selecting a slate of candidates for the May 1 community school board elections.

Present at the meeting of the Coalition for Education in District 1 were Luis Fuentes, the district superintendent; four community board members; and 60 other activists. The coalition decided on the criteria it will use to select a slate to face the one encouraged by the Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers.

Those seeking the coalition's approval will be asked their positions on three questions the coalition sees as critical:

- 1) rehiring Luis Fuentes as superintendent;
- 2) conducting a militant struggle for the proposed \$42-million budget for a bilingual and bicultural district; and
- 3) hiring community residents as teachers, paraprofessionals, administrators, and for other staff positions.

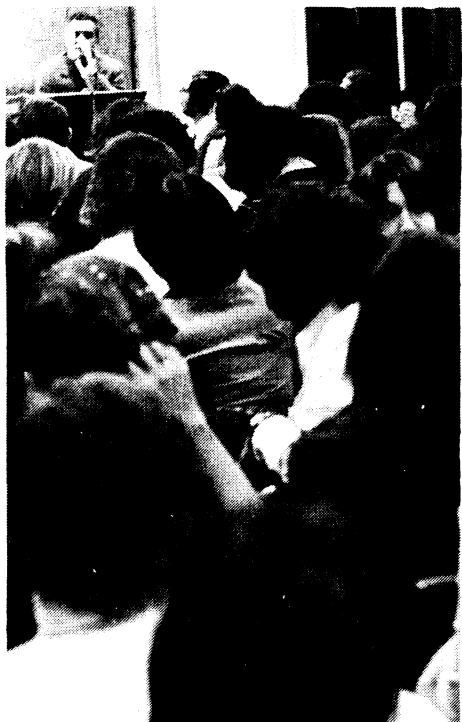
Another consideration in selecting candidates will be whether they have children in District 1 schools. At present, seven of the nine board members do.

At the coalition's next meeting, Feb. 18, members of the present board and other candidates will face the coalition's questioning.

A rally to prepare for the election struggle will take place 2 p.m. Feb. 10 at Our Lady of Sorrows, 219 Stanton St., Manhattan. Scheduled speakers include Fuentes; a representative of the school board; Clayton Flowers, head of the Black studies program; Rosa Esperón, a parent activist; Awilde Esperón, a parent activist; and Claudio Tavaréz, a district paraprofessional.

An open discussion will give parents who are not yet in the coalition a chance to question board members. Those attending the rally will be encouraged to participate in the process of screening the candidates.

For further information, write to the coalition at P.O. Box 250, New York, N.Y. 10009. Telephone: (212) 475-4017.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

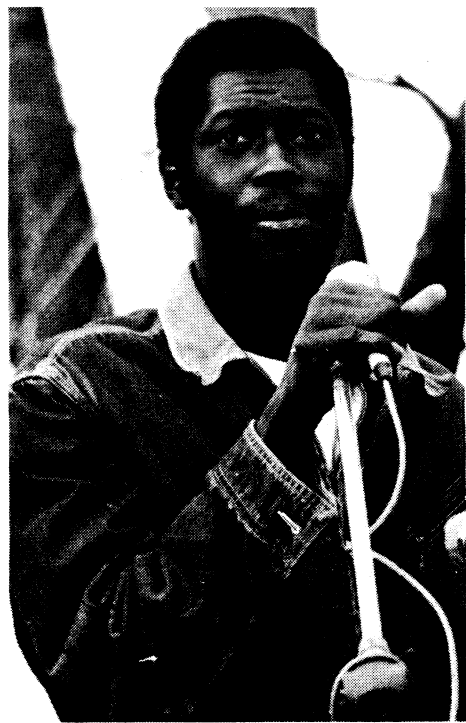
New York forum hears Luis Fuentes

# Ban on 6 Southern U students upheld by court

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK, Feb. 6 — The attempt to crush the Southern University struggle reached new depths today. Lewis Doherty, a Baton Rouge district court judge, upheld the ban on six of nine students barred by the administration from entering the Baton Rouge campus.

The nine were restricted by a court injunction issued against them before the campus reopened Jan. 3. The school had been closed since Nov. 16



Militant/Flax Hermes

Nathaniel Howard, one of six students banned from Southern University, speaking at Jan. 20 antiwar rally in Washington, D.C.

after white sheriff's deputies gunned down two Black students.

The injunction claimed the students were guilty of disrupting campus life by interrupting classes during the two-month boycott. But according to two of the banned students *The Militant* interviewed by phone, the administration offered no concrete evidence to sustain the ban.

Nathaniel Howard, one of the students still barred, said Judge Doherty was convinced the administration's charges were correct because of the way the students acted in court. Howard mentioned that the students preferred to be addressed by their free names, not their slave names, and that this bugged the judge.

Judge Doherty even admitted that the administration denied the students due process by banning them without a hearing. But, he added, that was not under consideration by the court!

Doherty further claimed that on two occasions the students had brought the university to a halt. He ignored the fact that it was the administration who closed the school both times.

Registration for the new semester began this week. However, according to Howard, close to 1,000 students on the Baton Rouge campus have been placed on citizenship probation until the end of the school year. This means they can be expelled if they offer any support for the boycott and protest movement on campus.

Fred Prejean, one of the six students banned, told *The Militant* that the students who were placed on probation are the ones who've been the most active supporters of the movement.

# Houston Shell Oil workers go on strike

By CHIP JEFFRIES

HOUSTON — With pickets already up at all three Shell refineries on the West Coast, members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 4367 voted Jan. 25 to strike Shell Oil here.

The action closed all of Shell's southwestern facilities as workers stuck to their demands for health and safety committees and for pension improvements. In the past month, the Oil Workers union has struck major oil firms throughout the country over health and wage issues.

Some 1,000 refinery workers and 850 chemical workers here walked off their jobs Jan. 26 in response to the strike call. Union President A. F. Grospron described the strike as "95 percent solid."

The OCAW has agreed to accept an industry-wide compromise that raises hourly pay 6 percent now and another 27 cents Jan. 1, 1974. But the union refused to drop the demand for a new safety committee. According to Morris Atkin, OCAW regional chief, there is a high percentage of chemically induced sickness and disability among refinery and chemical workers.

Shell has tried to discredit the strike by claiming that the union is contributing to the "energy crisis." While this ploy had some initial success, a new development in strike support has undercut the company's tactics. Eleven national environmental and ecology groups have come out in favor of the oil workers' strike. The groups include Environmental Action, Friends of the Earth, Parks and Conservation Association, and Wilderness Society.

Another important development has been the participation of the workers' wives in strike activities. On Feb. 3, some 75 women joined the picket lines. They have also been distributing strike support literature.

Evelyn Douglass, whose husband is an instrument man at Shell, told a *Houston Post* reporter, "Maybe it has something to do with women's lib, I don't know, but we are taking a much more active role this time."

No new rounds of negotiations are scheduled in Houston. So far, neither side has shown any inclination to reopen talks.



Evelyn Douglass, one of the oil workers' wives who are actively supporting the strike.

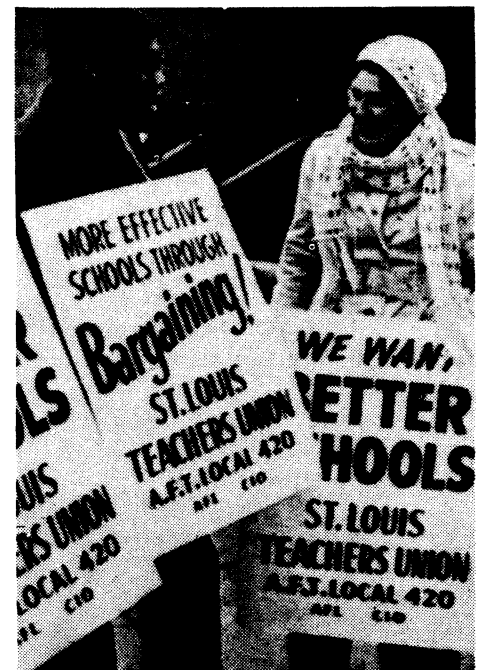
# St. Louis teachers' strike remains solid

By HELEN ST. JOHN

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 7 — A strike rally of 3,000 teachers here Feb. 4 demonstratively rejected a back-to-school proposal by Mayor Alfonso Cervantes.

The strike—the first ever by St. Louis teachers—began Jan. 22. All 166 of the public schools were closed by the third day. The more than 4,000 teachers in the system are solidly behind the strike.

Yesterday a circuit court judge fined the St. Louis Teacher's Association



\$150,000 for striking in violation of a court order. He levied an additional fine of \$30,000 for every day the strike goes on. This move has so far failed to demoralize teachers or start a back-to-work movement.

Teams of negotiators for St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420 and the St. Louis Teachers Association have been meeting with the board of education since the strike began. The board refuses to accept the principle of collective bargaining and refuses to recognize either the union or the association for that purpose.

In addition to collective bargaining the teachers are demanding a \$1,000 annual raise and hospitalization benefits.

Teachers here have not had a raise since 1969. Starting pay is \$7,200 a year; the top bracket is \$13,320.

Demosthenes Dubose, president of Local 420, says the board of education members "admitted . . . that they have a \$3.9-million reserve, but refused a January raise for teachers." Local 420 contends that the board has withheld increased state and federal funds earmarked for teachers' salaries.

Support from the Black community for the strike is increasing. "Free schools" have been opened with strikers teaching the classes. This community support, plus the fact that the majority of teachers are Black, has placed school board president Adella Smiley in a difficult position. The first Black woman president of the board, Smiley has tried to disclaim responsibility for "a situation not of my making." A picket line of 2,500 teachers brought downtown by chartered buses picketed the school board headquarters during a meeting there Feb. 1.

The Teamsters union has offered to supply pickets to aid the teachers and to turn two child-care centers into "free schools" for the duration of the strike.



# Why the Catholic Church hierarchy opposes women's right to abortion

By EVELYN REED

The Roman Catholic hierarchy, in the forefront of the anti-abortion forces, is enraged by the Supreme Court decision handed down last month that recognizes a woman's right to abortion and rejects the proposition that a fetus is a legal person with rights superior to the mother's.

Immediately after the court ruling, cardinals Cooke of New York and Krol of Philadelphia indicated that they will leave no stone unturned in their efforts to nullify this measure

*Evelyn Reed, a Marxist anthropologist, is the author of Problems of Women's Liberation.*

giving women the right to control their own reproductive processes. This attempt to uphold archaic papal doctrine that for centuries has denied women even the smallest measure of control over their own bodies is not confined to Catholics but sweepingly applied to all women under the pretext of the "right to life."

Women should be aware of the basic issues at stake in this challenge. By opposing and seeking to overthrow the Supreme Court decision the



Pope's solicitude for unborn life is only a cover for reducing women to the animal level of uncontrolled procreation.

Catholic hierarchy is striving to keep all women in the same status as animal females who are subjected by nature to uncontrolled procreation. They are determined to continue to rob women of their basic human right—the right of control. Let us see why this is so.

All animals are governed by the blind and capricious processes of nature. Humans, on the other hand, alone of all species on earth, can create and control their own conditions of life. Among the other triumphs won over brute nature, humans have learned to regulate their own reproductive processes. The techniques of contraception to limit pregnancies and of birth control through abortion are not to be found among animals. These are exclusively human acquisitions, developed over many millennia of productive and cultural progress. While humanity has grown up out of the higher animal condition, we have long since outgrown our origins.

Animals cannot make tools or engage in systematic labor activities to produce the necessities and comforts of life. By the same token they cannot, like humans, produce new needs along with new techniques nor develop cultural and intellectual standards. Just

as animals cannot change raw materials into artificial products to serve their needs, they cannot transform their raw animal nature into human nature and acquire these uniquely human characteristics and aspirations. Animals remain the slaves of nature whereas humans, by deliberately utilizing its materials and processes in productive labor and understanding its laws of operation, have increasingly become the masters of nature.

Among other conquests, humans have broken the chains of animal enslavement to nature's uncontrolled and wasteful mode of reproduction. The most wasteful occurs among the lower forms of animal life. Below the mammalian level there is little or no maternal care for the eggs that females spawn in tremendous numbers. The ling fish, for example, spawns 28 million eggs in a batch, with only two or three of them surviving in an egg-hungry world to reach maturity.

Mammals are far less wasteful. A lioness usually provides care and protection for her litter until the cubs are old enough to become self-sustaining. The highest form of animal reproduction, closest to the human form, is found among the anthropoids. A female primate bears only one offspring at a time and devotes many months and even years to protecting and raising it.

Despite these differences, all animal females, including the higher apes, are subjugated to nature's mode of procreation. They do not have any personal controls or choice in the matter. They are condemned by their biology to proceed from one reproductive cycle to the next, without respite, from the time they reach sexual maturity to the end of their reproductive life when, as a rule, they die. The life of the animal female is restricted to unremitting breeding and little more.

In sharp contrast, the human woman, as a member of the productive and cultural species, possesses the capabilities and potential for acquiring and realizing all the higher aspects and values of human life. Unlike the animal female, a woman need not restrict her life to continual procreation. Modern society now possesses a large body of scientific know-how on birth control that should enable a woman to exercise her conscious, individual choice in the matter. She can decide whether and when to bear children and how many she will rear. As a human being she can tailor her procreative inclinations to suit her broader needs for a full productive, cultural, intellectual, and political life. Theoretically at least, women have been liberated from the narrow animal existence of continuous breeding.

Unfortunately, while women are no longer the creatures of blind nature, they became the victims of patriarchal class society ever since it came into existence a few thousand years ago. Capitalism remains male-dominated, controlling the lives and destiny of women, benefitting from the exploitation and oppression and, until recently, denying them modern methods of birth control.

While men of the favored classes could assert their rights to a higher human and cultural life, women had to be satisfied with the narrow existence of kitchen, bedroom, and nursery, glorified as the happy home and family. In reality women were degraded to child raisers and domestic servants for men. To keep them in an inferior status, both church and state

forbid them to make use of the available methods of birth control. "Keep them barefoot and pregnant," is the most cynical expression of this male supremacy. Heaping insult on injury, women were then told they had been victimized not by class society but by nature, which decreed "biology is woman's destiny."

The struggle of women for control over their own bodies began early in this century and has been pressed forward during every decade up to today. In its first stage the struggle was fought for the partial and limited objective of achieving contraceptive control. Such pioneer feminists in this country as Margaret Sanger, Antoinette Konikow, and others defied imprisonment in their efforts to disseminate methods of limiting pregnancies. Eventually some states legalized contraceptive control devices.

This did not affect the Roman Catholic hierarchy. To the present day papal decrees forbid women of that faith to resort to these methods. Instead they are told to rely on the totally unreliable "rhythm" method. The fact that most Catholic women have caught on to this hoax can be seen by the widespread defiance of the pope's ban. More than two-thirds



Militant/Ed Weaver

of married Catholic women practice the prohibited scientific methods, according to a 1970 National Fertility Study.

The second stage of the struggle for women's control over their bodies was very recently opened up by the women's liberation movement. This went beyond contraception control to the demand for the right to abortion. This was not put forward because women prefer abortions to the prevention of pregnancies, but because at the present stage of technical know-how there still exist certain deficiencies in the available methods and devices.

Whether through ignorance of contraceptive methods, or through accidental failure of a particular device, women are often trapped in unwanted pregnancies. Under these circumstances the one sure method of birth control is abortion. Should an unplanned pregnancy occur, a completely safe abortion can be performed.

Despite this assured way for women to gain full control over their reproductive processes, legislative, juridical, and clerical decrees against it have prevailed up to the 1970s. Then the key state of New York enacted its liberalized law permitting legal abortions in the first 24 weeks. Today, two years later, the U.S. Supreme Court has followed with its ruling covering all fifty states.

Once again the Roman Catholic hierarchy refuses to surrender. It is determined to resist the pro-abortion movement to the last woman victim of back-alley butchery. The cardinals are fulminating about the millions of unborn who are being denied their "right to life." They hew to the papal doctrine that forbids women any measure of control over their bodies and regards the unborn as "sacred" lives, while the lives of the mothers are expendable.

The pope himself made this clear a few months ago when he declared that every pregnancy must be brought to term even when it is known in advance that a birth will cost a woman her life. This inhuman edict goes far beyond the usual reactionary ban on abortions, which permits the interruption of a pregnancy when a woman's life is endangered. What is behind this manifest hostility toward the female sex by celibate men of the cloth?

They are fearful that if women gain control over their bodies, they will forthwith proceed to fight for full control over their minds and lives. In the course of this struggle women would shed many of the superstitions, fears, and prejudices indoctrinated into them over centuries of patriarchal rule to keep them on their knees before earthly and super-earthly lords and masters. Even a limited measure of liberation can lead to incalculable consequences—undermining the centuries-old male supremacy over women. This fear of liberated women can be seen in the dire predictions of the cardinals about the "disastrous implications" of the Supreme Court ruling and the "terrifying" developments the decision sets in motion.

This hostility to women is concealed behind the slogan of the "right to life" of the unborn. Such sanctimonious concern covers every germination in a woman's womb no matter how it was implanted—whether through ignorance or by accident, or even by violence on the part of a rapist. Each germination is called a "fetus," and every fetus is called a "person," and ever "person's" life is "sacred."

Except the person of the mother. If a mere germination is elevated into a person, the woman herself must be downgraded into a nonperson—a mere receptacle or womb for producing persons. By this criterion, the solicitude for the sacredness of unborn life turns out to be only a cover for reducing a female person, a woman, to the animal level of uncontrolled procreation.

This contempt for women stands out even more clearly when we consider the plight of impoverished and sick women in capitalist society who are

*Continued on page 22*



# Social Workers Union endorses Lippmann

## L.A. lifts filing fee, socialists on ballot

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 5—Olga Rodriguez won her court battle Feb. 1. She was granted ballot status without paying the \$700 filing fee required for mayoral candidates in Los Angeles.

In a precedent-setting decision, Judge Campbell Lucas of the Superior Court ruled that the filing fee requirement unconstitutionally denied Rodriguez access to the ballot since she was unable to pay. Rodriguez is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Also granted ballot status on the basis of inability to pay the filing fee was Ida Mae Willis, a Black welfare mother of nine children who is running for city council. The court decision is a major victory in the struggle to democratize the ballot since it is now possible for poor people to run for public office in Los Angeles. The judge declined to consider the constitutionality of the filing fees as such on the grounds that the California election code is now being examined by the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the same hearing, David Brown, socialist candidate for city council, number 11, was denied ballot status on the basis of not meeting residency requirements. The city charter requires a city council candidate to have lived not only in the city but *in the district* for two years before filing to run for office. (A person who has lived here for 30 days may vote in any election.)

Brown feels this is highly discriminatory, especially in a time when 50 percent of the population of Los Angeles moves every year. Furthermore, districts are gerrymandered on an average of every four years so that a

person's district may change without a move having taken place.

Public interest in the socialist alternative continues to build. On Feb. 3, Sally Anderson, socialist candidate for board of education, number 2, received a standing ovation and a unanimous vote of endorsement when she spoke to the statewide convention of the California Committee for Sexual Law Reform. In addition, 30 of those present personally endorsed her campaign. Endorsers include Morris Kight of the Gay Community Services Center, and Jean Cordova and Barbara McLean, editors of *Lesbian Tide* magazine.

Rodriguez talked with ITT employees at lunchtime last week. A literature table was set up and campaign material was distributed to some 300 workers. Much discussion was generated and she has been invited back for a tour to talk with more employees.

Today Rodriguez appeared on "Tempo," the major morning TV interview show here. For 15 minutes she discussed her victory in the filing-fee challenge, the importance of Black and Chicano control of their communities, and the need for free mass transit in Los Angeles. She also answered questions called in by viewers.

Following her TV appearance, Rodriguez and her supporters attended a defense rally for Los Tres del Barrio, Chicano activists appealing their conviction in connection with their efforts to expose and expel heroin pushers from the barrio. Speakers included Bert Corona, Daniel Ellsberg, Raúl Ruiz, and Corky Gonzales. A statement of solidarity from Rodriguez was read to the crowd of more than 500.

Rodriguez will appear on "Imposto," Sunday, Feb. 11 at 3 p.m. on channel

four, and on "Newsbeat," Monday, Feb. 12 at 9:30 a.m. on channel nine.

By DAVID BROWN

LOS ANGELES—Walter Lippmann, candidate for the Los Angeles board of education, office 4, has received the unanimous endorsement of the state executive board of Social Services Union Local 535.

Lippmann is one of eight candidates endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance for the Los Angeles municipal elections to be held this spring.

While not endorsing the political program of the Socialist Workers Party, the union decision is notable in several respects. It is a recognition of Lippmann's record as a militant unionist, a fighter for the rights of the rank and file within the union, and for union support to the anti-war movement. His socialist views have been widely known since his earliest involvement in the union.

The endorsement also reflects the decline of anticommunism in the labor movement. A union with a high percentage of young people, the Social Services Union has been deeply influenced by the youth radicalization. All members of the state executive board are working social workers. The paid officials of the local have fewer privileges than in most unions.

In 1966, Local 535 was the first union to strike Los Angeles County, forcing it to institute machinery for collective bargaining.

Lippmann is a shop steward and has been a member of the state executive board from the Los Angeles chapter since 1969. He was elected to the board on the platform of 1) immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam; 2) union support to the anti-

war movement; 3) Black and Chicano community control of the welfare system; and 4) a break with the Democratic and Republican parties and support for a labor party.

The Los Angeles chapter has a membership of about 3,000, almost half the total state membership of the union.

On initiatives by Lippmann, Local 535 has endorsed the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, and the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

Lippmann has been a Local 535 delegate to the Los Angeles city Federation of Labor for two years. He has also been the union's delegate to NPAC.

The executive director of the union, David Krippen, is planning to write a letter to other unions advising of the endorsement of Lippmann and suggesting they invite him to speak at their meetings and consider endorsing him.



Walter Lippmann

Militant/Ken Douglas

# United Farm Workers Union denounces renewal of Teamster-grower agreement

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—In a new move to block the United Farm Workers Union from organizing field workers, the Teamsters union and the lettuce growers announced Jan. 16 that they have renewed sweetheart contracts covering 30,000 farm workers. The five-year contracts were not due to expire for another two and a half years.

**Cesar Chavez has denounced a new attempt to destroy the offices of the United Farm Workers Union. The union's office in Terra Bella, Calif., was vandalized Jan. 28 for the fifth time since it opened last Dec. 2.**

Al Rojas, a UFWU spokesman, said windows were broken, doors were ripped from their hinges, and documents were destroyed. Previously, the union's offices in Poplar had been fired upon and the union's Service Station Cooperative in Delano had been dynamited.

**Chavez called for an investigation by the U.S. Justice Department.**

Jerry Cohen, chief counsel for the Farm Workers union, denounced the pact as a "flagrant example of collusion between the Teamsters and growers in their effort to prevent farm

workers from getting the union of their choice.

"The growers are badly mistaken if they think the latest deal they made with Teamster officials will stop the strike and boycott against them by farm workers."

The Farm Workers won a partial victory Dec. 29 when the California Supreme Court refused to bar Farm Workers from picketing growers who had signed with the Teamsters. This was equivalent to ruling that the Teamsters were not the legitimate union.

William Grami, director of organizing for the Western Conference of Teamsters, said his union is now stepping up efforts to sign up workers in the fields and will use the new contract in this effort. Teamster-grower agreements include slight wage increases and some minor fringe benefits.

Cohen said, however, that "the contracts are meaningless anyway because they are not enforced. They are just pieces of paper, since the language is not policed by the Teamsters."

Les Hubbard, spokesman for the growers, denied that they were in collusion with the Teamsters, but said that "employers do take a look at the track record of both unions and feel that the Teamsters do a better job of administering the contract."

The revised pact provides a wage base of \$2.30 an hour compared to the previous \$2.08 an hour. The new wage will take effect six months soon-



Militant/Dave Warren

er than under the old contract.

In contrast to the UFWU contracts, the Teamster contract does not provide a union hiring hall or meaningful restrictions on the use of pesticides.

In response to the renewed Teamster-grower efforts to stabilize their phony sweetheart contracts, UFWU President César Chávez has announced that his union will be in a new drive to force the growers to recognize the UFWU, which the field workers themselves chose, as the legitimate union. Chávez declared, "They've got the growers, but we've got the workers."

The UFWU has filed suits in U.S. district court seeking to nullify the phony contracts. They are asking more than \$213-million in damages from the Teamsters and lettuce growers.

One suit charges that many Blacks, Chicanos, and Filipinos have been

excluded from work on farms that have signed agreements with the Teamsters.

Seventy-four Farm Worker strike pickets have been found guilty of contempt of court in El Centro for picketing D'Arrigo Brothers of California. The strike began when the lettuce growers refused to renew UFWU contracts that expired last November.

The growers had obtained a court injunction Dec. 21 limiting the number of pickets at any one field to 25, with the added proviso that they must be 50 feet apart.

The 74 unionists were fined \$500 each and given suspended five-day jail sentences and one year's probation. UFWU national boycott director Marshall Genz was sentenced Jan. 22 to 20 days in jail and fined \$2,000. He was released on \$500 bail pending appeal.

# Candidates hit racism and strikebreaking

## Atlanta SWP launches mayoral campaign

ATLANTA—The Georgia Socialist Workers Party formally announced its 1973 mayoral campaign at a Feb. 2 news conference on the steps of city hall. Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and for governor of Georgia in 1970, introduced Debby Bustin, 1973 SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta, to the press.

Jenness opened her remarks by saying, "I was proud to have been a citizen of Georgia last week when the Supreme Court declared abortions legal. That decision was based on class action suits brought to the Supreme Court by women of Georgia and Texas. I was glad to see Georgia women play an important role in that historic victory."

The press asked Debby Bustin why she imagined that the people of Atlanta would want a socialist in city hall. Bustin replied, "I can't imagine why the people of Atlanta would want to keep the Democrats and Republicans in city hall after their unbroken history of racism, strikebreaking, oppression of women and gays, and their support to the continued reign of 1 percent of the human race over the people of Atlanta, the U.S., and the world."

At a banquet of 70 people at Atlanta University the following night the Georgia SWP campaign was set into motion. The candidates presented at the banquet were Debby Bustin, 25; Joel Aber, 30, candidate for vice-mayor; Mike Weisman, 20, candidate for school board; and Nina Martin, candidate for alderwoman in ward 6. Linda Jenness addressed the banquet as a special guest.

Debby Bustin is a well-known and respected leader of the antiwar and socialist movements and of the feminist struggle. In 1971, 2,500 student antiwar activists elected her as the national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee. She has also

served on the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and as a coordinator of the Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition.

A forceful and lively speaker, Bustin outlined some of the major issues in the campaign. She told how Atlanta's ruling elite is trying to annex all-white Fulton County to dilute the voting power of the Black community, now 56 percent of registered voters. "This is a conscious and carefully thought-out conspiracy to prevent Black people from having majority political power in this city," Bustin declared.

The SWP candidates are campaigning against this racist maneuver and are calling for Black control of the Black community. Bustin said, "Black control means that the Black community should determine whether students should be bussed in or out, who should be hired and fired as police, who should teach in their schools and what they should teach, where housing is needed, and who should design and build it."

Joel Aber, a high school teacher and the SWP candidate for vice-mayor of Atlanta, is best known in the South as a staunch defender of the Arab revolution.

In his speech Aber picked up on another major issue of the '73 campaign—the fact that Atlanta is a wide-open, nonunion city. Aber stated that "the most important event for the people of Atlanta during the past year has been the wave of strikes by predominantly Black workers. . . . It wasn't just an isolated instance, it was an impressive series of strikes: Holy Family Hospital, Sears Roebuck, Nabisco, the Greyhound Bus terminal, and, of course, the Mead paper box factory."

"In each case the strikers were overwhelmingly Black. So the strikes represented the two most powerful forces for social change in Atlanta: the orga-



Militant/Brian Shannon



Militant/Howard Petrick

Mayoral candidate Debby Bustin (l), and vice-mayoral candidate Joel Aber.

nization of the working class, and the organization of the Black community."

Aber reviewed the vicious strike-breaking record of Mayor Sam Massell, who will probably be running for reelection, as well as that of the Black Democrats, including vice-mayor Maynard Jackson, who is also expected to run for mayor.

He asked, "Where was vice-mayor Maynard Jackson during the Mead strike? I was on the picket line and I didn't see him there, and a few other people I didn't see there were Julian Bond, Andrew Young, and Aldermen Dodson, Williamson, and Jackson."

Mike Weisman, SWP candidate for school board, was a high school coordinator for the Student Mobilization Committee and is a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Weisman expressed the SWP campaign's support to the students at O'Keefe High School who are boycotting classes in an effort to fire a racist principal. Several O'Keefe students were arrested recently for participating in a demonstration that called for

Black control of Black education.

In support of the campaign, Eli Green, a Georgia State University student, explained to the banquet audience, "I'm a student and a Black man, and I can't think of two better reasons to support the SWP campaign."

Another campaign supporter who spoke at the banquet was Cheryl Pence, an activist in the Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition and an urban planner for Atlanta. She spoke of the miserable housing conditions the majority of Atlantans are forced to live in, and of her support to the campaign as a feminist. "This next October I would like to approach Sam Massell, who so generously offered to allow us a 'Woman Mayor For A Day,' and say, 'No Thank you, Mr. Massell, we're going to have a woman mayor for the next four years!'"

Another major issue that the SWP candidates will be addressing is the Equal Rights Amendment. The ERA is currently being debated by the

Continued on page 22

## \$1 for capitalist party of your choice

# CoDEL will challenge income tax rip-off

NEW YORK—The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) has announced that it will challenge a new presidential election campaign funding law because it discriminates against smaller parties.

In a Feb. 1 letter inviting the Socialist Workers Party to become a plaintiff in the suit, CoDEL National Secretary Judy Baumann said a broad attack would be necessary to eliminate the law.

The new tax law, passed by Congress in late 1971, allows taxpayers

to designate a dollar of their income tax for the 1976 presidential campaign of the political party of their choice. It also places a ceiling on the amount of money a presidential candidate may spend to get elected, equal to 15 cents for each eligible voter in 1976 (about \$20-million).

In defending this new source of contributions, the Democrats and Republicans who passed the law maintained it would provide a substantial source of funds that would enable candidates to stop relying on the large contributions from corporation presidents

and the like, whose money invariably has strings attached. In addition, the ceiling on spending would mean that one candidate wouldn't get elected merely because he or she had outspent the opponent, since in theory all candidates would be spending the same amount.

As with all laws the Democratic and Republican parties pass to police themselves, there is no way of enforcing the ceiling on spending. Further, the law is written in such a way that only these two capitalist parties will benefit from it.

First, they created a definition of a national party that requires a presidential candidate to be on the ballot in 10 states before the candidate or the party is entitled to any funds.

Then they created three categories of political parties. Their own two parties—the Democrats and Republicans—are classified as major parties and are entitled to the full benefits of the law. Parties whose presidential candidates got less than 25 percent of the vote, but more than 5 percent are called minor parties. No party in the U.S. today meets this definition. All other parties fall into the "new party" classification.

No "new party" candidate is entitled to the money checked off for his or her party until the candidate wins 5 percent of the vote. Of course, this money can't be collected until after the election, even if the candidate can

win the 5 percent.

Major party candidates, however, are entitled to their funds before the election takes place. The 5 percent requirement effectively excludes smaller parties from ever receiving the funds donated to them.

Not satisfied with this, Congress also provided that minor party candidates would not be entitled to spend as much as major parties, even if they could raise the funds!

This new tax law is one more example of how the so-called democratic electoral system in the U.S. functions.

In a Feb. 5 letter to Socialist Workers Party branches, Larry Seigle, SWP 1972 campaign manager, announced that the SWP will be a plaintiff in the CoDEL suit and urged a national effort to publicize the challenge. "The suit provides a vehicle for challenging on a federal level the right of the government to discriminate against smaller parties," Seigle wrote.

"A successful challenge to this law might lead to a national definition of a recognized political party that would include the SWP. This would greatly strengthen our fight for ballot status in the states."

The SWP is collecting affidavits from supporters who have or who wish to check off a dollar for the SWP. CoDEL plans to use these affidavits in the suit.

Form <b>4875</b>	<b>Presidential Election Campaign Fund Statement</b>	<b>1972</b>
Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service		
► Attach to Form 1040 or Form 1040A only if you are participating.		
Name(s) as shown on your return		Your social security number
<p>This form may be used to designate that \$1 of your income tax be paid over to the 1976 Presidential Election Campaign Fund. Your wife (husband) may designate an additional \$1 if you are filing a joint return. Participation will not result in any cost to you, but you may not participate unless the amount on line 21 of Form 1040A or line 20 of Form 1040 is at least as great as the \$1 (or \$2) designated.</p> <p>If you wish \$1 to be paid over to the candidates of a specific political party, check the first box and fill in the name of the political party. If you wish \$1 to be paid over to a non-partisan general account for all eligible candidates, check the second box.</p>		
<p><b>Your choice</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> _____ Party (Do NOT specify name of any particular candidate)</p> <p>OR</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Non-Partisan General Account</p> <p>► Your signature</p>	<p><b>Wife's (husband's) choice</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> _____ Party (Do NOT specify name of any particular candidate)</p> <p>OR</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Non-Partisan General Account</p> <p>► Wife's (husband's) signature (if filing jointly and both are participating)</p>	

This is the form to be filled out by taxpayers this year. While it doesn't say so, donations for smaller parties will probably never be turned over to them.

# THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: CHINA: STALIN LEADS THE WAY TO DEFEAT

The following is the ninth in a series of articles on the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union.

By DAVE FRANKEL

In July 1926 the central committee of the Bolshevik Party rejected the proposals of the newly organized Joint Opposition. The party hierarchy had already declared opposition meetings illegal and driven them underground.

Lashevich, the deputy commissar of war, was removed from his post and expelled from the central committee for addressing an opposition meeting in the woods outside of Moscow. Zinoviev was deprived of his seat on the politburo. Trotsky was the only Opposition leader remaining on the politburo, since Kamenev had been demoted to candidate status in December 1925.

Still, the Opposition was undeterred. It appealed to the ranks of the party, distributing written policy statements, and addressing meetings in local party cells, factories, and workshops. Automobiles with screaming sirens were lined up outside larger meetings, and in all of them the Opposition speakers faced squads organized by the party machine to whistle and boo at Opposition speakers.

Despite these conditions, the Joint Opposition claimed to have some 8,000 members. The active supporters of Stalin and Bukharin were probably not much stronger numerically. The huge mass of the party had been driven out of political activity.

At the end of October the central committee responded to the Opposition campaign by expelling Trotsky from the politburo. Kamenev was deprived of his status as a candidate member, and Bukharin replaced Zinoviev as the president of the Comintern.

Unable to move the party ranks, and faced with the threat of further disciplinary measures, the Joint Opposition was forced to bide its time, and the winter of 1926-1927 saw a relative lull in the factional struggle. Some oppositionists began to lose heart. Trotsky writes:

"As early as the beginning of 1927, Zinoviev was ready to capitulate, if not all at once, at least gradually. But then came the staggering events in China. The criminal character of Stalin's policy hit one in the eye. It postponed for a time the capitulation of Zinoviev and of all who followed him later."

## Conditions in China

The conditions in China in the 1920s were worse than those that had given rise to the Russian revolution. More than 300 million peasants depended on the land for their subsistence. In 1927 it was estimated that 55 percent of the peasantry owned no land, and another 20 percent held parcels too small to support them. Thirteen percent of the rural population held 81 percent of the cultivable land.

As tenant farmers, the poor peasants were forced to give up 40 to 70 percent of their crops as rent, to make gifts to the landlords at festival times, and to serve without wages during engagements, marriages, and funerals in the landlord's family.

Things were little better for the new class of workers in the cities. In January 1927 dock workers in Hankow earned \$1.50 a month. In the textile mills women and children earned 12 cents a day. The average industrial wage was \$10 a month, yet one government survey fixed \$27.46 as the

minimum subsistence for a family of four. The strikes that were to reduce the workday of women in the silk industry from 17 hours to 12 had not yet occurred.

The imperialist domination of China helped maintain these conditions. Troops from the major European powers, Japan, and the U.S. were stationed on Chinese territory. Foreign warships sailed up and down the great rivers, shelling towns and cities at the slightest sign of opposition.



Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Kuomintang (seated). Standing is Chiang Kai-shek.

The warlords who ruled the country received arms and money from the imperialist powers, who controlled the bulk of China's railroads and shipping trade, and owned nearly half of the cotton industry, the country's largest industry. By the end of the 1920s foreign investment in China had reached \$3.3-billion.

Peasant revolts were a constant feature of the political scene, but the rapid growth of Chinese industry during World War I brought a new factor into play. In 1918 there were 25 recorded strikes in the country, involving fewer than 10,000 workers. By 1922 there were 91 strikes, involving 150,000 workers.

A national labor conference on May 1, 1925, brought together representatives of 570,000 workers from all the principal cities in China. That month

the fledgling labor movement stepped into the leadership of a nationalist upsurge that completely transformed the political situation in China.

On May 30 British troops fired on a protest demonstration in Shanghai, killing 12 students. A general strike paralyzed the city, and the movement spread rapidly throughout China. Incomplete statistics report 135 strikes involving some 400,000 workers. Less than a month later, on June 23, the murder of 52 demonstrators by British and French troops in Hong Kong provoked a general strike of 250,000 workers there.

More than 100,000 Hong Kong workers evacuated the British colony, moving to Canton. A boycott against British goods was declared, and the workers demanded freedom of speech and press. They also demanded the right to vote for Chinese representatives in the government of the colony, better wages and working conditions, and lower rents. Peasant associations in Kwangtung province cooperated with the strikers, patrolling the coast in order to make the blockade of the British ports complete.

The situation was extremely favorable for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The CCP had been formed in 1920. From fewer than 1,000 members in January 1925 it grew to 4,000 following the May 30 events, with a youth organization of about 9,000.

But the influence of the CCP was far greater than its small numbers would indicate. British historian E. H. Carr writes that the Hong Kong strike "was organized . . . by a workers' committee in which the influence of communists was, or quickly became, paramount."

## An incorrect policy

However, the CCP was hamstrung by an incorrect policy. The party had been directed by the Comintern to enter the Kuomintang (National People's Party), against the judgment of its leadership.

The Kuomintang, founded by Sun Yat-sen, was a bourgeois-nationalist party. It aspired to unite China under a stable capitalist regime and to end the imperialist domination of the country. The massive nationalist upsurge and strike wave of 1925 enabled the Kuomintang to establish a government in Canton while the rest of China was still divided among various warlords, the most powerful of whom ruled in the north.

The CCP supported the goals of reunifying China and ousting the imperialist powers. But while it would have been totally correct to form a united front with the Kuomintang to fight for specific demands against the imperialist powers, the CCP's entry into the Kuomintang led to disaster.

The problem was that national independence and unification could only be achieved by rousing the mass of the nation in a struggle against the imperialist powers and their warlord hirelings. However, such a mass awakening immediately resulted in the workers and peasants raising demands against the capitalists and landlords who exploited them.

In the face of this threat the Chinese bourgeoisie rapidly shed its nationalist sentiments and made common cause with the imperialist powers to smash the mass movement.

This should have come as no surprise. Lenin, in a report to the second congress of the Comintern in July 1920, stressed that "there has been a certain *rapprochement* between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very

often—perhaps even in most cases—the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., joins



Michael Borodin was the chief Comintern representative in China, and helped to organize the entry of the Chinese Communist Party into the Kuomintang.

forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes."

In the same report, Lenin argued for the need to have independent Communist parties in the colonial countries, and for the relevance of the Russian experience to them. ". . . the Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that with the aid of the proletariat in the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage."

The Comintern, however, failed to follow this policy. In the course of the fight against "Trotskyism" and the theory of permanent revolution, the lessons of the Russian revolution had been rejected.

Stalin and his supporters argued that what was on the agenda for the nonindustrialized countries of Asia was a "democratic," or capitalist, revolution. The tasks of this revolution would stop with national unification and independence, a democratic government, the nationalization of industry, a planned economy—all these things would be left for a later stage.

The prospect in Stalin's view was for an anti-imperialist revolution that would unite all classes, the entire nation, against foreign domination. This was the logic behind the entry into the Kuomintang that was imposed on the CCP. Unfortunately, this logic failed to take into account that the bourgeoisie in the colonial countries was afraid of *any* revolution, regardless of its ideology. They understood, unlike Stalin, that the mass movement, once begun, would not limit itself to their demands.

The CCP could have played a decisive role. In January 1924, at the first congress of the Kuomintang, 40 of the 200 delegates are said to have been Communists. The union movement and the peasant associations had begun to organize themselves independently of the Kuomintang. But the CCP, under the tutelage of the Comintern, was unable to offer itself as an alternative, and the rising mass movement was channeled into the Kuomintang. The results of this will be examined in the next article.



# Israeli revolutionaries speak out

## The Other Israel

The publication of *The Other Israel* by a leading commercial publisher offers an antidote to the wretched apologies for Zionism with which most people in this country are familiar. It is a powerful tool for explaining the real basis for the struggle of the Palestinian people.

The anthology consists of statements issued by the Israeli Socialist Organization (ISO) and articles written by its members during the past five years. They are particularly valuable because they were written by both Jews and Arabs living within Israel.

One effect of the barrage of Zionist propaganda that has saturated American society and shaped the thinking of the majority of its people on the Middle East has been the equation of the Jewish people with the political movement of Zionism. This false equation has reached the point where the arguments of Jewish anti-Zionists are often "answered" by labeling them as "self-haters."

This epithet has been used for a long time, but usually with less effect than today. Thus, one article in *The Other Israel* takes note of a letter Chaim Weitzmann, the first president of Israel, wrote from Russia in 1903. "In general," Weitzmann writes, "West European Jewry thinks that the majority of East European Jewish youth belongs to the Zionist camp. Unfortunately, the contrary is true. The lion's share of the youth is anti-Zionist, not from an assimilationist point of view as in West Europe, but rather as a result of their revolutionary mood."

Weitzmann emphasizes that "I am not speaking only of the youth of the proletariat. . . . Almost the entire Jewish student body stands firmly behind the revolutionary camp. . . . This is a terrible vision . . . and all this is accompanied by a distaste for Jewish nationalism which borders on self-hatred."

The introduction by Arie Bober gives a general critique of Zionism from the point of view of the Israeli Socialist Organization and convincingly explains the basic ideas elaborated in the rest of the book. Particularly valuable are the vivid quotations from Zionist figures that depict the tactics and ideology of the Zionist movement.

Thus, David Hacohen, a former leader of the ruling Mapai Party and chairman of the Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee in the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, wrote how " . . . I had to fight my friends on the issue of Jewish socialism, to defend the fact that I would not accept Arabs in my trade union, the Histadrut, to defend preaching to housewives that they not buy at Arab stores; to defend the fact that we stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there. . . . To pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes; to attack Jewish housewives in the market and smash the Arab eggs they had bought; to praise to the skies the *Keren Kayemet* (Jewish Fund) that sent Hankin to Beirut to buy land from absentee *effendi* (landlords) and to throw the *fellahin* (peasants) off the land—to buy dozens of *dunams* [about one-fourth of an acre] from an Arab is permitted, but to sell, God forbid, one Jewish *dunam* to an Arab is prohibited; to take Rothschild, the incarnation of capitalism, as a socialist and to name him the 'benefactor'—to do all that was not easy. And despite the fact that we did it—maybe we had no choice—I wasn't happy about it."

The articles dealing with the life and politics in Israel today are the book's strongest points. One example of this is the discussion of the so-called Emergency Regulations. These laws were originally enacted by the British Empire to contain the great Arab revolt of 1936-1939. Later, they were incorporated into the Israeli legal system.

The Emergency Regulations enable a military commander, "at his discretion and without any sort of judicial review, [to] imprison an individual indefinitely, prohibit travel inside or outside Israel or expel an individual permanently from the country; restrict anyone to his home, locality, village or town; forbid anyone to make use of his own private property; impose police surveillance on any individual and order him to report to a police station several times a day; bar an individual from seeking work or accepting a job."

Moreover, these actions can be taken against whole villages or groups of people, not just individuals. The Emergency Regulations also allow the confiscation or destruction of property, including homes; the proclamation of unlimited curfews;



Arab houses demolished under the emergency regulations. In 1946 Yaakov Shimson Shapira, who later became Israel's Minister of Justice, declared of these regulations that "even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws."

and the "closing" of whole areas so that it is forbidden to enter or leave them. Since 1966 the Emergency laws have been administered by the police instead of the army.

These laws are enforced selectively—against the Arab population. One way they are used is to restrict "Arabs to their areas because a license is needed for changing one's residence, which Arabs are not granted as a rule. In fact, very few people are aware of the fact that not only are Israel's 'socialist islands'—the kibbutzim and co-operative villages (*moshavim*)—hermetically sealed against the Arabs, but almost all Jewish cities and towns accept Arabs only as day laborers, not residents. In all of Israel there are only six towns (and one or two small villages) with mixed populations: Haifa, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Acre, Ramle and Lod. The policy of segregation is official only in a few cases (Carmiel, Arad, Eilat); mostly it is unofficial policy. Very rarely is the Israeli public allowed to hear of an Arab who is prohibited from buying a house in Tel Aviv. . . ."

The articles and statements in *The Other Israel* reflect the fact that they were written over a period of several years during which the ISO and the individual authors of this book went through a substantial political evolution. The ISO itself split about a year ago. Some of its early leaders opted for anarchism, while others, including Bober, declared their solidarity with the program and principles of the Fourth International.

Among Marxists there is disagreement with some of the analysis presented in the book, particularly the position put forward in the chapter on "The Case for Hebrew Self-Determination." Previous articles in *The Militant* have stated its opposition to the point of view presented in this selection. (See *The Militant*, Feb. 26, 1971.) But *The Other Israel* stands as a powerful indictment of Zionism and of the Israeli social system. As such, it deserves the widest possible circulation.

In the letter quoted earlier, Chaim Weitzmann lamented the fact that "the Zionist movement failed here [in Russia] since it did not succeed in attracting the best of the Jewish youth." The hold of Zionism on the Jewish people is the legacy of defeat, despair, and the triumph of political reaction.

Today, however, we are in the midst of a new upsurge in the world revolution. Zionism, with its appeal to anti-Arab racism, its acceptance of the status quo, and its alliance with American imperialism, will once again fail to attract the best of the Jewish youth, both inside Israel and throughout the world.

—DAVE FRANKEL

## Abortion foes rally in Chicago

By ELLEN FAULKNER

CHICAGO, Feb. 3—Reactionary anti-abortion forces organized a demonstration of 5,000 today in the Chicago Loop in opposition to the Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion. Activists from the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition picketed the demonstration, protesting the right wing's attempts to deny women abortions.

Groups organizing the anti-abortion demonstration were Illinois Right to Life, Clergy Concerned for Life, and the Chicago Archdiocese Committee for Pro-Life Affairs. Cardinal James Cody, head of the Archdiocese Committee, has threatened that all Catholic women who obtain abortions will be excommunicated.

At the rally, State Representative Henry Hyde urged support for a constitutional amendment to restrict abortion. He plans to introduce a bill into the Illinois state legislature that would prohibit abortion after the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.

Dr. Bart Heffener, head of Illinois Right to Life, also spoke. Heffener got himself appointed "Guardian of the Unborn" in 1970. As a court-appointed guardian, he blocked medical care for 30 women who were to have had abortions this weekend at a clinic set up by Choice, Inc., a referral agency.

Hearings are set for Feb. 7 on Heffener's request for a permanent injunction against the 30 women. Members of the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition will picket the hearings.

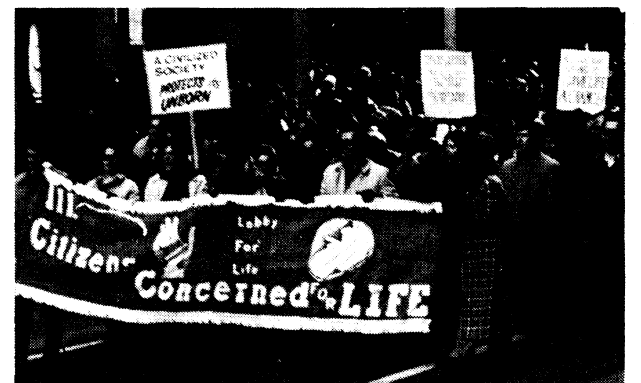
The speakers seemed prepared to accept legal abortion during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy but vowed to fight for stringent rules restricting later abortions. Demonstrators came to the action on Catholic Church and parochial school buses from all parts of Northern Illinois and Indiana. (This area is the largest Catholic diocese in the world except Rome.)

A *Chicago Sun-Times* news story on the action greatly overestimated the size of the crowd, putting it at 18,000. The *Chicago Tribune* exaggerated somewhat less, placing the figure at 8,000.

Demonstrators marched in family groups and in contingents of high school students. Many older people and children participated, but there were few people in their twenties.

The smallest children were wrapped in sheets lettered with their supposed sentiments about abortion. Some signs said "Abortion is not peace." There were also a number of pro-capital-punishment signs, such as "Richard Speck lives while the un-born die."

In addition to the Feb. 7 picket line, the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition will hold a victory rally to celebrate the Supreme Court's abortion decision. It will take place at Grace Lutheran Church, 555 W. Belven St., Feb. 10 at 1 p.m. Speakers will include Susan LaMont, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, and Sybil Fritchie, an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer.



Catholic hierarchy organized demonstration of 5,000 in Chicago to protest Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

*The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism. Edited by Arie Bober. Doubleday, New York, 1972. 264 pp. Paper, \$2.50.*

## Women's heritage

Our North American Foremothers. Written by Anne Grant.

This dynamic, 60-minute multimedia slide show is aimed at writing women back into history. The presentation was put together by Anne Grant, national education coordinator of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The show opens by scanning the gravestones of some nineteenth and twentieth century women. Their full names are not listed; rather, the inscriptions show them merely as the wives of men.

The slides outline the contributions women have made as scientists and

## Film

artists, as educators, as suffragists and feminists, as trade unionists, as writers, as participants in the Black liberation struggle and in the fight for Puerto Rican independence.

The show includes Rosa Parks, whose determination to disregard the Jim Crow custom of Blacks giving up seats to whites led to the Montgomery bus boycott and the beginning of the civil rights struggle. The presentation also recounts the attempts of Black women slaves to win their freedom by any means necessary—women such as Harriet Tubman and Margaret Garner.

Several Puerto Rican women are also pictured, including Lolita Lebrón, imprisoned to this day for her part in the 1954 attack on the U.S. Congress by Puerto Rican nationalists.

Although there is an attempt to include Native American women, the show makes American history appear to begin with the Pilgrims.

Both the suffrage and trade union movements are included in the show, although the full significance of some events is not always clearly underlined. Included are the infamous Triangle Fire of 1911, in which 146 women died, their deaths the direct



result of the employers' negligence; the suffrage demonstrations during World War I; and the various fights of women in the textile industry for better working conditions. The show tells the story of Margaret Sanger and Mary Ware Dennett's struggle to build a movement for the right to birth control.

*Our North American Foremothers* is a powerful statement about the heritage of women. The enthusiasm of its audiences demonstrates how eager women are to learn their own history.

The program is available for rental. For further information, contact "An Honest Look," History Project of the National Organization for Women, 617 49 St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11220. Telephone: (212) 854-7147.

—DIANNE FEELEY



Scene from 'Dragon Lady's Revenge'

Gerhard Gscheldie

## 'Dragon Lady'

The Dragon Lady's Revenge. Written, directed, designed, and composed by the San Francisco Mime Troupe.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe toured their latest production, *The Dragon Lady's Revenge*, through the Southern states last fall, finishing up in New York, where they opened just before Christmas. Their audience built up rapidly as word got around, and they extended their stay by several weeks, moving from one available theater to another with the ease of veteran guerrillas in occupied territory. Which on the cultural level, at least, is exactly what they are.

The troupe has been in existence since 1959. Although its members have changed, the structure and ideology evolved by its founder, R.G. Davis, have been tough enough and true enough to withstand both coercion and co-optation.

Davis decided that the old Italian *commedia dell'arte* was the best starting point for a popular theater form—one that would be flexible enough to find an audience, colorful enough to hold it, and organized enough to instruct it. The *commedia's* blend of

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acrobatics, bawdy humor, song, and dance gained it such popular support that it survived for more than two centuries in spite of continual repression from authorities offended by its sharp and astringent social comment.

Over the years, the troupe has also turned to other popular sources for ideas—the minstrel show, the morality play, the melodrama, and now with *The Dragon Lady's Revenge*, the comics.

The style of this play, both visually and verbally, owes a lot to "Terry and the Pirates." But the content, by the troupe's own admission, is much closer to *Ramparts* magazine.

The play is set in Long Binh, the capital of a small country in Southeast Asia in which a deadly struggle is being fought between (to use the words of the American ambassador) "the dreaded communists" and the "clean white dove of capitalism."

In spite of their superior technology, the capitalists are being defeated as their troops turn into dope addicts. But the lucrative drug trade itself is being run by corrupt local and U.S. officials.

The U.S. ambassador, Clyde Junker, is determined to clean the scene, for his own reasons, as we later find out. This task is seemingly made more difficult by his ally, General Rong Q, and a mysterious U.S. counterinsurgency agent, both of whom are thriving on the profitable drug trade.

In a medley of absurd disguises, duels with words and duels with swords, grunts and grimaces, songs and and sermons, the plot unfolds like a treasure hunt—between the clues you can have fun with your friends.

"We are prepared to offer you the presidency for life," says Junker to Rong Q. "Through free and democratic elections," he adds, to a jeer from the audience.

Perhaps the best line comes from the Dragon Lady herself, who distributes drugs through the bar she owns. Offered a million dollars to take her drug trade anywhere the U.S. does not have an army, she replies sweetly, "And where would that be, ambassador?"

In the end, Mr. Big, the sinister mastermind behind the drug trade, is unmasked and turns out to be the American ambassador himself! And the people of Long Binh chorus their belief in eventual victory, led by Blossom, a "B-girl" in Dragon Lady's bar who is also a revolutionary fighter. They are joined by the Dragon Lady herself and the ambassador's son, an Army officer.

The Mime Troupe has something to say, and they say it with vitality. Schools, colleges, and other institutions who would like to be included in future tours by the troupe should contact them at the address below. People involved in radical theater themselves might benefit from the troupe's theory and experiences as summarized in *Guerrilla Theater Essays*, a pamphlet available from the San Francisco Mime Troupe, 450 Alabama St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

One, two, three, many Mime Troupes!

—IAN WHITECROSS

## Racism in the electoral process

The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections by Mark R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer. Simon and Schuster. New York, 1972. 244 pp. Cloth, \$7.95.

Every election year brings a rash of books attempting to analyze America's voting trends. In contrast to earlier books on the subject, this one tries to examine the effects of independent political campaigns.

The authors also recognize—implicitly at least—that the Democratic and Republican parties have failed to respond to the needs of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. Of particular interest is the information they include on how undemocratic election laws disenfranchise these oppressed nationalities.

The drives to register Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans to vote have more often than not been motivated by partisan politics, Levy and Kramer maintain. Frequently, however, a politician who stands to gain from such activity will choose not to initiate reg-

## Books

istration drives for fear of upsetting white voters.

In 1940 only 5 percent of voting-age Blacks were registered. In 1970, this figure had climbed to 67 percent. This dramatic gain came in part from court rulings against poll taxes and literacy tests; the Voting Rights Act of 1965, passed as a result of civil rights protests; and the voter registration drives in the South in the early 1960s.

Current registration figures for Chicanos and Puerto Ricans underscore the selective disenfranchisement of this section of the voting population. For example, less than 30 percent of all eligible Puerto Rican voters in New York City are registered.

Levy and Kramer state there are no legal barriers to an increased Spanish-speaking voter turnout. But what they fail to point out is that until the voting process becomes a bilingual one, with Spanish-language registration materials and a Spanish ballot, there will continue to be a de facto barrier to voting by many Chicanos and Puerto Ricans.

The authors assert that Chicanos "lack political sophistication" and have therefore not responded in large numbers to independent Chicano campaigns or to the campaigns of Chicano Democrats. They relegate the impressive electoral victories of the Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Texas, to a footnote.

It is doubtful whether they would view Raza Unida's achievement of Texas ballot status in 1972 as meaningful. In their terms, independent candidates who don't get elected are relevant only insofar as they affect the election of a Republican or Democrat.

This book makes interesting reading for anyone who wants to be reminded about what a dirty business the elections in this country really are.

—JUDY UHL



# 'TRIBAL CHIEFS' HELP EXPLOIT INDIAN LANDS

By SKIP BALL

DENVER—Most corporate exploitation of Indian lands in this country is carried out legally with the complicity of official tribal leaders.

This seems strange until one knows who those official leaders are and how they got in a position to sign away Indian lands without the permission and, in most cases, even the knowledge of the people whose mineral rights and land are being given away.

Vern Stevens, a Denver Indian leader, used to be an industrial adviser to Indian-exploiting companies. He has a whole series of documents that show how the tribal structure, as established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), is used to rip off American Indians and pad the pockets of corporations.

Take for example the chief of the Cherokees, W. W. Keeler. Keeler, who has the power to give away the rights to the tribe's oil-rich lands in Oklahoma and Wyoming, is also president of Phillips Petroleum, a major recipient of Cherokee charity.

How did he land his chieftanship? The same way BIA procedure has long awarded such positions—by presidential appointment.

From now on, however, chiefs must be elected. But the appointed chiefs can easily deal with this inconvenience.

Stevens told *The Militant* how it's done:

"There is a tribal newspaper. Keeler gets coverage, his opponents don't. He has x number of millions of dollars to campaign with. Whatever he wants to do, he does. Around election time, there are lots of hungry Indians around, so he takes food bas-



Native American activist during Bureau of Indian Affairs takeover last November.

kets and gives them out, has hog roasts and the like."

Of course Keeler's opponents, living lives more closely akin to those of most Indians, didn't have the resources to hold feasts. Keeler was elected.

Stevens also related how a popular opponent of Nixon-appointed Choc-taw Chief Blevins was eliminated. Blevins found out his opponent was under 34 years of age. So he had his council make 34 the minimum age to be eligible to run for chief. The councils are also, according to Stevens, appointed by "higher bodies" of the tribe largely under the control of the chief.

With this setup, it is more understandable how the official leaders of the most downtrodden oppressed nationality in this country can sign away mineral rights, even ceremonial grounds, to greedy corporations.

Stevens, president of the Professional Indian Businessmen's Association of America, says he has documents he either signed or witnessed that show how the BIA operates and how it covers up its dirtier operations.

One case concerns a charcoal-burning plant the Oklahoma Indian Opportunities program set up. Although OIO originally procured grants to build two sawmills, it built the charcoal plant instead, and on Cherokee land. Stevens said his documents show that a majority of the Cherokee tribe's land board are on the OIO payroll.

Of \$45,000 secured for the operation from the federal poverty funds and \$45,000 from the Ford Foundation, "only \$30,000 of all this money ever showed up on this project," he claims.

Stevens believes there is a special

reason why the BIA allows corporations to take over Indian property. "We have in this country," he feels, "an energy crisis. What it boils down to is that Indian people are actually in control of the energy source. This is the coal, the natural gas, the oil, the water rights, the timber."

"Because of this energy crisis," Stevens continued, "we also have the case of Peabody Coal, which secured at Black Mesa rights to Navajo coal. This is ceremonial ground, and the new chairman of the Navajos is challenging the way they got this coal."

Stevens hopes to publicize these crimes against Indians through court battles. He seeks to challenge the constitutionality of allowing chiefs or undemocratically appointed councils to give away lands and rights. He does not, however, expect much from the courts.

"We're challenging the U. S. government; we're challenging the method of justice; we're challenging the U. S. courts and the method of their operation. As far as we're concerned, the judicial system in our country is sick—for any race."

"We know what rigged trials are, we have been through them. We are not going in with any illusions; we don't think we're going to come out in grand style. But one thing we are going to win is an awful lot of public support," he said.

Coming out of this, Stevens hopes, "will undoubtedly be a good little bit of protest and demonstrations, and this will be one of the most beautiful things that could happen because this is what the government understands—pressure."

## INDIAN LEADERS, REPORTER, ARRESTED BY FBI

By MIRTA VIDAL

Two Native American leaders, Hank Adams and Anita Collins, and a reporter for Jack Anderson's newspaper column, Les Whitten, were arrested by the FBI Jan. 31. They were charged with receiving stolen government property.

The arrest took place as Adams and Whitten were returning three boxes of documents obtained during the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building last November. The documents contained information exposing the BIA's role in exploiting



Hank Adams

Native Americans. Whitten had been going through the papers for information for Anderson's column.

On several occasions since the BIA occupation, Adams had returned materials taken from the BIA to an FBI agent. This time, however, the FBI chose to arrest Adams, along with Whitten, who was covering the story.

According to accounts in the *Washington Post*, the FBI had learned of the intention to return the documents that morning from an undercover FBI agent, who then proceeded to arrest

Anita Collins. The three were later released without bail. A preliminary hearing has been set for Feb. 15 to determine whether to bring the case before a grand jury.

In his Feb. 4 column in the *Washington Post*, Anderson commented: "The Federal authorities would like to stop the embarrassing stories the Indians have given us from the Broken Treaties Papers. . . ." But, he added, "No amount of government harassment will stop us from printing these facts, which we believe the public is entitled to know."

## The American Way of Life

Michael Baumann

### Jobless vets: 'worse than 'Nam'

The door has been broken for a long time at the veterans welfare center in midtown Manhattan. Instead of replacing the glass, they nailed up thick steel sheets.

The glass "was smashed into a thousand pieces a couple of times during the crush around the door," an employee at the center explained to Michael Pouser of the New York *Daily News*. "I guess they thought it was a poor investment."

They were probably right.

There are no jobs for more than 16,000 of the veterans who live in New York City, but the cramped, dingy center at Eighth Avenue and 35th Street can't even begin to cope with their numbers, let alone take care of their needs.

To make sure they just get inside, the vets start lining up at 3:30 a.m. By 8, the line frequently stretches a block and a half. When the center opens at 9, the men have to shove with all their might to get through the door. That's why steel plating is more practical than glass.

"Everyone's desperate," Leon Andrews, a 24-year-old vet, told the *Daily News*. You never know if you're going to get waited on.

"Guys come in so damn early," he continued, "because they know if they got in late they definitely wouldn't get help. They need money for rent, for food, for their kids. And even if they do get in, they might be told to come back Monday, or God knows when. It's a mess here, worse than 'Nam.'"

A few of the men on line told what had happened to them when they went to look for work.

"I watch them feed my name into a computer at the unemployment office," said Richard Smith, who was wounded at Khe Sanh. "The computer spins and the counselor looks at it and tells me, 'Nothing for you today, Mr. Smith.'"

Don Arazosa got the runaround too. ". . . I drove a truck in Vietnam," he says, and was wounded three times. Yet when I went around

looking for a job driving a truck here, everyone told me I needed experience."

Dave Blalock, 24, says, "I learned communications in the Army, but when I went down to the phone company, they told me they had a 14-month waiting list. I looked all around Wall Street. One guy just laughed at me."

Alex Santiago is 20. He returned from Vietnam last August, hasn't been able to find a job since. "I've been looking for something in the construction field, and you know what they told me?" he asked, "They told me I had to be 21. I wasn't old enough!"

Benny Santana thought he'd been a little luckier. "After looking for six months," he says, "I finally got a job with a take-home salary of \$65 a week. A few weeks later I told my boss I was quitting to take a better job."

"It was a lie. I couldn't bring myself to tell him that after paying for my family expenses, I couldn't even afford to take a subway to work."



## ...speedup

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closings, layoffs, and selective hiring could be repeated in every section of the country with the same results. The job squeeze is everywhere.

Those workers who find themselves without jobs as a result of automation, consolidation, and rationalization of industry cannot share in the jubilation over this "healthy" state of affairs, whether in publishing, printing, steel, or any other industry.

The structural unemployment that is a built-in feature of highly efficient technological development under capitalism is a challenge to the union movement. If the unions fail to solve this contradiction of labor-saving technology that creates a harder life for the worker, then they cannot long survive in their present form. The failure to cope with this problem is one of the reasons for the present general tendency of the unions to merge, some of them otherwise facing extinction.

The solution to the problem is no mystery. It is a shorter work day with no reduction in pay, the same answer the union movement advanced in an earlier period when it fought for the eight-hour day. Modern technology dictates the need of the six-hour day.

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mean a major setback for the Vietnamese struggle, and a demoralization and demobilization of the masses.

The strategy of organizing and leading the masses in struggle around the urgent needs of the workers and peasants in South Vietnam is the opposite perspective. But this strategy will inevitably lead to massive struggle against the Saigon regime. A "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord" could not possibly function under such circumstances.

This course would not be inconsistent with a retreat from the previous level of armed conflict, if this is dictated by the relationship of forces. No one could fault the Vietnamese fighters for this adjustment if they are forced to make it. If explained clearly, such a policy would prepare the masses

for the next step forward in the struggle.

A key element determining what will happen in South Vietnam will be which of these two courses is followed by the NLF and the North Vietnamese leaders.

Both Moscow and Peking are putting pressure on the Vietnamese to accept the path of "conducting the policy of national concord," to use Brezhnev's words. Both Stalinist bureaucratic leaderships want to dispose of the "Vietnam affair" as quickly as possible, whatever the consequences to the Vietnamese, for the sake of improved relations with Washington.

In this regard, one of the most ominous features of the accords is the part calling for an international conference to "guarantee peace" in Vietnam. This conference is scheduled to open Feb. 26. It can only result in intensifying the pressure on the Vietnamese from Moscow and Peking as well as from Washington to pursue a policy of containing the mass struggles that are likely to emerge for the sake of "national reconciliation" with the Saigon regime.

## ...Tombs

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of dealing with those who rebel against its injustice. Some find themselves suddenly declared legally insane and sent to a special prison. Others are murdered in cold blood and labeled as suicides. Yet the four have by no means averted victimization.

On Nov. 8, Timbuk Pyles awoke in the middle of the night with the painful sensation that his arm was on fire. Looking down, he saw that his skin was being eaten away. Taken to Bellevue Hospital, he was told by doctors that some lye-like chemical had been poured on his arm. As his cell was locked, he can only assume his attacker was a sadistic prison guard.

When he finally saw a lawyer a month later, the attorney was told by Bellevue authorities that no Timbuk Pyles had ever been there. Now Sonni Pyles also has reason to fear for his life, as several verbal threats have been made against him.

To supplement their physical threats, Tombs officials have resorted to other tested methods of halting rebellion. They are dividing up the members of the Defense Service, putting them on separate floors. As Sonni Pyles explained, "They are so afraid when a group of men band together to fight for themselves that they try to disband you."

Furthermore, several members have been arbitrarily denied permission to attend religious services—the only opportunity they have to contact men on floors outside of their own.

In the face of these threats, the Inmate Defense Service is determined to step up its fight. Referring to the tremendous pressures put on him to simply give up, James told me, "This is my life. And I've got to fight for my life. I've got to stand up and fight for my human rights and not let these people take me like this. If you let go, they're going to take you."

Prepared to give their lives to the struggle that took Malcolm X and George Jackson and countless other Black fighters, the inmates we interviewed pointed out that if they abandoned their goals, they would end up in the position of so many of their fellow inmates who quietly and despairingly hang themselves in their cells. "If we didn't believe in something, we would have to give up," Eugene James concluded.

## ...Church

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economically and physically wrecked by too many births. Nor do the multitudes of unwanted, neglected children fare any better. Robbed of adequate care, protection, and education, what kind of "right to life" do they have? How sacred are the wasted lives of these progeny? Apart from those who happen to be born in well-to-do families, the "sacred unborn" are only *promised* the right to life—a promise that is not delivered. For the essence of *human* life is *not* to be wasted, *not* to be thrust into an animal-like existence.

The black-robed jurists of the capitalist state have made a significant concession in the realm of abortion.

The women's liberation movement has won a signal victory with this recognition of women's right to control their own bodies. But the cardinals remain in irreconcilable opposition to the Supreme Court ruling and are mobilizing sentiment to overturn that decision.

We say to them: Stick to your business of controlling immortal souls. But keep your hands off the bodies of women and our democratic right to control our bodies!

## ...Atlanta

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Georgia legislature. Open hearings are being held, and reactionary forces are pushing for its defeat. The SWP candidates, as well as the Georgia National Organization for Women, the Georgia Women's Political Caucus, and other feminist organizations, are preparing to fight for its passage.

The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce is bending over backward to project an image of Atlanta as an "international city." They point to the proposed world trade center and international airport as examples of Atlanta's "internationalism."

Linda Jenness's speech to the banquet counterposed the real meaning of internationalism to their shallow hypocrisy. She spoke of the need to continue to defend the struggles of the Vietnamese people in the face of Nixon's "peace settlement" and the betrayal of the revolution by the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking.

Jenness ended her speech by stating that "your campaign in Atlanta this year will also show the people of Georgia what real internationalism means and what the socialist alternative would mean to people around the world."

After more than \$1,000 was raised for the campaign, Elaine Kolb, a member of the Atlanta Lesbian-Feminist Alliance, sang. In a beautiful and moving voice she told of the agony and anger of millions of women through songs such as "I Sing the Song of Women," "Though I'll Never Be a Lady, I Don't Want to Be a Man," and "Let's Take a Fighting Stand," all written by her.

# Socialist Directory

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# Calendar

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**MILITANT BOOKSTORE FORUM SERIES.** Held every week on topics of interest—the Black struggle, women's liberation, the Vietnamese revolution, socialism—panels, films, guest speakers, debates. Every Friday, 8:30 p.m., 68 Peachtree St., downtown Atlanta. For information call (404) 523-0610.

## BOSTON

**MALCOLM X: HIS LEGACY FOR THE BLACK STRUGGLE.** Panel: Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party 1968 vice-presidential candidate; Hussein Adams, professor and director of Afro and Afro-American studies at Brandeis University; and others. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## CHICAGO

**NEW ATTACKS ON THE PRESS AND REPORTERS.** Speakers: Bruce Bloy, Socialist Workers Party, former member of Newspaper Guild, Militant correspondent; Ron Dorfman, editor, Chicago Journalism Review; Willie Sadik, Black radio personality, former host of nationally televised "Black Journal"; Francis Ward, reporter for Midwest bureau of Los Angeles Times. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

## CLEVELAND

**ABORTION: A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE.** A panel discussion with speakers from Cleveland women's liberation and abortion groups. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## DENVER

**THE FIRING OF CHICANO EDUCATOR JOSE CALDERON.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 1203 California St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c.

## DETROIT

**REPRESSION IN CEYLON.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 17, 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## HOUSTON

**WHICH ROAD FOR CHILE: REFORM OR REVOLUTION?** Speaker: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 6409 Lyons Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c.

## LOS ANGELES

**ABORTION VICTORY RALLY.** Speakers include: Norma Zarky, Los Angeles attorney who filed the Supreme Court brief in the California abortion suit; Ardellia Hickey, vice-chairwoman of the Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization; Lana Clarke Phelan, National Association to Repeal Abortion Laws; Jean Cordova,

editor of Lesbian Tide; Arlie Scott, action coordinator of the National Organization for Women; Connie Trippet, Los Angeles Abortion Action Committee; and Z. Budapest, West Side Women's Center. Tues., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. Ash Grove, 8162 Melrose Ave. For more information contact LAWAAC, Box 85441, Los Angeles, Calif. 90072. Telephone: (213) 653-2075.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**WOMEN AGAINST HOLLYWOOD.** Panel discussion with feminist film critics and filmmakers. Speakers: Amalie Rothschild, filmmaker; Lucille Iverson, feminist poet and film critic; Gail Rock, contributor to Ms. and former film critic for Women's Wear Daily. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**DALLAS-FORT WORTH 5 DEFENSE CASE; U.S. persecution of Irish activists.** Speakers: Frank Durkan, legal counsel; Eileen Crimmins, member of defense committee. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

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**MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS.** Speaker: Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Berkeley city council. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 626-9958.

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## TWIN CITIES

**NORTHERN IRELAND TODAY—A YEAR AFTER BLOODY SUNDAY.** Speaker: Dr. Charles McCafferty, just returned from a visit to Derry. Fri., Feb. 16 8 p.m. 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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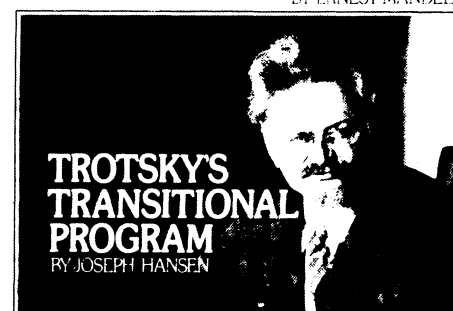
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# THE MILITANT

## Black victims of Detroit police terror speak out at hearing

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, Feb. 6—The Black Independent Commission of Inquiry into Police Terror held the first of five scheduled hearings here last night. Ten witnesses testified before the commissioners and more than 200 spectators at the New Calvary Baptist Church on Detroit's East Side.

A revolving commission of more than 20 politicians, lawyers, and activists from the Black community is conducting the hearings. Seated for last night's hearing were Jim Ingrams of the *Michigan Chronicle*; Larry Nev-

Refusing to answer her question about what they wanted, they "cussed" her out, pushed her up against her car, and called her a "Black bitch," among other things. She said she had reported the incident to the Citizens' Complaint Bureau but had received no satisfaction.

James Purvey was stopped by police while driving home about 7:30 p.m. Feb. 3. The cops asked for his license, but refused to tell him why. When he demanded to know, he was beaten with a flashlight. He was arrested, charged with resisting an officer, and

his temple, and told, "Nigger, if you breathe loud I'll blow your brains out." This incident has been widely reported in the media. After the incident police said they had raided the wrong house.

A common theme running through all the testimony was that something had to be done about STRESS and the police department or Blacks would be forced to defend themselves guns in hand, with another rebellion like that of 1967 in the offing.

The commission announced that the fifth hearing in the series would hear

## Hayward Brown faces frame-up in Detroit

DETROIT, Feb. 3—Hayward Brown, 18, finished a series of six arraignments last week. He is charged with attempted murder in the Dec. 4 shooting of four STRESS officers, and with first-degree murder in the killing of a Detroit policeman Dec. 27. He is also charged with firebombing the Planned Parenthood League Jan. 12.

Brown was bound over for trial on nine charges. The prosecution's case is already weakening as key witnesses either failed to identify Brown or contradicted themselves. In the sixth arraignment, covering the alleged firebombing, the chief witness for the prosecution was unable to identify Brown as one of the men she saw throwing the firebomb.

The judge ordered Brown to stand trial on this charge solely on the strength of testimony by patrolman Roger Studer, who claims he sat with Brown in the back of a squad car after Brown's arrest. Studer testified that Brown admitted the firebombing to him, started crying, and said, "I'll tell you anything you want to know."

Brown is represented by attorneys Kenneth Cockrel, Dennis Archer, and Jeff Taft.

Two other men, both Black, are charged with the same crimes. They are John Percy Boyd, 23, and Mark Bethune, 22. These two are still at liberty.

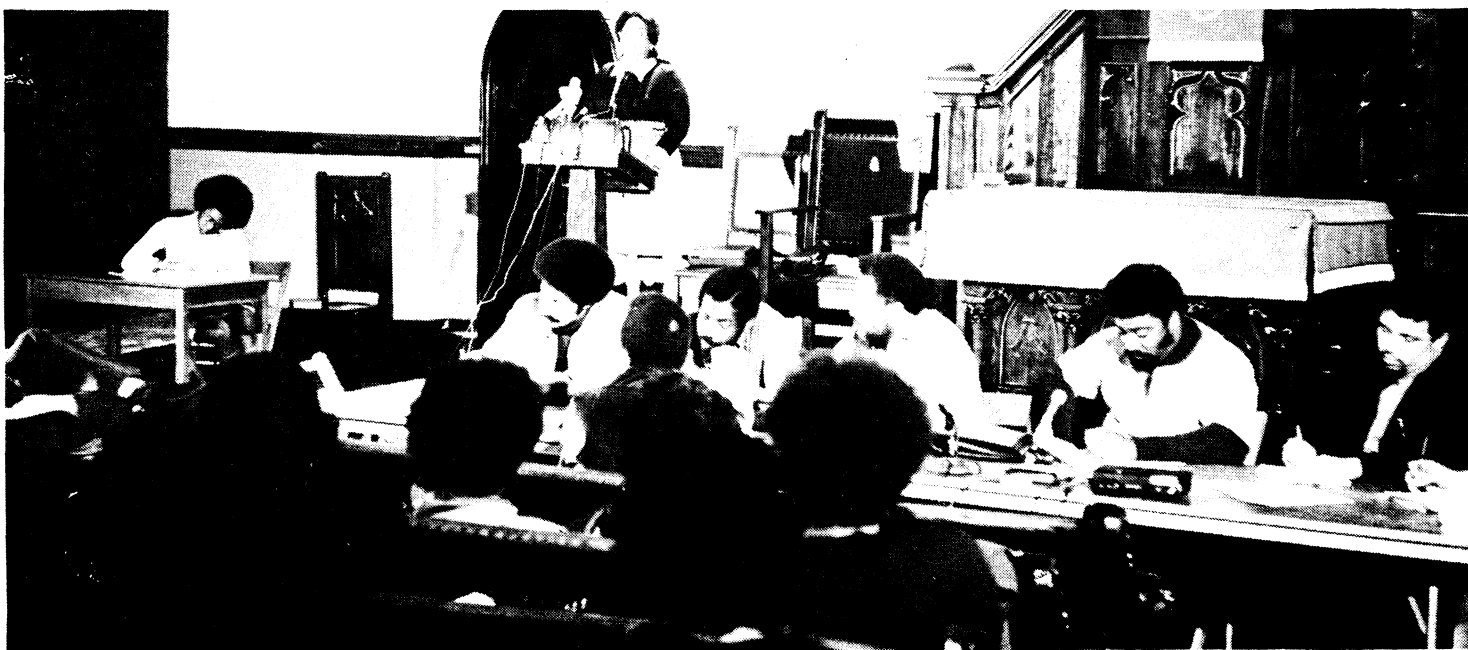
The issue of drugs in the Black community, especially heroin, looms large in the case. The Dec. 4 incident, according to police, occurred as they had a suspected "narcotics pad" under surveillance. Police charge that the three accused men were in a car outside the building. (On the basis of this they identified them to newsmen as dope pushers.) The police say they followed the three suspects, stopped their car, and the shoot-out began.

However, in a Jan. 11 hearing into charges of police brutality called by the Detroit common council, relatives of the three denied that they were dope pushers. Instead, all testified that the three were well-known opponents of drugs in the Black community. Some suggested that they were involved in driving the real dope pushers out.

The public hearings also heard charges that the cops were protecting dope pushers. This accusation has been substantiated by several recent events. On Dec. 22, the *Detroit News* reported a raid on the tenth precinct police station by a special unit of the police department. This raid, according to the *News*, was directed at more than 25 policemen involved in drug traffic.

The *News* later reported the arrest of a Detroit cop on narcotics charges in Toronto, Canada.

After the Dec. 4 shooting, the police reported having every "known dope house in the city under surveillance." This raised in the minds of many the question of why the police, who have proved so adept at breaking down doors of innocent Black citizens, are so inept when it comes to dealing with "known dope pads."



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

Black commission of inquiry listens to testimony at Detroit's New Calvary Baptist Church. At extreme left is Vera Coleman, cochairwoman of the commission. Seated, from left, are Gil Bass, Larry Nevils, Frank Ditto, Rowley Smith, and Jim Ingrams.

ils of UNICOM (United Community organization); and Stu House, an aide to Congressman John Conyers.

Also Gene Cunningham from the *South End*; Frank Ditto of the "Black Talk" TV show; Rowley Smith, vice-president of the Pan-African Congress; and Fred Durhall, president of the Association of Minority Pre-Law Students at Wayne State University. Commission coordinators Vera Coleman and Maceo Dixon cochaired the meeting.

The hearing has received extensive publicity on the air and in the local papers.

The testimony exposed the brutality Black residents of Detroit suffer daily at the hands of the police. Some witnesses focused on the most recent wave of police terror following an incident last December in which a member of the special Detroit police squad known as STRESS (Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Safe Streets) was killed. (See *The Militant*, Feb. 9.) Other testimony highlighted the "normal" harassment of Blacks by racist cops.

One middle-aged Black woman described how her son was stopped by police while driving, ordered out of his car, and beaten unconscious. He was later charged with fighting with an officer! She warned that it "may by your son next week" unless something is done about the police.

James and Linda Purvey recounted two incidents of police harassment. Linda Purvey described the treatment she received when four white STRESS officers stopped her while she was driving home from a Christmas dinner.

arraigned on \$2,000 bond. As he named the policeman responsible and gave his badge number, the crowd at the hearing broke into applause.

Anna Coleman related an incident that is now well known throughout the Black community. On Dec. 29 she was visiting friends, whose son had gone to school with Hayward Brown. At that time Brown was being sought as a suspect in the shootings of Detroit policemen.

She told the commissioners that at 11:30 in the evening some 30 police kicked in the door to her friends' home, with shotguns, riot guns, and handguns drawn. She and the three others present, all Black, were thrown up against the wall. In a harrowing 45-minute ordeal, they were subjected to a stream of racist abuse from the white police.

She and her friend were taken to separate rooms, forced to strip in front of the cops, who then physically abused them, threatening to kill them if they didn't comply. Afterwards, they were told this had been part of a search for Hayward Brown.

Anna Coleman's testimony was corroborated by Sylvia Cleveland and Sandy McGee, who had also been present during the assault. McGee told the commission he had been beaten and his kneecap broken. He testified on crutches.

In addition to other testimony, statements were read into the record from the Reverend Leroy Cannon and Clifford Kelly. Cannon's house had been "mistakenly" broken into Dec. 4 by more than 15 cops. He was pushed up against a wall, a rifle pointed at

proposals for action to end the police brutality.

Two new commissioners have been added recently. They are David Hartman, president of the First Black National Bank, and Judge Edward Bell, Black mayoral candidate. The African People's Movement has also announced its support for the commission's activities.

Support has been especially strong at Wayne State University. The commission has its headquarters in the Associated Black Students offices there. The ABS has provided phones and supplies for the effort. Most of the activities involved in organizing support for the commission's work are Black students on the campus, and the university student newspaper, the *South End*, has publicized the commission's work in daily articles.



Maceo Dixon

Militant/Gene Yzquierdo