

THE MILITANT

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

What the Oglala Sioux are struggling for Eyewitness report from Wounded Knee



Wounded Knee, S.D. Indians occupying church on burial grounds of 1890 massacre. Heavily armed federal marshals surround the area.

By SKIP BALL

WOUNDED KNEE, S.D., March 7 — Federal officials have called off negotiations with the Indians occupying Wounded Knee. They have announced that their offer to allow people out of Wounded Knee without immediate arrest would expire tomorrow at 6 p.m.

The government had previously offered to let the Indians leave with the stipulation that all adult males would have to identify themselves, thus laying the basis for future prosecution.

The Indians participating in the occupation here have made clear they remain willing

to negotiate. In response to the government move, Russell Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), told the press here today, "We're making a national appeal for people to come here and witness for themselves how this country deals with Indian people. . . ."

The Indians are hoping a show of popular support will deter the government from a violent attack. In the meantime, approximately 220 women and children in Wounded Knee who were offered the chance to leave without giving any identification to federal officials elected to stay.

The duplicity of the government officials is indicated by the fact that three participants in the occupation who tried to bring an injured person out of Wounded Knee for medical treatment after getting the agreement of government representatives were arrested and jailed. The injured person was also arrested.

Meanwhile, the Indian leaders have announced that their lawyers are negotiating for the purchase of the trading post and Catholic Church they occupy. They anticipate they soon will be the legal owners of these buildings.

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PHILADELPHIA TEACHERS BACK AT WORK: Most teachers "felt they got the best they could have under the circumstances." This evaluation by one striker is a commonly held opinion among Philadelphia teachers concerning the recent agreement they reached with the city. The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers approved the contract March 1 after a 51-day strike. (For details on the contract see last week's *Militant*.)

The end of the strike came after the Rizzo administration, which had tried to break it, was forced to back down in the face of a threatened city-wide solidarity strike involving the entire labor movement in Philadelphia.

CAMDEN 28: Since February the federal government has been prosecuting a group of Catholic antiwar activists known as the Camden 28. Eight of the activists were arrested in the process of destroying draft board records in August 1971.

Two months earlier they had given up the idea of the draft board raid, but a "friend," FBI informer and provocateur Robert Hardy, came forward and saved the project. He supplied them with diagrams of the Federal Building and the Camden draft board offices, burglary tools, transportation, money to live on while the raid was being prepared, and overall leadership.

The arrests were announced at a special Washington, D.C., news conference by former attorney general John Mitchell and J. Edgar Hoover. The FBI was able to round up 20 people who weren't at the draft board by claiming they were all part of the "conspiracy."

Charges against the 28 range from conspiracy to possession of burglary tools. The case of 10 of the defendants has been severed from the others, and one has pleaded guilty to a lesser charge.



Militant/Julie Simon

More than 200 people demonstrated against the Greek dictatorship March 3 outside the U.S. mission to the United Nations. The United Hellenic Front called the action in support of the massive student demonstrations taking place in Greece.

RAMSEY CLARK JOINS MAGEE DEFENSE: Militant reporter Michael Schreiber reports from San Francisco that a special order by the California Supreme Court will permit former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark to direct the questioning of defense witnesses in the trial of Ruchell Magee.

In a unanimous decision March 5, the court blasted trial judge Morton Colvin for refusing to seat Clark at the defense table. The decision stated, "It is the defendant's confidence (in his attorney) which is at stake, not that of the court."

On March 6 Clark began questioning Dr. Richard Komisaruk, a psychiatrist, who described Magee's early youth in Louisiana. Magee's love affair with a white woman ended in his being unjustly convicted on a charge of aggravated rape brought by the woman's father. At the age of 16 he became the youngest inmate at "America's worst prison"—the state penitentiary at Angola.

The defense contends that Magee participated in the escape attempt of several prisoners Aug. 7, 1970, because prison authorities had blocked his attempts to prove he was unjustly imprisoned in Louisiana and California.

AFRAID HE'LL BE ACQUITTED? Fleeta Drumgo, one of the San Quentin Six, was denied his request to substitute an attorney of his own choice for his present court-appointed attorney. The California Supreme Court ruled March 5, in contradiction to its ruling in the case of Ruchell Magee handed down on the same day, that selection of counsel for a defendant too poor to hire his own lawyer may be left to the trial judge.

In the Magee decision, the court had ruled, "The state should keep to a necessary minimum its interference with the individual's desire to defend himself in whatever manner he deems best . . . that desire can be constitutionally forced to yield only when it will result in significant prejudice to the defendant himself, or in disruption of the orderly processes of justice. . . ."

Drumgo faces murder charges for his participation in the Aug. 21, 1971, events in San Quentin prison in which George Jackson was killed.

GAY ACTIVISTS PICKET INNER CIRCLE DINNER: Militant reporter John Lauritsen writes that 100 gay activists, the maximum allowed by a court order, picketed the main entrance of the New York Hilton March 3 during the annual Inner Circle Dinner for New York politicians and political reporters. Several hundred more demonstrated across the street.

The "Outer Circle" demonstration, sponsored by the Gay Activists Alliance, commemorated events at last year's Inner Circle Dinner. At that time gay activists attempting to distribute leaflets were savagely assaulted by guests at the dinner and employees of the Hilton Hotel. The demonstration also called for passage of Intro 475, a New York city council bill that would ban discrimination against homosexuals in housing, jobs, and public accommodations.

HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE: On Feb. 23 a federal district court ruled high school students have the right to distribute literature in school, have access to outside speakers, and have a hearing before being suspended for more than five days. The ruling, which will affect all New Hampshire high schools, stems from a case brought by Evon Mayo of the Portsmouth High School Black Student Union and Calvin Vail of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley there.

Vail reports the suit originated after Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, had been invited to speak by students at Portsmouth. Pulley was refused admission to the school. Other candidates had previously spoken there, some more than once, but the administration claimed Pulley "wasn't a bona fide candidate."

Portsmouth students went out on strike in response to this, and Pulley was able to address them in spite of the administration. However, the next day 15 students were suspended for leafletting the day before the strike. The court victory will make it more difficult for school administrators to use such tactics in the future.

SUPREME COURT TO REVIEW BALLOT CASES: On March 5 the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review four cases in which lower courts in California and Texas sustained restrictive laws governing ballot status for independent candidates. One of the California suits was brought by the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, the 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Communist Party.

California has the most restrictive ballot laws in the nation, and any action by the court striking them down would be a significant victory for civil liberties and for those fighting for democratic election laws.

HOUSTON POLICE RIGHT ON TOP OF THINGS: In the Feb. 9 *Militant* we reported that the Houston headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party had been broken into, vandalized, and ransacked. Books, files, and documents were stolen.

Recently, the sheriff's department telephoned the Houston SWP and accused it of dumping trash beside a county road. It seems that the cops had "found" a portion of the missing SWP papers.

JUST OUT—PAMPHLET ON VIETNAM: Pathfinder Press has just published *The Meaning of the Vietnam Accords*, a pamphlet containing recent articles from *The Militant* by Barry Sheppard and Dick Roberts. Issues discussed are Nixon's world strategy, the role of Moscow and Peking, and prospects for the Vietnamese revolution. Barry Sheppard is the national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Dick Roberts is a staff writer for *The Militant*.

This timely pamphlet will be of special interest to those attending meetings for Derrick Morrison, Wendy Reissner, and Syd Stapleton, SWP leaders now on speaking tours on Vietnam. The 16-page pamphlet sells for 25 cents and is available from Pathfinder Press, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014; or from the Young Socialist Alliance and SWP (see directory, page 22).

—DAVE FRANKEL

...Eyewitness report from Wounded Knee

Continued from page 1

WOUNDED KNEE, S.D., March 6—Despite repeated government appeals to surrender, approximately 300 Indian militants, most of whom are Oglala Sioux, continue to hold this small town located in the Oglala Sioux's Pine Ridge reservation.

The Pine Ridge reservation, the second largest Indian reservation in the country, is located in southwestern South Dakota.

While at first the government refused to negotiate the political issues, demanding instead a discussion of surrender terms, it has now been forced

Skip Ball, Marie Head, and Joe Johnson are in Wounded Knee, S.D., as a reporting team for *The Militant*.

to discuss the demands of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO). A mass pilgrimage to Wounded Knee had been planned, but the government—under the pretext that the initial occupiers held 11 hostages—has sealed off the entrances to the area.

The "hostages," however, do not consider themselves captive and have decided not to leave Wounded Knee. Some come and go regularly.

The government and most of the press have repeatedly tried to present the Wounded Knee action as a seizure of land inspired by "outsiders" from the American Indian Movement (AIM).

In reality, the decision to take Wounded Knee originated with OSCRO, and the issues involved have to do with the intolerable problems in the Pine Ridge reservation. OSCRO called in AIM to aid their struggle. In fact, one key AIM leader, Russell Means, is himself an Oglala Sioux and from the reservation.

OSCRO was created in the course of a long struggle to oust the corrupt tribal council and the reactionary tribal chairman, Richard "Dickey" Wilson, and the tribal government sys-

tem established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). But as one Indian militant pointed out, the current system, created by a 1934 federal law, is in fact a facade for government control and must be removed before real Indian sovereignty can be established.

Under federal law those who rent Indian land can receive grants to buy cattle and get going as ranchers or farmers. But Indians cannot receive such aid to work their own land. Many are thus forced to live off welfare and lease their land through the BIA.

The current tribal council does nothing about this, and tribal chairman Wilson profits from it. Pedro Bisonette, the leader of OSCRO, said one of the group's goals is to circumvent this by setting up cooperatives owned and run by Indians.

Wilson was indicted in 1969 for larceny but was never brought to trial.

One OSCRO activist *The Militant* talked to at Wounded Knee, Ghost Bear, said Wilson's bid for the presidency of the tribe was backed by a construction tycoon in Rapid City, S.D.

Since Wilson's election the inner tribal council and the people have made repeated attempts to remove him.

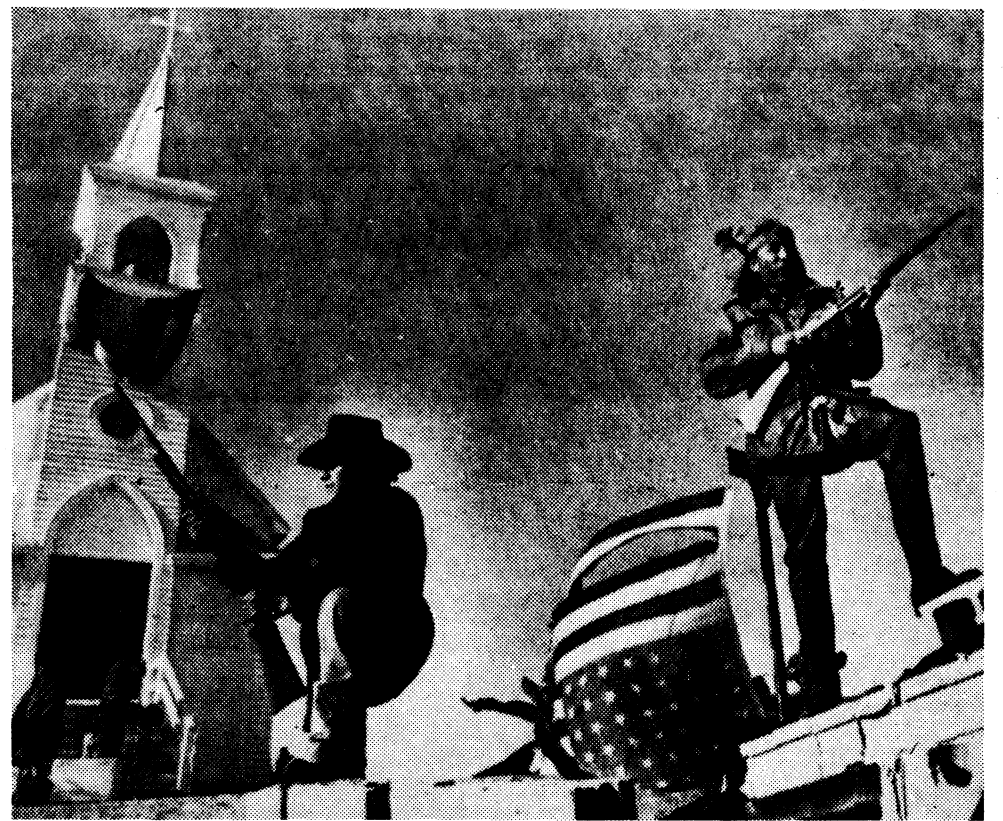
At an impeachment proceeding "he presided at his own trial, the judge was a flunky Wilson bought off for \$500, and there was no investigation of the charges," Ghost Bear said.

Lou Bean, an activist in OSCRO said, "among the discrepancies in Wilson's behavior is his ability to buy \$12,000 vintage cars and liquor by the case on a salary of only \$18,000 a year."

Hildegard Catches, OSCRO treasurer, said Wilson is trying to bankrupt the Oglala Sioux nation.

Wilson ruled by the use of a "goon" squad that has fire-bombed the local AIM coordinator's house, beaten up old women, and terrorized local opponents.

Wilson has also made repeated threats to take "900 armed Sioux" in to take Wounded Knee in an early morning attack. But a demonstration



Indian guards outside Wounded Knee church

set up the inner district council (IDC), which represents six of the eight districts.

"We tried to get Dickey Wilson, then the BIA, and finally the government to recognize the IDC," Lou Bean said. "When this failed, we set up a civil rights group to demand our civil rights. We had tried everything else."

OSCRO has as many as 900 people at its meetings. It was at a series of its meetings in the district town of Calico that AIM was called in and the decision made to take Wounded Knee.

Ghost Bear said, "After fighting Wilson in the tribal council we realized that they were just flunkies for the BIA and we were really fighting the federal government."

Wounded Knee was chosen because it is the site of an 1890 massacre of Indians by the U.S. Army and because it reflects the continuing exploitation of the Indians, most of whom live in abject poverty.

One woman, Ms. Black Elk, described the oppression of Indians going back to the treaty of 1868. She said, "This is where we started this relationship with the federal government, and it's all gone astray." Then she described the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890.

"The people there," she explained, "were doing a ghost dance but—it's just a spiritual dance, a strengthening dance, and we believe in spirit people. White people say 'father, son and holy ghost,' but they don't understand Indian people believing in spirits. The people were doing a ghost dance when the cavalry came over the hill and killed 200 people."

"Then they took them up and buried them in the trench. Then the white people said 'here's a place to make some money.' So the Catholic Church came and built a church right on the grave. These people weren't Catholics and had nothing to do with the Catholic Church. Yet the church is there and there is a cross on top of their graves."

"Then some more people came along and said let's put up a trading post and a museum and make money from the thousands of tourists who come to the massacre site."

"See, they're all making money off those dead people that are there. Now those of us who are here wonder if 50 years from now they'll put up a highway sign to come see the ones killed in 1973."

Russell Means says the significance of Wounded Knee also lies in the continuity of the actions of the federal government. "We say it is Wounded Knee to Mylai and back to Wounded Knee."

Rarihokwats, editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, told *The Militant*, "There's no difference between the 1890 cavalry and the federal marshals at Wounded Knee now."

The first target of the occupation was the trading post. However, it was not looted by outsiders but by residents of Wounded Knee, occupiers said. Today the church is a sleeping and eating center and is fortified with bunkers and benches.

Although the M-16-toting federal marshals and FBI agents—who are the real "outsiders" at Wounded Knee—block the roads into Wounded Knee, Indians from all over the reservation and from reservations throughout North America come over the fields into Wounded Knee at night with food and support.

And although much has been said of the Indian armed security—an efficient force headed by Vietnam veterans—there is a sharp contrast between the Indians' guns, often held together with adhesive tape, and the M-16s of the "feds" and the government's armored personnel carriers. There are 30 APCs in the vicinity and three near Wounded Knee.

Despite the armed superiority of the government forces, the massacre that to many seemed inevitable at first may be avoided. The government negotiators have been forced to discuss the Indian



U.S. marshals on Big Foot Trail Highway near Wounded Knee

OSCRO is demanding the immediate suspension of the tribal chairman, tribal council, and the tribal constitution.

Further, it is demanding replacement of the BIA officials, termination of the tribal police, and a temporary federal trusteeship until a popular constitutional convention adopts a new tribal government system for the reservation.

AIM is demanding that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigate all broken treaties and specifically the 1868 treaty with the Sioux, which has never been kept.

Some Justice Department officials here claim suspending the current tribal government would amount to terminating the last vestige of tribal sov-

he called March 5 in opposition to AIM, OSCRO, and their Wounded Knee action was attended by only eight people. There are 12,000 Indians on this reservation.

Wilson, the BIA, and other agencies of the federal government have their offices in Pine Ridge town. Most of the people, however, live in the reservation's eight "districts."

Most news reports have come only from Pine Ridge town and talk of lack of popular support there for the Wounded Knee action. Indian militants, however, stress the support they have from the people in the districts, where most of Wounded Knee's occupiers live.

In an earlier move against the corrupt and unrepresentative tribal council, the leaders of what is now OSCRO

DENVER, March 6—Nearly 1,000 people marched through downtown Denver today in support of the Indian occupation of Wounded Knee. The demonstration was organized on three-days notice by the Crusade for Justice, a Chicano organization here, with the support of the Denver chapter of the American Indian Movement (AIM).

The marchers, predominantly Chicano and Indian, chanted slogans such as "Indios sí, BIA no!" and "Viva Crazy Horse! Viva Geronimo! Viva Cochise!" drawing raised fists from friendly onlookers on the sidewalk.

Speakers at the rally included Denver AIM leaders Vince Xavier and Rod Skenandore, and Corky Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice.

demands in what must be for them very uncomfortable surroundings—in a tepee, sitting on their haunches around a smoky fire.

AIM has said that the government will have to back down and grant the AIM and OSCRO demands or massacre the occupiers and "meet the wrath of oppressed people throughout the country."

ABORTION RIGHTS: VICTORY FOR BLACK WOMEN

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

The Jan. 22 Supreme Court decision making abortion a woman's constitutional right was a victory for Black women, who have suffered the most from the anti-abortion laws. For the first time, Black women will have some control over our bodies: we will no longer have to resort to butcher abortions, and the high death rate resulting from illegal abortions will drop sharply.

Before the liberalized New York abortion law was passed in 1970, 80 percent of the women who died from illegal, back-alley abortions were Black and Spanish-speaking. Many sisters were also forced to submit to sterilization as a means of obtaining an abortion.

Social welfare agencies and hospitals often coerced welfare mothers into being sterilized. In some states, racist politicians even tried to pass laws forcing women on welfare to be sterilized if they had more than one child. Welfare mothers in Tennessee protested against such a racist bill in 1971, and the bill was eventually defeated.

Because abortion used to be a topic discussed behind closed doors in whispers, women were made to feel guilty about obtaining an abortion. The concept of "murder" was a weapon used to make us think we were doing something "sinful." Forced sterilization was a means of punishing women who had the audacity to seek some means of control over their reproductive lives.

The Supreme Court decision cuts across this concept that abortions are "sinful." This will make it much more difficult for politicians and others to get away with forced sterilization in the future. It deals a heavy blow to all who oppose women's right to control their bodies.

We have won an important victory, but the struggle is not over. We will have to be organized and ready to move against any attempts to roll back this decision by reactionary



Militant/Flax Hermes

December 1969 women's demonstration in support of Black Panthers in New Haven, Conn. Supreme Court abortion ruling places Black women in better position to struggle around all issues.

"right to lifers," led by the Catholic hierarchy.

Black women will also have to answer the claims of the Nation of Islam and the Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH that abortion is "genocide."

If there should be a charge of "genocide," it is the anti-abortion laws that must be condemned for causing the deaths of thousands of Black women across the country. Black women unable to obtain abortions resorted to such methods as castor oil or dangerous pills. If these didn't work, the next resort might be to use a wire coat hanger or locate a back-alley abortionist.

Far from being an attempt at genocide, the Supreme Court ruling will give Black women the right to control our bodies, thus allowing us to plan our lives with greater freedom. It will free us from unwanted pregnancies and save thousands of Black women from the hands of butcher abortionists.

To maintain, as Jesse Jackson does, that Black women should not have

control over our own bodies because we must produce more babies is to degrade women to the role of breeders. It is to say that Black women have no other function in the struggle except to produce offspring.

The fact is that Black women have made many important contributions to the struggle—and we will make more now that we have some control over our bodies.

Jackson's concept of babies for the revolution simply diverts the Black struggle. The degree to which our struggle advances depends primarily on the revolutionary consciousness of Black people and our ability to organize our people into action.

Neither forced sterilization nor forced motherhood allows women the right to choose. Both the "babies for the revolution" argument and the use of forced sterilization are reactionary means of "keeping women in their place."

The women's liberation movement has rejected the argument that social problems will be solved by "zero population growth." Hunger and poverty

are caused by an economic system that produces for profit, not by "overpopulation." The myth of "too many babies" has simply been used to blame the poor, especially Black people, instead of the capitalist system, for the problems in society.

Legalizing abortion will not solve all our problems. But it is an important gain because it will place Black women in a better position to fight around other issues. Our struggles can only grow and expand because of the abortion victory.

These new struggles will give impetus to the overall fight for Black liberation. The same government that was denying us the right to control our own bodies cuts off funds for welfare and medical services. It is the same government that vetoes child-care bills. And it is the same government that denies African-Americans the right to self-determination.

The struggle of Black women to control our own bodies is part and parcel of the struggle for Black liberation and the struggle to change this racist oppressive system.

Testimony by union organizer

'Workers need Equal Rights Amendment'

The Ohio state legislature is currently holding hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment. The following testimony in support of the ERA, by Jean Y. Tussey, was entered into the record Feb. 13.

As vice-president of the Cleveland Council of Union Women and an organizer and representative of Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53, I wish to address myself specifically to the question of labor support for the Equal Rights Amendment.

First, what are the facts about labor support of the Equal Rights Amendment?

Support of ERA is the national policy of the Teamsters union, which according to the latest *World Almanac*, has a membership of 2,000,000 (193,130 women). It is the policy of the United Auto Workers, with a membership of 1,400,000, of whom 255,000 are women.

The UAW passed a comprehensive resolution on Women in Society, in which it called for support of a campaign for enactment of an equal rights amendment to the Constitution of the United States, at its twenty-second convention in 1970. . . .

At its twenty-third convention, in 1972, the UAW resolution on Women's Rights stated: "We urge all state legislatures to ratify at once the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitu-

tion."

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO, with a membership of about 473,000, at its 1972 convention also resolved "to work for and support ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment."

The Communications Workers of America issued a statement in 1972 on the Equal Rights Amendment. They pointed out that with a membership of half a million workers, 60 percent of whom are women, they had examined the proposed amendment carefully.

"Many fear," the resolution said, "it will lead to the abolition rather than the extension of beneficial state laws which protect only women, rather than both sexes. The Senate Judiciary Committee refused to incorporate language in the amendment aimed at preserving these laws, so that Senate passage and state ratification of the constitutional amendment could place the fate of this state protective legislation in question."

"We want to make clear, however," the resolution continued, "that even without the incorporation of language specifically addressed to the state protective labor laws, we see the Equal Rights Amendment as a means of asserting not an equal right to be abused, but equality of the right to protection. The Communications Workers

of America has always supported the extension of existing protective legislation for women to men. We look upon the Equal Rights Amendment as a constitutional guarantee, a national commitment that will aid us in achieving this goal."

Another AFL-CIO national union that is on record in support of ERA ratification is the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades of the United States and Canada, with 160,000 members.

Also, the Newspaper Guild, at its 1972 convention, reaffirmed its support and called on "Guild Locals and members in states which have not yet approved the ERA to support favorable action on the measure when it is before the state legislatures."

This list of union supporters of the ERA is by no means complete. Other national labor organizations may have taken a stand on the issue by this time. We know that many local unions have, such as the Cleveland Newspaper Guild, Local No. 1, and my own union, Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53, which adopted a resolution at the regular membership meeting last Nov. 19, calling on the Ohio legislature to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

It is important to take note that the substantial and mounting support of labor organizations for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment ex-

ists despite the official policy of the AFL-CIO, which does not endorse ratification of the ERA, although it does endorse the principle of "non-discrimination on the basis of sex."

Those of us in the labor movement who feel the official policy is incorrect propose to utilize the democratic procedures available to us within our organizations to correct it. Meanwhile, as citizens, we propose to use the democratic procedures of our society, and our votes, to secure ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. We feel that it is precisely the kind of clear statement of national principle of equality of the sexes under the nation's laws the working men and women need.



Where the state abortion laws stand

By CINDY JAQUITH

MARCH 6—A two-year fight to overturn the Illinois anti-abortion law has finally been won. In 1971 a court ruled the law unconstitutional and for three days hospitals performed abortions in the state. Then, the Cook County state's attorney at that time, Edward Hanrahan, got another court to issue a stay against the legalization of abortion. That stay has been in effect until now.

In light of the recent Supreme Court rulings, however, Judge Edwin Robson declared the Illinois anti-abortion law unconstitutional March 1, and he lifted the two-year stay. He also overturned a previous court decision that allowed Dr. Bart Heffernan, head of the anti-abortion Illinois "Right-to-Life" group, to be the "guardian of the unborn." This title had given Heffernan the opportunity to prevent women from having abortions.

Militant correspondent Ellen Faulkner reports that as soon as the March 1 court victory became known, the

Friendship Clinic in Illinois began performing abortions and has been doing 60 to 100 abortions every day since.

At a news conference in Chicago on March 2, Illinois Women's Abortion Action Coalition leader Lenore Sheridan hailed the rulings. "We are prepared now to see that the victory we have won is actually implemented without restrictions," she added.

The Illinois decision flows directly from a Supreme Court ruling Feb. 26 that dismissed a number of cases seeking to uphold reactionary abortion laws. One of the suits was from Illinois. In taking this action, the justices declared that the states must change their laws so that they conform to the Jan. 22 Supreme Court decision. That ruling said that abortion is a woman's right at least through the first 24 weeks of pregnancy.

Courts in two other states, Colorado and Indiana, threw out the old state abortion laws on March 5.

In another victory, a court ruled Feb. 21 in favor of the *Women v. Massachusetts* class-action suit that challenged the constitutionality of that state's abortion law. On the same day, the Crittenden Home in Brighton, Mass., won a license to perform abortions on its premises. The home's application for a license has generated much furor among reactionary forces in Massachusetts who are still trying to get the license revoked.

Anti-abortion groups are continuing their attempts to undermine the court decision in some states, but with little success thus far.

In St. Cloud, Minn., the local hospital, a Catholic institution that receives federal funds, has refused to perform abortions. Abortion rights activists in the area are planning protests against the hospital's policy.

In St. Paul, Minn., hearings are in progress on several anti-abortion bills that have been introduced into the state legislature. The bills include one that would let the husband decide if

his wife should have an abortion, and one in support of a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the "right to life" for fetuses.

The March 1 session of the St. Paul hearings drew 200 people to hear and present testimony. Supporters of the Minnesota Women's Abortion Action Coalition were among those testifying against the bills.

Legislators in a number of states are pressing for passage of bills that grant the fetus constitutional rights, despite the fact that this would run directly counter to the Supreme Court decision. Representative Lawrence Hogan (R-Md.) has introduced such a bill into Congress, but the bill has yet to be reported onto the floor.

The Abortion Rights Act, introduced by Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), is also in Congress. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) and other abortion rights organizations are backing this bill.

MARGARET SANGER'S PIONEERING ROLE

HOW WOMEN WON RIGHT TO BIRTH CONTROL

By LINDA JENNESS

In January 1973 the Supreme Court ruled that American women have the right to legal abortions. Only 57 years earlier, in October 1916, Margaret Sanger opened the doors of the first birth control clinic in the United States. Early in the morning, even before the clinic opened, at least 150 women were standing in a line that stretched halfway to the corner. Ten days later the doors were locked, and Margaret Sanger was arrested by the vicesquad.

The struggle for legalized abortion is a continuation of the struggle begun in the early 1900s when feminists such as Margaret Sanger championed the fight for contraceptives.

Sanger's opponents were the same as those women face today—reactionary laws, the Catholic Church hierarchy, prejudice, ignorance, and a society structured to keep women in the position of child breeders and domestic slaves. Sanger's allies were also the same we have today—women throughout the world desperately needing and wanting to control their own bodies, and those men supporting this right.

Sanger was an ardent feminist at a very early age. In *Margaret Sanger, An Autobiography* (Dover Publications, Inc.) she tells how she wanted to become an actress. That dream was cut short when she refused to fill out the required application forms asking for all her "vital statistics."

She decided to turn to another field, where "something besides legs was to count"—medicine. Her attempt to become a doctor was met with tolerant smiles as she was told, "You'll probably get over it." She turned to nursing.

It was through her nursing experiences that Sanger became convinced that feminism meant, above all, that "women should first free themselves from biological slavery."

That was no easy task. In the early 1900s in this country there simply were no contraceptive devices known for women, let alone available to them. In Europe the diaphragm and a contraceptive jelly were being developed, but only later were they imported to this country.



Margaret Sanger with supporters in 1916

Planned Parenthood

The only effective recourse at the time was abortion or abstinence. The former was practiced on a massive scale, Sanger says: "I have seen groups of from fifty to one hundred with their shawls over their heads waiting outside the office of a five-dollar abortionist." And the latter was the only advice offered by doctors—"Tell Jake to sleep on the roof!"

In addition to the lack of scientific knowledge about contraception, there was Section 1142 of the Penal Code, which made it illegal to disseminate contraception information, as well as the Comstock Law, which gave the U.S. Post Office authority to decide what was "lewd, lascivious, indecent, or obscene" material. Anything on contraception was deemed "unfit" to be sent through the mail.

Then, as now, the Catholic Church hierarchy was also an obstacle. Sanger wrote, "It had been apparent that in the United States the Catholic hierarchy and officialdom were going to be the principal enemies of birth control." They succeeded in breaking up or concealing meeting after meeting, harassing legislators, and they worked

hand-in-glove with the police department.

But America's women wanted contraception. They came to Sanger's meetings by the thousands, wrote letters to her by the tens of thousands, and militantly stood by her through arrests, jail, and harassment.

Margaret Sanger's belief in contraception was motivated by both her feminism and her mistaken belief in the need for population control. On the one hand, as a feminist, she believed in a woman's right to decide if and when to bear children. "Someone had to express with white hot intensity the conviction that they must be empowered to decide for themselves when they should fulfill the supreme function of motherhood. They had to be made aware of how they were being shackled, and roused to mutiny."

On the other hand, Sanger accepted the idea that there was an "overpopulation crisis," and she offered contraception as an answer to it. Even though she was a socialist, and a member of the Socialist Party, she was also a Malthusian. She rejected the arguments of the Marxists who

said that poverty was not caused by too many babies, but by mismanagement of resources and the exploitation of one class by another.

As late as 1926 Sanger's clinics were being raided by the police and closed down. The arguments that we hear today against abortion and against the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment sound as though they were lifted verbatim from the trials of Sanger or from congressional hearings on a contraception bill.

In 1934 Father Charles Coughlin, a leading fascist, testified before a congressional hearing that the contraception bill meant only "How to commit adultery and not get caught." It was said that those who advocated birth control, "a Russian innovation, were seeking to pull down motherhood and the family as had been done in Russia." It was against nature, against God, against the Bible, against the country's best interest, and against morality.

Finally, in the fall of 1936, a three-judge court ruled that doctors had the right to prescribe contraceptive devices for a patient's well-being, and that furthermore, these devices could be sent through the mail. That was only 37 years ago.

Today more and more women take for granted that we have a right to use contraceptives if we wish. On this International Women's Day it's worth remembering the long, hard years of struggle it took to win this right.



"Your Honor, this woman gave birth to a naked child!"

1915 cartoon from socialist magazine *The Masses* ridicules Anthony Comstock's campaign against 'immorality.'

In Our Opinion

Vietnam reparations

Over the past month, Americans have been treated to a running debate between members of Congress and the Nixon administration over the question of U.S. reconstruction aid to Vietnam. At a House Foreign Relations Committee hearing March 6, Representative H. R. Gross (R-Iowa) vowed, "I would not give North Vietnam one cockeyed dime by way of reparations."

"Well no one in this administration will give them one cockeyed dime for reparations either," countered Secretary of State William Rogers.

The U. S. has devastated both North and South Vietnam. According to the Feb. 26 *Time* magazine, most of North Vietnam's electrical generating capacity has been destroyed, its railroad lines cut, its highways, docks and other port facilities disrupted, its light industry "bombed to pieces," and its cities choked with rubble.

This devastation is the direct result of naked aggression on the part of the United States government. The North Vietnamese have, with justice completely on their side, demanded that the U. S. accept its responsibility for this destruction and provide economic aid as reparation. All opponents of Washington's war against Vietnam should support this demand on the basis of elementary decency and justice. Nixon is obligated to provide complete reparations, in whatever form the North Vietnamese desire, with no strings attached.

But it is clear neither Nixon nor his congressional critics are concerned with the question of justice. Nixon wants to arrange an aid program to Vietnam as a means of putting more pressure on the North Vietnamese to let up on their aid to the liberation struggle in the South.

He is also using the issue as a means of camouflaging his plan to continue to spend billions of dollars to prop up the Thieu regime and other reactionary governments in Southeast Asia. Only \$2.5-billion of the \$7.5-billion Nixon has proposed for "reconstruction" would go to North Vietnam. The rest would go to the regimes in Saigon, Vientiane, and Phnom Penh. This money would, no doubt, end up being used not for the benefit of the people but for military hardware and black market dealings and other corruption, as U. S. aid has always been used by these regimes.

Reconstruction aid to North Vietnam and to all of Indochina is explicitly called for in the Vietnam cease-fire accords. Such aid could no doubt be of important assistance to the North Vietnamese. But from Nixon's point of view the cease-fire package contains both a carrot and a stick, both designed to stop the liberation struggle in Vietnam. The stick is the U. S. bombers poised in Thailand, in Guam, and on ships off the shores of Vietnam, ready to strike if the regime is threatened.

The carrot is the reconstruction aid. Nixon hopes such aid would be an incentive for Hanoi to pressure the Provisional Revolutionary Government to leave the Thieu regime unchallenged. Secretary of State Rogers made this clear when he stated bluntly, "if the [cease-fire] agreement is not complied with, they are not going to receive assistance."

The motives of the congressional "doves" in opposing Nixon's aid proposal are just as rotten as Nixon's. McGovern, for example, has flipped 180 degrees from his preelection pretended sympathy for the Vietnamese victims of U. S. bombs and napalm. Now he says in the Senate, "I cannot believe we will tell the American people that they must still go without services they need, so we can give huge sums of aid to our adversary in the war."

"Our adversary," he says! And this two-faced liar had people believing he felt the U. S. was wrong to be in Vietnam!

McGovern and the other liberals demagogically oppose the aid on the grounds it would cut into federal spending for domestic programs. Even if it were true that extending reparations to Vietnam would require the American people to make material sacrifices, it would still be the correct thing to do. Such sacrifice would be small compared to what the Vietnamese have endured.

But there is absolutely no reason why the American working people would need to sacrifice at all for the U. S. to pay reparations to North Vietnam. Why can't the money be taken out of the military budget? Or from the profits of those corporations who made billions in war profits?

The liberals' opposition to aid to Vietnam is nothing but a cheap maneuver to cover up their spineless capitulation to Nixon's plans to cut social services while jacking up the Pentagon budget.

Letters

Malcolm X

Please renew my subscription. *The Militant* is very enlightening, and I appreciate your stand. And thanks for the cross-examination articles on the new book about the beautiful brother Malcolm X. Your view was well taken.

*A prisoner
Ohio*

They know George

When President Johnson died, his press secretary, Bill Moyers, recalled an incident that tells something about Johnson and more about AFL-CIO President George Meany.

This is the way Moyers told it, speaking of Johnson and his negotiations to settle the Vietnam war: "He had proposed a multibillion-dollar rehabilitation program for Indochina, including North Vietnam, and he was convinced that it was a bargain Ho Chi Minh couldn't turn down. Another time he made another offer, in secrecy, and Ho again said no. 'I don't understand it,' he said, with a note of sadness in his voice. 'George Meany would've grabbed at a deal like that.'"

*Cliff Conner
New York, N. Y.*

Israeli terror

The sorts of "final solutions" Zionism provides do not exclude making passenger planes crash to earth. Long live Palestine!

*T. K.
Brooklyn, N. Y.*

Union of the Left

I read with great interest about the Union of the Left in France in your Feb. 23 issue. By this and other articles I perceive that your paper would not support such a union in the U. S., say for 1976.

But who are our real enemies? The CPUSA or the capitalists? Like the Chinese did to rid themselves of the Japanese invaders, we must unite to first defeat capitalism and then to guide the correctness of our comrades. We can never win without unity with these comrades to defeat the true enemy.

*R. M. S.
Melbourne, Fla.*

Simplistic

I would like to subscribe to a socialist weekly, but I am only interested in one that is not as simplistic or dogmatic as your paper. Certainly there is a place for analysis of world problems in Marxist terms, but if I must swallow what seems to me to be a good guy-bad guy analysis of things, I can't. From my limited experience, life's a little more complicated than that.

*R. G. M.
Lawrence, Kans.*

Down to earth

I have just finished reading a copy of *The Militant*. As a person who has been involved in this endless cycle for over four years, I can only say thank you for the truth you and your staff print in your paper weekly.

The Militant is without doubt the most sincere, down-to-earth, straightforward paper or publication I have ever had the pleasure of reading in any institution. I hope a few more of the righteous people see the sign on the side of the highway just as you have.

*A prisoner
New York*

Abortion ruling

The March 2 *Militant* printed a letter from D. D. in Chicago, who was bothered by your articles on abortion. D. D. says abortions are a personal and moral decision. That is true, but morals and feelings differ. Now the decision will be up to the person, not to churchmen and male doctors.

D. D. resents the fact that seven men made the topic a closed subject for discussion. I don't see how she can say that. I resent the fact that for years one pope and one church have deeply and personally affected the lives of women all over the world.

Before the Supreme Court decision women could discuss abortion all they wanted; but unless they were rich, discussion was as far as it went. Now women can discuss abortion and then decide with their own mind.

*V. H.
Cincinnati, Ohio*

'Black Liberation Army'

The hysteria created by police officials has made it impossible for anyone accused of shooting police to get a fair trial in New York. The police have publicized their speculations and opinions about "Black Liberation Army" activities and have used cases presently standing trial as examples.

Richard "Dhoruba" Moore is a case in point. He is charged with the 1971 shooting of two policemen. His lawyer has requested a mistrial because police officials have claimed that members of the "Black Liberation Army" are former members of the Black Panther Party. They have cited Moore's case as an example.

We believe Moore is being used as a scapegoat. There had been no accusations about Moore's being part of a "Black Liberation Army" conspiracy before the recent police shootings. Suddenly his case has become a focal point of this hysteria. We are even more concerned because we believe many more young Blacks will become victims of this hysteria.

The Black community is gravely concerned with this situation. Black leaders and representatives have stated publicly that they believe there is no conspiracy and that this hysterical reaction to the police shootings is diverting officials away from placing priorities on the deteriorating situation in our communities around housing, drugs, and poverty in general.

*Dhoruba Moore Defense Committee
Brooklyn, N. Y.*



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Greek students

Since last spring the unenslaved university students of Greece have been waging a hard and persistent struggle to defend their most basic academic freedoms.

These days the struggle is focusing at the Athens Polytechnic School, where students are boycotting classes in protest against new government regulations. The strikers are demanding student participation in policy-making and programs.

Demonstrations broke out when the government decreed Feb. 12 that strikers would lose their student deferments. The biggest demonstration took place Feb. 14. During a brutal police attack on it many students were injured, and according to student spokesmen, more than 100 were arrested.

We appeal to all students and faculty of U.S. universities to stand by the side of the fighting Greek students and demand the immediate release of all those arrested and an end to the forceful drafting of students.

Executive Board of the Academic Community for a Free Greece
P. O. Box 8477
Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

Overpopulation

It is popular in left circles to view the question of population with contempt. You seem to say that overpopulation, as a cause of natural environmental destruction as well as deterioration of cities and public services, is merely a myth perpetrated upon the masses by the capitalist ruling class in an attempt to cover its own guilt.

I am willing to concede that overpopulation is not the *most* important factor contributing to these problems. However, the question of population growth still must be dealt with. It may not be a problem now, but it still has tremendous potential. The very fact that a good part of the earth has been damaged, perhaps unalterably, ought to make people think carefully before they contribute to the earth's numbers, at least until the destruction is reversed.

S. B.
Little Neck, N. Y.

'Corky' Gonzales

The Militant has helped our students at Escuela Tlatelolco expand their knowledge of revolutionary activity throughout the world.

We enjoyed very much your article on "Corky" Gonzales (*Militant*, Feb. 9). He is truly a Chicano revolutionary leader.

Arturo "Bones" Rodriguez
Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco
Denver, Colo.

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.

On pigs and production

The pig has played a more important part in the development of modern industrial production than most people know, and continues to make a contribution. This refers to all varieties, beginning with the four-legged kind that grunts and squeals and is raised for food.

In the early days of this century before Henry Ford developed the assembly line for mass producing the automobile, slaughterhouses in Chicago were using the overhead conveyor chain that grabbed hogs by one hind leg at the moment they were stuck with the killer's knife. Before they stopped kicking the conveyor swung them into a vat of boiling water to loosen the bristles. It then dragged them along through a series of stations where the carcass was scraped, gutted, bled, cleaned, halved, and finally hung in a chill room ready for delivery to the neighborhood meat market.

This system was primitive by present-day standards but far more efficient than the old farm method of dressing down a hog. The Chicago hog butchers boasted they had learned how to extract every part of the pig but the squeal. They produced everything from fertilizer to glue, and all in one continuous operation that turned out hams and pork shoulders and sow bellies by the thousands daily.

According to some accounts, when Ford learned about this way of butchering, he said if it can be used in a slaughterhouse to take pigs apart, we can set up an assembly line in the same way to put automobiles together. And he did. By borrowing from the slaughterhouse, Ford discovered how to grind up human labor into the assembly-line product.

Until very recently, the assembly line was a production method, a more and more sophisticated and profitable one. It is now becoming a distribution method. Originally the hogs were mass slaughtered and dressed. When they were delivered to the local butcher shop the loins and chops were trimmed, and the hams were boned to suit the customers.

A good butcher usually had a smokehouse where hams and bacons were cured, and he knew how to make special kinds of sausages. It was always a treat to shop for meat because of the delicious smells of the market. The butcher relied on his skills

and expert knowledge to attract customers. But it is hard to find such a butcher anymore because his skills have been discarded, and he has been replaced. A simulated facsimile of what he used to do is reproduced under colored lights and with aromatic sprays by assembly-line techniques. Again the pig is the pioneer.

A supermarket chain in Los Angeles, Lucky Stores, Inc., has installed an "automated butcher," a machine that cuts and packages pork. It needs only one operator and replaces 15 meat cutters. But the product is not quite the same, even though it sells for the same price.

Meat Cutters Local 551 in Los Angeles says the meat is not fresh because it must be frozen before the cutting machine can go to work on it. The pig is first dipped in what the union says is a "liquefied nitrogen preservative," which freezes it at 28 degrees Fahrenheit. The power cleaver chops out chops and other choice cuts. Then the meat is packaged and allowed to thaw before being fraudulently offered for sale as "fresh." Bone fragments are included along with the meat, which cuts down on waste to the supermarket and adds weight to the package.

Lucky says this is the coming thing. "Right now we are starting off with these relatively few pork-cutting machines, but it won't be long before we have beef-cutting machines, too, and there just won't be any need for a butcher in the market," one official says.

The chain is seeking an injunction against the Meat Cutters union for passing out handbills warning the public against the automated butcher. The company attorney says the union is only trying to hang onto jobs that are no longer needed.

This dispute over the quality of the machine-cut meat will be settled in the courts if it continues along the present course. But there is another matter that cannot be resolved by court decision.

Behind every assembly-line operation is a profit hog. He is a particular species of swine that grunts and squeals and walks on two feet. He will have to be replaced before all this wonderful labor-saving machinery can be used to reduce the hours of work, raise the quality of products, and lower prices.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



Roybal and Rodino-Kennedy

Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) was one of the few members of Congress who voted against the Rodino-Kennedy Bill when it passed the House last Sept. 12.

This bill, if enacted, would amend the immigration laws to increase the harassment of people who live and work here without visas or work permits, the so-called illegal aliens.

There is a movement to defeat this bill, and a conference was held in Los Angeles Feb. 3 for this purpose. Roybal was one of the guest speakers, so we had a chance to hear what he has to say on the subject.

First of all, he tells the audience it's our fault the bill passed. We didn't write enough letters to our Congressional representatives asking them to vote against the bill, so how could they know anybody was against it?

Next, he told us the law has some good aspects (which he didn't specify) and that the people who are opposed to it should support the amendments he has proposed. He says the sponsors of the measure can be persuaded to accept the amendments. Then we can "live with" the Rodino-Kennedy Bill.

The amendments do contain some gains, including the right of people without papers who are already here to work while waiting to receive residency status, a process that can take years.

However, this raises the question: Why try to amend this bill in the first place? Why not just oppose it out front and propose some alternatives that will really benefit our people?

Another question, one that was posed to Roybal in the conference, was: Why should anyone expect the sponsors of the bill to accept amendments that counter its main thrust? Roybal responded to this

by saying that Kennedy was a "good man" and would listen to reason.

Obviously Roybal is treading lightly to avoid stepping on the toes of his fellow liberal Democrats Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), who sponsored this bill.

He carefully avoids proposing what is really needed: a mass movement to wipe out this and every other racist law that makes any of us "illegal."

Roybal is trying to cover up the treachery of his colleagues and the damage this bill will cause and trying to talk La Raza out of building our own independent strength. He wants us to just sit idly by like spectators while the "honorable" *diputados* put on a big performance.

There is a reason why Roybal does this. He has chosen to make a career within the Democratic Party. To do that he has to keep the Chicano people who elected him tied to that party. If they undertake serious struggles against things like the Rodino-Kennedy Bill, he knows this will bring them into a collision course with the Democratic Party.

That's why he prefers limiting the protest movement to letter-writing. That's why he assures people that he'll somehow influence politicians like Kennedy and Rodino to "amend" their racist bill to suit our needs. We should try to enlist the support of Roybal and others against this bill. But this does not mean they should determine *how* we oppose the bill.

Roybal's stand in relation to this bill is an example of the price we pay for *politicos* who insist that the most practical thing is to "work within the system."

It may be "practical" for them, but not for us. The only practical thing for us to do is to stop supporting and trying to "influence" the parties of our oppressor and build our own independent party.



Liberation a la Kremlin—"Women in the Soviet Union enjoy equal rights with men. These rights are guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR and practiced in life by the Soviet people. In part, this refers to the right to work. Unlike many capitalist countries, women in the USSR are paid on equal terms with men for the same work. However, it is a general rule that employees of the fairer sex are assigned easier jobs." Publication is **News From Ukraine**, an English-language publication issued from the Soviet Ukraine.

Sounds like Dick—People were surprised to see Pat Nixon in a D.C. restaurant puffing on a coffin nail. Some were particularly surprised since she had told reporters in an interview that she didn't smoke.

Forgot to tell the judge?—Professor William Shockley, purveyor of the racist "theory" that Blacks are genetically inferior to whites, was ordered by a California court to pay \$4,500 charges for repair of his sailboat plus court costs. Shockley was taken to court after refusing to pay the bill. The successful claimant was represented by W. James Ware, a Black attorney.

Legal dep't—We are not advocating, but merely reporting that according to an Italian municipal judge, you have the right to insult a policeman if he exceeds the bounds of authority. The ruling came in the case of five men charged with insulting and resisting cops who had fired at their car, saying they mistook them for thieves.

Philosophy dep't—"There are disadvantages to being a Kennedy, but there are also some tremendous advantages. I'm happier being a Kennedy. The advantages outweigh the disadvantages." Senator Edward Kennedy on the occasion of his forty-first birthday.

Oh—An agriculture department agency found excessive amounts of worms, insects, molds, greese, stones, rust, paint flakes, hair, glass, brass filings, and other foreign material in 39 million pounds of canned and frozen food products in a 15-month period. However they neglected to notify the FDA, which has the power to seize the stuff. Why didn't they notify them? Because the food processors submit to agriculture department inspection voluntarily and might stop doing so if any thing came of it.

The brass ones?—A picture of Spiro Agnew depicting him during his term as governor of Maryland was removed from the state house there because it showed him with a wrinkled suit and discolored knuckles.

It figures—Joseph Mohbat, a McGovern press aide in the presidential race, said he and other staffers filed complaints charging nonpayment of salaries. He charged that the McGovern organization paid off "the millionaires

and not the workers." He said big contributors were repaid while staff workers waited for their money.

Heavy opposition—The Congress for God and Country announced its support of the decision of the Arizona board of regents to appeal a court decision ordering reinstatement of Dr. Morris Starsky, the socialist professor ousted from Arizona State University in violation of his constitutional rights.



Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



International Women's Day

This week women around the country are holding meetings, rallies, and protests in commemoration of International Women's Day, March 8. For years this date went by almost unnoticed in this country; it took the new rise in the feminist struggle in the late 1960s to begin to restore March 8 as an important day for women.

The origins of International Women's Day remind us of the long struggle for women's rights, not only in this country but around the world.

On March 8, 1908, women garment workers in New York City marched through the streets of the Lower East Side to demand better working conditions and the right to vote. The demand for suffrage was particularly significant. One of the arguments opponents of the suffrage movement used was that the vote would serve only the interests of rich women.

Another charge anti-suffrage forces made was that the vote would spoil women's feminine charms. In her book *Century of Struggle*, Eleanor Flexner cites Rose Schneiderman, a labor leader and cap maker, attacking a senator for advancing this argument. Schneiderman told a meeting in New York in 1912:

"We have women working in the foundries, stripped to the waist, if you please, because of the heat. Yet the Senator says nothing about these women losing their charm. They have got to retain their charm and delicacy, and work in the foundries. Of course you know the reason they are employed in foundries is that they are cheaper and work longer hours than men.

"Women in the laundries, for instance, stand for thirteen or fourteen hours in the terrible steam and heat with their hands in hot starch. Surely these women won't lose any more of their beauty and

charm by putting a ballot in a ballot box once a year than they are likely to lose standing in foundries or laundries all year round. . . ."

March 8 was named International Women's Day in 1910, at a Copenhagen meeting of the International Socialist Women's Congress. The first international actions in celebration of the day focused on the demand for suffrage.

The pamphlet *Feminism and the Marxist Movement* (Pathfinder Press) by Mary-Alice Waters, describes some of the early International Women's Day events, particularly in Germany and Austria. Later in 1917, a demonstration of Russian women on March 8 led to the beginning of the Russian revolution.

Today, solidarity with the women who are fighting around the world remains as important a part of our struggle as it was half a century ago.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'A long hot summer'?

Nixon's budget cutbacks are being met with a bitter reaction in most quarters of the Black community. Blacks are among the first victims of these cuts, which affect a range of social services ranging from the Headstart children's plan to senior citizen's programs.

Nixon has argued that many of these programs weren't getting anything accomplished and the funds were often misspent. While this is true in many cases, it is no justification for cutbacks. In a situation where many people can't find jobs or are too old or too sick to work, and where many who do work get less than adequate wages, the government's miserly programs are better than nothing.

And nothing is exactly what Blacks can expect to get from Nixon's new budget.

Recent issues of *Jet* magazine have reported on a survey on the cutbacks it conducted in the Black community. The response has been sharp. Many

like Vernon Jordan, executive director of the Urban League, had thought that "winding down" the war would make funds available for the Black communities. Vernon says this hope has now "been dealt a heavy blow."

Pat Brown, of Economic Opportunity in Savannah, Ga., says, "We haven't finished our statistical tabulations yet, but we can already tell that thousands of poor people will be affected by the cutbacks. Some of the people we provided jobs for will have to go back to domestic work and welfare. Others will have to return to using food stamps."

Another area hit by the cutbacks is public housing. Simeon Golar, chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, explains, "The freeze on public housing funds is a catastrophic decision. . . . Our current waiting list shows some 155,000 eligible families waiting to get public housing. To stop the flow of new housing is a disaster."

More than 1.5 million young people across the

country, mostly Blacks, have gotten jobs through the Neighborhood Youth Corps. But with the termination of the Office of Economic Opportunity, through which it is funded, a million Blacks between the ages of 16 and 22 will be forced to join the unemployment rolls in June when the current budget expires.

Erwin France, Chicago Model Cities director, stated, "Last summer we were able to take 33,000 youngsters off the streets and give them jobs because of the Neighborhood Youth Corps. With them having nothing to do now, I feel we may have a long hot summer."

Rolland Curtis, chief administrator of Los Angeles Model Cities, oddly has more confidence than most. "I've been in government 23 years, and I'm a firm believer that when the smoke of the battle clears, the government will rise to the need of the situation . . . because it has no other choice."

That remains to be seen.

British trade unions call general strike

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 7—British workers have set a day of national protest against the Conservative government's wage-freeze policies.

The general strike, which would be the first one in Britain since 1926, was called at an emergency meeting of the Trades Union Congress in London March 5.

That meeting took place as tens of thousands of British workers escalated anti-inflation strikes across the country.

It also coincides with the closing of world foreign exchange markets in a renewed crisis of the international monetary system. The British strikes and the turbulence of the world monetary system are intimately connected.

Prime Minister Edward Heath has imposed a wage-control program in England to strengthen the pound and bolster British competition in world finance. As in the United States, wages are controlled but food prices are spiralling.

In the last two weeks the anger of British workers has exploded in massive protests. A London correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote that "Britain faces perhaps its gravest industrial crisis in 47 years." The strikers include:

- Gas workers, who have stopped production at hundreds of factories. According to the London *Financial Times* there were 1,890 industrial and commercial customers and 525 schools without gas supplies as of March 5.

- Civil service workers went out Feb. 27 for the first time in history. Nearly 250,000 government workers, including customs officers at the airports, took the day off.

- Locomotive engineers struck the following day bringing the whole rail-



British cops attack a demonstration of workers at Parliament during the militant 1972 miners strike

road system to a standstill.

- London teachers are striking in three-day waves.

- 220,000 hospital workers have struck at well over 200 hospitals. On March 1, cleaning, cooking, and other nonmedical staffs walked out.

Against this background the Trades Union Congress leadership met to formulate a program to counter Heath's antilabor measures. The TUC leadership attempted to prevent any actions coming out of the emergency meeting.

But the proposal for a protest strike was pressed through by an overwhelming vote. Joe Gormley, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, declared, "... when we can see that as a result of government policies our families are paying 25 percent more for food than they were two years ago, when rents are rising and will rise for a lot of our people to astronomical heights ... how do

governments expect us to be moderate people?"

Gormley said, "The solution to our problems ... is by ensuring that the whole of the movement remains completely solid. ..."

"This will not be done by activities of one union acting of its own accord. ... It needs a complete determination on behalf of the whole of the movement to take total industrial action."

The international monetary system was meanwhile thrown into panic as January and February figures revealed a new burst of dollar inflation.

Unprecedented gold speculation drove its free market price as high as \$95 an ounce. This is more than twice the official rate of \$42.22 an ounce proposed by President Nixon's Feb. 12 dollar devaluation.

The gold speculation showed that the new value of the dollar may still

be too high. Investors are anxious to hold gold and more stable currencies.

There was also an upsurge of commodity future prices in Chicago, partially reflecting a shift from dollars into agricultural goods, especially given the prospect of soaring food prices.

And jewelers reported that they too were benefitting from worry in ruling-class circles about dollars. Some more wealthy customers were trading in their crinkly bills for glittering stones.

This was the backdrop for the third monetary upheaval in as many weeks.

On March 1 a new flight from the dollar erupted in Europe. A record amount of \$2.7-billion was dumped in West Germany alone.

The scope of this crisis (the biggest dumping of dollars in the shortest time) confirms the ascending curve of instability in world finance.

U.S. hypocrisy over Khartoum killings

By CAROLINE LUND

MARCH 7—Responses to the Khartoum assassinations by Palestinian commandos associated with the Black September organization are providing another display of the hypocrisy of the Nixon administration and other capitalist governments.

"Execute the Terrorists," the headlines blared, quoting the advice of Secretary of State William Rogers to the Sudanese government. The campaign being whipped up against Black September by the U.S. government was expressed in an editorial-page cartoon in the *New York Daily News*. It pictured a line of Arabs, labeled "Black September murderers" hanging by their necks from a beam, with the caption, "If the punishment were to fit. ..."

Did Rogers call for the execution of the Israeli pilots who shot down the Libyan airliner Feb. 21, killing 106 people? Far from it. He merely claimed to be "saddened" by what he called a "tragedy."

The U.S. and other capitalist governments have one standard for judging isolated terrorist acts by supporters of the Palestinian liberation struggle, and quite another for judging the policies of mass terror and occupation carried out by the Israeli government.

The Khartoum killings are being used as a pretext for a general wave of repression against the Palestinian resistance movement and supporters of that movement.

Jordan's King Hussein used the incident as a pretext for ordering the execution of 16 Palestinian liberation fighters in Jordanian prisons, among

them Abu Daoud, a leader of Al Fateh.

The Black September commandos in Khartoum had offered to release their hostages in exchange for the freeing of several hundred Arab prisoners, including Abu Daoud; Sirhan Sirhan, who was convicted of killing Robert Kennedy; members of the West German Baader-Meinhof guerrilla group; and all Arab women held in Israeli prisons.

In a statement March 2, President Nixon emphatically rejected the guerrillas' demands. The U.S., he said, "will not pay blackmail." Soon after this statement hundreds of Sudanese soldiers were sent to move on the Saudi Arabian Embassy, where the hostages were being held. After killing three of the hostages (two diplomats from the U.S. and one from Belgium), the guerrillas held out two more days. They surrendered March 4.

Using the killings as a pretext, the U.S. government is stepping up its campaign of intimidation of Arabs in this country. The March 4 *New York Times* reports that the State Department is concentrating on "efforts to more effectively screen dissidents who might cause violence in the United States."

Palestinian liberation organizations fear that the Saudi Arabian regime will use the Khartoum events as an excuse to cut its subsidies to Palestinian refugees and to prohibit Palestinians from living and working in Saudi Arabia.

Newspaper accounts have attempted to tie the Black September organization to Al Fateh, the largest Palestinian liberation organization. This is

another attempt to lay the groundwork for attacks against the whole Palestinian movement.

A March 5 Reuters dispatch from Beirut reported that Al Fateh insisted it had no connection with the Khartoum operation. The Fateh statement declared adherence to a "basic theoretical course as a nationalist movement adopting the long-term popular liberation war" as a policy and "depending on the organized masses."

The purpose of the campaign against Black September in the press and in the statements of U.S. officials is to turn the victim into the criminal. The real criminals are not the Black September commandos, driven into acts of frustration by the oppression of the Palestinian people.

The real criminals are the Zionist regime in Israel and its U.S. backers. The Israeli state is responsible for the conditions under which Arab liberation fighters turn to terrorism. It is Israel that bars the Palestinians from their homeland and suppresses this uprooted people with bombs, napalm, and occupation forces.

Where were the headlines condemning Israeli raids on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria last September? Israeli Phantoms shelled and napalmed the camps, killing or wounding close to 300 civilians. Where were the headlines condemning Israel's repeated attacks against refugee camps just last month, killing more than 40 and wounding dozens?

The Black September commandos were no doubt motivated by a selfless commitment to the cause of the

liberation of the Palestinian people. Their tactics, however, could not have been more wrong. Such acts of individual terrorism are ineffective in furthering the goals of the Palestinian liberation struggle because they do not aid in mobilizing the masses of Palestinians and other Arab masses in struggle. They do not make clear that the cause of violence and oppression lies with the imperialist governments and the Zionist regime.

The Khartoum killings undercut the worldwide sentiment against Israel for its shooting down of the Libyan airliner. In the wake of the downing of the Libyan plane, small but significant demonstrations were held throughout the United States condemning Israel for the act and for its recent raids on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Sixty demonstrated at Indiana University, 100 in San Francisco, 60 in Portland, and 150 in Houston, to name several.

Some of these actions were the first held in support of the Palestinian liberation movement since the government campaign of intimidation of Arabs following the killing of Israeli athletes in Munich last year.

The Khartoum killings gave the Zionists and their imperialist backers a chance to drown out news of Israeli terror with banner headlines about the Black September action.

A continued campaign of education is needed to expose the mass terrorism of the Israeli regime, to draw attention to the plight of the Palestinian people, and to defend Arab groups and individuals against attacks by the U.S. government.

Speech by NPAC leader

'Out Now' vs. 'Honor the Agreement'

The following are excerpts from a speech by Jerry Gordon, a national co-coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. The speech was given at a national steering committee meeting of NPAC and the Student Mobilization Committee held Feb. 24 in Washington, D. C.

It is frequently said in this period, the aftermath of the Jan. 27, 1973, cease-fire agreement, that the U.S. antiwar movement has entered a new stage. I think that is so. The question is whether this new stage warrants the antiwar movement's adopting a new demand. In the course of its development, the antiwar movement in this country settled upon a demand: for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Southeast Asia.

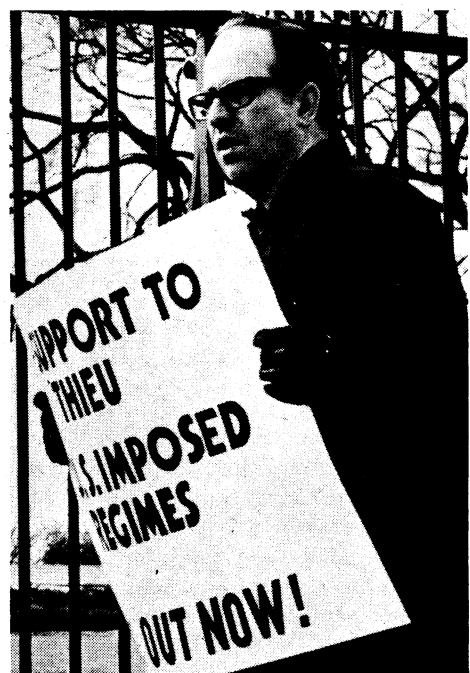
It is now suggested that this "Out Now" demand has become passe and that we should march under a different banner, "Honor the Agreement."

We in the National Peace Action Coalition believe it is crucial for the antiwar movement to adhere to the "Out Now" demand.

Why not have both demands?

Before reaching the merits of the question of the proper demand, there is a preliminary matter. It's been asked, "Why not have both demands?"

When we talk about "Out Now" we mean it very literally. We mean all U.S. land, sea, and air forces out of Southeast Asia; all U.S. airbases and troops in Thailand out; all U.S. ships in the South China Sea out; all U.S. aid to Thieu and other puppet regimes out; all U.S. civilian advisers out; all U.S. mercenaries and CIA agents out; all U.S. military bases out; every form, every manifestation, every vestige of the U.S. presence in Southeast Asia out. That's the "Out Now" demand.



Jerry Gordon

Militant/Mark Satinoff

But the "Honor the Agreement" demand, means acceptance of those understandings reached and those provisions of the treaty that permit the U.S. to stay in. In Thailand is not a violation; in the South China Sea is not a violation; the 10,000 U.S. "advisers" in South Vietnam is not a violation; funneling billions of dollars in to Thieu is not a violation; and it is even claimed that dropping bombs in Laos and Cambodia is not a violation.

So the agreement permits the United States to remain heavily involved in all of Indochina.

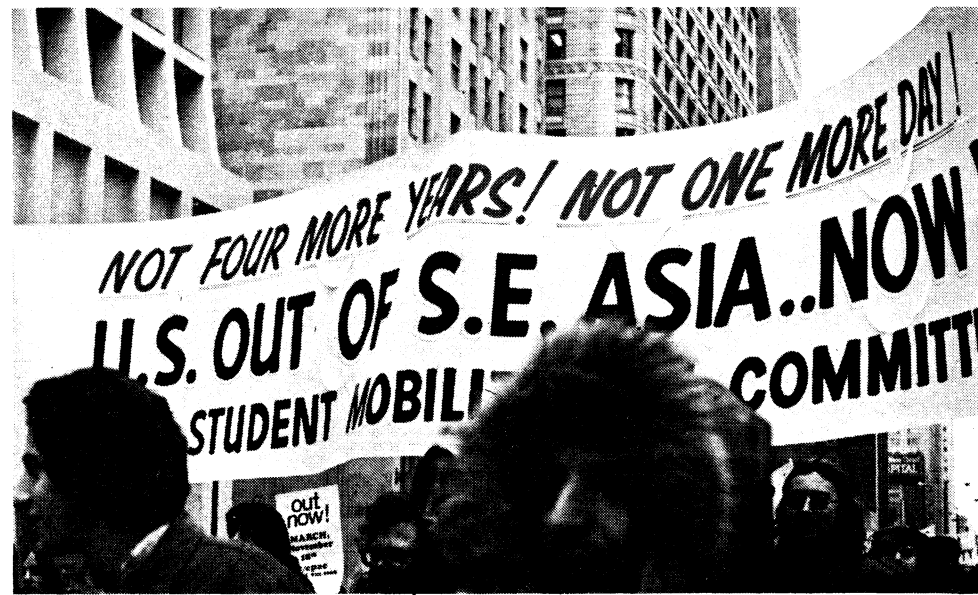
And because we cannot march to get out and stay in at the same time, we feel that "Out Now—Honor the Agreement" is not a satisfactory compromise.

Now it's true that the agreement provides for a halt of U.S. bombing of Vietnam and the withdrawal of the remaining U.S. troops. NPAC made clear we welcomed those provisions. But they're very fragile. We found that out when Nixon bombed Laos. So, can we rely upon these provisions in the agreement?

And it must be emphasized that in agreeing to a bombing halt and a troop withdrawal, Nixon wrested some very substantial concessions

time." All right, so the people of South Vietnam cannot get rid of Thieu militarily.

But they can't get rid of him politically either. There's nothing in this agreement that requires elections. There's no mandate for elections. All the agreement says is that the parties shall get together and negotiate the holding of elections. But it doesn't set any time period for elections to be held. It doesn't say they must be held. It doesn't say what offices are



Chicago antiwar demonstration, November 18, 1972

Militant/Jeanne Percesepe

from the Vietnamese. Those have been enumerated. The U.S. is still heavily involved in Indochina—"legally"—under the agreement.

We don't honor the agreement. We don't honor the U.S. military bases in Thailand. We don't honor the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the coastal waters off Vietnam. We don't honor the 10,000 U.S. "advisers" in South Vietnam. We don't honor the U.S. government's giving war materiel to the Saigon dictatorship as replacements for the guns, planes, and weapons that are destroyed.

Thieu is bombing villages governed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. If one of Saigon's planes is shot down, the U.S. can replace it. In ordering the bombing raids, Thieu is obviously violating the agreement. But the U.S. action replacing his destroyed planes is legal under the agreement. We should honor that kind of provision? We couldn't do it—not and be consistent with the demand for full self-determination.

Observe the treaty?

Now, here's an extremely important point. Those who say "Honor the Agreement" claim that if its terms are strictly and literally observed, it will lead inevitably to real self-determination. They argue that the treaty is a major step forward.

But let's just examine that. Let's suppose that all the parties to this agreement—the United States, Saigon, Hanoi, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government—literally respected and observed and carried out every paragraph, every sentence, every decimal point of the agreement. Exactly what would happen?

What would happen—and this is built into the agreement, and Kissinger has alluded to it—is that the Thieu regime, or its descendants, would go on forever! Because, under the terms of the agreement, there is no getting rid of Thieu militarily. The popular forces cannot raise up arms against his regime because the cease-fire agreement prohibits it. There's no time limit. The agreement says, "The complete cessation of hostilities... shall be durable and without limit of

subject to election. And the agreement gives the power of veto to each of the parties. In other words, Thieu can veto the holding of elections if he can't ensure his victory!"

Treaty violations

To those who raise the demand "Honor the Agreement," the question has to be put—"Who shall honor the agreement?" Do we say to the Vietnamese who are fighting to rid themselves of Thieu, "honor the agreement?"

The U.S. antiwar movement has never done this. No principle is more basic to our movement than the one that says we direct our demands exclusively to the U.S. government.

The question of alleged violations by the PRG and North Vietnamese is all we're hearing these days. Day after day after day we're being bombarded in the newspapers and the media with charges of violations. How have we dealt with attacks on the PRG and Hanoi in the past?

We never took the position that it was our job to deal with charges that the U.S. government chose to level against the Vietnamese about what they have allegedly done.

And NPAC never made judgments about the Vietnamese and what they did or didn't do, what they should or shouldn't have done. We always directed all our fire on Washington; and we demanded that the U.S. get out of Southeast Asia now.

Because we do not support the "Honor the Agreement" demand, that does not mean we are oblivious to the barrage of charges hurled day after day against the PRG and Hanoi for alleged violations of the agreement. We know who and what's behind those charges, and we approach the issue from our "Out Now" position.

We understand that the United States—to the extent that it's gotten out of Vietnam—has done so only because of mass pressure. And the U.S. will get right back in, in a direct massive military way if necessary to save its puppet.

We've got to understand that a basis is being laid by these constant charges of violations, a justification is being laid for a resumption of U.S. interven-

tion.

In today's paper there is a statement, "The United States told North Vietnam and the Vietcong Friday that they must bear full responsibility for the failures" of the parties in Vietnam to maintain peace.

By building up the charges day after day that the PRG and Hanoi are not honoring the agreement, a basis is being laid for U.S. retaliation. And if Nixon resumes the bombing of Vietnam on this account, what do we do—pour out in the streets and say, "Honor the Agreement"?

'But the Vietnamese support the treaty'

We must consider an important argument of those who believe "Honor the Agreement" is the correct demand for the U.S. antiwar movement.

They say this is what the Vietnamese call for, and we are duty bound to support it. What do the Vietnamese really call for? What do they really want? Suppose this assembly here was an assembly of the Vietnamese people, of its duly elected representatives. Suppose they were free to decide all questions regarding the U.S. presence in and around Vietnam. Does anyone have any question in their mind as to what the vote would be?

It would be a unanimous vote for the United States to get completely out—and now! Unconditionally! That's what the Vietnamese want. That's what they've always wanted. If at the moment they're settling for less than their full right of self-determination, it's because they feel compelled to do so.

And this is because they've been subjected to the most brutal pressures in the history of the world, including having 100,000 tons of bombs dropped on them by the U.S. government only two months ago.

The National Peace Action Coalition's strong and unequivocal position has always been that the Vietnamese have an absolute right to conduct their struggle as they see fit, to negotiate an end to the war as they see fit, and to deal with any agreement as they see fit.

The American peace movement, however, is in a completely different position. Bombs are not dropping on us. It's our duty to always maintain a principled position of demanding full self-determination for the Vietnamese, not to honor an agreement that provides for substantially less.

We never said there wouldn't be a settlement that falls short of "Out Now," but if there were going to be U.S. conditions imposed, the fewer the better. And the stronger the pressure for no conditions, the better the situation would be for the Vietnamese.

'Duress and coercion'

We accept no agreement that violates the right of self-determination of the peoples of Indochina. Even as a legalistic argument—the assertion that this agreement has been signed now and it's got to be lived up to by all concerned—it is completely false.

The agreement is a contract between the parties. A fundamental rule of law is that a contract is not valid or enforceable when it is secured through duress or coercion. Does anyone doubt that that Jan. 27 agreement was secured as a result of duress and coercion?

Had there been no duress and coercion, had the Vietnamese been permitted what they wanted and what they had a right to, we wouldn't have had that agreement. The U.S. would have just gotten out as we have demanded.

Suppose a robber goes up to a man, points a gun to his neck, and says,

"Your money or your life"? And the man says, "OK, here's my money." The robber takes the money and a deal has been made. You know, there's been an understanding, an agreement. But when the robber turns away, the man grabs him and subdues him, recovering his money in the process.

What do we say to the would-be-victim? "You rascal! You broke your agreement!" We're in the situation where the Thieu regime is violating, flouting, or ignoring every section of the agreement. And if the PRG forces decide to fight back and break the cease-fire agreement themselves, that's their right. It's their right to defend themselves. It's their right to advance their struggle in any way they see fit.

The antiwar movement

Some people say, "OK, fine, 'Out Now' is a good demand, a correct demand, but what's the difference? When some new escalation occurs we all should just go out in the streets." But the problem is that people go out into the streets only when they feel motivated—when they understand what they're going out into the streets for.

It is the "Out Now" demand that brings clarity. Only through total U. S. withdrawal can there be genuine peace in Southeast Asia. When people see this they understand what has to be done. And they will stay active until all U. S. troops, planes, and bases are entirely out of Southeast Asia; until there is an end to all support for U. S. puppet regimes.

These are our demands—not dependence on any agreement, not urging that it be honored. It's not going to be honored; it's already breaking down all over the place. Thieu is ignoring it. There are no democratic rights in the Thieu-controlled areas of South Vietnam. There will be no "free and democratic" elections; the political prisoners aren't being released; the refugees haven't been freed. The agreement is being flouted. Those who argue for "Honor the Agreement" should surely see how much is unresolved and will remain unresolved so long as the U. S. stays in Southeast Asia.

The demand for "Out Now" is more than a demand for full self-determination. It is a demand for continuing the struggle, for staying active until the final goal is achieved.

Our fight goes on. We don't think it's helpful to have any illusions that the cease-fire agreement ends it. There is a civil war raging in the countries of Indochina, and it will continue to rage. The question before all humanity is whether Nixon will continue and perhaps escalate U. S. involvement.

We say the answer must be "No!" Indochina belongs to the Indochinese, and the U. S. must get entirely out of Southeast Asia. That's the demand we will continue to fight for until it is achieved.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Accounts of torture in Saigon jails

From Intercontinental Press

A firsthand account of the treatment meted out to the 200,000 or more political prisoners held by the Saigon regime appeared in a March 2 interview given to *New York Times* correspondent Sylvan Fox by four former inmates who were released from Con Son Island prison February 16.

NEW YORK—A demonstration March 1 at the United Nations demanded the Saigon regime release the 200,000 political prisoners it holds. The Reverend Daniel Berrigan and Harrisburg Seven defendant Ted Glick were among the speakers who addressed a rally of 150. The action was organized by the Emergency Project for Saigon Civilian Prisoners.

Demonstrators marched to the Saigon mission nearby for a picket line, some carrying signs bearing names of Vietnamese political prisoners. A number of participants carried placards from the National Peace Action Coalition demanding "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now" and "End Support to Thieu—No U.S. Imposed Regimes."

The interview was conducted at a Saigon hospital, where they are patients. All four were crippled after years of beatings and torture at the hands of Thieu's jailers. The former prisoners, fearing reprisals, declined to have their names published. A twenty-three-year-old former Buddhist activist, who had been arrested in December 1967 while a student at the Hung Dao high school in Saigon, acted as the spokesman for the four. He told Fox that he was "beaten and tortured off and on for a whole year" at the national police headquarters in Saigon after his arrest. He described being beaten with a stick "until I vomited blood

or until the blood came out of my eyes or ears." Soapy water was forced into his mouth and he was subjected to electric shock. His jailers would manacle prisoners' hands behind their backs, hanging them from the ceilings by the handcuffs until they became unconscious.

A year after his arrest, he was moved to Chi Hoa prison. "There they chained our feet and attached the chains to a pole. There were between 50 and 100 prisoners. We had nothing to lie on, and it was filthy and dirty and cold. Every day they would open the door and send in a bunch of common criminals who would beat us with sticks and kick us."

After his transfer to Con Son Island, the youth was housed in one of the notorious "tiger cages." These were small concrete trenches with bars on top. In these cells, as many as seven prisoners would be squeezed into a space five feet wide, six feet long, and six feet deep.

"During that time not a single day passed that we were not beaten at least once. They would open up the cages and they would use wooden sticks to beat us from above. They would drag us out and beat us until we lost consciousness."

In July 1970, a factfinding team including two members of the U.S. House of Representatives gained access to the prison. Their complaints about the treatment of the inmates sparked a worldwide scandal.

By 1971, Fox writes, "the old tiger cages had been replaced by new ones built by an American contractor and paid for by the United States."

Since the cages now only housed one prisoner each, the student said, "the jailors would not beat us from above but would open the steel bars, jump in and beat us."

The daily food ration for each inmate in Con Son was "a few spoonfuls of rice and some water." When prisoners protested this starvation diet, they were answered by a brutal attack last January 6, in which guards injured seventy prisoners. Thich Hanh

Tue, a Buddhist monk, was denied medical treatment despite grave injuries he suffered during the guards' attack. He died several days later.

Fox reports, "Other prisoners in the Saigon hospital corroborated the account with only minor personal differences. All told of torture, beatings and malnutrition.

"Each of us went through a similar ordeal," a 38-year-old former prisoner commented."

The ex-prisoners Fox interviewed were not optimistic about their future under Thieu. Fox wrote that "they assumed they had been released because they were disabled and sick; all said they were convinced they would soon be rearrested."



Protests set for Thieu visit in April

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 7—The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) called today for antiwar demonstrations around the country April 1-6 to coincide with the visit to the U. S. by South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu.

Speaking at a well-attended news

conference here, NPAC co-coordinator Abe Bloom told reporters:

"If we ask ourselves about the purpose of Thieu's visit, we must conclude that . . . it is an effort to rehabilitate this dictator and create a new image of him for the American people. This will make it easier if he begins to run into trouble for the U. S. bombers to be called out again."

Referring to the wave of terror unleashed by Thieu since the signing of the Vietnam accords, Bloom said:

"Remember that Thieu signed the peace treaty which 'guarantees' full democratic rights to all the people in South Vietnam. What a dirty package the administration is trying to sell to the American people!"

Thieu will be in San Clemente, Calif., at the West Coast White House April 2-3. The NPAC and SMC chapters in Los Angeles are discussing with other antiwar groups a call for a demonstration at the West Coast White House on Sunday, April 1.

The Washington Area Peace Action Coalition and the SMC are organizing a picket line at the White House

in Washington, D. C. on April 4. Thieu will be in the capital from April 4-6. The picket line will begin at 4:30 p.m. Protesters will rally in Lafayette Park at 6 p.m.

Bloom said the demands of the D. C. action are "End support to Thieu"; "No U. S.-imposed regimes"; and "U. S. out of Southeast Asia now!"

Plans for demonstrations in other major U. S. cities during Thieu's visit are under way, Bloom added.

Chuck Petrin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, also spoke at today's news conference. "We are calling on students to unite in an all-out campaign of campus protest activities during Thieu's stay; to organize rallies, picket lines, forums, and teach-ins aimed at exposing the U. S. government's lasting commitment to Thieu," he said.

For more information on the April 1-6 antiwar protests, contact the National Peace Action Coalition and Student Mobilization Committee offices at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 691-3270.



Thieu and Nixon

Four PRG delegates murdered in S. Vietnam

Hanoi protests: Saigon, U.S. violate truce

By CAROLINE LUND

MARCH 6—Yesterday the North Vietnamese government declared it was terminating its participation in the Four-Party Joint Military Commission, demanding again that the U.S. and the Saigon regime stop their blatant violations of the Vietnam accords. Last week Hanoi had threatened to stop releasing American prisoners of war—its only real lever against U.S. aggression—unless Saigon and the U.S. ceased their aggressive acts.

These protests by Hanoi came in the wake of the reported murder of four representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and the wounding of three others, in an ambush by Saigon forces on Feb. 25. The delegates were at a rendezvous near the city of Dalat for a scheduled meeting of the Joint Military Commission.

This criminal act has been played down in U.S. newspapers and ignored by the Nixon administration. The murders were simply the culmination of a general policy of isolation, incarceration, and acts of violence by the Saigon regime against the North Vietnamese and PRG delegates. On March 2 the North Vietnamese and PRG were forced to withdraw all of their 156 delegates to the Joint Military Commission from the northern part of South Vietnam because of such threats to their security.

The main issue in Hanoi's boycott of the Joint Military Commission is the demand that the Thieu regime release its prisoners at the rate agreed upon in the Vietnam accords. Under the agreement, prisoner exchanges were to occur in four equal parts within 60 days of the signing of the accords Jan. 27.

When the accords were agreed upon, Saigon admitted to holding 28,000 rebel prisoners, while Hanoi and the PRG said they held 4,000 Saigon soldiers. Hanoi insists that, in accordance with the agreed-upon rate, Saigon should now release 5,000 prisoners. Thieu says he will only release 3,000. Sylvan Fox, writing in the March 6 *New York Times*, admits that "within the framework of the numbers used in the first round of exchanges, observers suggested that the Communist complaint appeared justified."

The U.S. has responded to these charges only by making spurious and threatening countercharges against the Vietnamese. On Feb. 28 U.S. officials answered Hanoi's first protest by picking up on Thieu's charges that the rebels had set up missile sites in Khe

Sanh province since the cease-fire was signed. Major General Gilbert Woodward, chief U.S. delegate to the Joint Military Commission, threatened that the U.S. "reserves the right with its allies to take such actions as it deems appropriate" if the missile sites are not dismantled.

Hanoi denied that the missile sites were brought into the South since the cease-fire, saying that the National Liberation Front had had them for a long time.

At a surprise news conference March 2, President Nixon refused to explain how the U.S. had managed to get the North Vietnamese to back down from their threat to hold up POW releases. What kinds of threats were secretly made to the Vietnamese can only be guessed. Nixon only said it was "completely wrong" to suggest that "what brought about the POW return was some assurance on the part of the United States that we would do something with regard to getting better compliance [on the part of Saigon] with the cease-fire."

Nixon can feel so secure in deliberately flouting the accords because he knows neither Moscow nor Peking will come to the support of the Vietnamese. This was made clear to Nixon, for example, at the international conference on Vietnam held last week in Paris.

A story on the conference in the Feb. 27 *New York Daily News* says: "China's Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, after hearing his Viet Cong ally, Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, accuse the U.S. and South Vietnam of nearly 20,000 cease-fire violations, said that, by and large, the cease-fire was working—an extremely moderate position under the circumstances."

"Chi gave a sort of pledge that China would no longer interfere in Vietnam nor give further military aid to its Vietnamese Communist allies."

U.S. Defense Secretary Elliot Richardson said March 1 that he was satisfied with the outcome of the conference because the U.S. has "reason to believe" Moscow and Peking "share with us a belief" in the need to "stabilize" the situation in Southeast Asia and limit the flow of arms to the area.

But it is becoming clearer and clearer that there is no "peace" or cease-fire in Vietnam. The much-touted "national reconciliation and concord" is impossible as long as the dictatorial Thieu regime remains in power.

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis wrote March 4, for example, "In short, Thieu evidently doubts that he could win a political contest. That

is doubtless why, in the general judgment of the correspondents on the scene, most of the fighting since the truce deadline has been started by the Saigon forces, attacking the other side wherever it is found."

According to an assessment of the results of the cease-fire by Peter Osnos in the March 1 *Washington Post*, the level of combat "is still reckoned to be greater than it was during many periods of the war."

Osnos continues: "Commercial suppliers of fuel to the South Vietnamese

of organization, freedom of political activities," and more, the Thieu regime threatens reporters with death for talking with North Vietnamese or PRG delegates. Saigon officials have also threatened to "deal severely" with journalists who "carry out un-Vietnamese activities" [presumably meaning the same as "un-American activities"].

A report from Saigon in the Feb. 28 *Washington Post* says that "many newsmen" in Saigon feel American officials "have failed to try to pressure



Thieu supporters attack North Vietnamese compound in Hue

air force say that consumption by government war planes is as great as before the cease-fire, even though all bombing missions are supposed to have ended. . . .

"Artillery fire is another index of warfare. Diplomatic sources, with access to highly classified South Vietnamese reports, say that in the northern military region alone, government troops have been firing an average of 35,000 rounds a day. . . .

"According to U.S. officials in at least one province, government commanders are still ordering their troops to shoot communists on sight [it's not explained how you can tell a communist on sight]."

As Anthony Lewis notes, "General Thieu relies entirely on American supplies of ammunition and weapons. His Government budget consists in good part of U.S. funds, and the economy could not function without massive American aid. An estimated 10,000 American technicians are being recruited as advisers, some of them 'civilians' fresh from uniform."

While the Vietnam accords call for "freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of meeting, freedom

the South Vietnamese to ease their restrictions" on journalists.

Although elections are called for in the cease-fire accords, the Saigon constitution and election laws prohibit "communists" from running for office. In recent meetings between Saigon and the NLF in Paris, the Saigon representative insisted that any elections must be held within the framework of the existing Saigon constitution.

Peter Osnos reports another sign that Thieu has not been moved by the "spirit of national reconciliation and concord": "One of the first things that returning POWs are required to do, for example, is chant in unison: 'Overthrow the Communists. Republic of Vietnam Forever.'"

Anthony Lewis ends his column by pointing to the likelihood of "a third Indochina war." "The second was assured when Ngo Dinh Diem, after 1956, closed the politics of South Vietnam and began arresting suspected Communists and other opponents of his regime. Eventually, the Communists responded with guerrilla war. If a political contest is foreclosed again, the result will almost certainly be the same. And where will American involvement end this time?"

Kitty Hawk sailors contest court-martials

By MARILEE SAVAGE

SAN DIEGO, March 2—Seventeen defendants in the *Kitty Hawk* court-martial cases filed suit this week in U.S. District Court, charging perjury by a key witness and racial prejudice by the prosecutor.

The suit, filed by ACLU attorney Milton Silverman on behalf of the 17 men, asks a court order for a "complete and impartial investigation of the Oct. 12 and 13 incidents on the carrier *Kitty Hawk*" by Navy Secretary John Warner.

The 40-page complaint claims the "racially charged atmosphere" of the court-martial proceedings denied the defendants "any semblance of due process of law."

Defendants in the federal court civil action are Warner; Captain Robert

McKenzie, commanding officer of North Island Naval Air Station; Lieutenant James Philip Martin, legal officer at North Island; and Michael Angelo Laurie, a white sailor who was a key witness for the prosecution in the court-martial of Black Airman Cleveland Mallory.

The suit contains extensive quotes of a recorded conversation between Laurie and private investigator Billy Hicks.

In the transcripts of tape-recorded conversations, Laurie is quoted as "confessing that he perjured himself in his testimony at Mallory's court-martial. Mallory was convicted on charges of riot and assault last month and sentenced to a bad conduct discharge and reduction in rank to seaman recruit. All charges have been dropped and the conviction overturned because

of Laurie's perjury.

Captain William Newsome, director of the 11th Naval District Law Center, said the defense could ask for new trials for the cases not already dropped, based on newly discovered evidence. He also said that the transcript raises doubts about the credibility of a witness and could be grounds for a new trial.

"We exaggerated a little bit," Laurie is quoted in the transcript. "I didn't actually see any of the blows connect." Laurie admitted being armed with a lead pipe, six feet long. He said, "I wish I would have had a gun that night. I would have shot some. . . ."

In the tape-recorded conversations, Laurie also allegedly describes legal officer Martin as racially prejudiced, saying "he didn't even ask us [white

sailors] if we fought back because he knows we did."

Laurie is quoted as telling the private investigator that Martin was interested only in prosecuting Blacks, not whites.

In other developments, Airman Apprentice Durward Davis, who was initially charged in a special court-martial with two counts of riot and six of assault, had one charge dismissed. Judge Lynch dismissed the charge because the "prosecution failed to show due diligence on the part of the government in bringing the charge to trial."

The prosecutor, Lieutenant Pearson, said the government would withdraw the remaining five charges without prejudice. But Davis still gets reduction in rank, restriction to base for 45 days, and fined \$408.

World Outlook

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

MARCH 16, 1973

Fred Halstead reports from Argentina

Socialists seek to win over Peronist workers

[Fred Halstead and Virginia Garza are in Argentina as reporters for *The Militant* on the national elections scheduled for March 11. This election campaign is of special significance because of the role of the campaign of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party). The PST is running Juan Coral and Nora Ciapponi for president and vice-president. In addition to running its own members as candidates, the PST has offered use of its official ballot status to trade unionists and other workers who wish to run for office in a front against all the capitalist candidates and parties. The Frente Obrero (Workers Front) is composed of committees of rank-and-file workers in factories, neighborhoods, and unions throughout Argentina. A total of 2,300 candidates are running under the PST label.]

[Fred Halstead is a well-known activist in the American antiwar movement. He was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president in the 1968 U.S. elections.]

By Fred Halstead

Buenos Aires

On the north side of this city there is a public square called the Plaza Italia. It is the center of an area with a zoo, exhibition halls, and moderately priced sidewalk cafés where the waiters never tell a customer nursing a beer or a coffee to move on. It is a place where on a summer evening a lot of ordinary people pass by.

Last Saturday night (February 24) I watched a modest bit of history being made in this square. Under a statue of Garibaldi, the Italian revolutionary, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores held the first outdoor election rally to take place in the city of Buenos Aires since 1963.

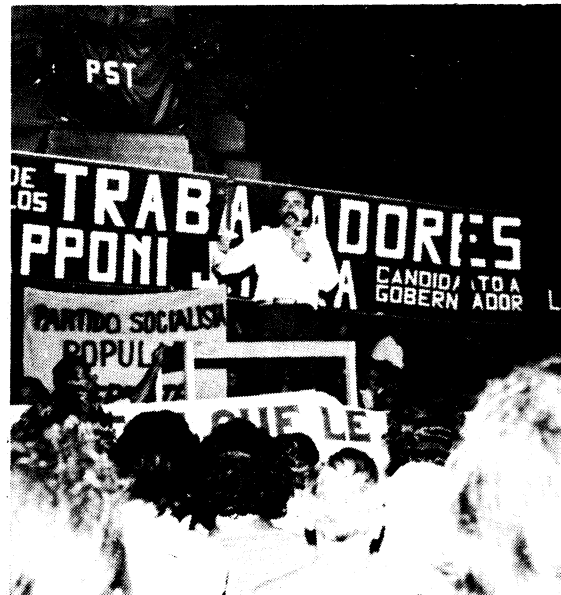
According to the daily paper *Clarín*, more than 2,000 attended.

One reason this was the first in 10 years is that there hasn't been a general election in Argentina since 1963, the last elected government having been overthrown in 1966 by a military coup.

The second reason is that although the general ban against outdoor meetings was lifted last month in connection with the elections scheduled for March 11, the PST was the first party to actually carry out an outdoor rally in the capital city. (Another of the nine national parties here, the Partido



PST presidential candidate Juan Carlos Coral speaks at street-corner rally in Plaza Italia, Buenos Aires.



Socialista Democrático (social democrats) scheduled such a meeting recently but canceled it when no crowd gathered.)

Some of the other parties have had rallies in the capital, but only indoors. The Peronists, whose rally was the biggest so far, rented a football stadium. They filled the field but not the seats.

Bigger than expected

The size of the PST rally was beyond the expectations of the organizers. It was not a city-wide event for which all the PST branches in the city mobilized, but a sort of trial run organized by the Chacarita and Callao branches of the party, two of the seven in the capital proper.

Much of the crowd were people who were in the area, heard the loudspeaker, and came to listen out of curiosity.

It was not difficult to tell the committed party supporters from the newcomers because the party people made up a more or less organized cheering section while the others stood quietly, not joining in the chants, and only occasionally responding with cheers or applause when a particular point struck home. It seemed to me that often this point was a criticism of the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy or even of Perón himself.

This is important because most of the workers in Argentina consider themselves Peronists, and I was told this is also the case with many of these newcomers to the PST rallies. Clearly there are still widespread illusions in Perón, but there is also disillusionment, and the workers are

willing to listen to a well-reasoned argument backed up with facts.

It is important to note that these criticisms of Perón by the PST speakers are never abstract, never shrill. They always begin with specific incidents that have occurred recently—like the denunciation by Perón of the organizers of the SOMISA steel plant occupation or the failure of the Peronist leaders to support workers in specific struggles now taking place with employers. They are aimed deliberately at cracking away the rank-and-file Peronist worker from Perón, the Peronist party, and the privileged, class-collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy.

Peron calls for class peace

The criticisms center around the theme that the rank-and-file Peronist workers and trade-union militants have been suffering persecution, losing struggles, and waiting for 17 years for Perón to solve their problems. But when he returned to the country last December for the first time since 1955, it was not to help mobilize the masses for struggle but to meet with the other bourgeois leaders and plead for class peace.

"Class peace!" the PST speakers would say. "When the standard of living of Argentine workers has been cut in half in those 17 years and when inflation is now running double the wage increases. Class peace! When for the first time in our history hunger is a fact of life for the workers, here in Argentina where we used to boast that at least there was no hunger!"

The PST campaigners constantly re-

peat that the elections will not solve the problems of the workers or the crisis facing the country, that only the mobilization of the workers fighting in their own interests as a class can solve their problems, and only a socialist revolution can resolve the national crisis.

The PST election campaign, it is constantly repeated, is not for the purpose of gathering votes for March 11, but for the purpose of gathering together militants who have been struggling against the bosses and the labor bureaucrats in the mass struggles that have been generally on the rise since 1969.

The election campaign is being used to create a pole of attraction for the vanguard elements of the working class in these struggles and to get them organized politically on a class basis.

That is the real meaning of the PST's offer to these militants to use the PST's ballot status to run for office and the formation of the Workers Front for this purpose. The Workers Front is not simply an electoral form, though these elections are a golden opportunity to build this "workers pole" and to deepen the influence of the PST.

Class consciousness

The opportunities are much greater here than they are for the revolutionary socialist election campaigns in the United States. The main reason for this, of course, is the much higher level of class consciousness of the Ar-

Continued on following page

...Argentine campaign

Continued from preceding page

gentine workers and the highly charged political atmosphere in the prerevolutionary situation facing the country.

But in a purely technical sense also, the campaign here offers opportunities for reaching broad masses that are simply not available to socialists in the United States.

While Argentina is a military dictatorship, and has been since 1966, there is not as much thought control at the moment as there is in the United States. There are some features of Argentine political life, during these elections at least, that are far more democratic than in the United States.

For one thing, the daily press regularly reports the activities of all nine national parties, including the PST. Since the PST is more active than some of these, and is making news more often, its press releases and statements are actually regularly printed in the daily papers. The same is true of the slick magazines. I have seen dozens of major articles in these publications on the PST campaign or PST candidates.

This contrasts sharply to the United States, where the thought-control is so pervasive that such magazines generally refuse to even mention any parties except the Democrats or Republicans.

The campaign is also regularly covered on radio and TV, particularly in smaller cities where the visit of a national candidate of the PST, or even of a provincial candidate, is often covered as the important news it is.

In addition, the PST candidates often appear together with the candidates of the other parties. Contrast this with the U.S., where the Democrats and Republicans usually refuse to appear with socialist candidates or to debate them.

Also, the union movement is much more a central part of life and of news coverage in Argentina than it is in the U.S. When PST and Workers Front candidates are involved in these struggles this is often objectively reported in the daily press here. This never happens in the U.S.

To be sure, the big bourgeois parties, including the Peronists, get far more coverage than the PST and buy great amounts of advertising, but relatively the situation is much worse in the U.S.

In addition, the tradition in past Argentine elections is that certain campaign expenses are paid by the government. This is also true of this campaign.

For example, each national party receives about 15 passes for unlimited travel on airlines and trains within the country for the duration of the campaign. This means the main candidates and speakers do not have to schedule tours from one city to the next closest one, and so on, to save fares, but can hop from one end of the country to the other at will, making all important rallies, visiting strike scenes and important union meetings, offering solidarity and making contacts among workers involved in struggle.

The PST takes advantage of this to move around not only the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, but also important rank-and-file worker leaders like José Páez, the auto workers leader from Córdoba who is a candidate for provincial gov-



PST vice-presidential candidate Nora Ciapponi speaking in Córdoba.

ernor, and Luis Gómez, leader of the SOMISA steel plant occupation who is the Workers Front candidate for mayor of San Nicolás. Their campaign appearances are nationwide not just local.

Dictatorial regime

On the other hand, the dictatorship is very much in evidence. Not only the government, but the army itself, has representatives sitting in on all major union negotiations. Constitutional guarantees are suspended, on the excuse that there are some urban guerrilla groups operating in the country.

Persons may be, and are, arrested and held indefinitely without trial. Not only those accused of guerrilla activity, but sometimes simply active unionists are arrested in this manner. José Páez and even the head of the CGT, the union federation, in Córdoba, Agustín Tosco, who is not a member of the Peronist party, have been jailed in this manner until mass pressure forced their release.

The Communist Party is outlawed, and arrests of union militants, including Trotskyists, have been made under this law, though no one has ever been convicted under it. The treatment of political prisoners accused of guerrilla activity, or simply of associating with those so accused, is extremely harsh to say the least.

The PST is sharply critical of the use of tactics of individual terror or of the substitution of the armed actions by small groups for the mobilization of the masses. At the same time it is the only party in the elections to campaign consistently for a general amnesty for all political prisoners, including the guerrillas, and to offer its platform at rallies to representatives of the families of political prisoners.

The PST also campaigns against the proscription of the Communist Party, although the party that the CP supports in the elections, the liberal capitalist Alianza Popular Revolucionaria, does not.

In general, the military government here is not popular and at the three PST rallies I have attended the greatest applause comes when the speakers expose the military. □

World news notes

Quebec's union leaders jailed

The three main leaders of the organized labor movement in Québec have been put behind bars to serve one-year terms for their role in leading the massive strike wave that swept Québec last April. The jailed labor officials are Marcel Pepin of the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (Confederation of National Trade Unions), Yvon Charbonneau of the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec (Quebec Teachers Union), and Louis Laberge of the Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (Quebec Federation of Labor).

Labor Challenge, a revolutionary socialist biweekly published in Toronto, stated in its front-page editorial February 19: "Their crime? They are guilty of participating in actions undertaken by literally tens of thousands of workers. They are guilty of being trade union leaders who acted to defend the interests of working men and women. . . . They are class struggle prisoners, political prisoners."

The World Federation of Labor (composed of many Latin American federations and such European federations as the French Democratic Confederation of Labor and the Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions) has called on the Canadian and Québec governments to cancel the jail sentences, stating that the decision of the Canadian Supreme Court rejecting the trade unionists' appeal is "completely unacceptable."

German Trotskyist groups fuse

In Germany two Trotskyist organizations held a fusion conference December 30-January 1 in Kassel. The two organizations—the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group) and the Revolutionär-Kommunistischen Jugend (RKJ—Revolutionary Communist Youth)—formed a new, united section of the Fourth International, retaining the name of the GIM. The conference, attended by 240 members representing groups in more than 30 West German cities and West Berlin, decided to expand the GIM's newspaper *Was Tun* (What Is To Be Done) from a monthly to a biweekly.

A report on the conference in the January issue of *Was Tun* states that "by far the greatest part of the conference was taken up in discussing the action program for the new German section. . . .

"During the discussion, broad agreement was reached on some key points: a basic orientation toward the workers' vanguard, now developing within given limits in the factories, and the mechanisms of the GIM's trade-union work; the working out of qualitative, transitional demands for the struggles of this vanguard; the political linking of this workers' vanguard to the revolutionary potential (which has a relative mass character) that has been generated by the youth radicalization."

New Zealand revolutionists meet

The Socialist Action League, the first Trotskyist organization in New Zealand (founded only three years ago), held its second national conference in Wellington January 7-10. The 50 delegates and observers present had an average age of 21, with 46 percent having joined during 1972.

The conference, following a three-month period of internal discussion, discussed the meaning of Washington's détente with Peking and Moscow, the issues under discussion in the world Trotskyist movement, and an assessment of the current radicalization in New Zealand. The major political resolution passed by the conference classifies the new mood of rebellion in New Zealand as "more and more taking on the character of the biggest and broadest challenge to the capitalist status quo in New Zealand's history,"—more significant even than the radicalization of the 1930s, which brought the first Labour government to power by a landslide.

The League's newspaper, *Socialist Action*, will become an eight-page biweekly in 1973. The conference voted to launch a drive to obtain 1,000 new subscribers to the expanded paper this spring.

Trotskyists chart course in Australia

The Australian Socialist Workers League held its second national conference in Sydney January 27-29. The conference summed up the experiences of the League in its first 13 months of existence and laid plans for future work.

A report in the February 8 issue of *Direct Action*, a biweekly reflecting the views of the League, described the international report approved by the conference. It said that the Vietnam agreement would not bring peace and that it "was forced on the Vietnamese by the U.S. through a combination of terror and pressure exerted by the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China, who have completely betrayed their elementary duty to defend another workers state from imperialist attack."

"Our task in Australia," continued the article, "remains that of explaining the meaning of the recent events and demanding that the U.S. get out now and let the Vietnamese determine their own future."

The international report also pointed to a move to the left in the youth and labor movement, as reflected in the gains made by labor and social-democratic parties in recent elections in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Germany.

Latest 'Chronicle of Current Events' reviews protest activities in USSR

By Marilyn Vogt

Issue No. 27 of the *Chronicle of Current Events* appeared in the Soviet Union in November 1972. For the fifth time that year, the underground human-rights journal managed to elude Kremlin censors and defy the bureaucracy's efforts to stamp it out.

Given the ruling caste's special measures aimed at eliminating the *Chronicle*, the magazine's very publication is a victory for the democratic opposition movement.

The intense campaign to destroy the *Chronicle* dates from December 1971, when the Soviet Communist party Central Committee voted that the *Chronicle* and *Ukrainsky Vysnyk*, a similar magazine published secretly in the Ukraine, were to be smashed.

From January through May the KGB (secret police) conducted intensive searches and interrogations; hundreds of persons were arrested. The crackdown was especially savage in the Ukraine, where many young people, mostly students and intellectuals, have formulated strong Marxist critiques of bureaucratic practices. The most articulate representatives of this current were arrested—more than 100 students, intellectuals, and workers in January alone. This led to widespread protests to which the KGB responded with further arrests.

Trials began in May. Most of the defendants were charged with possessing, distributing, or conducting "anti-Soviet propaganda." But the "incriminating evidence" was so weak that the trials were held in secret, "open" only to KGB agents and bureaucratic stooges. Sentences were harsh, ranging from five to fifteen years.

The regime preferred not to arrest some figures who were too well-known in Western academic circles. So a new tactic was developed: The victims were offered a choice of emigration or arrest. As a result of this maneuver, such opposition figures as Yuri Glazov, Yuri Shtein, and Valery Chalidze were forced into exile.

To searches, arrests, and trials, the Kremlin added one further technique: rumor mongering. Near the end of 1972, the KGB "leaked" a report that Pyotr Yakir, a leading dissident arrested in June, had recanted and was turning over to the KGB the names of dissidents, including the editors of the *Chronicle*.

But the regime's attack did not succeed. Issue No. 6 of *Ukrainsky Vysnyk* appeared in March, and issues Nos. 23-27 of the *Chronicle* appeared roughly on schedule in 1972.

But the KGB has not given up. The February 10 *New York Times* reported that a number of dissidents, including Anatoly Yakobson, have been threatened with arrest if the next issue of the *Chronicle* appears. Yakobson is a dissident communist who has been active in the opposition movement since the mid-1960s and was a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in May 1969.

The *Times* also reported that Victor Haustov, who is described as "a worker," and Irina Belogorodskaya were arrested in December 1972 and January 1973 respectively in connec-

tion with the crackdown against the *Chronicle*.

Gyusel Amalrik, wife of Andrei Amalrik, who is presently serving a three-year sentence for his book *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, was summoned for questioning by the KGB on February 9.

Chronicle No. 27 provides a broad review of some of the recent protest activity in the Soviet Union.

Repression in the Ukraine. The sentences, and in some cases the trial proceedings, for twelve of the more than 100 persons arrested between January and March were reported. The sentences resulted from trials that took place in July and August. Most of the defendants were convicted of violating Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code—"agitation or propaganda carried out for the purpose of subverting Soviet power."

In many cases "incriminating evidence" against the defendants was the possession of writings of Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil, two prominent opponents of Russification in the Ukraine. They have been arrested and are still under interrogation, but have not yet been tried and sentenced.



Roman Kalanta

Arrests, searches, and interrogations. Victor Krasin was arrested September 12. Krasin has been active in the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR and has worked closely with Pyotr Yakir. In 1969, Krasin was convicted of being a "parasite." His sentence, five years in exile, was rescinded in 1971 as a result of efforts by his defense attorney. Krasin suffers from serious heart trouble and in 1972 was classified as a second-category invalid.

In October, Reshat Dzhemiliev was arrested. A Crimean Tatar, he has been in Moscow since 1965 and has played a leading role in the Tatars' struggle to win the right to return to their homeland in the Crimea, from which they were deported *en masse* by Stalin in 1944. This is the third time Dzhemiliev has been arrested for his activities.

Yuri Shikhanovich, a Moscow mathematician, was arrested in September. He was accused of duplicating and distributing anti-Soviet literature, an offense defined under Article

70 of the Russian criminal code. Shikhanovich was fired from his job at Moscow State University in 1968 because of his protests in defense of arrested dissidents. He has worked closely with Andrei Sakharov.

Searches and additional arrests were reported in Moscow, Riga (Latvia), Ulan-Ude (near Lake Baykal in East Asian Russia), Abkhaz Autonomous SSR (NW Georgia), Tashkent (Uzbek), and throughout the Ukraine between June and October.

Events in Lithuania. The *Chronicle* featured the first detailed account of the events of May 14-19 in Kaunas, Lithuania, surrounding the self-immolation of Romas Kalanta. *Chronicle* No. 26 had reported that Kalanta burned himself under a banner reading "Freedom for Lithuania." According to information that the *Chronicle* received later, Kalanta wrote a note just before setting fire to himself. The *Chronicle* did not know the exact contents of this note. It was known only that he expressed strong opposition to the existing regime in Lithuania and stated that he would rather die than live under it.

Four hundred young people were arrested May 18 and 19 when his funeral turned into angry demonstrations against the Russification of Lithuania.

Persecution of the Crimean Tatars. The Crimean Tatars have issued new appeals in the course of their continuing struggle. One, sent to officials in the government and the Communist party, demanded full amnesty for arrested Crimean Tatar activists and the prosecution of persons who are responsible for the persecution and slander of the Crimean Tatar people. The appeal opened with the text of the resolution signed by Lenin, M. Kalinin, and A. Yenukidze authorizing the establishment of the Crimean Autonomous SSR [presumably the decree of October 18, 1921].

Thirty-three Crimean Tatar youths addressed an appeal to "the government, party, and society of the USSR." It charged that during the USSR's fifty-year existence the basic needs of the Crimean Tatar people have not been met.

Both these appeals were timed to coincide with the regime's official celebrations commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union—December 30, 1922.

In Prisons and Camps. The *Chronicle* continued to report on the names and sentences of political prisoners as well as the protest activities that prisoners have conducted. Thirty-nine "especially dangerous" state criminals (political prisoners) who are being held in Vladimir Prison were identified. Six of them, including Vladimir Bukovsky, conducted a hunger strike from June 26 to July 6, 1972, in protest against the prison conditions.

In Psychiatric Hospitals. Victor Fainberg went on two more hunger strikes: one was conducted in July; the other began September 28. Both were in protest against the treatment administered in the hospitals. Fainberg has conducted several hunger strikes previously; one in 1971 lasted

more than 70 days. He is undergoing "compulsory psychiatric treatment" for his participation in the August 25, 1968, Red Square demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In a September letter to United Nations General Secretary Kurt Waldheim, Fainberg appealed on behalf of journalist Boris Evdokimov, who was recently declared insane for his writings critical of the Soviet bureaucrats. Fainberg states that because of the compulsory treatment Evdokimov is undergoing, his health has so gravely deteriorated that he may not survive.



Pyotr Yakir. Kremlin circulated rumor that he recanted.

Letters and Statements. Alexei Tumerman, who took responsibility for making the transcript of Vladimir Bukovsky's trial available to the West, issued a press statement October 11, 1972.

The statement reports that while Tumerman was confined in a mental hospital following his arrest in June, the KGB offered to allow his entire family to emigrate if Alexei ceased his political activities. If he rejected the offer, the KGB said, he would be arrested.

Tumerman's statement further declares that his activities were never conducted for the purpose of attaining his right to leave the USSR. They were conducted, he states, in defense of human rights in the USSR; he totally rejects the KGB offer. He expects further KGB reprisals. (Tumerman was confined in a mental hospital following his arrest in mid-September.)

Among the other letters and statements reported were several in defense of Pyotr Yakir, including the July 1972 appeal signed by fifty-two Soviet citizens, which was reported in the Western press.

Material in Newspaper Articles. The August 9, 1972, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* featured denials by a certain A. Krivitsky, whom the *Chronicle* describes simply as "a writer," of charges made in the West that in the USSR dissident writers are placed in mental hospitals.

Krivitsky denies that this is true by claiming that no one who is currently a member of the Writers Union is registered in a psychiatric hospital.

Samizdat News. There were only six items described. The topics covered ranged from the crises of Soviet society to Solzhenitsyn's letter to Patriarch Pimen.

Issue No. 28 of the *Chronicle* was due to appear in December 1972. There has as yet been no word of its publication. □

1,500 arrested in Dominican Republic

Caamano reported killed in guerrilla clash

By David Thorstad

In a speech to some 60,000 people during the 1965 Dominican revolt, Francisco Alberto Caamaño Deñó promised that he would die "fighting for my ideals, and do so with my boots on." Official reports from the Dominican Republic some seven and a half years later claim that Caamaño's pledge became a reality on February 16 when he and two other men were reportedly killed in a clash with government troops in the mountainous southern part of the country. The three dead men were said to be part of a guerrilla band that reportedly invaded the country at the beginning of the month.

The other two guerrillas were identified as Heriberto Geordano Lalane José and Wellington Ascanio Pietersz. The government did not say how it determined the identity of the three men.

On February 19, a Dominican student living in Cuba whose name was Wellington Ascanio Pietersz showed up at the Prensa Latina offices in Havana, Dominican passport in hand, to prove that he had in fact not been killed in the mountains of the Dominican Republic. The Balaguer regime's response to this apparent contradiction was to insist on the accuracy of its original story.

All three victims were buried in a common grave in the mountains on February 17. No journalists were allowed to witness the burial, though two were granted permission to view and photograph the bodies beforehand. One, José Goudy Pratt, said there could be no doubt about the identity of Caamaño.

In spite of such accounts and the publication of numerous photographs, however, many Dominicans remained skeptical. Skeptics included Caamaño's family, which sent a letter to President Balaguer asking that his body be returned to them so that it could be given a Christian burial and that their doubts could be laid to rest.

Following the family's appeal, Balaguer said that the body could not be exhumed until "the impact that this action might have on public order" was studied. Subsequently, Caamaño's father told the press that it was still "not the right moment" for digging up the body.

The government charged that the guerrillas were sent by Cuba and were

in league with the main opposition political leader in the Dominican Republic, Juan Bosch. No proof has yet been presented to back up these charges.

Caamaño is widely admired in the Dominican Republic for his leading role in the 1965 revolt that aimed to restore constitutional democracy to the government. The rebellion began



Colonel Francisco Alberto Caamaño Deno (far left) guarded by armed rebels and surrounded by cheering followers in Santo Domingo, May 10, 1965.

April 25 with the overthrow of the United States-backed military junta that overthrew the constitutional government of Juan Bosch in 1963. Army forces headed by General Wessin y Wessin, supported by some 30,000 Yankee troops ordered by then President Lyndon Johnson to invade the Dominican Republic, sought to maintain the military dictatorship.

Caamaño armed thousands of citizens and the rebel forces held a section of Santo Domingo for some five months until an armistice was signed and a provisional government set up headed by Héctor García Godoy.

Caamaño was sent to London in January 1966 as the military attaché of the provisional government. He remained in this post after the new government of Balaguer came in, in July 1966, and held it until he disappeared without a trace on October 23, 1967, in The Hague. Since then his whereabouts and fate have been surrounded by nothing but rumor.

Some thought he might have been murdered by foreign agents of the Balaguer regime. Soon after his disappearance he was rumored to be in

Cuba, allegedly receiving guerrilla training. In April 1969, Venezuelan journalists reported Caamaño to be in Caracas, and he was also said to have been spotted in Argentina. None of these rumors was ever confirmed.

Whatever the facts surrounding the alleged invasion by the handful of alleged guerrillas, one thing remains quite clear: Balaguer is taking full

have gone into hiding. From his hideout, Bosch has demanded that Balaguer produce proof of his charges that he and "other political leaders" had anything to do with the guerrillas. He has voiced concern that if found, he and Peña Gómez might be deported.

Balaguer is thought to be cracking down on his opposition in order to insure his reelection when his term expires in May 1974, although he has not yet officially indicated his intention to run. His strategy appears to be to split his opposition by isolating the PRD from the other non-Balaguerist forces. Several parties, including the PRD and rightist forces, have reached agreement to form a Committee for the Defense of Human Rights whose aim would be to oppose illegal acts by the government.

Balaguer appears to want to break up this already shaky coalition by persuading the other groups that they are being "used" by the PRD, which he seeks to portray as a deceptive outfit hiding behind a cloak of legality in order to organize guerrilla warfare. And while he seems to be in no rush to make his unconvincing portrait of the liberal PRD more persuasive, he is losing no time at all in his drive to destroy the ability of the party, his most serious opposition, to function. □

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Bolivia

Hundreds arrested in police raids

La Paz

The Banzer government has launched a new wave of repression in Bolivia. It began at the end of December, when agents of the dictatorship denounced an alleged "Loto-Rojotachai plot" that supposedly involved an "invasion" of the country by armed groups from abroad.

Hundreds of people were arrested—members of organizations struggling against the dictatorship and people suspected of being members. So far, the POR-Combate [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary

Workers party], Bolivian section of the Fourth International, the pro-Chinese Communist party, the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], and the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army] have been hit.

The police have arrested comrades Cecilio Alcon, Alfredo Zapana, Francisco Alcon, and Jorge Bustos. All these comrades have been badly tortured, but Cecilio Alcon has gotten the worst treatment of all. His house was attacked, and many members of

his family who were not involved in any political activity at all were carried off (including two babies).

The women are being held in the Achicalla prison and the men are in the dungeons of the Ministry of the Interior, where they are being tortured.

The police came to the house of Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, secretary of the POR, and dynamited the door. But the raid was unsuccessful, because Comrade Gonzales and his wife had already gotten away earlier. □

No clear political course

Calif. Peace & Freedom meets

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES—The California Peace and Freedom Party held a statewide conference over the weekend of Feb. 16-18. It was billed as a gathering to assess the present situation and chart the political course of Peace and Freedom. Despite three full days of discussion these topics were scarcely touched upon. Most delegates seemed to leave with the same hazy political perspectives they arrived with.

The small attendance was a disappointment to the organizers of the conference. Despite a mailing to all 12,000 P & F registrants in the Los Angeles area, and the attendance of delegates from other parts of California, no more than 150 were present. Most of the time far fewer than that number participated.

Peace and Freedom came to prominence in 1968 when it succeeded in winning ballot status in California by enrolling 105,000 voters as members. George Wallace's American Independent Party was seeking California ballot status at the time, and many liberal voters registered Peace and Freedom in a kind of reflex response to this.

But despite its status as a legal party in the state, Peace and Freedom remains a relatively small, politically amorphous grouping of liberals and middle-class radicals.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, 1972 presidential candidate of the People's Party

LOS ANGELES—The state committee of the Peace and Freedom Party voted to endorse the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). It decided to join with others in a CoDEL-initiated suit against restrictive California election statutes and to compile a documentation of all instances of undemocratic electoral restrictions placed on Peace and Freedom.

and P & F, gave the keynote speech. He assessed the presidential contest by saying McGovern threw it away, and that he was stunned by the blue-collar vote for Nixon.

He expressed satisfaction that he got more votes than Linda Jenness despite



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Benjamin Spock talking to Army officer at Fort Dix last year, where he and SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley (r) demanded right to discuss their campaigns with GIs.

the fact that "the SWP spent \$200,000 on their campaign while we spent only \$30,000." He wondered rather plaintively how the "smaller" SWP could raise a much bigger sum. (Spock received 55,167 votes, approximately 70 percent of his national total, in California.)

Beyond saying that Nixon's reactionary policies will make many people "mad" and open up opportunities for P & F, Spock had no specific proposals to make. He reported severe retrenchments at the People's Party national office in New York, and expressed hope that local groups would develop projects and programs on their own.

Spock said he liked the party's 1972 platform but was sorry it did not contain a plank on the Mideast calling for support to Israel.

The subsequent discussion revolved mainly around organizational issues: why P & F registration had dropped from 105,000 in 1968 to 35,000 in 1973, and why so many local clubs had folded up.

Two women candidates and a P & F campaign organizer reported on their election campaigns. The most "successful" was conducted in Cotati, a small farm and college community 60 miles north of San Francisco.

There Peace and Freedom elected

two councilmen and a mayor. Nancy Gunn, campaign coordinator in Cotati, described the techniques used. Stopping the encroachments of the suburban land developers was the issue that united both students and older residents, she said. Unfortunately, she reported, the land developers were not stopped, and the three successful candidates have remained very aloof from P & F since taking office.

In the current Los Angeles election campaign, P & F has only one candidate on the ballot.

The obviously genuine concern of the delegates for today's social problems was not brought to any meaningful focus at the conference. No attempt was made to form a firm leadership or to hammer out a concrete program. It appeared that it would be difficult to obtain agreement on any program that went beyond vague generalities.

Two resolutions were offered for adoption by the state central committee at the very last minutes of the third day. A proposal to endorse the Committee for Democratic Election Laws and to join in a suit against California's antidemocratic election laws was passed. A proposal to endorse Black Panther Bobby Seale's campaign for mayor of Oakland was tabled, pending further study.

So. Calif. campaign won new support for RUP

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—In the hotly contested runoff election for state senator from the San Fernando Valley's 22nd District, Raza Unida Party candidate Andrés Torres won 2,636 votes—3.2 percent of the total.

Democrat Alan Robbins won with 41,395 votes over Republican Philip Johnson with 37,348. Peace and Freedom candidate Paula Marsh polled 836 votes.

With the state senate divided 19 to 19 between Democrats and Republicans, both parties went all out to win the seat. Each spent about \$200,000 on their campaigns. Many people otherwise inclined to support Torres felt pressured to support the Democrat Robbins to avoid the possibility of a Reagan-Republican-dominated senate.

Through debates with the other candidates and other public appearances, Torres was able to pick up support in the last few weeks of the campaign. For example, the president of the Young Democrats at Los Angeles Valley College, where Torres teaches, switched his support from Robbins to Torres after hearing the two debate.

Robbins handed out 195,000 ballpoint pens during the campaign. He also won public attention when it was disclosed that he had plagiarized a 1960 John F. Kennedy campaign brochure containing a letter to the future president as a boy from his father. The Robbins brochure contained the same letter but said it was from Robbins' father when the candidate was a boy.

Robbins had mailings sent out by advertising agencies aimed at different sectors of the electorate, many of which contradicted each other. His Republican opponent, on the other hand, was accused of circulating a phony endorsement from a women's organization.

Torres told *The Militant* that Robbins had avoided discussing politics during his campaign and didn't show up at most scheduled debates. The Torres campaign won disillusioned Robbins supporters every time the two appeared face-to-face. Commenting on the sleaziness of the Republican and Democratic campaigns, Torres said, "Any candidate can be elected if you have money and fabricate some kind of image."

Torres also said that former supporters of Arthur Avila, a Chicano Democrat who lost to Robbins in the primary, were repelled by Avila's subsequent endorsement of Robbins. Some said they would never have supported Avila in the first place if they had known he would do that. Avila is the chairman of the Chicano Studies Department at California State University at Northridge and had picked up support from Chicanos.

Many of the Torres campaign volunteers were students on the Cal State Northridge campus.

McCloskey testifies at Ellsberg trial

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Representative Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) testified March 2 that information disclosed by publication of the Pentagon papers would not have been of military value to another country.

McCloskey, who had sought the 1972 Republican presidential nomination as a critic of the Vietnam war, testified in behalf of defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo. They are charged with theft, conspiracy, and



Paul McCloskey

Militant/Dave Wulp

espionage for making public the documents that shed light on the true role of the U. S. in Vietnam.

McCloskey has publicly indicated that Ellsberg made the Pentagon papers available to him prior to publication of the material by the *New York Times* and others. From the witness stand McCloskey asserted his right to knowledge of the material. "Congress," he told the court, "is entitled to receive all information which bears on the affairs of the nation."

McCloskey offered expert testimony on the lack of military worth of the papers to another country as a member of the House subcommittee that has been probing the abuses and excesses of the government's "security" classification system. As in the case of the Pentagon papers, much material is classified to keep it from the American people, not some "foreign power."

McCloskey testified that information in the Pentagon papers might well embarrass the U. S. but would not damage it militarily. He said the particular volume about which he was offering testimony did reveal "the blunders the American military system is capable of."

McCloskey was preceded on the wit-

ness stand by retired Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque. A former U. S. military planner and now director of the Center for Defense Information, LaRocque testified that the military information discussed in two key Pentagon papers volumes was "hopelessly out of date by 1969 and utterly useless."

Earlier, when the prosecution completed presentation of its case, Judge Matt Byrne rejected a motion by the defense for a directed verdict of acquittal.

The defense motion was based on the fact that it had already established three separate instances in which the prosecution defied a court order by seeking to suppress evidence in its possession of an exculpatory nature—that is, evidence tending to confirm the innocence of the defendants.

Judge Byrne, however, did dismiss two of the 15 counts in the indictment against Ellsberg and Russo on the grounds that the prosecution had failed to present evidence substantiating the particular charges.

Dismissal of the counts reduced by 10 years the maximum sentence the defendants could receive if convicted. Ellsberg now faces a possible maximum term of 105 years and Russo of 25.

Cleveland fare 'an outrage'

Scherr outlines transit plan

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, March 6—"An outrage against the citizens of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County." This is how Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party Cleveland mayoral candidate, described the recent increase in transit fares in Cleveland.

For the past several years, the Cleveland Transit System (CTS) has been in a financial crisis. In 1970, transit workers were forced to strike for 17 days to obtain a much-needed wage increase. In the past two years, CTS service has been cut 27 percent, and further service cutbacks are due at any time. On March 6, fares, which had recently been raised more than 20 percent (from 45 cents to 55 cents), were lowered to 50 cents following protests, but Cleveland transit fares are still too high.

CTS relies almost entirely on passenger fares for its revenue. These fares not only pay for the operation of CTS, but also service the \$8.9-million CTS debt to bond holders.

Scherr pointed out that most of the extra revenue from the fare hike will be used to service this debt. Scherr said, "The transit board blames the transit workers for demanding a living wage, and blames the consumers for not riding CTS. But it has shown that its real concern is to keep these wealthy bond-holders happy."

She scored the proposals offered by various Republican and Democratic politicians to solve the transportation crisis. "Cleveland Mayor Ralph Perk, a Republican, has done absolutely nothing to prevent the fare increase and has done nothing to oppose it now, except to say that he has been opposed to fare increases in the past."

"Other politicians, such as Demo-

cratic City Councilman Edmund Turk, have proposed that the city of Cleveland assume the debt of CTS to the bondholders, indirectly or through a loan.

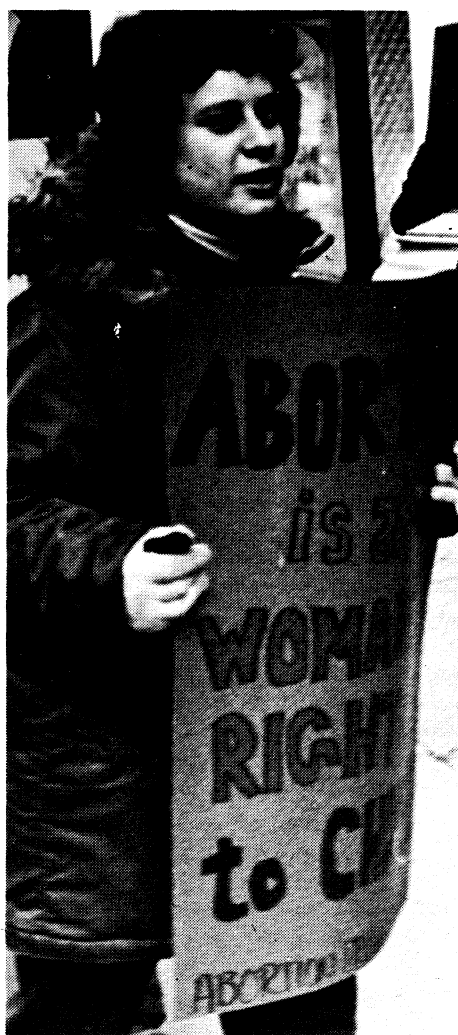
The Cuyahoga County Mayors and City Managers Association has called for a regional transit authority to be financed by a county sales tax. All these solutions would only result in higher taxes on the working people of Cleveland and would be another way of making the public pay for CTS."

Scherr proposed a system of free public transportation for the Cleveland area. She called for reinstating all discontinued service routes and undertaking studies to provide new service. "Under our plan... waiting time for a bus or rapid will never exceed ten minutes. Bus service will be available at all times of the day and night, not just during rush hour."

She also proposed "a crash program to improve the safety of CTS vehicles and to eliminate the pollution caused by CTS buses and trains." As immediate steps, she called for the immediate reinstatement of the discount for elderly people and for a 50 percent cutback on fares.

"Such a program should be placed under the control of the transit workers and CTS riders," she continued, "who depend upon CTS. All transit workers should have automatic escalator clauses to combat rising costs of living."

The approximately \$27-million in annual passenger fares income "could easily be raised other ways. This sum represents .02 percent of the \$144-billion spent in destroying Vietnam between 1965 and 1972. The money spent in Vietnam for three and a half



Chandu

SWP mayoral candidate Roberta Scherr

days of war could have paid for free public transportation in Cleveland for one year."

Scherr called for taxing profits of corporations in Cleveland to finance free public transportation and other programs to meet the needs of the people of the greater Cleveland area.

Austin prisoners meet socialist candidates

By MELISSA SINGLER

AUSTIN, March 5—After prison officials turned down two previous attempts, I—as the mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party—was finally permitted to tour the Travis County jail in Austin, Texas, along with other SWP candidates.

As we walked through the jail, accompanied by reporters, we were greeted by prisoners. At first they were surprised we were there; then they became friendly and started talking to us.

I asked a Black prisoner, "If you were able to talk to the mayor, what would you ask for?"

He immediately shot back the answer, "Justice." And that was the theme of every conversation we had as we talked with inmate after inmate.

As we toured the cells, we passed out copies of our campaign brochure, issues of *The Militant*, catalogues of Pathfinder Press literature. Faces and hands appeared from everywhere in the crowded cells as the prisoners came forward to talk, give their ideas, and take literature.

When we passed around a tablet to find out if anyone was interested in receiving copies of *The Militant*, more than 20 signed.

One of the Black prisoners spoke out against the practice of plea bargaining, in which a prisoner is offered a lesser sentence if they plead guilty. "Your illustrious district attorney," he said, "explains that plea bargaining saves the taxpayers money. Well, I'm a taxpayer and a Black man, and oppressed by mayors, lawyers, and judges."

"Lawyers, judges, police chiefs, they're all part of the same group, the ruling group. And poor people are all part of the same group. And you can't unite the two."

Another prisoner said, "Now, you take a man over there in the state capitol, where he embezzles thousands of dollars and makes it convenient for his cohorts to do the same. That man's walking free. You take a man who sticks a gun in your belly and says, 'Give me your money.' He's honest with you, he's desperate. No man's going to take a cent that way who isn't desperate."

"But this man, at the capitol, is a pillar of society. And yet he steals thousands of dollars. But this is fine. These are our upstanding people. They've got thousands of dollars. How can a man go into office making \$4,800 a year and retire on a million-dollar ranch? And yet we're in jail."

Other demands the prisoners raised were for a law library for prisoners' use, and the right to choose their own legal counsel instead of the current court-appointed lawyers, who show no interest in winning their cases.

After the tour we held a news conference at which we repeated the prisoners' main demands and answered questions. News coverage included both radio and TV as well as an article in the Austin daily paper.

In the next week we will also tour the Austin city jail. After that tour we will issue a position paper on the penal situation and the history of police brutality in Austin.

San Diego SWP sets new campaign

By HOLBROOK MAHN

SAN DIEGO, March 3—A candidate's debate and an election rally were two highlights of the final week of socialist candidate Leslie Dork's campaign in the 38th state senate district special election to be held March 6.

On March 1, 50 people attended the candidates' debate, which was sponsored by Young Socialists for Leslie Dork.

During the debate, Dork criticized the other candidates for trying to focus the campaign on which one of them as individuals was a "lesser evil" than the others, instead of discussing solutions to the serious problems facing the voters of San Diego.

"This tactic is typical of most campaigns in this country," Dork said. "It diverts the voters' attention from the basic similarity between the Republican and Democratic party programs." Dork cited the Raza Unida Party as a positive break from these two capitalist parties.

During the question period, Dork elaborated on her position on the threat to impose tuition on all California State University students. "The Socialist Workers Party opposes any tuition or fee increase for California State students. We believe that education is a right and not a privilege. There should be free public education through the university level."

Speaking to the 50 people in attendance at a campaign meeting held the next evening at San Diego State College, Ricardo Felix, a professor of Chicano studies and a student at

San Diego State, said, "I endorse Leslie Dork of the Socialist Workers Party because we as Chicanos can no longer depend upon the traditional Democratic and Republican parties. We must seek an alternative political party in order to be able to control our own destiny. We must seek representation, we must seek a voice, we must seek self-determination through an alternative political party that seeks to perpetuate, not to destroy, humanity."

In her talk at the meeting, Dork said "There are important lessons to be learned from the women's liberation, antiwar, and nationalist movements in how to struggle to change society. It is important to become involved in these movements that are fighting for the changes we need. But most important, you can become a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, which not only has an analysis

of how to change society, but is also working on a day-to-day basis to bring about this change."

Olga Rodriguez, socialist candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, also spoke. At the rally some of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for the San Diego fall municipal races were announced. Matilde Zimmermann, a former national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, will be running for the city council seat in the 7th District.

Lori Adelewski, who has been active in the feminist and gay movements will be running for city council in the 5th District. Dennis Scarla, a student at San Diego State University will be running for the Community College governing board of trustees in the district that includes both San Diego State University and San Diego City College.



Leslie Dork speaking at March 2 campaign meeting in San Diego

NY rally hears SWP candidates pledge aid to Dist. 1; attack 'get tough' drug laws

By HUGH MORGAN

NEW YORK, March 2—More than 300 persons attended a kickoff rally for the 1973 New York Socialist Workers Party election campaign at New York University tonight. Joanna Misnik, the party's candidate for city council president, chaired the rally. She welcomed everyone by promising: "We will take up the struggles of the oppressed for justice and make them part of our campaign."

Speakers at the rally, in addition to Misnik, were Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York; Eva Chertov, candidate for city council from Manhattan District Three; James Mendieta, candidate for Brooklyn District Attorney; Mark Friedman, candidate for Brooklyn council at-large; Dick Roberts, candidate for controller; and Linda Jenness, who was the 1972 SWP presidential candidate.

Donations and pledges to the campaign from those who attended amounted to more than \$4,500.

Prisoners back SWP campaign

The following is part of a message sent to the New York socialist campaign rally by Sonni Pyles, Timbuk Pyles, Eugene James, and Frank Martinez, four members of the Inmate Defense Service of the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (the Tombs).

We are unfortunately little more than slaves of the State of New York. In a so-called democratic society we are not even allowed to vote, just as in the times of slavery when Blacks could not vote. When the slave system was abolished, the prison system replaced it. We firmly believe that socialism is the one hope for the human race and the trend for the future. We prisoners fully support Norman Oliver for mayor of New York City and all the candidates of the SWP.

Eva Chertov described the fight by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents on the Lower East Side to gain

control of their children's education. Saluting the parents in District 1 and pledging support to the pro-community-control slate running for school board in that district, Chertov refuted the charges of racism and union-busting leveled against the District 1 board by "Democrats, Republicans, and Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers."

Parents active in the District 1 struggle, including Mirian Gonzalez, president of the parents association at PS 188, were introduced after Chertov spoke. Misnik read messages to the rally from Luis Fuentes, District 1 superintendent, and from Jane Tam, a member of the District 1 board.

James Mendieta, who has himself spent time in jail for drug-related crimes, attacked Rockefeller's "get-tough" policy of stiffer penalties for addicts.

"Past experience concretely shows," Mendieta said, "that laws, cops, and jails are not a cure for the addict." He cited the increase in the number of New York City addicts from 50,000 to more than 200,000 since harsher sentences were imposed in 1966.

Mark Friedman reported that there are Young Socialists for Oliver (YSO) at 14 colleges and 11 high schools in New York.

Friedman also read a message of solidarity to the rally from Paul Massas, president of Brooklyn College Student Government and a leader of the Third World Federation.

Dick Roberts said that all the Democrats and Republicans had the same answer when asked why fares and taxes go up while service deteriorates. "They say they don't have enough money. . . . And no matter where you go you get the same answer." The only trouble with the answer, Roberts said, is that "it's a lie."

Operations like the Long Island Rail Road, Roberts explained, are financed by high-interest, tax-free bonds issued in very large denominations and usually purchased by banks. The increased fares and taxes go to pay the interest on these bonds.

Linda Jenness, who gave the fundraising speech, began her remarks by referring to Nixon's description of the Vietnam settlement as "peace with honor." She pointed out that U.S. planes are still bombing Indochina and that no aspect of U.S. involvement there has been "honorable."



New York SWP candidates at March 2 rally

Militant/Mark Satinoff

Jenness declared: "To the capitalists, internationalism means keeping their grubby paws around the throats of other countries. To socialists, internationalism means supporting and solidarizing with the struggles of other peoples. . . ."

Jenness read a telegram saluting the N.Y. SWP campaign from Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Ciapponi, presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party of Argentina. She also proposed sending telegrams from the rally greeting the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party of Argentina and the Communist League of France; the audience enthusiastically approved.

Mayoral candidate Norman Oliver, the final speaker, explained where profits come from. He explained that working people only get paid for part of the time they work. "The rest of the time the employer gets free," Oliver said. "But your hands and brains keep on producing things to be sold on the market," he went on, and the employer gets the profit from selling these things and invests it.

But he doesn't invest it where it will do the most good, Oliver said. "He invests it where the greatest profit can be made. It turns out that more profits can be made producing napalm than building schools in Bedford-Stuyvesant. . . ."

"Can you imagine," Oliver asked the audience, "what would happen if working people in this city, especially Blacks and Puerto Ricans, were al-

lowed to vote on how the tremendous wealth we've created would be spent?"

It is clear, Oliver said, that if working people can get hold of the wealth they can eliminate the intolerable conditions. The way to gain that control is to struggle, he said, and struggles are already underway all over this city.

"Our party is confident that these struggles and more to come will someday mushroom into a powerful movement that will oust the profiteers and all their political flunkies," Oliver said. "And when the oppressed become the rulers of this land, a new society will be built. . . . That is not only a vision of the future but a promise."



James Mendieta

Militant/John Lauritsen

Olga Rodriguez fights UCLA exclusion

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, March 6—Another in a series of fights for the right to speak was won this week by the socialist campaign. The University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) was sponsoring speeches by five mayoral candidates on the campus. The Speaker's Bureau provided a room and printed leaflets publicizing the meeting. When the Young Socialists for Rodriguez (YSR) at UCLA registered a complaint that Olga Rodriguez—Socialist Workers candidate for mayor—had not been included, they were at first refused even a hearing on the basis that she was not considered a "major" candidate.

Further insistence by the YSR led to a meeting with the Speaker's Bureau, which then agreed to "allow" her to speak outside, but refused to print the leaflets. YSR pointed out that Rodriguez is a legally qualified

candidate who will appear on the ballot. Denying her the right to appear on the same basis as other candidates denied students the right to hear all the alternatives.

During the course of the fight, many students spoke out in defense of the right of all candidates to speak.

Finally, last week, the Speaker's Bureau agreed to provide a room for Rodriguez to speak on campus and to pay for leaflets distributed by the YSR to publicize the meeting. A Speaker's Bureau representative admitted this was not being done for all "minor" candidates. He pointed to Rodriguez's support on campus as the reason for the reversal.

More than 50 students attended the meeting and five signed cards endorsing her campaign.

The previous day she spoke to 25 members of the UCLA MECHA, a Chicano student group. The response was good, and many came to the

campus-wide meeting the next day.

Rodriguez was among panelists on a KABC-TV two-hour special on "Crisis in the Cities: Gangs." Shortly after her arrival at the studio, 15 to 20 Chicanos set up a picket to protest the TV special as a whitewash and a diversion from the real issues. They objected to the focus on gangs rather than on unemployment, schools, and housing, and they protested the lack of participation by Chicano youth on the panel.

After Rodriguez expressed her solidarity with the picketers and explained the Socialist Workers Party position in support of the struggles of Chicanos, they asked her to go on the show to express their views about the program. Rodriguez was the only panel member among judges, candidates, and "community representatives" to mention the picket line. She blasted the racist local government, which refuses to serve the needs of the Chicano com-

munity and yet denies it the right to run the schools, the police, and other social institutions.

Young Socialists for Rodriguez is sponsoring a campaign conference and banquet March 16 and 17. The conference, to be held at UCLA, will deal with the deportation of undocumented workers in Los Angeles, high school rights, how the abortion victory was won, and who really rules Los Angeles.

Speakers at the banquet March 17 will include: Pearl Hazlewood, business agent of Social Services Union Local 535; Frank Costello of the Friends of Ireland Coalition; David Aberson, attorney; and Kay McGoachlin, Los Angeles chairperson of the Peace and Freedom Party.

Tickets for the conference and banquet can be purchased at 1107-1/2 North Western Avenue or by calling (213) 461-8131 or 463-1966.

'Let them eat beans'

Food prices head for stratosphere

By PETER SEIDMAN

Those who have had difficulty stretching their paychecks to meet the soaring cost of food know Nixon's wage-price controls are a swindle.

Despite Washington's pretense at price-control efforts, the government, with the willing help of the employers, has in reality controlled only wages. A spot check of a New Jersey supermarket, for example, revealed that shoppers have to pay 20 percent

more for groceries than at the time controls were instituted in 1971.

Now the Nixon administration is not only asking us to believe its baloney but to eat it too! At least this appears to be the meaning of recent statements by government officials.

Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve System, suggested that consumers ride out the food crisis by opting for meatless days. People should "spend less on meat," he said,

"and more on cheese."

President Nixon himself entered into the spirit of the campaign when he suggested it would be "patriotic" for Americans to buy fish and lower the demand for meat. Nixon—who doesn't get to do the shopping himself very often—apparently hasn't noticed that fish is going up faster than almost anything else at the supermarket.

Not wishing to be left out of the patriotic parade, Nixon's eager new secretary of labor, Peter Brennan, has suggested "victory gardens" like the ones promoted to ease food shortages during the Second World War might be the answer to the workers' dilemma. He even told his wife to start one at their home on Long Island. He didn't have any advice for apartment dwellers.

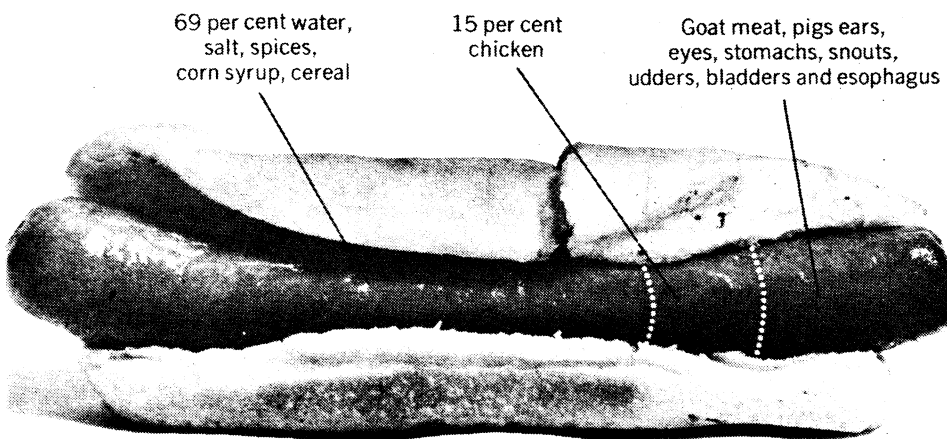
The most "radical" proposal came from Harvard nutrition professor and White House consultant Dr. Jean Mayer. He advocates a crash course on nutrition so that the country can develop new eating habits. "The administration is beginning to suggest a shift in food habits . . . but no one

is ready yet to suggest we keep our meat supplies for those who really need it—pregnant women and growing children—letting the rest of us eat beans."

With great compassion for government planners, he warned it was "false economy" to deprive the poor of the means to a nutritious diet, because malnutrition leads to illnesses many times more expensive to treat.

What's wrong with all these schemes is that people don't like to be forced to eat baloney, even if they have to listen to it. AFL-CIO President George Meany made one of his rare statements corresponding to the interests of working people when he responded to Burns' proposal for meatless days by explaining, "I like meat."

Perhaps because Meany already eats so well, working people will not be able to depend on him to lead the kind of fight for cost-of-living clauses in union contracts and pensions and social security benefits, and an end to the government wage controls that would enable everyone to eat an adequate amount of nutritious food.



And this is what you get!

Houston Shell workers get support for boycott

By CHIPJEFFRIES

HOUSTON—Striking Shell workers here are attempting to broaden their base of support and win backing for a national boycott of Shell products.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW) recently rented more than 140 large billboards in the Houston area carrying the following message: "4,000 oil workers say: Shell? No! Please don't buy Shell."

"We're getting tremendous support for the boycott . . . from labor unions and environment groups," says Morris Akin, OCAW district director. The United Auto Workers union has turned in more than 600 Shell credit cards used by UAW field representatives.

Not unexpectedly, Shell is trying to downgrade the effect of the boycott, claiming receipts are running ahead of last year's. But a random survey

the *Houston Chronicle* conducted revealed that in many cases the opposite is true. The owner of a Shell station in nearby Pasadena said he is pumping 300 gallons less a day than before the strike—a 20 percent loss. The owner of a Houston station confessed he is pumping only 700 gallons a day, compared to about 1,400 before the strike.

Meanwhile, the University of Houston Committee to Support the Shell Workers Strike recently held a successful campus meeting. Some 45 students came to hear Herschell Graham, representing OCAW Local 4-367, speak on the health and safety demands of the workers. The impasse over these demands has kept the union and the company from coming to an agreement.

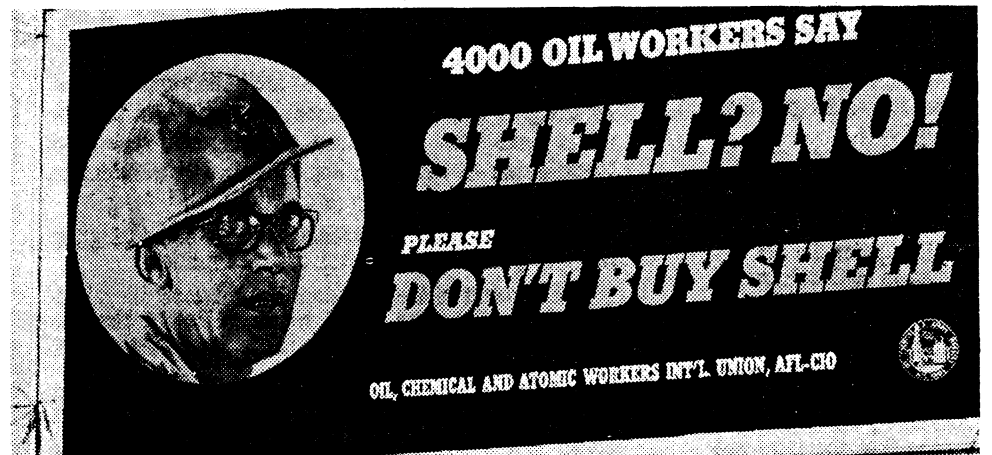
Graham pointed to statistics that show oil workers have shorter life spans, a greater incidence of cancer,

and a higher degree of job-related illnesses than the average. "We want Shell to make all the records available to the union so we can see if there is any connection between the chemicals and the sickness," he declared.

Judi Rossi, a member of the Young

Socialist Alliance, also spoke, along with Steve Edwards of the Black Intercommunal Association.

Local 4-367 has asked the U of H support committee to organize students to help with picketing and leafletting at local Shell stations.



Bosses, bureaucrats, and union elections

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—Employers and top union bureaucrats try to influence the outcome of local union elections in many ways. One recent example is the elections for officers of Communications Workers of America Local 1101 in New York City.

The elections for officers were completed Dec. 29 after the initial elections, held in November resulted in a runoff for all major offices. All incumbent officers were reelected except the president, Ricky Carnivale, who lost to Ed Dempsey, a relative unknown with very little union experience.

Local 1101 is the largest CWA local in the New York area, with more than 12,000 members. It is noted for its militancy, having spearheaded two recent strikes. The last one lasted seven months, six months longer than the national strike it was initially a part of. Young Black workers were among the leaders of that strike. Twenty percent of the local are Black or Spanish-speaking workers.

According to Dennis Serrette, the young Black vice-president of the local, former president Carnivale lost the runoff elections because the rank and file blamed him for the failure

of the strike to gain more for them. They got nothing more after six months additional time out than the national strikers did after a month on strike.

The local emerged from the strike more militant and with a better understanding of the role of the international union leadership and the company. But many members were bitter that they did not win more.

The candidate for president with the biggest campaign was John Smith, who, Serrette says, members feel was supported and financed by the company and the international.

"Smith sent out 10 mailings to the entire membership. Each mailing costs \$2,000 to \$3,000. They had a telephone tape recording, a hotel suite, a public relations firm handling their campaign, and very expensive printed stickers that the company let remain up while they took the others down." Smith maintains he took out a second mortgage on his house, but even that would not pay for all his campaign expenses.

Smith was a vice-president of the local under Howard Banker, who was defeated by Carnivale in 1971. Now, with the election of Dempsey, Local 1101 has had three presidents in less

than two years. While Smith was vice-president and later treasurer of the local, the treasury declined to \$7 while fancy salaries were voted for the officers. No adequate explanation was ever given for this situation.

Also, two elections that Smith was in charge of running for the local were declared frauds by an investigating government agency. He also tried to keep Serrette and others from taking office once they were elected, according to Serrette.

Smith's role in the last strike helps to explain why the company and the international backed him. According to Serrette, Smith did everything he could to get the members to go back to work, including handing out leaflets. He also was active in getting the Brooklyn section of the local to leave and form a new local. The leadership of Local 1101 was against this move, but the international favored it.

During the recent election Smith charged that one of the present officers had shot at him from a car and provided an elaborate story that received wide publicity. Serrette said the story was "a fabrication designed to discredit us and get publicity, but no one believed him."

Serrette said, "Smith represented racism, the company, corruption, and the international to the members. They did not want to vote for any of that." None of Smith's slate of five was elected.

I asked Serrette if the union was having trouble collecting back pay awarded to AT&T employees nationally as a result of hearings by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which charged AT&T with discrimination in hiring and promotion of women, Blacks, and Spanish-speaking people.

Serrette replied that "we have had many inquiries in the office about this, and the union members are having a lot of trouble getting the money. I had a meeting set up to discuss this with the vice-president of the company in charge of human relations, David Esilik, but at the last minute he canceled the meeting and has given me the runaround since."

"I have not been able to get a list of people who are owed money or any other concrete information from him or anyone else at the company. It looks like they are doing everything possible to keep from paying out the money."

INTERVIEW WITH TWO ATTICA DEFENDANTS

'WE'VE GOT TO HAVE THE PEOPLE'S SUPPORT'

By BAXTER SMITH

Feb. 12 marked the 164th birthday of Abe Lincoln. He was the president who became known as "the great slave emancipator." Yet as I sat in a small room within the walls of Erie County jail in Buffalo, N. Y., on that day, waiting to interview two prisoners named in the Attica indictments, somehow I couldn't celebrate the benefits of 100 years of "freedom." The 60 dudes who were named in the Attica indictments probably shared my feelings.

In a short time, a guard told me the warden, who had the day off, had not approved my visit.

I returned the next day, though, and was allowed to visit the prisoners after being screened by the warden.

I spoke with Mariano Gonzalez (Dalou) and Frank Smith (Big Black). They were indicted by the Wyoming County grand jury for crimes they allegedly committed during the Attica prison uprising Sept. 9-13, 1971.

Gonzalez, who is 21, is accused of murdering another prisoner, Michael Privitera, during the revolt. He faces a life term if convicted. Gonzalez, who is from New York City, was imprisoned in July 1969 for second-degree robbery and is serving four to 12 years. He is a former member of the Young Lords Party.

Smith, 39, is named under indictments five and 15. Indictment five charges him and 18 others with 34 counts of kidnapping. If convicted he will face 34 consecutive life terms. Indictment 15 charges him and nine others with two counts of coercion and unlawful imprisonment. Smith has already served eight years of a 10-to-15-year term for robbery.

Both Gonzalez and Smith are now in Erie County jail in connection with a series of contempt hearings. Gonzalez is one of five prisoners who are plaintiffs in the hearings.

Smith is Gonzalez's witness; he saw the guards beat Gonzalez Feb. 17, 1972, as he was returning from a visit with his lawyer. During the visit, he was given some legal papers and a lawyers' publication that the guards claimed were "contraband." When he refused to give up these items, he was beaten.

These hearings thus arise out of alleged violations of a restraining order issued by Federal District Judge John Curtin in December 1971. The injunction forbids beatings, racial slurs, and verbal harassments. It was issued against the administrators of Attica prison, who are being held in contempt. Thirty-one guards are named as respondents.

This is believed to be the first time the federal government is trying officials in connection with prison brutalities.

A jury of peers?

Brother Big Black is one of many Attica prisoners beaten and tortured after guards retook D-yard from the rebel prisoners. He was thrown into a cell where he was kept naked with only a mattress and a pillow. But from this cell he was able to witness the events outside. He observed assassinations and beatings. Because of what he saw, the guards threatened to kill him.

Big Black began by explaining the biased nature of the grand jury.

He spoke normally, but his voice is a roar. "All the people on the grand jury live within 50 miles of Attica.

"Most of the people that got an indictment are from New York City. These people [grand jury] are not my peers! What do these people know

about my situation?! Where is the justice?!"

"Ball [Justice Carmen Ball] formed the grand jury. He is the man who accepted the indictments." (Ball presided over the grand jury for 17 months and also presided over the arraignment hearings.)

The Attica Defense Committee (ADC) found that the grand jury is all white (seven of the 60 defendants are white). Many are farmers who

them inmates. Yet the conditions have not changed, and the attitudes towards prisons have not changed at all.

"The same rules exist here as anywhere. Here we come out of the cells at six in the morning to 11 at night. All you do is walk back and forth in the area in front of your cell. Books and newspapers are not allowed in. We get recreation for a half hour once a week. They have

We want better clothes when we're back on the street! We want better housing . . . we want better jobs, better trades . . . we want better medical care . . . we want the same thing in the street!

"They're not going to give me the proper assistance, proper counseling while I'm here because they don't know nothing about the situation I'm from."

Mobilize support

The brothers explained that for them to be freed of these charges, people would have to mobilize in their behalf.

The state has already spent close to \$1-million in this frame-up attempt. Assemblyman Arthur Eve (D-Buffalo), who was a member of the Attica observers committee, is attempting to introduce legislation that would require the state to subsidize the defense on an equal footing.

Gonzalez continued, "We tried to establish a kitty so that the brothers in other camps can contribute to our defense. But Oswald [State Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald] has denied us the right to send our own money to the Attica Trust Fund. He says this is illegal. Prisoners have accounts and are supposed to be able to spend it any way we want.

"Primarily, getting people into doing Attica work will get us out . . . having the people in the communities mobilized; giving us financial, moral, and physical support in the courts by demanding that the Attica indictments be dropped."

Big Black added, "We can't take a position by ourselves. We've got to have the people's support. We are ready to do our jobs. But the people must be ready to do theirs."

The arraignments and bail hearings for the 60 defendants are completed. The next phase of the proceeding will be presentation of motions from the defense and prosecution. Both sides are expected to file for a change of venue to get the trials moved out of Wyoming County.

The grand jury is still in session, though, and further indictments are expected. I asked Big Black if he thinks they'll indict any of the guards or state troopers who were responsible for the 39 deaths.

"They might turn around and jam one or two cops to make it look good," he said. "But don't forget, we are the oppressed people. We've got to be the fall guy. In order for them to hold up their superiority and security, they have to have someone to step on. And we are the ones."

Contributions for the defense are urgently needed. They should be sent to: Attica Brothers Defense Fund, c/o *The Challenger*, 1301 Fillmore Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 14211.



Attica, September 1971. Prisoners in D-yard raise fists in support of their demands.

know little of the problems Blacks and Puerto Ricans face in the big cities.

Out of 26 members, only one is under 30. Twelve have friends or relatives who work in the prison. Five have friends who were hostages in D-yard, and three knew guards who were killed or wounded. None have friends who are prisoners.

During jury selection, the judge permitted the district attorneys to question prospective jurors, but refused to let prisoners' lawyers question them. Judge Ball claimed that since no prisoners had as yet been indicted, they "had no lawyers."

A grand jury has the power to hire and fire its own lawyers, to present evidence, to summon its own witnesses, and to question them. But, according to the ADC, "This grand jury has done none of these things. It has passively listened to all the evidence presented against prisoners by the D.A.s, and has handed down the indictments Fisher asked for."

'No change at all'

I asked these brothers to run down the conditions that exist at this jail and in New York prisons.

Gonzalez explained, "If you look at all prisons, you'll find they all have the same conditions. In 1970 they made a change. They changed the name from state prisons to correctional facilities; from guards to correctional officers. They don't call prisoners prisoners anymore. They call

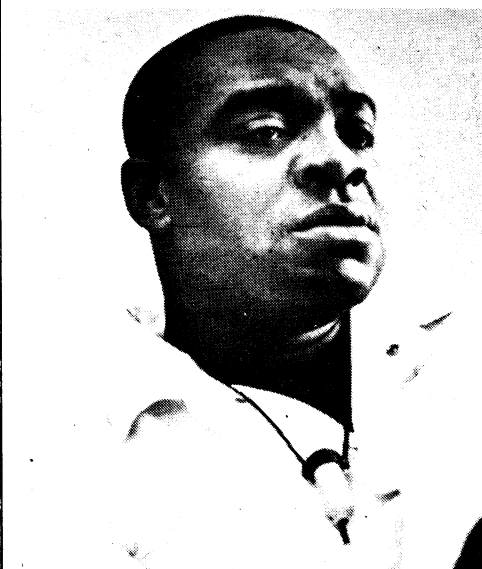
three ping pong tables and mats in one corner and a punching bag—sometimes it hangs and sometimes it doesn't. There is TV from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m. in the evenings.

"Brother Big Black is supposed to get medication for a heart problem. It is supposed to come at eight in the morning. They give it sometimes at 10 or 10:30. On Feb. 2 they even gave him the wrong medicine. They gave him Thorazine; and the brother blacked out completely! Then they took him down and gave him some aspirin!"

Big Black explained that the conditions inside are like the ones outside: "The problems don't just exist here. We want better clothes. Right?



Mariano Gonzalez



Frank Smith

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: 1927-28: EXPULSION AND EXILE

The following is the eleventh in a series of articles on the Left Opposition in the USSR. This series commemorates the fight Lenin and Trotsky began 50 years ago against the degeneration of the revolution.

By DAVE FRANKEL

The lull in the activity of the Joint Opposition during the winter of 1926-27 was due partly to the desire of the Zinoviev wing of the Opposition to moderate the conflict within the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU). Trotsky was forced to make various concessions to maintain the bloc with Zinoviev and Kamenev. Among the areas of disagreement was Trotsky's analysis of the events in China.

Zinoviev and Kamenev were supported by such leading figures in the Opposition as Radek and Preobrazhensky. Thus, although Trotsky's position was consistent, it was only in the spring of 1927—a full year after Trotsky had voted in the politburo against the admission of the Kuomintang to the Comintern, and only after he had threatened to virtually split the Joint Opposition on the question—that the Opposition opened a public attack on Stalin's policy in China.

Trotsky, who had already predicted the coup carried out by Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai, now predicted a similar debacle in Wuhan if the policy the Comintern imposed on the Chinese Communist Party was not altered. He demanded a discussion on China within the CPSU. When Stalin refused, Trotsky appealed the decision to the executive committee of the Comintern, using the opportunity to indict Stalin's whole policy.

The bankruptcy of Stalin's leadership was daily becoming more apparent. Barely a month before the Left Kuomintang government in Wuhan began to openly hunt down and execute revolutionary workers and peasants, Stalin declared: "Only blind people can deny the left Kuomintang the role of the organ of revolutionary struggle, the role of the organ of insurrection against feudal survivals and imperialism in China."

Unable to tolerate a debate on China, Stalin stepped up repression against the Opposition. Increasing numbers of oppositionists were fired from their jobs or transferred to remote areas.

One such case involved I. Smilga, the leader of the Baltic Fleet during the October revolution, and one of the most respected leaders of the Joint Opposition. He was ordered to a post on the Manchurian frontier. On the day of his departure, in mid-June, thousands of angry oppositionists gathered at the railway station to see him off. Trotsky and Zinoviev made speeches to the crowd.

Using this as a pretext, Stalin demanded the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the party central committee. He added to the charge of organizing an "illegal demonstration" the claim that Trotsky had acted against discipline in appealing to the Comintern, although the right to such an appeal was contained in the statutes of the party.

The fifteenth congress of the CPSU, already long-overdue, was scheduled for November 1927. Since Trotsky and Zinoviev would have the right to speak at the congress as members of the central committee, Stalin was eager to expel them before the congress.

Chairing the tribunal that sat in judgment over Trotsky and Zinoviev was Stalin's lieutenant Ordzhonikidze. (In 1922 Lenin had demanded that

this same Ordzhonikidze be expelled from the party because of his brutality and chauvinism in dealing with the Bolsheviks in Georgia.) But Stalin's charges were so flimsy that even this hand-picked commission balked at returning the expected verdict.

Events were forcing Stalin's hand, however. News of the Shanghai coup in April had been followed in May by a war scare. The Tory government in Britain broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council, which Stalin had relied upon as a bulwark against British militarism (see article number 8 in the Feb. 2 *Militant*), uttered not a word of protest. Furthermore, the economy faced mounting difficulties. It was no longer possible to expand industrial production without major capital investment. At the same time, the high price and scarcity of industrial goods were causing increasing dissatisfaction among the peasantry. These economic problems were beginning to strain the alliance of Stalin and Bukharin, who didn't agree on the remedy for them.

On Aug. 8 the central control commission and the central committee of the party, which were deciding on the charges against Trotsky and Zinoviev, voted to censure the Opposition leaders, ignoring the motion for their expulsion. But if Stalin's followers were not yet ready to go along with him in expelling their opponents, they were also not about to allow an open debate on the issues facing the party.

Seeing that he was behind schedule in his attempt to silence the Opposi-

brazhensky, Mrachkovsky, and Serebriakov, three leaders of the Opposition, came forward to refute Stalin's charges and take responsibility for the publication of the platform, they were expelled from the party and Mrachkovsky was imprisoned.

In the meantime the Opposition carried on the work of explaining its program to secret meetings numbering anywhere from 20 to 200. Trotsky estimates that about 20,000 people took part in such meetings in Moscow and Leningrad. In one instance a technical school was occupied and a meeting of 2,000 held.

Expulsion of the Opposition

Things reached their climax Nov. 7, the tenth anniversary of the revolution. The Joint Opposition marched with its own slogans in the demonstrations celebrating the anniversary. These included: "Strike against the kulak, the NEP-man, and the bureaucrat!", "Carry out Lenin's testament!" (a call for the removal of Stalin from the post of general secretary), and "Beware of a split in the party—preserve Bolshevik unity!"

The Opposition contingents were attacked by goon squads organized by the party machine, and on Nov. 14 Trotsky and Zinoviev, along with hundreds of other oppositionists, were expelled from the party. They were accused of having organized counter-revolutionary demonstrations. Both had already been expelled from the executive committee of the Comintern in September, although that body had not yet thought to expel Chiang Kai-shek.

quakes and floods, at the foot of the Tyan-Shan range on the borders of China, 250 kilometres from the railway and 4,000 from Moscow. . . ."

From his exile in Alma-Ata Trotsky continued the work of organizing and leading the Left Opposition. Between April and October 1928 he mailed 800 political letters, many of essay length, and 550 telegrams. He received 1,000 letters and 700 telegrams, apart from newspapers and personal mail.

The continued role of Trotsky as a rallying point for the Opposition posed a serious threat to Stalin. At the time of Trotsky's exile the economic situation had begun to reach crisis proportions. Once again, as in 1925, the kulaks were withholding their grain from the market. Stalin's previous policy of downplaying the need for planning and the more rapid development of industry had resulted in a steady rise in the prices of industrial goods, and the demand of the kulaks that they be allowed access to the world market. If carried out, the demands for a "neo-NEP" would have resulted in restoring free trade, and soon after, capitalism.

Stalin resolved to enforce the fixed grain prices, to requisition stocks of grain, and to take other emergency measures to relieve the situation. In April the central committee, echoing the warnings voiced by the Opposition since 1924, finally declared the nation was facing a crisis created by the "growth of the kulaks' economic power."

However, Stalin's strong-arm methods only deepened the crisis. Only 50



Members of the Opposition on their way to exile in 1928—seated left to right, L. Serebriakov, K. Radek, Trotsky, M. Boguslavsky, E. Preobrazhensky; standing left to right, C. Rakovsky, Y. Drobni, A. Beloborodov, L. Sosnovsky.

tion, Stalin had the fifteenth congress delayed by a month, and the preparatory discussion for the congress, normally three months, cut to one month. On Sept. 8 the central committee refused to publish the platform that had been prepared by the Joint Opposition (later published in English under the title of *The Real Situation in Russia*), and forbade the Opposition to circulate the document on its own.

For the Opposition to observe this ban would have meant to surrender the fight. It resolved to reproduce and circulate its platform. On the night of Sept. 12 its "printing shop"—consisting of a typewriter and a mimeograph machine—was raided, and Stalin announced that a conspiracy involving a counterrevolutionary officer had been uncovered. When Preo-

Faced with expulsion from the party, the adherents of the Joint Opposition split. Those who followed Zinoviev and Kamenev capitulated. They not only agreed to submit to the decisions of the congress but also denounced their own views as "wrong and anti-Leninist." Those who followed Trotsky continued the fight.

On Jan. 12, 1928, Trotsky was told he was to be exiled to Turkestan under article 58—the section of the criminal code dealing with counterrevolutionary activity. A stormy demonstration of several thousand oppositionists forced a delay in the deportation. But on Jan. 17 Trotsky was spirited out of Moscow and began his trip to Central Asia, along with his wife and son.

Trotsky spent a year in exile in Alma-Ata, described by his wife, Natalia Sedova, as "a town of earth-

percent of the prewar amount of grain was delivered to market, and all grain exports had to be halted. In the first half of 1928, 150 scattered peasant rebellions had to be quelled.

Some oppositionists argued it was necessary to support Stalin, who had begun to appropriate the watchwords of the Left Opposition. On the anniversary of the revolution in November 1928 the official slogans raised at demonstrations were: "The Danger is on the Right!"; "Strike Against the Kulak!"; "Curb the NEP-men!"; and "Speed up Industrialization!"

Trotsky answered that these slogans were only a small part of the program of the Left Opposition, which also included demands for democracy in the party and state, the elimination of special privileges for officials, and a

Continued on page 22

French 'far left' debates role in elections

By TONY THOMAS

MARCH 3—In last week's *Militant* we began a description of the positions held by groups in the French "far left" on the March 4 and 11 parliamentary elections.

We summarized the position of the most influential "far-left" organization, the Communist League (French section of the Fourth International). The League is running 133 of its own candidates on the March 4 first round of the elections, as well as supporting the 176 candidates of Workers Struggle (Lutte Ouvrière), another "far-left" group.

The League is calling for a vote for these "revolutionary candidates" on the first round as an expression of support to a revolutionary socialist

of the Left as the working-class pole in the elections, and a victory or big gains for the Union of the Left may open up a prerevolutionary crisis.

Abstention

Other currents within the "far left" have raised objections to the League's positions. Various Maoist and spontanéist groups such as the Proletarian Left (Gauche Prolétarienne), People's Cause (Cause du Peuple), and Révolution call for abstention from both rounds.

The League has stressed that the political importance of these elections in the eyes of French workers and the objective possibilities that could follow a Union of the Left victory necessitate their intervention in the

has argued against the League's position of urging a vote for the Union of the Left. In an article in the February issue of their English-French magazine, *Lutte de Classe-Class Struggle*, they say the League's call for a second-round vote for the Union of the Left is "in direct contradiction with the fact that revolutionaries are putting up candidates nationally against the Union of the Left for the first ballot."

Workers Struggle views the Union of the Left as "a last ditch solution for the French bourgeoisie, in case the present [governing] majority or its alliance with the centrist reformers or any possible combination of these various parties appear as inapplicable."

Workers Struggle rejects the Communist League's view that the predominance of the French Communist Party (CP) gives the Union of the Left a working-class character. They state that the political program of the Communist Party, as well as that of the Socialist Party and liberal-capitalist Left Radical participants in the coalition, assure the coalition a pro-capitalist character.

In the second round, Workers Struggle will not call for a vote for "all the candidates of the Union of the Left" because "it would mean not taking into account the workers' wishes as they will have been expressed on March 4."

To take this into account, they write, "revolutionaries must demonstrate they take part in the working-class movement" and must prove to pro-Communist Party and pro-Socialist Party workers that "they are on the same side" of the class lines.

Workers Struggle states that on the second round they "may call all people to vote for the CP or the SP candidate on the second ballot, if such is the will of a majority of workers, or at least, we will put no obstacle in front of him. . . ."

"In the minds of many workers there is no difference between a vote for the SP or the CP candidate, considered as the workers' candidate and for the candidate of the Union of the Left, who happens to be the same man."

"But it is precisely that difference that revolutionaries must try to demonstrate by their tactics on the second ballot, whatever the difficulties may be."

AMR

The AMR (Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, led by Michel Pablo, a former leader of the world Trotskyist movement) supports the Union of the Left on the second round.

A declaration of the AMR central committee—printed in the December 1972 *Internationale*, their monthly publication—states, "The AMR will not present candidates in the first round. It will lead its own campaign without supporting any national list." They say they may support certain candidates locally who agree with their concept of workers' "self-management," probably within the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist Party, a small "left" social-democratic party) with which the AMR has had a joint propaganda campaign on "self-management."

The AMR central committee said it rejected participation in or support to any of the "far-left" slates, such as the Communist League-Workers Struggle bloc, because "a policy of united front or of critical support is only justified in exceptional cases in relation to mass organizations."

The January 1973 issue of *Internationale* describes the dynamic underlying the Union of the Left cam-

paign as a political and social polarization expressed both in the elections and in the trade-union struggles.

In this context they feel a victory or strong gains for the Union of the Left "could lead to a revolutionary opening."

They call for support to the Union of the Left in order to ripen this situation. At the same time, they call for putting forward demands about working conditions and salaries, for the organization of democratic and united rank-and-file committees for the Union of the Left, and for demands they see as expressing "dual power" in order to provide leadership for the developing "revolutionary opening."

While the AMR says it supports the Union of the Left, the central committee statement on this question describes the AMR second-round position as a call for a vote for "the best placed candidates of the workers movement, with the exception of certain local candidates." They add they will not support any of the Left Radical candidates "even camouflaged in the Union of the Left."

OCI

The OCI (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste — Internationalist Communist Organization, one of the larger "far-left" groups that has sectarian politics similar to those of the Workers League in this country) and its youth organization, the AJS (Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme—Alliance of Youth for Socialism), view a vote for the Union of the Left as such as "unprincipled."

The OCI-AJS are calling for a first-round vote for what they view as



French Communist Party head Georges Marchais (l) and Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterrand. 'Far left' is discussing whether to support Union of the Left, electoral bloc between CP, SP, and left Radicals.

solution to the problems of France, including a denunciation of the class-collaborationist program and strategies of the Union of the Left.

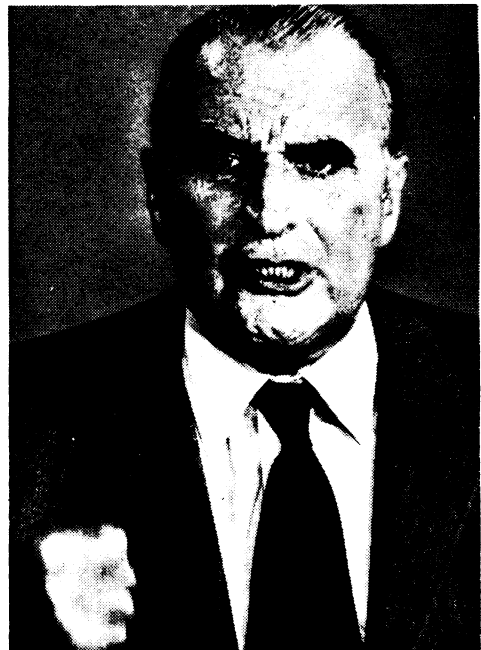
The Communist League and Workers Struggle candidates will probably be eliminated after the first round. The League is calling for a vote for candidates of the Union of the Left on the second round because, the League says, workers see the Union

elections.

In addition to the debate over abstention, an important discussion has unfolded within the "far left" over whether revolutionaries should call for a vote for the Union of the Left on the second round as the Communist League has done.

Workers Struggle

The Workers Struggle organization



French President Georges Pompidou

the only workers parties in France: themselves, the SP, and the CP. This will mean a first-round vote for the SP and CP in many cases, since the OCI and AJS are running in only 20 districts.

The OCI has conducted a sharp polemic against the Communist League over the League's call for a vote for the Union of the Left on the second round. In a pamphlet entitled *The Communist League in the Camp of the New Popular Front*, the OCI political bureau states: "The alliance of the French Communist Party and of the Socialist Party with the Radical Party, a bourgeois party . . . consists of the subordination of the workers parties to the bourgeoisie. . . ."

According to the OCI, it would be principled for revolutionary socialists to support the Union of the Left if the Radical candidates were not participating. They say it would then embody the "Workers United Front" of the CP and SP, which they feel is essential.

Continued on page 22

Round one voting results

MARCH 6—Incomplete returns from the first-round French parliamentary elections show gains for the Union of the Left—an electoral bloc including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Left Radical Movement (a liberal capitalist formation).

In the March 6 *Washington Post* Jonathan Randall reported that the coalition led by the Gaullist UDR (Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the Republic) received 38.54 percent of the vote, while the Union of the Left received 40.45 percent. A liberal-capitalist coalition led by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber of the Radical-Socialist Party and Senator Jean Lecanuet received 12.56 percent of the vote.

The remainder, *The Post* reported, went to "various rightist and leftist extremes." The March 4-5 issue of *Le Monde*, a Paris daily, reported public opinion polls which credited the "far left," including the United Socialist Party, with 3 to 4 percent of the vote.

The *Post* also reported that the Communist Party polled 21.20 percent of the vote, while the Socialist Party received 19.16 percent. This was a reversal of a

trend indicated in public opinion polls before the election in which the Social Democrats led the Stalinists by several percentage points.

These election figures do not necessarily indicate what the final outcome of the parliamentary elections will be. Only those candidates who won an absolute majority in their districts March 4 were elected.

A second round of elections will be held March 11 in which candidates who received more than 10 percent of the vote will be eligible. However, many candidates eligible for the second round will withdraw and throw their support to other candidates. Many observers in the U. S. press have reported the Lecanuet-Servan-Schreiber coalition is likely to throw its support to the Gaullists in exchange for inclusion in a future Gaullist-led governing coalition and UDR acceptance of parts of their program.

While the Union of the Left led the other coalitions, it is thought that it will have a hard time obtaining a majority of seats in the National Assembly. The gerrymandered election districts are highly unfavorable to parties based on the working class. — T. T.

In Review

Repression in Argentina

Repression in Argentina: the violence of those at the top. Published by the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. 1973. 45 pp. 35 cents.

The preparations for national elections in Argentina this month—the first national elections since the 1960s—might give the impression that there is democracy in that country. After all, the military dictatorship of General Alejandro Lanusse is permitting elections.

The *Militant* has been reporting on the Workers and Socialist Front election campaign in Argentina. The suc-

Pamphlets

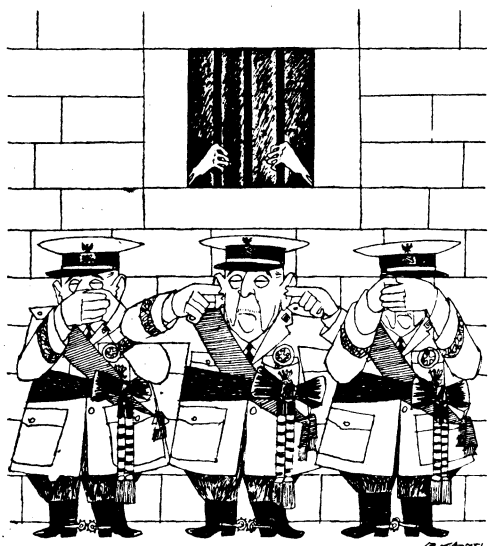
cess of this campaign is all the more significant because it occurs in the context of continued attacks on civil liberties by Lanusse.

The Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has prepared this pamphlet. It is a collection of newspaper articles, documentaries, and statements on the repression in Argentina, translated by *Intercontinental Press*. Included is an article suppressed by the dictatorship because the author exposed the military's role in murdering political prisoners last August at Trelew airport.

The pamphlet contains facts behind the arrest, kidnapping, torture, and killing of students, intellectuals, trade unionists, revolutionaries, and other critics of the regime. It gives detailed descriptions of the brutal torture methods used.

At the end are statements against this repression by several political organizations in Argentina. There is also an appeal for international support for the Argentine political prisoners and a description of the work already underway by committees in France, the United States, Canada, and other countries.

The pamphlet is available from the Canadian Committee for Justice to



Latin American Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 128, Station O, Toronto 16, Ontario, Canada; or from the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Prisoners, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011.

—RICHARD LESNIK



Russian women demonstrate, 1917. Banner reads, 'City guardians, increase pay to soldiers' families!'

Women & the family

Women and the Family by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. Second Edition. 80 pp. Cloth \$3.95, paper \$1.25.

The publication of this book gives feminists and socialists access to a major contribution to the literature on women's oppression.

The book contains articles written in the 1920s and 1930s on the specific problems the Soviet Union faced after the 1917 revolution, as it began to "remove the bars from those confining and suffocating cages into which the present family structure drives woman." Trotsky takes up the question of liberating women by organizing society to assume responsibility for child rearing and domestic services and to perform these tasks on a higher level than is possible under capitalism.

His six articles touch on the profound changes in the Russian family under the impact of the revolution, the role of Soviet women's organizations, and the Bolsheviks' initial steps to free women, in-

Books

cluding the legalization of abortion and the establishment of child-care centers.

This is the second edition of these writings put out by Pathfinder (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014). A new addition to the book is a 1933 interview with *Liberty* magazine, in which Trotsky answered a series of questions, including "Is it true that the Soviets have no respect for chastity in men and women?"; "Have the Soviets robbed childhood of joy?"; and "Does the Soviet state turn men into robots?"

The book is particularly valuable for its analysis of why many of the gains women won in the first years of the revolution were lost under Stalin.

In her introduction, Caroline Lund notes that Kate Millett wrote in *Sexual Politics* that this betrayal of women was the result of Marxist theory failing to supply a "sufficient ideological base" for a sexual revolution. Millett said Marxism was "remarkably naive as to the historical and psychological strength of the patriarchy."

But Trotsky's articles directly refute Millett's thesis. In 1925, for example, he said in a speech to a Moscow conference:

"... the shell of family prejudices, in the attitudes of the head of the family toward woman and child—and woman is the coolie of the family—this shell has been laid down over millennia, and not centuries. And thus you are—you must be—the moral battering ram which will break through this shell of conservatism, rooted in our old Asiatic nature, in slavery, in serfdom, in bourgeois prejudices, and in the prejudices of the workers themselves, which have arisen from the worst aspects of peasant traditions."

Trotsky explained the importance of the Soviet Union's material and cultural backwardness, its isolation, and extreme poverty. These factors help explain the triumph of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resulting setbacks for women. At the same time, they underscore the significance of the social and economic gains Soviet women have retained.

Trotsky wrote with the firm belief that Soviet women will eventually complete the chapter on how they freed themselves from their traditional role.

—DIANNE FEELEY

La Salamandre

La Salamandre. Directed by Alain Tanner. Switzerland, 1972

La Salamandre may well be one of the most important films of the past five years. Alain Tanner's documentary-fiction combines certain stylistic and structural innovations developed by other directors in such a way as to create a landmark in filmmaking.

His non-story explores the background and social motivations of Rosemonde (Bulle Ogier), a young woman who typifies many young people today. She rejects the banality of bourgeois life and its values and seeks some explanation for the alienation she feels.

Born into a poor family of 10 in a rural section of France, Rosemonde is sent to live with her uncle in Geneva so there would be "one less mouth to feed" back home. Young, restless, and impatient, she becomes easily dissatisfied with everything around her, with the dead gray environment of school, with the incidental jobs she takes and then quickly

Film

quits, and with the restrictive life at her uncle's home.

Tanner astutely uses the techniques of *cinéma vérité*—natural settings and lighting to evoke the atmosphere of reality, and very loose acting that resembles a spoken dialogue more than a written one. He uses black and white photography to further heighten the sense of alienation and suffocation Rosemonde feels.

Although the emotional and political punch of this film isn't at first that obvious, it gradually emerges through the fabric as a whole to have an overpowering effect, much in the manner of the Italian neorealist films, such as Vittorio De Sica's *The Bicycle Thief*. While De Sica used the widespread unemployment of postwar Italy as the background for his social criticism, Tanner uses the alienation and stultification of modern industrial society during one of its periods of relative "stability."

As Rosemonde seeks to cope with this environment, she gradually becomes conscious of the agents of her oppression; she learns to focus on and identify her enemies—the bosses, the cops, the presidents, and the prime ministers.

Recognizing her social position, Rosemonde regains a certain amount of control over her life. Rather than quitting her job in disgust or boredom, she now cheerfully provokes her boss into firing her in order to savor the sweet taste of defiance.

As Tanner intensifies the graininess of the photography and the driving rhythm of the sound track in the final sequence, the viewer is flooded by the sense of joy and anticipation Rosemonde now feels in the light of her growing awareness. Having come so far, we leave the theater confident she will take the process of her radicalization even further.

—ERNEST HARSCH

Double standard for POWs, Black sailors

By BAXTER SMITH

A good example of the dual character of military justice was revealed recently.

Marilee Savage, a *Militant* correspondent in San Diego, informed us



James Faison

of a program that occurred on a local radio station Feb. 9. The subject was the *Kitty Hawk* sailors' trials. The program moderator had one of their NAACP attorneys, Cliff Blevins, present with him.

During the program, it was revealed that one of the 22 sailors who will face trial for an incident that occurred aboard the *Kitty Hawk* is James Faison. He is the brother show at the left. Brother Faison is shown giving the clenched fist salute to supporters as the *Kitty Hawk* was docking in San Diego.

This obviously bugged the brass, who subsequently had him jailed.

When this was discussed on the radio program, several white people called in and agreed with the Navy's action against Faison. They stated that the clenched fist represents violence and is a threat. Savage re-

ported, "... and they all suggested that the Blacks choose another symbol like pulling their right ear with their left hand."

By contrast, ex-POW Edison Miller's information officer apparently forgot to warn him of Faison's incident. The Feb. 17 *Los Angeles Times* reported what happened as Miller, shown at the right, stepped off the plane. "Miller broke into a smile, then raised his right hand in a clenched fist, symbolic of victory.

"After a burst of applause, Miller stopped, held his fist up again and turned in a full circle, before following Camp Pendleton Commander Maj. Gen. Herman Poggemeyer into Wing H22A of the hospital."

Needless to say, Miller wasn't disciplined like Faison, or even reprimanded for his actions. He was garlanded.

After comparing the two incidents,



Edison Miller

I couldn't help but recall the thoughts of Mark Essex, the New Orleans sniper—there's just no place in the Navy for any self-respecting Black man.

Houston sets pace in Militant sales drive

By NANCY COLE

MARCH 7—For the second week in a row, Houston *Militant* supporters have gone over their sales goal of 325, this week selling 400 *Militants*. According to Socialist Workers Party sales director Debby Vernier, they not only plan to maintain these sales but to continue to increase them every week for some weeks to come.

At the end of the second week in the spring campaign to bring street sales of *The Militant* up to at least 7,000 a week, 4,512 were reported sold. Although this is only 259 more than last week's sales, several areas made significant jumps.

Oakland/Berkeley, which with a quota of 500 has one of the largest goals to shoot for, increased its sales by 68 last week to a total of 303. Seattle sold 90 more than last week; Cleveland, 65 more; Denver, 55 more; Los Angeles, 45 more; and Philadelphia, 45 more.

As in the past, *Militant* supporters are finding the best place to sell is on the campus, combining *Militant* sales with those of the *Young Socialist* monthly newspaper. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance at Brooklyn College sell an average of 100 *Militants* each week.

They use two approaches to sell *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*. The first is a literature table set up in the lobby of the student union. With a picture of Malcolm X and a quote from him recommending *The Militant* prominently displayed, the table attracts a lot of attention.

The second method is sending out teams of one person selling *The Militant* and one the *YS* across the campus—to the cafeteria, library, lounges, and classroom buildings. In addition, YSAers always have *Militants* and *YSs* with them and sell frequently right before going into their classes.

Philadelphia supporters have also been selling to striking teachers and those in solidarity with them. Last week they sold 150 *Militants* at strike meetings and picket lines; 34 of them were sold by Jo Otero at the Feb. 25 labor support rally.

Eric Martel from Washington, D.C., sold 39 *Militants* on the bus to Philadelphia for that rally and to teachers at a union meeting in Washington, D.C.

Experimental sales are getting good results. New sales places reported this week include the following: Joe Siegel from Brooklyn sold at the skating rink in Prospect Park and found that the five *Militants* he had brought with him disappeared rapidly. Denver has discovered that selling at bus stops around rush hour results in some of their best sales. And seven Houston salespeople sold 100 *Militants* in Herman Park in one and a half hours. Houston has also begun selling in a park in the Chicano community. Chris Vasquez reported last week that 10 of the first 11 people she approached in the park bought a *Militant*.

Four new areas were added to the scoreboard this week—Binghamton, Hartford, Long Island, and New Paltz. If you want to help, fill out the coupon below. The bundle price is 12.5 cents a copy, and you can pay for the bundle after you sell it.

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Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	%	SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK
Houston	400	325	123	(380)
Binghamton	40	35	114	*
San Diego	183	200	92	(159)
Austin	179	200	90	(190)
Atlanta	219	250	88	(198)
Cleveland	215	250	86	(150)
Lower Manhattan	281	325	86	(371)
Washington	210	250	84	(267)
Long Island	37	45	82	*
Denver	180	225	80	(125)
Philadelphia	206	275	75	(161)
Bloomington	160	110	69	(110)
Detroit	230	350	66	(220)
Chicago	322	500	64	(306)
Oakland/Berkeley	303	500	61	(235)
Upper West Side	191	325	59	(237)
Hartford	20	35	57	*
New Paltz	20	35	57	*
Seattle	142	250	57	(52)
St. Louis	20	35	57	(10)
Brooklyn	178	325	55	(197)
San Francisco	232	500	46	(226)
Portland	90	200	45	(103)
Twin Cities	160	425	38	(187)
Boston	184	500	37	(158)
Los Angeles	150	550	27	(105)
Madison	10	55	18	(38)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	4,512			
WEEKLY GOAL	7,000			
(* new sales goals this week)				

Militant Gets Around

This column and "In Brief" have taken note of articles reprinted from *The Militant* in various high school, campus, Chicano, and other movement press. That's not the only way *The Militant* and its ideas get around in the media, however.

Several weeks ago Guy Gilbert, a reader in Riverside, Calif., wrote to tell us that a program called "Radical News" on the radio station operated by the University of California had used several articles from the Jan. 26 *Militant*. They were "Construction industry woes" by Frank Lovell, "A national plot to kill cops?" by Baxter Smith, "Phase 3 controls: same wine in new bottle" by Ed Smith, and "Price rise highest since Korean War."

Steve Craine from Storrs, Conn., reports that an "In Brief" item, "Police Hassle Raza Unida" was quoted in full on the news section of the Feb. 11 "Colors: the Black Experience," a program on the WFCR public radio station in Amherst, Mass.

Seattle supporters sent us a clipping from the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* of Jan. 28, which features an article on curriculum innovations at Evergreen State College. Accompanying the article is a picture of students seated around a table at a seminar. Displayed prominently on the table is *The Militant*.

And during the recent teachers' strike in Philadelphia, *Militant* supporters were at support rallies and at the picket lines selling *The Militant*. Verifying that even the mass media couldn't ignore them, ABC news on Channel 6 showed people selling *The Militant* several times.

A week before the Jan. 20 antiwar demonstrations, Sam Chetta, *Militant* salesman in the Catskill, N.Y., area, was prevented from selling on the streets of Woodstock on the basis of a 1934 ordinance. This sparked a campaign on Chetta's part, which not only got *The Militant's* name into the media, but more important, won a victory for his right to distribute *The Militant*.

Nancy Cole



Attempts to get a peddler's license proved unsuccessful, and, writes Chetta, "Since I wanted to get the papers out to publicize the march, I asked to be placed on the town council's agenda for the next evening." He took a lawyer with him.

His request for permission to sell *The Militant* was, according to the *Woodstock Times*, the "highlight of the meeting." After speaking on his First Amendment right to sell, Chetta was granted permission to distribute the paper asking only for contributions until a final decision could be made. Besides the article in the *Woodstock Times* (complete with photo), the meeting was taped for cable TV.

Pinpointing the real question, the *Woodstock Times* quoted a local resident's comment: "Was Tom Paine required to have a peddler's license to distribute papers? We can't apply a law designed for hot dog vendors to a man trying to disseminate ideas!"

Calendar

ATLANTA

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.

AUSTIN

BERTOLT BRECHT NIGHT: PLAYS AND POETRY. Performers: Professor Robert Palter and a cast of young socialists. Fri., March 16, 8 p.m. 1801 Nueces. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

BROOKLYN

PROSPECTS FOR LABOR IN '73. Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., March 16, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Dinner served at 6 p.m. for \$1. Ausp: Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE AGAINST REPRESSION. Hear speakers from the Middle East, Africa, and other parts of the world. Fri., March 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

IS THERE A RULING CLASS IN AMERICA? Speaker: Dick Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for controller of New York City, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., March 16, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE—March 16 and 17. Women's Lounge, Ackerman Union, UCLA. Fri., March 16, 7:30 p.m.: No More Deportations! The Struggle of Undocumented Workers in L.A.; Sat., March 17, 10 a.m.: High Schools Equal Prisons?; 1 p.m.: Sisterhood is Powerful: How the Abortion Victory Was Won; 3 p.m.: Who Rules Los Angeles? Donation: \$2 for all sessions, or \$1.50 for h.s. students; 75c per session, 50c for h.s. students. Sponsored by Young Socialists for Rodriguez, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles 90029. For more information call (213) 461-8131 or 463-1966.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE STUDENT STRUGGLE IN GREECE. Speaker: Dr. Theodor Stathis, head of the United Hellenic Front. Fri., March 16, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

RUMMAGE SALE: BARGAINS—Books, records, furniture, clothing, and more. Sat., March 17, 10 a.m.-6 p.m. 706 Broadway, (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Sponsored by Socialist Workers 1973 Campaign Committee. Please donate your rummage. Call (212) 260-0976.

PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST FORUMS presents a weekly forum each Friday at 8 p.m. at the University of Pennsylvania's Houston Hall, 3417 Spruce St., Second Floor.

PORTLAND

THE MILITANT FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 7:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: the struggles of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans for liberation; the trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

SAN FRANCISCO

VIETNAM AND NIXON'S WORLD STRATEGY. Speaker: Syd Stapleton, former staff coordinator of National Peace Action Coalition, nationally known socialist activist. Fri., March 16, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 626-9958.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

EXECUTIVE ORDER #9066: INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING WW II. Speaker: Patti Iiyama, organized Asian and women's contingents for April 24, 1971, antiwar march, born of parents interned in Topaz, Utah, "Relocation Center." Fri. March 16, 8 p.m. 746 9th St. N.W. Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Correction

A typographical error in last week's article, "Who Assassinated Malcolm X?" by George Breitman, distorted the meaning of the third paragraph of the section under the subhead "The Second Suspect." As printed it said, "Goldman's version is not reasonable: it could have happened the way he says." It should have read, "Goldman's version is not unreasonable. . . ."

...opposition

Continued from page 18

revolutionary foreign policy. He stressed that in judging Stalin's policy "it was necessary to consider not only *what* he did but also *how* he did it," advice that was to gain in relevance when Stalin initiated the forced collectivization of the peasantry.

Some of the old oppositionists capitulated, convinced that Stalin was going to carry out the program they had fought for. But others filled their places. Toward the end of 1928 between 6,000 and 8,000 Left Oppositionists were imprisoned or exiled, in addition to the thousands who had gone before.

It was necessary for Stalin to remove the threat posed by Trotsky. Still too insecure to risk Trotsky's imprisonment or murder, Stalin decided on another course. On Jan. 20, 1929, one year and three days after his exile to Alma-Ata, Trotsky was informed of the order to deport him from the Soviet Union on the charge of counterrevolutionary activity. Less than a month later, he arrived in Turkey.

Trotsky's deportation opened up a new chapter in the activity of the Left Opposition—one that is beyond the scope of this series. The final article will take up the importance of the fight waged by the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1929.

...France

Continued from page 19

The Communist League has argued that without the 59 Left Radical candidates, the Union of the Left would not be qualitatively different. They argue there is no difference between the program of the Communist Party, the program of the Socialist Party, and the joint program of the Union of the Left. The also argue that the Left Radicals made no changes in the program that had been previously agreed

upon by the CP and SP before the Radicals approved it.

In their pamphlet *The Communist League in the Camp of the New Popular Front*, the OCI political bureau responded to these arguments. They say the League's position does not take into account "that the counter-revolutionary policy of the [Stalinist and Social-Democratic] apparatuses is precisely expressed in the presence of a capitalist party . . . in the coalition. . . . The Radical Party is a link in a chain that, on one hand, attaches the working class to the capitalist order, and on the other hand, can be taken up by all the political formations of the capitalists."

On the second round, the OCI calls for a vote for front-running candidates of "workers parties" (meaning the OCI, the SP, and the CP). Since it is unlikely that any OCI-AJS candidates will survive the first round, the real content of this position is to call for a government of the Stalinist and social-democratic parties. The call for the "SP-CP government" is in fact the OCI-AJS's second-round slogan—they don't raise the slogan for an "SP-CP-OCI" government.

Communist League response

The Communist League's response to the attacks of the OCI has been to point to what they see as an "opportunist" attitude toward the CP and SP leaders by the OCI-AJS.

Henri Weber, a member of the political bureau of the Communist League and editor of *Rouge*, wrote in the Jan. 13 issue of *Rouge* that the OCI-AJS position that "an SP-CP government could satisfy the 'elementary and basic' demands of the proletariat" is "no longer opportunism; it is servility."

Weber wrote that this view "is a super-opportunist idealization of the SP and the CP." Weber labeled the OCI call for an SP-CP government to implement a series of demands of the French workers and students—many of which challenge the framework of the capitalist system—as sowing "illusions among the working class."

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

This week twelve young socialist teams will begin traveling across the country visiting scores of campuses from Vermont to Florida to Washington selling The Militant and the Young Socialist and introducing thousands of young people to socialist ideas.

In the February 16 Militant the Young Socialist Teams Fund was launched to raise \$10,000 for the financing of the teams by March 31. The \$10,000 will pay for gas, oil, and road tolls; for the printing and shipping of the brochures,

posters, buttons, and other literature that the teams will be distributing; for minimal living expenses for the 48 young socialists who have volunteered for the teams; and to pay the telephone expenses for keeping in contact with the teams from week to week.

So far a total of \$5,211 has been collected. To ensure that all twelve teams will be able to stay on the road for the full eight weeks \$4,789 is urgently needed. Please send in your contribution today.

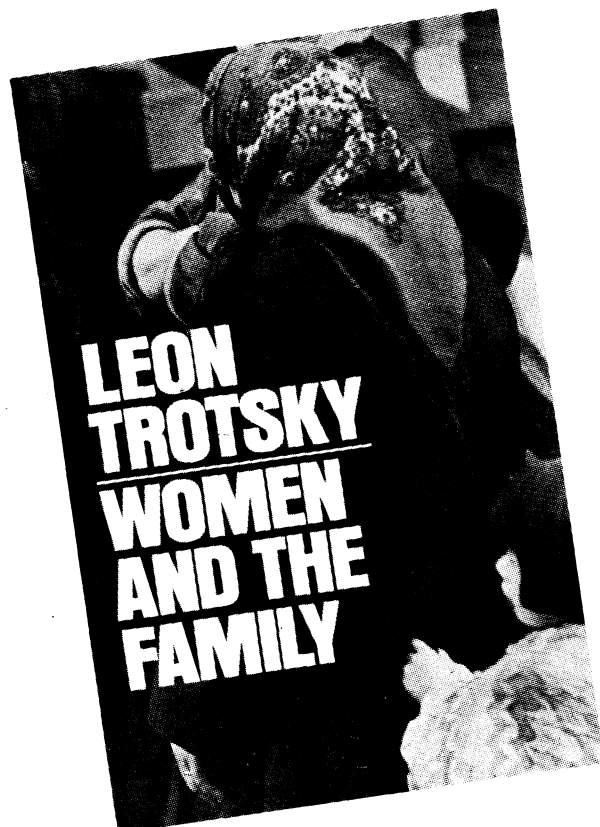


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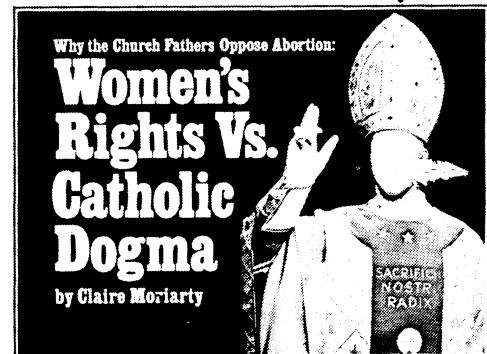
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LOS ANGELES

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SATURDAY, MARCH 17. 6 p.m.: Refreshments. 7 p.m.: Dinner. 8:30 p.m.: Rally. Party follows. TROUPER'S HALL, 1627 N. LaBrea (near Hollywood Blvd.), Hollywood. Donation: \$5, h.s. students \$3.50. For reservations call (213) 461-8131 or (213) 463-1917.

THE MILITANT

'Child care, not welfare'

2,000 S.F. protesters oppose cutbacks

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN
and CAROLE SEIDMAN

SAN FRANCISCO, March 2—More than 2,000 children and their parents marched around the Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) building here today in opposition to federal cuts in child-care funds.

"Child care, not welfare" was the principal demand. Children by the hundreds marched in the picket line and carried hand-painted signs. Slogans read: "Nixon kills child care to build bombs," "We gave to the rich at Nixon's office," "Children of the world unite," and "Free, 24-hour child care."

The picket signs were in many different languages, reflecting the composition of the crowd, which included Black, Chicano, Chinese, Japanese, and white protesters.

The demonstration and rally, called

In New York City 2,000 demonstrators protested the federal child-care budget cuts March 6. The majority of those at the demonstration, held outside the offices of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, were Black and Puerto Rican women. Most have jobs and depend on child care to be able to work. "Day care yes, welfare no" was a prominent slogan at the action.

by the Children's Council, was a quickly planned action that drew participants from several counties in the Bay Area. Speakers at the rally included San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto.

The action was part of a burgeon-



Part of crowd at San Francisco rally, March 2

Militant/Howard Petrick

ing protest by many parents, teachers, and others in the Bay Area. Over the past two weeks there have been meetings in virtually every child-care center in San Francisco.

California and New York are the two states hardest hit by Nixon's proposed cutbacks. These two states have the largest networks of federally financed child-care centers in the country. In California there are now more than 40,000 children enrolled in some kind of child-care program with federal funding. The state receives \$3 from the federal government for every \$1 it spends on childcare.

But harsh new regulations are scheduled to go into effect on March 19. The cuts in federal funds would have these drastic effects: dropping 15,600

of the 19,000 children in preschool programs; laying off 2,600 professional and paraprofessional child-care employees; cutting 11,300 children of working mothers from programs; dropping an estimated 90 percent of the 1,100 children now in the already limited program for migrant laborers; and reducing university child-care facilities.

The cutbacks would mean that women workers now using public centers would have to pay \$25 to \$40 per week per child for private care. This would force many women to go on welfare. The attack also affects teachers, many of whom are in the American Federation of Teachers.

A full range of activities is being organized in the Bay Area to demand

that the government stop the cutbacks. Parents meetings all over the city have agreed to raise in their protests the demand for "comprehensive, quality child care for all who want it."

The San Francisco Parents Advisory Council is organizing a march in San Francisco on March 10, to be followed by a rally called by the Ad Hoc Bay Area Children's Coalition.

In addition, parents plan to testify at open hearings in San Francisco on child care. Other activities being discussed are child-ins at campus child-care centers and sending delegations of women to apply for welfare, thus dramatizing what the cutbacks would mean. Bills have also been introduced into the state legislature to extend child care at least until the end of the 1972-1973 fiscal year.

The following are excerpts from a statement by the Oakland-Berkeley Socialist Workers Party denouncing Nixon's child-care cuts. The statement appeared in the March 2 Berkeley Gazette.

The effect of these cutbacks is to wipe out the already inadequate child-care and preschool programs. What is needed, however, is a greatly expanded program as a step toward free, 24-hour childcare. . . . Both the Democratic and the Republican Party politicians are responsible for these cutbacks. . . . The Socialist Workers Party candidates will use their campaign to build protests such as the March 10 demonstration in San Francisco.

Detroit demonstration will protest police terror

Nat'l Black Assembly demands: 'end STRESS'

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, March 4—The movement to end police brutality here got a big boost when the steering committee of the National Black Assembly, meeting in Detroit this weekend, voted unanimously to condemn the notorious terror squad of the Detroit police, known as STRESS ("Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Safe Streets").

The resolution, introduced by the Michigan delegation, was presented to the delegates by assembly leader Imamu Amiri Baraka and moved for adoption by Representative Charles Diggs (D-Mich.).

STRESS has killed many innocent Blacks since it was set up in early 1971. The killing of one STRESS officer, and the wounding of five

others several months ago, led to a massive manhunt in this city in which hundreds of Blacks have been harassed, beaten, and insulted, and two have been killed.

The resolution passed by the assembly also called for support to the demonstration against STRESS being organized by the Coalition to Abolish STRESS. The demonstration will take place when the common council takes up the question of the police budget. The exact date is not yet known, but it will probably be in early April.

The assembly's action capped off a week of anti-STRESS activities. On Feb. 27, the Coalition to Abolish STRESS held a picket line to protest a recent killing by police. The

action also publicized the demonstration being planned by the coalition.

Calls for the end of the STRESS squad were also heard at the funerals of two Detroit men sought in connection with a shoot-out with STRESS officers. John Percy Boyd and Mark Clyde Bethune were killed by Atlanta police in separate incidents. Detroit papers have carried conflicting stories on how each was slain.

The *Michigan Chronicle*, the area's only Black newspaper, headlined its March 3 edition: "Was John Percy Boyd Set Up?" The newspaper announced that it had been informed that Georgia State Representative Julian Bond and members of the Congressional Black Caucus were planning an investigation into the mysterious circumstances of Boyd's death.

This was before it was reported that Bethune had also been killed. Bethune died on the roof of a dormitory at Morris Brown College, an all-Black school near downtown Atlanta. Police, closing in on Bethune, said that they wounded him in the chest and that he then shot himself in the head. Some friends of Bethune in Detroit said that he had pledged to do this to avoid capture by police.

Funeral services for Boyd were held Feb. 28 in Bessemer, Ala.

Funeral services for Bethune were held March 3 at the Stetson Funeral

Home on Detroit's northwest side. Hundreds packed the home and spilled over into the streets. Chokwe Lumumba, a leader of the Republic of New Africa, and Black attorney Ken Cockrel spoke at the services.

Police, who had claimed Boyd and Bethune were drug pushers, now admit that this charge was false. This admission came only after autopsies by Atlanta police showed no heroin in their systems and no needle marks on their bodies.

This confirmed what friends and activists had been saying—that they were attempting to drive dope pushers from the Black community. Police now concede this, but claim that they were keeping dope and money for themselves. This is firmly denied by those who knew them well.

The Coalition to Abolish STRESS has called a memorial meeting for Boyd and Bethune for March 7 at Wayne State University. Melba Boyd, sister of John Boyd, will speak at the meeting. Also speaking will be Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the coalition, this writer—who knew and worked with Boyd—and Gil Bass of the Black Legal Alliance.

Those wishing to help the fight against STRESS should call (313) 577-3489 or come to the Association of Black Students Office, University Center Building, Wayne State University.



Crowd gathers at funeral service for Mark Bethune

Militant/Maceo Dixon