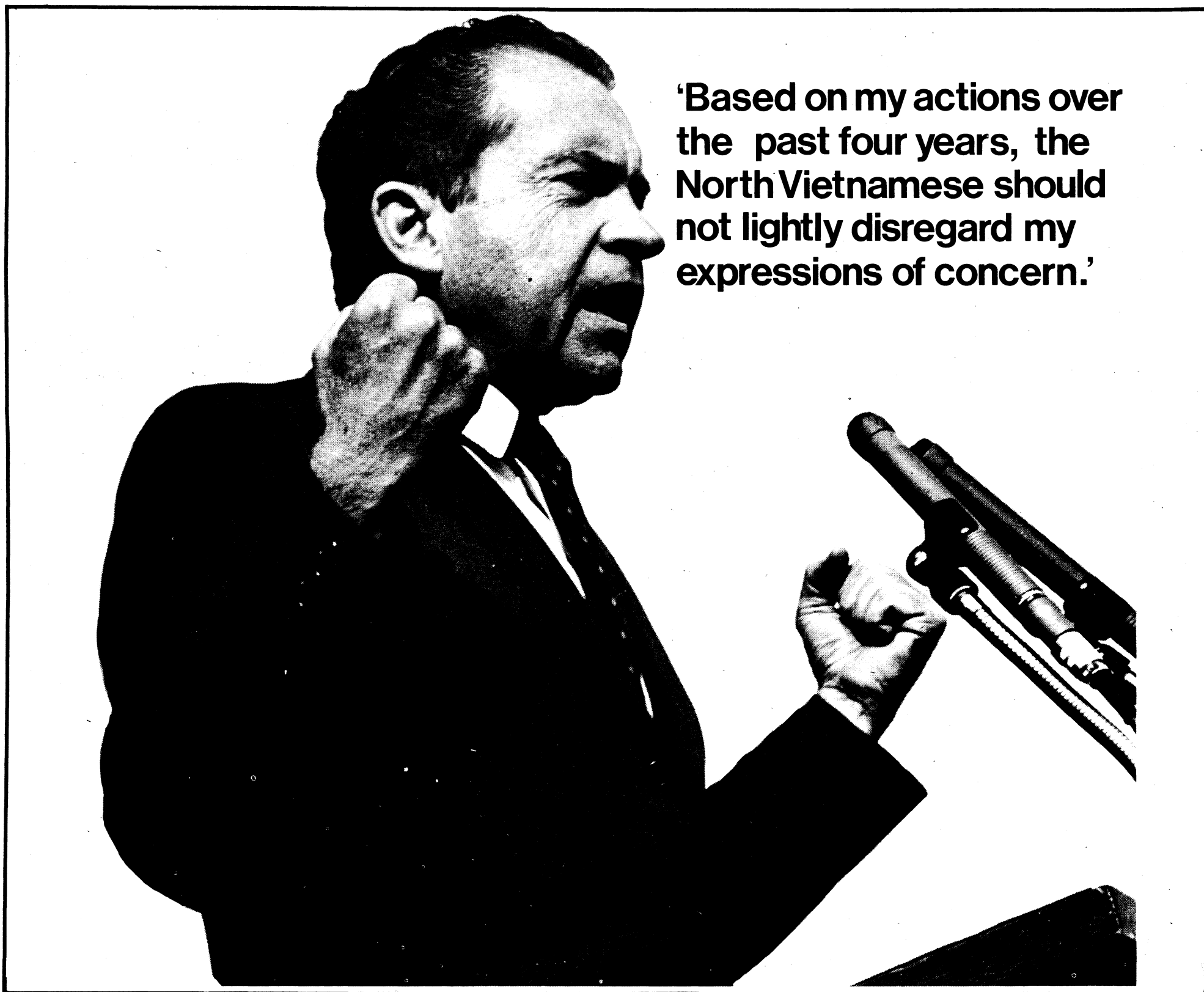


# THE MILITANT

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

## Nixon threatens new Viet terror bombing

—p. 11



'Based on my actions over the past four years, the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard my expressions of concern.'

One activist killed, others wounded  
**Denver cops attack Chicanos**/3  
Oglala Sioux still hold Wounded Knee  
**FBI arrests Indian supporters**/5

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 4 YSAers to tour U.S.
- 5 Indian activists still hold Wounded Knee
- 9 Funds demanded for child care
- 10 Navy fails to railroad Black sailors
- 11 NPAC, SMC hit Nixon war threat
- 12 Joe Curran of NMU
- 13 Poisoned lettuce on market
- 14 Cleveland socialists petition
- 15 SWP hits racism in Boston schools
- 16 Strategy for a mass socialist movement
- 17 Rail settlement announced
- 18 Left Opposition kept socialist ideas alive
- 19 YSA presses suit for campus rights
- 21 Good response to Militant's coverage of Wounded Knee
- 24 Shoppers call for meat boycott

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 National Picket Line La Raza en Accion
- 8 Great Society Women in Revolt By Any Means Necessary
- 20 In Review

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Argentine socialist rally projects road to workers power
- 2 Chile's elections show gains for Allende, increasing polarization
- 3 World news notes

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 12  
MARCH 30, 1973  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MARCH 21, 1973

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

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone: (213) 463-1917.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: Domestic, \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

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

**TEXAS CHICANOS PROTEST DENVER SLAYING:** Eighty people demonstrated against the murder of Luis Martinez by Denver police in a Raza Unida Party-sponsored action in Edinberg, Texas, March 20. Raza Unida Party member Vicente Carranza told *The Militant* a candlelight vigil was planned for March 21 to coincide with Martinez's funeral in Denver. Carranza said the demonstrators also expressed solidarity with the Indians struggling at Wounded Knee and protested U.S. colonialism in Panama.

**GOLDA MEIR AT BRANDEIS U.:** Less than three weeks after Israeli planes shot down a Libyan airliner carrying 113 passengers, Golda Meir appeared at Brandeis University to accept an honorary degree. She was met by 300 pickets organized by the May 15 Coalition, which includes the MIT Arab Club, the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad, the Tufts Hillel non-Zionist Caucus, the Middle East Research and Information Project, and the Young Socialist Alliance. A pro-Zionist counter-demonstration of 150 was organized by Hillel and the Young People's Socialist League.

The Brandeis demonstration followed a March 5 teach-in that drew 250 students. Other cities also had actions protesting Meir's visit and Israeli attacks against the Arab peoples. Houston, Texas, had a demonstration of 150 on Feb. 23. On Feb. 26 actions took place in Portland, Ore., and Bloomington, Ind. One-hundred and fifty people picketed the White House March 1 while Meir met with Nixon, and 200 attended a panel on the Middle East at Harvard University. Finally, more than 100 demonstrators picketed the Israeli Consulate in San Francisco on March 2. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party helped to organize these actions.

**OK TO KILL AN INDIAN?** Richard Oakes, a Mohawk Indian and a leader of the 19-month occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, was shot and killed last September by Michael Morgan, a YMCA camp manager in California. Morgan, who is known for his anti-Indian attitudes, was charged with voluntary manslaughter. On March 16 he was acquitted.

**REASSURING THE PUBLIC:** Declaring that "our sentence will assure the public that the judicial system is functioning," Judge D. Donald Jamieson refused to reduce a fine of \$270,000 levied against the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers for defying a back-to-work order he issued during the recent Philadelphia teachers strike.

Jamieson also refused to dismiss the six-month to four-year jail sentence imposed on union heads Frank Sullivan and John Ryan, although he did reduce the sentences on March 14 to four to 23 months. PFT attorneys announced that they would appeal the decision.

In another development 374 pickets arrested during the strike have been cleared of criminal contempt charges as a result of an agreement between the PFT and the school board. Under the agreement, however, each of the 374 will contribute \$50 toward the \$270,000 fine against the union.



Militant/Ann Wilcox

Eighty people demonstrated outside of the Bank of London in Los Angeles on St. Patrick's Day. The protest focused on the British occupation of Ireland, the internment of Irish activists, and the case of the Fort Worth Five. It was called by the Friends of Ireland coalition.

In Philadelphia more than 200 people participated in a demonstration called by the Irish Republican Clubs following a March 11 St. Patrick's Day parade.

**VICTORY FOR GAYS IN NORTH DAKOTA:** North Dakota recently became the eighth state to repeal its criminal sodomy laws involving consenting adults over 18. The measure is included in a revised criminal code adopted by the state legislature and scheduled to go into effect in 1975.

**STUDENTS PROTEST COLORADO FRAME-UP TRIAL:** Four hundred students participated in a rally on the University of Colorado campus in Boulder March 9 to protest the frame up of Anselmo "Elmer" Peralta and Raymond "Bobby" Roybal. Peralta and Roybal spoke to the rally, as did Corky Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice.

The two Chicano activists face trial on a trumped-up charge of bombing the police station in Fort Lupton, Colo., in March 1971. District Attorney Robert Miller admitted at the time of the arrest of the two—one year after the bombing—that "the evidence" against them was "largely circumstantial." It was established that Peralta's car, which was found destroyed by an explosion, had been used in the bombing, but he had reported it stolen.

The charges against Peralta and Roybal are based on their political activity in the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) organization at Boulder and their work in exposing the racism of the Fort Lupton police.

## Denver socialists blast cop attack on Chicanos

**DENVER—**The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance issued the following statement in response to the police attack on the Crusade for Justice.

We extend our condolences to the Crusade for Justice on the death of Luis Martinez, a victim of police murder.

The true facts about the police attack on the Tlatelolco dormitory must be fully established and made known throughout the country. We pledge to do everything we can to help accomplish this.

Establishing the truth about the police attack cannot be left to an official "investigation." Such an investigation would try to whitewash the killers.

This savage attack on the Crusade for Justice comes at a moment when the Crusade has been mobilizing Chicano support for the historic Indian protest at Wounded Knee. We call for a united response to the attacks on the Indian and Chicano movements.

**ON GUNRUNNING AND WITCH-HUNTING:** On March 13, Justice Department officials broke a 10-month silence, claiming that a grand jury in Fort Worth, Texas, has been investigating the purchase of Mexican guns for shipment to Ireland. Five New Yorkers active in the Irish movement who have never been to Texas and who have never been charged with any crime have spent four months in prison for refusing to testify before the grand jury.

The Irish-American Defense Committee has called a March 24 demonstration in New York in support of the Fort Worth Five. Demonstrators will meet at Columbus Circle at 1:30 p.m. For more information contact the committee c/o Henry Hudson Hotel, Room 311, 353 W. 57 St., New York, N.Y. 10019. Phone: (212) 581-1666.

**MAYBE HE WAS TRYING TO GET A HIGHER PRICE:** President Nixon's concern for the safety of American diplomats in the aftermath of the Khartoum kidnapping is undoubtedly genuine. After all, Christopher Lydon reports in the March 14 *New York Times* that Nixon's reelection committee received at least \$1.3-million last year from the administration's past and newly named ambassadors.

Dr. Ruth Lewis Farkas, Nixon's choice to be ambassador to Luxembourg, gave the bulk of her \$300,000 contribution to the Nixon campaign after the election was over. \$100,000 of this amount was donated after Nixon's reelection committee had announced a surplus of nearly \$5-million.

Farkas explained her donations were a little late because "we had to sell some stocks." She was unable to explain why the public announcement of Nixon's intention to nominate her had been held up from August, when she had first learned of it.

**PUERTO RICAN ACTIVISTS DISCUSS WOMEN'S MOVEMENT:** La Union Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos sponsored a Puerto Rican women's conference at Queens College in New York March 16-18. About 100 people participated, including speakers and activists from El Comite, the Puerto Rican Independence Party, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Among the topics discussed were the role of women in the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (the forerunner of the current Puerto Rican nationalist movement), the history and struggles of Puerto Rican women, and the feminist movement in general.

—DAVE FRANKEL

## Eyewitness report

# Denver police attack Chicanos; kill one activist, wound others



Tlatelolco school dormitory exploded during Denver police attack. The next day, cops had this section of building demolished, preventing full investigation of how explosion occurred.

By BILL PERDUE

DENVER, March 20—A young Chicano activist is dead, the victim of a murderous police attack March 17 on an apartment building owned by the Chicano movement. Shortly after the police began shooting into the building it was ripped by a massive explosion.

I happened to be going through the neighborhood minutes after the explosion. I witnessed a good part of the savage police attack from underneath a car where I was out of the line of fire. It was a nightmare for those who were the targets.

A Chicana, aged 17, is hospitalized with a bullet wound in her chest. Her condition is critical. Another Chicano activist has a police bullet wound in his back.

Sixty-seven Chicanos, at least half of them women, were jailed. Most of them were beaten by the police.

There is deep and well-justified suspicion that the police attack was planned. Crusade for Justice Leader Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales charged that the dead youth, Luis Martinez, 20, was the victim of police murder.

Martinez was a director of El Ballet Chicano de Aztlan, part of La Escuela Tlatelolco. Tlatelolco is a school for Chicano youth from kindergarten through college. It is operated by the Crusade for Justice, the Denver Chicano organization that has played a major role in spurring the development of the Chicano movement throughout the Southwest.

The apartment building attacked by the cops is next door to the Crusade and Escuela headquarters. It was

bought recently to be used as a low-rent dormitory by students and faculty at Tlatelolco.

All of the facts about the bloody police attacks have not been fully established, largely because the cops are going to extreme lengths to cover their tracks. They went so far as to have a section of the building demolished the next morning so that there could not be an investigation of what caused the explosion.

From what I was able to observe on the scene and the facts I was able to gather then and later, the following story emerges:

On Friday night, March 16, there was a party in one of the apartments in the dormitory.

Sometime after midnight, Luis Martinez came out of the building and, according to police, approached a cop car parked across the street. A white policeman, Stephen Snyder, and a Black policewoman, Carol Hogue, were in the car.

(It is reported that people attending the party stated that earlier in the evening policewoman Hogue had attended the party in civilian clothes.)

According to police Martinez approached the squad car and demanded it leave the area. Snyder reportedly responded by telling Martinez he had been jay-walking and ordered him into the car.

A crowd gathered and demanded Martinez be released.

Then, it is said, Martinez bolted from the car with patrolman Snyder in pursuit. Hogue chased along in the police car.

According to a police department

spokesman, she radioed for help and then met Snyder as he was coming out of a parking lot. He told her, according to police, that he had shot Martinez and had been shot himself. The police have not said if he claims to have been shot by Martinez or by someone else.

Snyder is now hospitalized, reportedly with face and abdomen wounds. According to police, he is unable to talk. Hogue has not talked to reporters.

Martinez was found dead in a pool

**DENVER—The cops here originally told the press they had found an "arsenal" of more than 100 guns when they searched the dormitory building they had attacked. Within 24 hours local news accounts scaled it down to 25, and only three of these were specifically described. The rest appeared to be props used by the Ballet Chicano for a number they do about the Mexican revolution. They are old, and lack bolts and firing mechanisms. Police have made no charge of illegal possession concerning the others.**

of blood by the steps of a nearby clinic. In his blood a message was scrawled, "Fuck the pigs."

With Hogue's "policeman in trouble" message, a small army of heavily armed cops suddenly appeared. The papers say there were sixty of them. From everything I could see, 200 is a more accurate number.

They trained floodlights on the dormitory and began shooting into it. A cop with a bullhorn warned them to keep out of the range of snipers. With the hail of police bullets it was impossible to determine if any shots were coming from the building.

But I do know this: At one point the cop with the bullhorn ordered the others to stop firing. When they did, there was complete silence. If there were snipers, there was no reason for them to stop shooting when the cops did. While the cops were pouring bullets into one end of the building, other cops made their way into the entrance at the other end. They began breaking into apartments, pulling people out, beating them, and arresting them.

Continued on page 22

## Chicanos tell how cop assault happened

By RAUL GONZALES

DENVER—Nearly 600 Chicanos gathered at the Crusade for Justice headquarters March 18 as members of the Crusade told the press about the police attack the day before. The facts they presented were quite different from the police version the press had previously reported.

Among those who spoke were the three brothers of Luis (Junior) Martinez, who was killed by the cops, and Corky Gonzales. Two Chicanos who were brutalized by the cops, and Ernesto Vigil, who was shot by the police, also made statements.

Gonzales said the Crusade would insist that its own pathologist examine the remains of Luis Martinez to determine how he was killed. He said the Crusade wants to know if Martinez was shot once, dragged into an alley, and shot in the back as he was on the ground.

José, Roberto, and Mark Martinez said Junior had died for what he had dedicated his life to—the liberation of the Chicano people. They charged their brother was the victim of police murder.

David Gonzalez, in obvious pain, told how he had arrived in the area after the shooting began, not fully knowing what was going on. He said he was dragged from his car by cops, who started working him over.

"They had these two clubs joined together with leather straps, they got it around my neck and began squeezing and choking me."

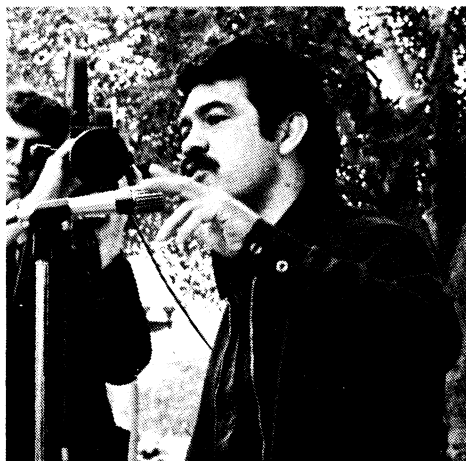
He said he was beaten again in a police car, in the elevator at the police station, and when he was thrown into a cell.

Luis Ramirez told how he too arrived after the shoot-out began and tried to see if he could help. A cop ordered him back to his car. He was obeying when he saw a Chicano youth being beaten by another cop. He demanded the cop stop.

"That's when the roof fell in on me," said Ramirez, whose head and right eye were heavily bandaged. He said seven or eight cops jumped him, beat on his head, and almost knocked out his eye.

To those who are saying the incident will hurt the "progress" in relations between the cops and the community, Ernesto Vigil said, "There never has been any progress between the Chicano community and the police department of this city. There won't be any until they get off our backs."

"We can expect this kind of thing to keep on happening," Vigil said, "until the dream that Luis lived and died for comes true. That is the dream that some day Chicanos will be a liberated and independent people controlling their own destiny."



Corky Gonzales

Militant/Harry Ring

## 'Always a movement person'

DENVER—Slain Chicano activist Luis (Junior) Martinez was described to *The Militant* by Corky Gonzales as a highly intelligent young person from a barrio on Denver's East Side who went through the experiences of many Chicano youth.

As a teen-ager he worked in Colorado farm labor camps. He did time in reform schools. Then he began attending Crusade for Justice meetings and became active in the Black Berets. He was active in the Berets when they led the first of Denver's famous Chi-

cano high school blowouts (strikes).

When the Tlatelolco School was established, Martinez became interested in the ballet school, and after a period became the school's choreographer. He helped organize a whole number of Chicano dance groups throughout Colorado.

While he was deeply involved with dancing, Corky said, "He was always a movement person. . . . He was at a revolutionary level where he wouldn't back down from any man. But he also wouldn't harm any man."



## Call conference for March 24

# Students fight CUNY fee threat

By MARILYN MARKUS

NEW YORK, March 19 — In October 1972 Governor Nelson Rockefeller appointed a commission headed by Francis Keppel to undertake "a comprehensive evaluation of the present laws and methods of financing higher education, both public and private" in New York State.

The Keppel commission recently came out with its report, proposing to roll back important rights of New York students. The City University system of New York (CUNY) has always been tuition free. In 1969, a massive city-wide struggle forced the university to adopt an open-admissions policy. This policy increased the enrollment of Black and Puerto Rican students from 3 percent to 30 percent.

The Keppel commission report calls for:

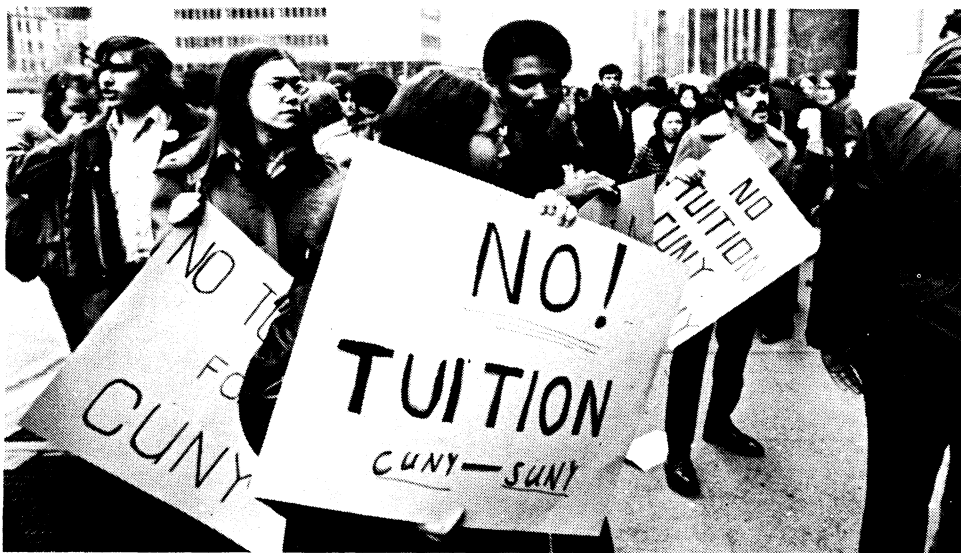
- Charging tuition at CUNY of \$650 for first- and second-year students and \$1,000 for third- and fourth-year students.

- A program of financial aid, with maximum benefits going to students from a family of five with one child

*The city-wide student conference on fighting CUNY tuition plan begins at 12 noon, March 24, at the Hunter College Student Lounge, 695 Park Ave. (68th St.), New York City.*

in college, or in comparable situations. The maximum grant would be \$1,710. Students would have to rely on loans, work, or family support for all other funds.

These proposals are based on the premise that education is a privilege for people who can afford it, and not a right. It is a direct threat to the open-admissions policy, which mainly benefits Black, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed nationalities.



March 15 antituition demonstration at Keppel commission hearings in New York.

The attempt to impose tuition at CUNY and the continuation of tuition at SUNY (State University of New York) is part of a general cutback of vital social services in this country. This is one more step added to the abolition of the Office of Equal Opportunities, ending student loans, forcing welfare recipients to work for low wages, and cutting out child-care facilities.

Students on the City University campuses are beginning to organize against this attack. About 200 people picketed March 15 in front of the Keppel commission hearings. Demonstrators demanded "No Tuition at CUNY and SUNY!"

Most of the demonstrators came from City College as a result of a united meeting of several organizations on the campus, including Boricuas Unidos, United Community Centers, Young Socialist Alliance, Radical Jewish Union, Asian Americans, and the Attica Brigade. The president of City College supplied two free buses to take students to and from the demonstration and the student senate and

other organizations helped to produce and distribute publicity.

One unfortunate incident at this demonstration was the exclusion of some demonstrators, particularly members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY), for carrying signs with slogans other than the main demand chosen by the action's organizers. Participants from the United Community Centers called the police to divide the RCY from the rest of the demonstration. YSA members protested this exclusion and attempted to convince the other demonstrators of the need for a unified movement that excludes no one.

The City University Student Senate meeting March 18 unanimously passed a proposal calling for a city-wide student conference to take place March 24; an open city-wide steering committee; and ad hoc coalitions at all city colleges and high schools.

At the March 24 conference, students from all over the city will have an opportunity to discuss how to fight against tuition and cutbacks on student-aid programs.

# Young Socialist leaders to tour U.S.

Three national leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance will tour the country beginning in April, speaking on "Four More Years of Nixon and What To Do About It: Why We Need Socialism in America."

Their talks will focus on the attacks by the Nixon administration on the rights of youth, Blacks, Chicanos, students, women, and working people, and how the American people can organize to fight these attacks. They will address campus and high school audiences and forums, and take part in debates.

The speakers are Andrew Pulley, José G. Pérez, and Olga Rodríguez.

Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the YSA, was the 1972 vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Pulley was born in 1951 in Greenwood, Miss. As a GI at Fort Jackson, S.C., he became involved in GIs United Against the War. He was one of the defendants in the case of the Fort Jackson Eight.

Pulley contributed to the book *GIs Speak Out Against the War* and wrote the introduction to the pamphlet *A Transitional Program for Black Liberation* (both available from Pathfinder Press). He is also prepared to speak on "Black Liberation: Where We Are; Where We Must Go."

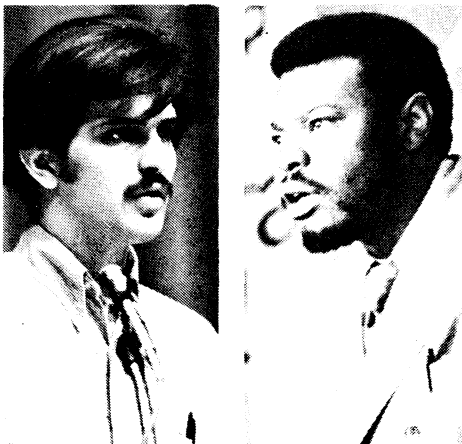
José G. Pérez was born in Havana, Cuba. He is a staff writer for the *Young Socialist* newspaper, covering the Chicano and Puerto Rican struggles and Latin American politics. In 1971 Pérez served as coordinator of the Northern California Raza Contra La Guerra Committee, a Chicano anti-war group, and he was a member of the Oakland Raza Unida Party steering committee. He is a member of the YSA national committee.

Pérez is also available to speak on "Crisis in Chile: Role of U.S. Imperialism; Is Allende Leading Chile to Socialism?" and on "How to Win Chicano Liberation."

Olga Rodríguez was born and raised in the barrio of Brownsville, Texas, in the Rio Grande Valley.

She participated in the historic Conferencia de las Mujeres por La Raza, the first national Chicana conference, held in Houston in 1971. Rodríguez is the 1973 Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. She is a member of the YSA national committee, and is available to also speak on "Feminism and Socialism" and "How to Win Chicano Liberation."

VIEWPOINT, a national speaker's bureau, is arranging the tours of all three speakers. To bring a speaker to your area, contact VIEWPOINT, P.O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 255-9229.



Jose G. Perez

Andrew Pulley

# Anti-STRESS leader tours Atlanta

By TONY DUTROW

ATLANTA, March 17 — Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the Detroit Black Commission of Inquiry, has been speaking throughout this city to counteract the news media's charges that three Black youths murdered by Atlanta police Feb. 27 were "cop killers" and "dope pushers."

Two of the slain youths were Mark Clyde Bethune and John Percy Boyd, residents of Detroit and the objects of one of the biggest manhunts ever conducted by the Detroit police force. The two were allegedly involved in shoot-outs last December with plainclothes cops of the STRESS ("Stop

the Robberies — Enjoy Safe Streets") unit.

Dixon, whose commission has called for an end to STRESS, came to tell of the police terror in the Detroit Black community, and to expose the police attempt to portray Bethune and Boyd as dope pushers. In reality, the two were involved in antidrug activities.

At a news conference held March 14 at Morris Brown College, the site of Bethune's killing, Dixon was introduced to the media by Juanita Vaughn, cochairwoman of an Atlanta ad hoc committee against police repression. The conference was covered by all the major television and radio stations in the city.

Dixon was later interviewed by the *Atlanta Voice*, Georgia's largest Black newspaper, as well as the *Great Speckled Bird* and campus newspapers from Spelman and Morehouse, two Black private colleges.

Dixon spoke to a meeting of the ad hoc committee, a recently formed group that is organizing activity against Atlanta's STRESS-like units — the SWAT squad ("Special Weapons and Tactical Team") and STAKEOUT, a decoy and entrapment unit to "stop crime in the streets."

There has been an angry reaction in the Black community here in response to the revelation that five policemen conspired to plant a knife in the car of Hubert Comer, a Black

man, after he was shot and killed by police last weekend. The cops had hoped to prove "self-defense" on the part of the trigger-happy cop who shot Comer.

About 75 people heard Dixon at a rally on the Morris Brown campus March 15. The rally was moved outdoors after the dean of students personally locked the doors of an auditorium reserved for the event. The dean then placed security guards outside and announced over the campus public address system that the rally was "called off."

In addition to Dixon, speakers included leaders from the Georgia Prisoners' Observers Committee, the Black Panther Party, and the People's Committee to Insure Justice. Debby Bustin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, also spoke.

On March 16, Dixon spoke at the Militant Bookstore Forum along with Juanita Vaughn, Ron Carter of the Black Panther Party, and Joel Aber, SWP candidate for vice-mayor of Atlanta.

Dixon spoke today to about 60 Black people at a People's Liberation Rally, a weekly event held by the Metro-Dekalb Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) under the direction of the Reverend Hosea Williams.

SCLC plans to publish an account of the Detroit anti-STRESS movement in its newspaper, the *People's Crusader*.



Maceo Dixon speaking in Atlanta



# Indian activists still hold Wounded Knee

By DAN ROSENSHINE

MARCH 21 — Indian activists holding Wounded Knee continue to be surrounded by federal marshals and FBI agents, who are threatening a bloody attack against them and their supporters. Although the government has been forced to negotiate with the encircled Oglala Sioux, it has failed to meet, or even seriously discuss the Indians' demands.

These demands were formulated by the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO), which is based on the Pine Ridge Reservation. OSCRO

initiated the Wounded Knee occupation and sought the aid of the national American Indian Movement (AIM).

One of the key OSCRO goals is the removal of the present tribal chairman, Richard Wilson, and an end to the tribal government system established and controlled by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

The activists have also demanded the replacement of the BIA officials, termination of the tribal police, and the holding of a popular constitutional convention to adopt a new tribal government system for the Pine Ridge Reservation.

But U.S. government negotiators have been demanding complete surrender by the Indians. On March 17 Assistant Attorney General Harlington Wood Jr., after attending a series of high level meetings in Washington, gave the Indians at Wounded Knee a sealed envelope containing the government's position.

According to Bill Kovach, writing in the March 19 *New York Times*, "the Government is asking the Indians to give up their weapons and leave Wounded Knee and that those against whom indictments have been obtained must submit to arrest."

"In return," Kovach said, "the six leaders of the movement would be allowed to present their grievances to Interior Department officials in Sioux Falls and be permitted to meet with the press afterward. This would be before surrendering to the Federal authorities to face whatever charges have been brought against them in



Negotiations continue at Wounded Knee

connection with the seizure of Wounded Knee on Feb. 27 and its subsequent occupation by armed force."

The Indian's reply was a denunciation of the government's demands and a pledge to continue their struggle. Russell Means, a leader of AIM who is also an Oglala Sioux, denounced the offer as a request for "total capitulation and submission to arrest and disarmament."

The leader of the Wounded Knee security guard, Stanley Holder, held up a copy of the proposal while speaking to a meeting of 100 activists, set it afire, and threw the flaming document to the ground.

On March 19 the Indians holding Wounded Knee demanded a meeting with a special presidential emissary

chosen from among the Sioux people, declaring that they would negotiate on the basis of nineteenth century treaties repeatedly broken by the government. They also presented petitions to reservation and U.S. authorities calling for a referendum on the tribal constitution. More than 1,400 of the 3,000 voting members of the Oglala Sioux tribe have signed the petition.

Meanwhile, government authorities have continued to harass both Indians and non-Indians who have come to the Pine Ridge Reservation to support the Wounded Knee action. "Outsiders" leaving Wounded Knee (including Indians from other parts of the country) have been arrested and charged with "attempting to obstruct federal officers during a civil disorder."

## Chicano killed in Rapid City

Graciano Jáuregui, 25, a Chicano activist from Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University near Davis, Calif., was shot to death March 13 by cops in Rapid City, S.D. Jáuregui and several companions were on their way to Wounded Knee to show their solidarity with the Indians there and to gather information about their struggle in order to organize support for it. The police claim Jáuregui was shot after he stabbed a cop who tried to stop him from robbing a tire store. Eyewitnesses deny this account. Jáuregui had been a student at Merritt College in Oakland. He and his wife, Maria, had participated in Venceremos Brigade trips to Cuba.

## FBI arrests 16 Wounded Knee supporters

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Sixteen persons from Los Angeles taking food, clothing, and medical supplies to Indians at Wounded Knee have been arrested and charged with violating federal antiriot laws.

The caravan of 13 Indians and three white high school supporters was stopped by more than 50 FBI agents around midnight, March 16 as they crossed the California border into Nevada. The supplies were impounded in spite of pleas from physicians to let them go through. The FBI agents had followed the caravan all the way from Los Angeles.

A federal magistrate in Las Vegas set bail for the defendants March 19. It went as high as \$10,000 for three of the defendants, including Archie

Fire, Western regional coordinator of AIM. Michael Letwin, editor of a Los Angeles high school alternative newspaper was among those freed on \$1,000 bail. Several thousand dollars still has to be raised to free others.

Leonard Weinglass, attorney for Anthony Russo in the Pentagon Papers trial in Los Angeles, attended the arraignment on behalf of the defendants. A preliminary hearing has been set for March 22. ACLU attorneys are also working on the case.

On March 17, a spokesman for the Department of the Interior announced the arrests in Pine Ridge, S.D., and told newsmen to "expect more of the same" as the federal government moved to cut off support to Wounded Knee from around the country.

Scotty Calloway, Los Angeles di-

rector of AIM, and Sandy Fire, AIM activist, both were surprised at the arrest. They said the caravan was organized in a completely open manner. Television cameras had even filmed the departure.

In a news conference March 19 three representatives of a group called Concerned Physicians for Wounded Knee, which had helped gather the medical supplies, registered their shock and outrage at the arrests. Many of the doctors are from the American Friends Service Committee.

They explained that the caravan was on a mission of mercy with desperately needed medicine such as insulin for the three known diabetics at Wounded Knee and antibiotics for persons who had contracted pneumonia due to the recent blizzard.

Dr. Constance Uri said that the caravan had never intended to go to Wounded Knee directly but rather was going to Denver to hand the supplies over to the National Council of Churches. The government was allowing only the National Council of Churches to bring in medical supplies.

Dr. Uri, who is part Indian, said the arrests were an attempt by the Nixon administration to place an embargo on travel by U.S. citizens. Other similar efforts have been stopped in New York, Chicago, and Denver. AIM spokesman Calloway and Dr. Uri have both indicated that efforts will continue to get more supplies through. It is expected that offers of aid from concerned people will increase in response to government harassment.

## AIM leader on California speaking tour

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Support activities for the Indians at Wounded Knee continued here with the arrival of Vernon Bellecourt, national director of AIM (American Indian Movement).

Bellecourt, who came here from Wounded Knee, is on a national tour to raise funds for defense of those victimized at Wounded Knee and to "bring the truth to the American people." In California he was slated to speak at several campuses, including the University of California at Los Angeles, Berkeley and Santa Barbara, and Stanford University.

In a March 12 news conference at UCLA, Bellecourt described the main issues at Wounded Knee.

He said Indians are demanding that the U.S. government live up to its obligations as provided in the 371 treaties it has signed with Indians over the years.

The protesters are also demanding

removal of the corrupt tribal governments—the "Washington, D.C., Indians"—so they can be replaced with Indians who are responsive to the needs of their people. This is one of the main issues at the Pine Ridge Reservation today.

"All these years the United States government has had a trust responsibility through the Bureau of Indian Affairs to protect our resources, our land, our water, our minerals, and to protect our people," Bellecourt stated. "The conditions that Indian people are forced to live in today on our own land are a national disgrace and a criminal indictment against the U.S. government, the Department of the Interior, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The ultimate goal at Wounded Knee is total self-determination."

Bellecourt said that AIM has received the support of 85 to 90 percent of Indian people in the various



Vernon Bellecourt

Militant/Harry Ring

actions they have carried out, including the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C., last fall.

"The only ones who condemn us are the bureaucrats and the Indian tribal leaders who are responsible to Washington," he said.

Speaking to an audience of 150 at UCLA, he compared the treatment of Indians with that of the people of Southeast Asia by U.S. imperialism. He said the longest undeclared war in U.S. history has been the war on the Indian people.

Bellecourt also addressed a rally at the federal building in downtown Los Angeles, where about 300 supporters marched in a picket line. Others speaking at the rally included Archie Fire (Lame Deer), Western regional coordinator of AIM; Raul Ruiz of the Raza Unida Party; Ron Kovic of the Vietnam Veterans; and Olga Rodriguez of the Socialist Workers Party.

## ITT versus Chile

Recent revelations coming out of congressional investigations have provided a glimpse of the everyday internal workings of the U.S. government in league with the biggest corporations. It has been revealed that:

- In 1970 and 1971 top officials of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation met repeatedly with top officials of the Nixon administration to plan ways to prevent Salvador Allende from being elected in Chile and to oust Allende once he was elected by causing "economic collapse" in Chile.

- In these meetings ITT also arranged deals involving antitrust suits pending against the corporation.

- An ITT memo indicated the approval of "the U.S. military establishment" for an anti-Allende coup by the Chilean army.

- John McCone—former Central Intelligence Agency Director and also a director of ITT—had offered Henry Kissinger \$1-million from ITT toward any U.S. government action to stop Chilean nationalization of ITT's holdings.

The secret deals exposed by these revelations are obviously not the exception. This is the way the U.S. government operates all the time—hand in glove with the biggest corporations. The arrogance of the U.S. government in its domination and intervention in the affairs of colonial countries is also illustrated in its flat refusal to give up control of the Panama Canal Zone, an issue presently under discussion in the United Nations.

All Nixon's rhetoric about the "free world," "democracy," and "honor" is rubbish. He isn't interested in the democratic rights of the Chilean workers and peasants to choose their own government any more than he cares about the right of the Vietnamese, or the Indians at Wounded Knee, to determine their own destiny. His administration, like all those preceding it, is only attuned to the needs of the high and mighty—the United Fruit Company, Anaconda Copper, Standard Oil, ITT, etc.

The ITT scandal is only one example of the relationship between the U.S. government and colonial countries. By means of secret diplomacy and high-level payoffs, the American people are kept in the dark about the government's activities interfering in the affairs of other countries. Far from protecting democracy, Washington operates a world police force to protect the private profits and future investment possibilities of U.S. big business.

## Capital punishment

Ever since the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the death penalty unconstitutional last June, reactionary forces have been campaigning to have this barbaric punishment reinstated. Leading the pack of wolves have been the police "benevolent" associations and the representatives of prison guards.

Now these rabid advocates of the gas chamber and the electric chair have been joined by President Nixon himself. In a radio speech March 10, Nixon declared, "Americans in the last decade were often told that the criminal was not responsible for his crimes against society, but that society was responsible. I totally disagree with this permissive philosophy."

In the sixth in his series of "State of the Union" messages to Congress, Nixon elaborated his plan to reinstate the death penalty for a number of crimes.

Most of those who suffer from the "justice" meted out by the capitalist courts are not the criminals but the victims of class and racial oppression. Since 1930, more than 50 percent of those executed in the U.S. have been Black.

The rich and the powerful, who have the prosecutors, the judges, and the politicians on their side, if not in their pay, are never confined on death row.

If Nixon wanted to end crime, why didn't he propose a "crackdown" on trigger-happy cops who use the ghettos and barrios for shooting galleries?

If he wanted to end crime, why didn't he propose some action to end poverty and despair, which breed the petty crimes of the cities?

Nixon knows the death penalty never has and never will deter crime. He wants to give the capitalist courts and the rest of the repressive machinery another weapon to wield in their campaign to intimidate—and, if necessary, eliminate—those who stand up to the oppression they face under this capitalist system.

### Black Jews in Israel

For the past few weeks or so you have been publishing articles on the state of Israel and the subject of Zionism. I applaud you for helping expose to the public the racist nature of Zionism as practiced against the Arabs.

However, as a Black man, I feel you have missed or perhaps played down the barbarous treatment that the small minority of Black American Jews in Israel receive. They are subject to all types of harassment: arbitrary arrest, torture, sexual assault, and raids on places of worship.

I realize it takes courage for a newspaper to print the truth, but keep up the good work. For the people know who their real friends are: those who speak out and print the truth.

*Samuel Casimir Jr.  
Chicago, Ill.*

### Catholic socialist

I am a Catholic in religion and a socialist in politics. Sound incompatible? I don't think so. There is one issue, however, that sets me off from my political comrades. This is the issue of abortion.

I believe we women should control our own bodies. This, however, does not give us the right to destroy someone else's body either before or after he or she has been born.

*F. M.  
Hingham, Mass.*

### Before and after

Before reading your newspaper I felt very apolitical and extremely frustrated with the country's dominant and overpowering "profit motive." Now I feel there is a chance, and that through socialization and education we can correct this destructive force.

This is probably the finest periodical I've read. I had no idea of the content until I took the time to read it throughout.

*C. M.  
Washington, D. C.*

### Wounded Knee

I would like to express wholeheartedly my support to the Native Americans in their actions and demands at Wounded Knee, S.D. American Indian Movement leader Russell Means linked the cause of the Oglala Sioux and all Native Americans with the struggle of the Vietnamese (which is still going on) against genocidal U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. Right on!

*J. S.  
San Diego, Calif.*

### The Militant in Wounded Knee

Those struggling against oppression have time and time again seen the capitalist newspapers distort their activities. But here at Wounded Knee it was possible for *The Militant* reporting team to see firsthand another part of the falsification of the news—in the gathering of the raw news stories.

With few exceptions, reporters for the TV networks and big-city dailies have filed dispatches that are factually incorrect, prejudiced, and generally lacking insight into the reasons for the struggle.

For example, few newspapers have mentioned in any way the Oglala

Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO), the organization that originally made the decision to move into Wounded Knee and called on the American Indian Movement (AIM) to aid their struggle.

OSCRO is the largest organization at Wounded Knee. But after a week or more on the reservation, most reporters still didn't know OSCRO exists. They do know personally, however, the assistant-to-the-assistant government public relations flunky.

For most reporters, the "facts" come from government spokesmen. What the Indians have to say, if it gets reported at all, is in the form of "the Indians *claim* so and so."

The reputation of *The Militant* as a paper that tells the truth about the struggles of all the oppressed was literally a passport for *The Militant* reporting team. We were able to pass through the blockade and armed checkpoint of the Indians with a friendly wave of the hand after we showed them *The Militant* and told them we were reporting for it. To be a *Militant* reporter was better than the best government identification.

*Joe Johnson  
Wounded Knee, S.D.*

### Jewish homeland

I am in agreement with those who believe in self-determination for the Palestinian people. It is a right that should not be deprived.

But when in the hell will you admit that the Jewish people also have a natural right to a homeland? Aren't they entitled to self-determination too?

If everyone is supposedly equal under socialism, then why don't you treat the Israelis more equitably? If you don't, then you operate under a double standard and support national liberation and self-determination for some, not all.

The only realistic solution to this homeland question is to have two separate homelands—one Palestinian and one Jewish. I propose that the West Bank and the Gaza Strip become the future home of the Palestinian people.

*J. C.  
New York, N. Y.*

### Israel

I would like to thank you for showing the pitfalls that "socialists" seem to fall into. These I see as you cite Marx in one story and in the next fan the flames of nationalist hatred. Karl Marx expected an international workers revolution. What do you do? You worry about getting a few Israelis out of a strip of land they have just as much right to as any other people. You advocate wars of national liberation instead of wars of a truly revolutionary nature.

*D. J.  
Whitewater, Wis.*

### Day-care cutbacks

My friend at work is a Black woman in her twenties who is raising two children alone—one 10, the other, three. She is a receptionist-secretary and probably takes home between \$100 and \$110 a week.

Her little boy is in school but her three-year-old girl is in a day-care center and won't be able to go to school for at least two more years. At present the center fee is \$2 a week.

On March 19, because of Nixon's budget slashes, the fee will go up to \$42 a week. On that day only four-or-more-member families living on \$5,400 per year or less will be eligible to take advantage of the center without paying outrageous, impossible prices.

If my friend can't pay this the little girl is virtually out on the street.

She is afraid she will have to go back to getting a baby-sitter, which is both costly and stifling for the child. Since being in the center, her little girl has blossomed from a frightened, introverted child into a very outgoing one.

"Sanctity of life" Nixon is crushing the lives of millions of children and mothers across the country.  
M. M.

New York, N. Y.

### Irish rights activist sentenced

On Feb. 23 Charles Malone, indicted by the special grand jury in San Francisco investigating supporters of Irish freedom on the West Coast, was sentenced to two years' probation. Under the terms of Mr. Malone's probation he is not allowed to attend meetings of any Irish support groups and is even prohibited from going into Irish pubs.

The motive and prejudice behind this decision is clear—to force Malone to end his support to the just struggle of a people against oppression and to give up the culture that is a link with and a heritage from these people.

The United States government will not stop us from continuing and increasing our support to the people of Ireland. And it will not stop us from continuing our defense of those threatened by government action as a result of their support of the Irish Republican Movement.

Joan McGuire

Secretary, Irish Community Defense Committee

San Francisco, Calif.

### Peace & Freedom Party

The Peace and Freedom Party held a political conference Feb. 17-18 to allow people at the grass-roots level of the party to discuss (not decide, at that time) politics. The March 16 *Militant* presented a questionable view of the PFP as a "relatively small, politically amorphous grouping of liberals and middle-class radicals."

The Peace and Freedom Party is a radical political party characterized by the fact that most of its 200-member state central committee live below the poverty level. While some of its 35,000 membership is liberal, the leadership is radical.

Many of the 200 plus who registered at the conference were walking the picket line of striking mail house workers. That is why many did not participate in the entire conference.

C. T. Weber

Chairperson

Peace and Freedom Party of California

Long Beach, Calif.

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.



## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

### Meany's sweet and sour sauce

Negotiations for a new contract in the electrical industry will open formally in New York City March 22 between the General Electric Corporation—one of the four largest corporations—and a coalition of 14 unions.

On one side of the bargaining table will sit the spokesmen of GE's bright new personnel department, cleaned and scrubbed with hardly a trace of the old antiunion "Boulwarism" (take-it-or-leave-it bargaining concept) that for many years was GE's scabby labor relations trademark.

On the other side will be the Coordinated Bargaining Committee of GE-Westinghouse Unions. Most are AFL-CIO affiliates, the largest being the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), the International Association of Machinists (IAM), and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). Independent unions include Teamsters (IBT), United Electrical Workers (UE), and Auto Workers (UAW).

The government is also a participant in these negotiations, preferring not to be seen.

At rallies on March 10 in 15 cities, 2,500 delegates from 300 local unions representing about 120,000 GE workers met to hear and discuss union demands.

The "unity resolution" of the 14 international unions expressed "our hope that with coordinated bargaining accepted by management in spirit as well as in law, and with unity secure beyond challenge, agreements that meet the present and future needs of GE-Westinghouse workers can be negotiated peacefully to the advantage of all."

Negotiations for a contract covering 80,000 Westinghouse workers will begin early in April in Pittsburgh.

Official silence surrounding the negotiations indicates that the main outlines of a settlement have been roughly defined in labor-management-government talks over the past several months.

The final draft is expected to serve as a model for future negotiations in other major industries this year, which accounts for Nixon's interest.

One of the first considerations is to head off a strike. The government does not want a repeat performance of the 1969-70 strike, which lasted for 101 days and ended with industry-wide bargaining through the unions' coordinating committee firmly established. Until then GE had insisted on bargain-

ing with each union separately.

General Electric has long considered itself *the* leader in the field of labor relations, having successfully chopped up and farmed out different units of its vast empire to competing unions. In this way it kept wages low, and was able to dictate working conditions.

Today GE has adopted a less savage public policy out of necessity, but no less predatory in practice.

The unions are demanding "substantial" wage increases, an escalator clause to "guard against future inflation by removing the 8¢ cap on cost-of-living increases and making the formula more equitable," and "a shorter workweek, without loss in pay."

These demands are deliberately drafted by union officials in the most general terms to allow for "flexibility" at the bargaining table. This was a source of complaint by delegates from the electrical shops to the March 10 union rallies. They wanted a detailed list of specific demands to take back to the workers.

The Coordinated Bargaining Committee of GE-Westinghouse Unions is established under the chairmanship of AFL-CIO President George Meany. The steering committee consists of one representative from each of the 14 international unions.

Whether the goals of the Nixon administration can be achieved will be apparent in the early rounds of the formal negotiations. Company representatives seem willing to forgo some of GE's earlier "principles" in the interest of a negotiated settlement.

At stake is how much can be knocked out of the unions' demands. The first targets are the cost-of-living escalator clause in the old contract and the demand for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay.

Electrical workers will be asked to forgo these basic demands in exchange for "substantial" wages.

Whether the deal goes through will be determined by what concessions GE is willing to make. The unions claim that something substantial can be squeezed out of the company's \$35-million profits for 1972.

If a deal is struck, it will then need to be sold to the electrical workers. How palatable it can be made is mostly in the sweetening of it. The union bureaucrats, under Meany's guidance, are experts in the art of mixing the old sweet and sour sauce.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



### A little 'Latin spice' isn't enough

Chicano representation in government in California is so tiny that to label it "tokenism" would be an exaggeration.

Population figures for Chicanos are gathered in a haphazard manner and should always be regarded as conservative estimates. But even so, the figures are revealing. According to the 1970 census, the 3.25 million Chicanos in California comprise 16.5 percent of the state's population. In Los Angeles there are more than 350,000 Chicanos within the city limits, and 518,000 in Los Angeles County.

And yet, only two out of 80 members of the state assembly are Chicanos. There hasn't been a Chicano state senator in 62 years. And, not a single member of the city council or the County Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles is a Chicano.

It is difficult for La Raza to elect its own representatives because the Chicano community is gerrymandered into so many electoral districts that the Chicano vote is powerless.

The sizable Chicano community in Los Angeles, for example, is centered in East Los Angeles. It would be a simple matter to create state and local election districts that treated the barrio as a whole. If this were done on a one-person, one-vote basis, the community would have the power to elect several representatives at most levels of government.

But instead, racist Democratic and Republican legislators tortuously carve out election districts that twist and turn all over town. They include a small portion

of the barrio (about 30 percent at best) along with a sizable Anglo majority. This is enough for them to boast of having a little "Latin spice" in their district, but not enough for Chicanos to elect Chicanos.

Even token reapportionment plans conceived in the past year or so in the state legislature and city council have been vetoed by Governor Ronald Reagan and Mayor Sam Yorty.

Another recent plan proposed a city council district with a Chicano portion and a Black portion, with the aim of pitting both underrepresented communities against each other.

Last fall's elections in the 40th state assembly district in Los Angeles showed why the two major parties are so reluctant to grant Chicanos even the modest democratic right to their own districts.

Part of this district is in East Los Angeles. Although only 18 percent of the registered voters are Spanish-surnamed, La Raza Unida Party candidate Raul Ruiz racked up 13 percent of the vote Nov. 7, running against two *vendidos* (sellouts)! (There is an interesting account of how the independent Chicano party got out the vote in the community in the February issue of *La Raza* magazine.)

The implications of this are clear. If East Los Angeles were reapportioned to give Chicanos their own districts, the impact of La Raza Unida would be considerably increased. And that is bad news for Democrats and Republicans, no matter how you slice it.





**Like a socko Fourth of July**—"WASHINGTON, Feb. 24 (Reuters)—The American bombing of North Vietnam last December cost more than \$25-million a day but was so precise that Hanoi residents felt it safe to come out and watch the attacks on military targets, a Defense Department official said today."

**Modern Horatio Alger**—Lamar Hill, ex-president of the First National Bank of Cartersville, Ga., admitted to ripping off more than \$4-million over a 21-year period. He drew a 10-year sentence and will be eligible for parole in about three. Meanwhile, he's been supporting himself by operating a loan company.

**Protect the poor product**—James S. Kemper Jr., an insurance operator, says that if Congress approves the proposed Consumer Protection Agency, it should be authorized to look into consumer organizations.

**Progress report**—A tax breakdown indicates that last year Britons smoked less and drank and gambled more.

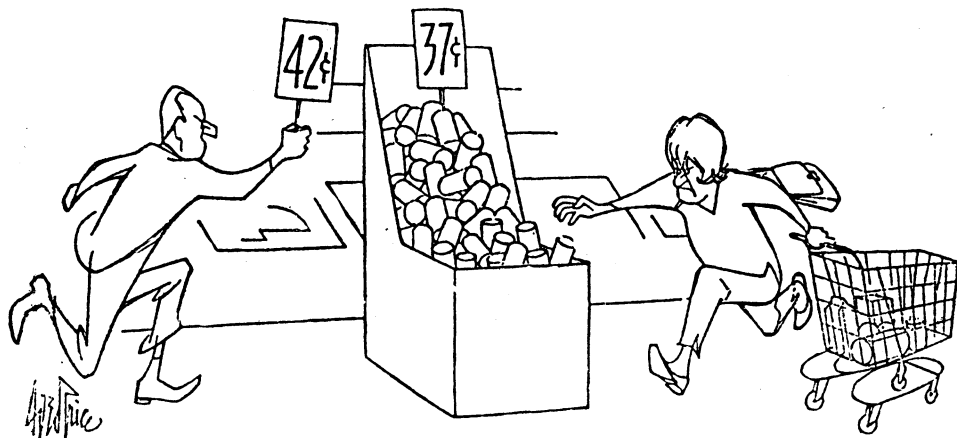
**A home away from home**—New York cab riders will be cheered to learn a move is under way to offer them commercials via film strip projectors. An audio presentation may be provided from a rear seat sound system. Those who would prefer just to stare at the meter and listen to it click will, however, be permitted to turn off the sales offering.

**Free-world victory**—The Saigon dictatorship has authorized organization of a stock exchange.

**Stalinism and nicotine**—Those who profess to see an element of dogmatism in this column's view of the coffin-nail problem should consider the Stalinist approach. One Soviet official suggests smokers be given lowest priority on union-subsidized vacations since they're obviously not concerned with their health. And a government researcher advises: "Studies have proved that pupils who smoke become absent-minded, lazy and crude and lag behind in physical development." Meanwhile, Brezhnev is still trying to cut down.

**The march of science**—Market researchers are developing sophisticated means of determining which commercials will stimulate children to pester their parents to buy particular products. Some use laboratory rooms with one-way mirrors to observe the children or work with video tape and recording setups. One group uses moisture detectors placed in contact with the kiddy's hand to measure subconscious response to ads.

**Could they perhaps be alienated?**—New York bridge and tunnel officials report that 30,000 motorists a month have been beating them out of tolls by whizzing past the collection machine or tossing in slugs. Meanwhile, motorists who bailed out their cars with rubber checks cost the city's tow-away program \$400,000 in three years. Nearly 60 percent stopped payment on the checks after reclaiming their cars.



## Women In Revolt

### Medical science and self-help

Linda Jenness



Women are victims of a patronizing, sexist medical profession that all too frequently treats us as guinea pigs for experiments. The press just recently reported, for example, that there is a direct link between one form of vaginal cancer and a hormone used in the "morning after" pill.

Since its inception, the women's liberation movement has raised the demand for decent health care—no more experimentation on women, the training of more female doctors, and the demystification of the female body. Women have also become more interested in learning how our bodies function.

Some women have responded to the degrading medical care by organizing "self-help clinics." Many feminist newspapers and magazines are now discussing self-help theory and technique.

Self-help clinics show women how to examine their vaginas with the aid of a speculum, flashlight, and mirror. Through this self-examination, it is hoped that women will be able to discover and diagnose infections. Some clinics offer treatments for infection, such as applications of yogurt to the vaginal area and changes in diet.

Self-examination may also tell a woman if she is pregnant. Some self-help advocates recommend

that if a woman discovers an unwanted pregnancy, she can abort the fetus at a self-help clinic through menstrual extraction.

A strong motivation behind self-help practices is to avoid dependence on doctors and escape the chauvinism of many male doctors.

But self-help raises many serious questions.

At a self-help demonstration that I attended recently, held at New York University, the lecturer proudly stated that none of the women she worked with "had any medical training whatsoever." When questioned about how she had accumulated her medical knowledge, she answered, "by talking to other women, sharing experiences, and testing out things we have heard."

This rejection of a scientific approach to women's health astounded me. Science is a weapon in our struggle for liberation, not something to be cast aside. As Ellen Frankfort, author of *Vaginal Politics*, wrote recently, discarding all the advances of medicine is "just the sort of thing that will perpetuate the helplessness we have all experienced when we are sick and must submit to authority figures."

One alarming problem is that no one has yet tested out the practice of menstrual extraction to see if it is dangerous. What about the problem

of infection, especially when untrained personnel perform these extractions?

But even if all the self-help procedures were medically sound, these clinics would still not be the solution we need.

The clinics can only reach and involve a limited number of women. As Frankfort points out, "Doctors, hospitals and drug companies are not going to be affected by having small groups of women learning how to examine themselves or how to extract their menstrual periods."

Nor will we be able to successfully challenge the medical profession if we try to shift the burden for health care from them and onto ourselves. Individual women can't substitute for the scientific wealth and technology of society, and we should not pretend that we can.

One strength of the women's movement lies in our realization that the problems we face—whether medical, social, or economic—are not our personal responsibility but the responsibility of this society. We have to fight to change the entire medical system—to win more women doctors and paramedics, crash programs to develop safer contraceptive devices, inexpensive treatment centers, and humane care.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Black unionists & budget cutbacks

Baxter Smith



A welcome addition to the organizations getting involved in the fight against Nixon's budget cuts is the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU).

The steering committee of the CBTU issued a statement that reads in part: "The Nixon budget for 1974 represents deprivation, denial and continued oppression of Blacks, minorities and poor people. . . . Welfare programs will be cut by \$1.5 billion, Medicare by \$1.5 billion, manpower programs by \$1 billion; the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to be dissolved affecting 977 local agencies, federally subsidized housing to be suspended affecting 2.5 million families, health and education programs reduced. . . . the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists go on record as being unalterably opposed to the Administration's budget for 1974."

The CBTU has called a series of regional meetings to build opposition to the cutbacks. The first was held Feb. 24 in Chicago at the head-

quarters of the Meat Cutters union. Another was held March 10 in Cleveland.

At the Chicago meeting several motions were passed including support to the anti-cutback "spring offensive" called by SCLC and Operation PUSH. The CBTU decided to build for this by calling demonstrations in Chicago, St. Louis, Houston, Cleveland, Detroit, and New York.

The CBTU was formed in September 1972 in Washington, D.C., at a conference attended by 1,200. Several Black trade union officials serve as its chief spokesmen. It was organized primarily as a vote-hustling outfit for McGovern but said its long-range goal was to "deal with the peculiar problems of the Black trade unionist."

It adopted an antiwar stand and supports getting more Blacks into the trade unions. There are about 2 million Black trade unionists out of nearly 10 million Blacks in the work force.

It also opposed the confirmation of Peter Brennan, the construction union official Nixon nominated for Secretary of Labor. Aware of Brennan's racist policies toward Blacks in the construction trades, members of the five-man steering committee spoke against Brennan's confirmation at the Senate hearings.

The steering committee is composed of Nelson Jack Edwards, vice-president of the UAW; Charles Hayes, vice-president of the Meat Cutters; William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of AFSCME; Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers; and William Simons, president of Local 6, American Federation of Teachers.

In addition to the two regional meetings already held, others are set for Detroit and New York. The CBTU plans to hold another national conference May 25-27 in Washington, D.C., around the theme of the "Nixon budget and how it affects Blacks economically."

# Actions in Philly, Boston, L.A. Funds demanded for child care & elderly

By JEAN SAVAGE

PHILADELPHIA, March 18 — In conjunction with a series of demonstrations against cutbacks occurring throughout the country, two midday rallies took place in Philadelphia recently around the theme of "save our social service programs."

More than 300 people came to a day-care demonstration March 14 and a similar number turned out for a March 16 rally demanding funds for senior citizens' programs.

Sponsoring organizations of both actions included the Philadelphia Day Care Coalition, Get Set, Senior Citizens Alliance, Women's Political Caucus, Association for Jewish Children, League of Women Voters, Black Women's Political Alliance, and many others.

In February, these groups held a meeting here of 2,000 and organized a rally in Harrisburg of more than 500.

At the child-care rally, most of the speakers echoed the sentiments of Ann Jordan from the Black Women's Political Alliance. "Boeing, ITT, everyone seems to get support except for our children," she said. "People must be the priority in this country and not the giant conglomerates."

The crowd at the child-care demonstration was about half Black and mostly under 40.

The senior citizens' rally on March 16 was attended mostly by older people. The banner behind the speakers stand read: "The health of the nation is measured by its treatment of its young and old."

Much of this rally focused on trying to convince Congress to fight the cutbacks. Two liberal Democratic congressmen from Philadelphia, Joshua Eilberg and William Green spoke.

By ANN MARIE CAPUZZI

BOSTON, March 15 — Nearly 500 people demonstrated today at JFK Plaza, site of the Health, Education and Welfare Department (HEW), in protest of proposed federal cutbacks in child care and other social services. The rally was called only a few days ago by a number of groups and individuals affected by the cutbacks. The Child Care Resource Center and Female Liberation, two Cambridge-based groups, served as organizing

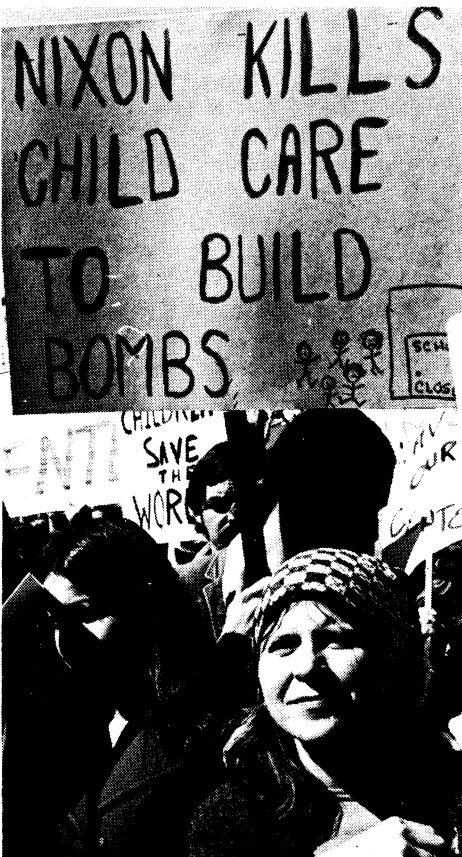
centers for the action.

Speakers at the rally included Black Democrat Hubie Jones, head of the Welfare Coalition; Pat Bonner Lyons, a working mother and member of the Young Workers Liberation League; Dan Murrow, a mental health hospital worker; Frank Manning, a 70-year-old organizer of the elderly; and Peggy Pizzo, member of the Board of Day Care Centers for Battered Children.

Many people at the rally will be affected by the cutbacks. One man's sign read: "I have two children. Their day care costs \$60 a week. If the cutbacks go through, I can't afford to work!"

During an open mike session, Carol Henderson Evans, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge city Council, pledged her campaign's support to the fight against cutbacks.

On March 17 in Los Angeles, 150 people demonstrated against child-care cutbacks. Many parents brought their children. The action took the form of a speakout, with many working mothers getting up to tell the crowd that if the day-care centers closed, they would be forced to go on welfare.



Militant/Howard Petrick

# Cutback protests set for Chgo., N.Y., Atlanta

MARCH 20 — In response to Nixon's cutbacks on funding for vital social services, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Operation PUSH, and the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) have launched a "spring offensive," beginning the first week in April.

These organizations in conjunction with others are calling for town meetings, lobbying, hearings, marches, and rallies. Many of these actions will occur on April 4, the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

Three regional centers — Atlanta, Chicago, and New York — have been designated by the groups and organizers predict protests will be organized in 100 cities.

In New York, PUSH, NWRO, and

SCLC are planning a rally April 4. The three groups plan a noon rally in Chicago the same day.

Among the actions slated for Atlanta are teach-ins April 2 on the extent of the cutbacks, and candlelight marches later in the evening. On April 3 there will be vigils at penitentiaries throughout the Atlanta area.

On April 4 there will be a rally at King's tomb. Speakers will include Reverend Ralph Abernathy of SCLC, Reverend Jesse Jackson of PUSH, and Jonnie Tillman of NWRO. There will also be a rally at Morehouse College and a march to the state capitol.

At a March 12 meeting in Washington, D.C., the Congressional Black Caucus announced it would hold a number of hearings in various parts of the country to get firsthand information on the effects of the cutbacks.

# Women hold support rally Conn. passes ERA

By ROBERT H. WRIGHT

WATERBURY, Conn. — On March 15 Connecticut became the twenty-ninth state to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. On the same day, the Nebraska state legislature rescinded its previous vote in favor of the ERA.

The Equal Rights Amendment states that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Thirty-eight states must ratify the bill in order for it to become law. At this time it is still unclear whether the Nebraska state legislature can legally reverse its ratification.

On March 6, more than 100 women attended a "Support the ERA" rally here sponsored by the Waterbury Women's Center.

Speakers included Helen Pearl, head of the Task Force Coalition of Conn-ERA and chairwoman of the Status of Women commission of the Amer-

ican Association of University Women in Connecticut. Amy Marichild and Bernie Krawczyk, from the *Women v. Connecticut* abortion law suit and the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, also spoke. Both are members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

All three speakers urged women to continue the fight for Connecticut ratification of the ERA. In 1972 the ERA was defeated here.

There was discussion on exposing the many reactionary myths associated with the ERA and the various tactics anti-ERA forces use to prevent passage of the bill.

As the meeting ended, chairperson Pat Wright urged everyone to go to Hartford, the state capital, on March 8 to demonstrate in support of the ERA. Several hundred women did turn out at the capital on March 8, when the House of Representatives passed the bill 99 to 47. The Senate vote on March 15 was 27 to 9.

# Tribunal on abortion rights set for Canada

By LINDA JENNESS

TORONTO, March 18 — The Second Cross-Canada Conference for Abortion Law Repeal, sponsored by the Canadian Women's Coalition, was held here this weekend. The conference decided to call for a cross-Canada Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Sterilization to be held in Ottawa Nov. 3.

The tribunal will hear testimony from victims of the reactionary Canadian abortion laws. Its objective will be to dramatize and expose the daily suffering of Canadian women because of the current laws and to build support for the abortion rights struggle. At the end of the tribunal, participants will carry an indictment of the Canadian federal government to Parliament Hill. They will demand that the parliament act to repeal all abortion laws.

Hearings in cities across Canada in early fall will gather testimony and publicize the November tribunal.

The conference also urged support to those who have been victimized by the abortion laws, in particular Dr. Henry Morgentaler of Montréal, who faces three charges of conspiring to perform and performing illegal abortions.

The conference opened Friday night, March 16. More than 400 people gathered for a rally, which in some ways was a prelude to the upcoming tribunal. Several doctors, including Dr. Morgentaler, publicly stated they had been performing illegal abortions.

Morgentaler said, "I wish to make public that I have been doing abortion in my clinic in Montréal for the past few years and that I am proud of having helped a few thousand women obtain safe medical operations. I am convinced that by doing so I have saved many from death and many others from injury, disease, and tremendous anguish."

Dr. Gustavo Tollentino said, "I have been complicit in referring women and will continue to do so." Eleanor Wright Pelrine, author of *Abortion in Canada*, told the rally that she also had referred women for abortions. Then several doctors and women in the audience took the floor to publicly state they too were "guilty." These moving testimonies were met with standing ova-

tions from the crowd.

Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the National Action Committee on the status of Women in Canada, told the audience, "I challenge my male-dominated Catholic Church to excommunicate me because if I can help any woman to get an abortion I will do so."

Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in the United States, also received a standing ovation. She told the Canadian audience, "Anyone who questions the power of the women's movement should read the U.S. Supreme Court decision on abortion."

About 250 women registered for the two-day conference.

In recognition of the international struggle for abortion law repeal, the conference sent messages of solidarity to Choisir (Choice) in France, Dr. Willy Peers in Belgium, and the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the U.S.



MacInnes

Toronto demonstration against Prime Minister Trudeau in June 1971.

# Cambodia teacher strike faces government attack

MARCH 20—Declaring a state of emergency and siege, President Lon Nol of the Phnom Penh government in Cambodia has launched a broad repressive campaign against so-called subversives. Among those arrested are many leaders of a nationwide month-long strike of 20,000 high school teachers and students.

The high school strike is in protest against low wages and rising prices. Sparking demonstrations and protests across the country, the students and teachers strike has been a major challenge to the Phnom Penh regime within the 20 percent of Cambodian territory the government claims to control.

The pretext for the repressive measures was a bombing attack on Lon Nol's presidential palace March 17. The president was unhurt. Two hours earlier, however, grenades were thrown into a mass meeting of 10,000 striking teachers and students, killing at least two.

The Lon Nol regime tried to claim that "enemies in the pay of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese" were responsible for both attacks. Students, however, identified those who attacked their meeting as government soldiers. Strike leaders branded the attack as an attempt to break their strike.



The strike had come under government attack previously. According to Daniel Southerland in the March 19 *Christian Science Monitor*, government troops in one province had earlier opened fire on a group of striking students and teachers, resulting in "serious" casualties.

President Lon Nol suspended all civil liberties on March 18, and ordered an end to the teachers and students strike. A curfew was declared in Phnom Penh, and all newspapers and periodicals except those published by the government have been banned indefinitely.

Meanwhile, the United States continues its full-scale bombing of rebel-held areas of Cambodia.

# Navy fails in attempt to railroad Black sailors

The Navy is having a tough time trying to convict the Black sailors charged with inciting a riot aboard the Kitty Hawk aircraft carrier last October.

The so-called riot was actually an attack by some 60 Marine guards and 700 white sailors against 200 Black sailors. The Marines were sent to attack the Black sailors simply for "congregating" to discuss racial discrimination on the ship.

Of the 21 Blacks accused of rioting, riot charges have been sustained against only four. Others have been convicted of lesser charges, such as simple assault, breach of the peace, and insubordination.

The Navy has asked for bad conduct discharges against several of the Kitty Hawk defendants, but the court has refused each time.

According to Everett Holles in the March 19 *New York Times*, "The courts-martial to date have not only failed to bear out the findings of the Navy's own board of inquiry but have also been at variance with the Jan. 25 report of a three-man investigating panel of the House Armed Services Committee. The Congressional panel reported that the Kitty Hawk rioting was 'fostered and fanned by a small group of skilled black agitators.'"

Seven of the Kitty Hawk defendants have been freed of all charges.

*Militant* correspondent Marilee Savage reported on a March 11 rally held in San Diego in defense of the Kitty Hawk defendants. Speakers included Sidney Glass of the Black Servicemen's Caucus; two GIs; Chukia Lawton, who spoke about the frame-up of her husband Gary for his political activities in the Black community; and Billy Dean Smith, the Black GI



Billy Dean Smith (l) and Chukia Lawton spoke at rally in defense of Kitty Hawk defendants.

who was acquitted of charges of "fragging" white officers in Vietnam.

In his speech Smith scored the bad treatment Blacks get in the armed services as compared to whites. He cited the case of William Calley, who was convicted of murdering 22 innocent Vietnamese civilians. Calley had no pretrial confinement and in fact, Smith said, was permitted to have a female friend stay with him in officers quarters while awaiting trial.

Then he got a presidential review, Smith noted. First he was sentenced to life; then Nixon got him off with 20 years.

Smith compared this with his own pretrial solitary confinement for something he never did. Smith got no presidential review.

Asking for more Blacks and whites to attend the courts-martial to show their support for the Kitty Hawk defendants, Smith said, "There is local and national power which we are not utilizing to combat the Navy's power. Let's start backing the brothers now!"

# Speakers present SWP view of Vietnam accords

MARCH 19—Three socialist antiwar activists—Derrick Morrison, Wendy Reissner, and Syd Stapleton—are touring the country, speaking on "Vietnam and Nixon's World Strategy."

The three, who are leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, report they have found intense interest in developments surrounding the war, the Vietnam accords, and the policies of the Soviet Union and China in relation to Vietnam. They have spoken at dozens of college and high school meetings and have given interviews to campus newspapers and major dailies.

In Philadelphia Stapleton had a 45-minute interview with a reporter for the Drexel University *Triangle*. The entire interview was printed in a two-page spread under the title "Is The War Over?"

"... the treaty doesn't really offer a solution to the situation in Vietnam," said Stapleton. "That is, it doesn't represent the United States getting out."

Stapleton continued: "The last election was held in Vietnam in '67 where Thieu had an opponent. The person who ran against him was an anti-Communist, but he was a proneutralist and peace-candidate. He's still rotting in jail. There are 200,000 political opponents of Thieu in jail. ... So you have a situation [where] one of the most fundamental things of the accords, that is the allowing of free democratic discussions so that people can make a decision for themselves, is already violated by Thieu and the United States."

Stapleton also appeared on a radio talk show in Philadelphia.

Some of the meetings have taken the form of debates with those who favor the "honor the agreements" demand rather than "U.S. out now!" In Cincinnati, for example, Reissner spoke on a panel/debate with representatives of the Revolutionary Union, Black Workers Congress, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The discussion period centered on the validity of the "Out Now" demand and the extent of Peking's support to the Vietnamese.



Derrick Morrison (right) debating Dave McReynolds on meaning of Vietnam treaty.

In another meeting of this sort, Morrison was featured with Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League at Wagner College on Staten Island, N. Y.

Reissner told *The Militant* that she found "many people have the attitude that the war is not over and that there is every likelihood the U. S. will intervene again on a big scale. They want to do something, and are interested in the demonstrations planned for Thieu's visit to the U.S." She said many people are also interested in hearing an explanation of why the Soviet and Chinese governments have turned their backs on the Vietnamese struggle.

The tours of the three speakers are being arranged by VIEWPOINT, a national speaker's bureau. In addition to these speakers, other speakers for radical social change are available. Contact VIEWPOINT, P. O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 255-9229.

# Antiwar POWs may be court-martialed for views

A group of 27 American prisoners of war released March 16 by the North Vietnamese contained at least eight antiwar servicemen. They reportedly joined together in the prison camp as a "Peace Committee" and issued several public antiwar statements.

Seymour Hersh, in the March 16 *New York Times*, quotes a U. S. government official as saying that many senior Pentagon officers are "looking for blood" in relation to the antiwar GIs. "None of them are officers and some of them are black," said the official, explaining why the officers were "going after them."

The returned antiwar GIs have not yet been permitted to speak for themselves. According to Hersh, all telephone calls to them are intercepted by military information officials.

One of the eight, Air Force staff sergeant John Young, is reported to have issued a statement in 1971 ad-

ressed to Nixon, saying: "I no longer want to fight for you or anyone like you. In fact, I won't ever fight for your kind of American people."

"I cannot support the killing of innocent Vietnamese men, women and children, or the destruction of their beautiful country. My conscience tells me it is wrong to kill—the Bible tells me it is wrong. Most important, my mother and father have taught me it is wrong to kill or harm anyone."

Pentagon sources say that when at least one officer in the camp attempted to "pull rank" on the GIs and order them to stop making antiwar statements, the GIs reportedly refused. The antiwar GIs may face courts-martial over these charges.

In another statement, released in June 1972, the POWs urged Congress to "exercise your constitutional power to force the Administration to return to Paris to negotiate" an end to the war.



# U.S. war supplies pour into Saigon

## Nixon threatens Hanoi with new bombing

By CAROLINE LUND

MARCH 20—At a news conference March 15, President Nixon made a scarcely veiled threat of renewed U. S. bombing of North Vietnam. Citing U. S. intelligence reports on alleged movements of North Vietnamese troops and weapons toward South Vietnam, Nixon stated:

"We have informed the North Vietnamese of our concern about this infiltration. . . . Our concern has also been expressed to other interested parties, and I would only suggest that, based on my actions over the last four years, the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern when they are made."

Nixon's statement followed several preparatory "leaks" from the White House and Pentagon on the supposed "infiltration."

Nixon left it to the news media to spell out his warning in blunter terms. James Reston, vice-president of the *New York Times*, wrote in his March 18 column: "The meaning of this [Nixon's statement] is fairly clear. Mr. Nixon's reaction to North Vietnamese violations of agreements, or even North Vietnamese defiance of his warnings, has simply been to bomb the hell out of them. And here he is, back again in that 'don't-monkey-with-Nixon' mood."

Another "leak" from Washington was publicized by syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak on March 17. They wrote: "Despite caution in the State Dept., President Nixon is now preparing secret orders for a return to North Vietnamese waters of the full Seventh Fleet complement of aircraft carriers as a hard warning to Hanoi to stop infiltration of the South. . . ."

"Returning a full complement of carriers to the Gulf of Tonkin would be the President's unmistakable warning that, if infiltration does not stop, bombing of North Vietnam will almost certainly resume—and, as now being pressed by Pentagon strategists, resumed with far more ferocity than

even last December's B-52 raids."

As was noted by *Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, the White House charges had a "well-orchestrated quality," building up over a period of time to Nixon's ominous warning. This served several purposes for Washington.

First, the repeated charges of North Vietnamese "infiltration" and troop movements have had the effect of helping to drown out news of the Thieu regime's continuing massive acts of aggression and political suppression.

Secondly, these charges, along with Nixon's statement, were no doubt designed as trial balloons to test the response they would evoke from Moscow, Peking, and world opinion. To date—that is, five days after Nixon's warning—there has been no condemnation of Nixon's threat from either Moscow or Peking.

The possibility of Nixon's actually carrying out these threats will increase once all American prisoners of war are released by North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. The deadline for the release of the last POW's is March 29.

At a news conference March 17 a representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam denounced Nixon's charges of "infiltration" as having "no grounds whatsoever."

"It is crystal clear which party is illegally introducing weapons into South Vietnam," he said, citing recent U. S. arms shipments from Japan to the Saigon regime.

In addition, North Vietnamese representative Ha Van Lau stated: "It is a slander for President Nixon to say we are sending war materiel to the South. The people in the liberated areas need food and medicine and other nonmilitary supplies. We have the right to provide them with this as is made clear in the Paris agreements."

Lau charged that "the United States has given the green light to the Thieu regime to attack the liberated areas with all its 13 divisions." He added,



An example of devastation caused by U.S. bombing of North Vietnam in the past. Nixon cited 'my actions over the past four years' as a model for what the North Vietnamese could expect if the struggle in the South doesn't go his way.

"We have solid information that the United States planted more than 8,000 mines to block our ports and several thousand more to block our rivers. According to their [U. S.] statements, up until today they have deactivated only one or two, and the cease-fire is almost two months old."

"The fact that ships are able to circulate in and out of our ports now is solely due to our own efforts."

He went on to say that "the Joint Military Commission still has no satisfactory means to check whether all the troops the U. S. Command says have been withdrawn really have been withdrawn. The agreement also says that the withdrawing Americans should take their weapons along, but we know that they, just like the Koreans, left without their arms."

"They gave them to the Saigon army. Some Americans are staying behind as military advisers under cover of being civilians."

Several commentators have noted the blatant hypocrisy of the U. S. charge of North Vietnamese resupplying of weapons. Anthony Lewis stated his opinion in his column in the March 19 *New York Times*. "Any fair appraisal of the balance of weapons and supplies in South Vietnam could hardly ignore the immense ton-

nage of American materiel rushed there after Saigon successfully objected to the proposed peace terms in October. There probably has been nothing like it in history."

Lewis continues: "For example, between Oct. 26 and Dec. 1 the United States got 608 aircraft to South Vietnam, enlarging Saigon's air force by nearly 50 per cent. As for ground supplies, this post-truce comment by a British correspondent says enough: 'The Government side is expending ammunition as if they were getting it free and as though there was plenty more where it comes from—both of which propositions are probably true.'"

North Vietnamese representatives have also pointed to the U. S. military buildup in Thailand, charging that Nixon "is preparing for a new war while the war it waged in Vietnam has not yet ended completely."

Daniel Southerland reported in the March 8 *Christian Science Monitor* that "despite its withdrawal from Vietnam, the United States plans to keep an awesome military force poised for an indefinite period in nearby Thailand." There are some 45,000 U. S. soldiers and airmen in Thailand, along with 500 fighter-bombers and B-52s.

## Antiwar actions set in 20 cities

# NPAC, SMC respond to Nixon war threat

The National Peace Action Coalition and Student Mobilization Committee responded immediately to President Nixon's March 15 threat to renew U. S. bombing of North Vietnam. A March 16 statement released by Abe Bloom, a national coordinator of NPAC, declared that Nixon's statement "has once again opened the door for the criminal escalation of U. S. military activities in Southeast Asia."

Bloom continued: "If we are to judge on the basis of Nixon's actions over the past four years, as the President himself has suggested, the U. S. government is now preparing renewed assaults against the people of Vietnam through the mining and bombing of North Vietnam."

"So long as the U. S. maintains its desperate commitment to prop up the Thieu dictatorship, there can be no peace in Vietnam. It is the U. S. that has armed to the teeth its puppet government in Saigon. It is the U. S. that has encircled Vietnam with its warships and bombers. And it is the U. S. that stands accountable for provoking any future conflict."

"If President Nixon thinks that he

can threaten renewed devastation and genocide in Indochina without touching off a massive protest by the American people, he is sadly mistaken. The National Peace Action Coalition is redoubling its efforts in organizing nationwide antiwar demonstrations April 1-6 to protest President Thieu's visit to the U. S., and to deliver a second warning to Richard Nixon to end U. S. intervention in Southeast Asia once



Abe Bloom, NPAC coordinator

and for all."

Thieu will be in Los Angeles and at the West Coast White House in San Clemente April 2 and 3, and in Washington, D. C., April 4-6. A Los Angeles protest action on March 31 is being built by a variety of antiwar groups in that area. The Washington demonstration has been called by the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition.

A picket line in Philadelphia has been called by the Philadelphia Peace Action Coalition; Student Mobilization Committee; and Philadelphia chapters of Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Resistance.

In Boston an April 5 picket line is being built by Greater Boston PAC, SMC, and the Indochina Peace Campaign.

Chapters of the Student Mobilization Committee around the country are organizing protests during Thieu's visit on campuses and in high schools.

NPAC and SMC are building the Thieu demonstrations around the demands: U. S. Out of Southeast Asia Now! End Support to Thieu! and No U. S.-Imposed Regimes!

## Picket Thieu

LOS ANGELES: Picket line March 31, 6 p.m., in front of the Beverly Hilton Hotel.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: Picket line April 5, 4:30 p.m., at the White House, and rally at 6 p.m. at Lafayette Park.

BOSTON: Picket line at JFK Plaza on April 5, 4 to 6 p.m.

CLEVELAND: Picket line at Old Federal Building April 5, 5 p.m.

DETROIT: Picket line April 5 at the Federal Building, 4-6 p.m.

NEW YORK: Picket line at Saigon Mission to the UN, First Avenue and 49th St., April 5, 5-7 p.m. Demonstrations are planned in 20 major cities. For the time and place of the actions in other cities, see next week's *Militant*, or contact NPAC, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

# From rope yarns to a \$1 million pension

## Joe Curran of the Nat'l Maritime Union

By SAM SHATKOVNICK

Joseph Curran is 65 years old and a silent club member of the 35-man AFL-CIO Executive Council. He had planned to retire March 1 as president of the National Maritime Union (NMU) with a cool \$1-million. He thinks he is entitled to it, but has agreed to settle for a mere \$4,464.77 a month for the rest of his life.

Curran has been around as long as the NMU has. He served as chairman of the Seamen's Defense Committee in the old International Seamen's Union when that outfit was under the dictatorship of Dave Grange. He then became the first and only president of the NMU when it was set up to challenge the ISU in the National Labor Relations Board elections in 1937.

The NMU prospered, and the moribund ISU sank into oblivion. The remnants of the ISU were taken over by the Sailors Union of the Pacific to form the Seafarers' International Union (SIU) in 1938. The NMU had a CIO charter and was part of the industrial union movement. The SIU was an AFL affiliate. The two unions were rivals on the East Coast, but the NMU was dominant in the beginning. It had all the big trans-Atlantic passenger ships and the vast majority of East Coast seamen.

Curran always seemed popular, but it was hard to find a sailor who knew much about him or spoke well of him. He came by his apparent popularity because he had an easy way of rolling with the ship, never crossing those who were in command. In the early organizing days, 1936-37, it was the waterfront section of the Communist Party that was really in charge, led by Frederick "Blackie" Meyers. Meyers had only to sneeze and Joe stayed in his bunk for a week with a bad cold. So it served

Wobblies who had romantic notions about carrying on the traditions of the IWW. They were no real threat to Curran or the CP, but they had a way of picking on Curran's weaknesses. They dubbed him no-coffee-time-Joe, spreading the story that he cut out coffeetime when he was a bosun on the S.S. *California*. The name stuck. Sailors today, of course, have additional names for him.

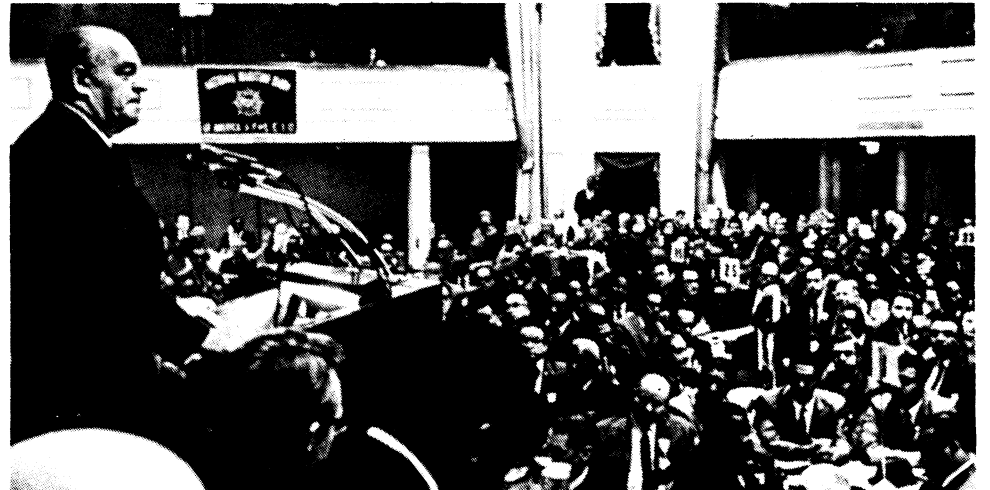
### 'Fink book'

Curran was weak on the maritime strikes and job actions against the government-issued continuous discharge book, or "fink book," and the government hiring halls the U.S. Maritime Commission tried to operate. These were crucial issues in 1936-37, determining the independent existence of the maritime unions. The Stalinist policy was to take the fink book and "pack the fink halls with union men," hoping in this way to avoid a confrontation with the government. They didn't want to jeopardize NLRB elections, which they relied upon to organize the East Coast seamen. Curran went along with this policy wholeheartedly.

An organized opposition developed in the union in 1938 with the avowed aim of eliminating the Stalinists. Curran was neither surprised nor distressed when they made him their candidate for president. He was unopposed for the office. This gang had ties with the U.S. Maritime Commission. The leaders won some posts in the NMU election that year but were soon exposed and expelled. Curran then settled back comfortable into his subservient position with the CP.

There he remained all during World War II. He got a little shaky during the Stalin-Hitler pact period from the fall of 1939 until June 1941, but there wasn't any place for him to

aid the war effort. Keep-'em-sailin' Joe he called himself, and he got to be known that way. He served on all the government war boards, upheld the no-strike pledge and the wage freeze, and boasted that "his" heroic sailors were prepared at all times to defy the Nazi submarines and deliver the goods from the U.S. "arsenal of



Joe Curran speaking at the 1969 convention of the NMU.

democracy" to the battlefields of Europe.

Curran learned to be a public speaker, became a prominent figure in the American Labor Party, and took an active part in New York City politics. He had his picture taken at all important functions, always in company with the rich and powerful—those out of government as well as in. He was coached at every step by his Stalinist mentors. In the pages of the *Daily Worker*, Curran was written up as one of the two most outstanding labor leaders, the other being West Coast longshoremen's union President Harry Bridges.

But Curran was different from Bridges, who was the recognized leader of the 1934 Pacific Coast maritime strike. Curran never led a strike. The NMU was not founded in strike battles. It was one of the "NLRB unions" of the late 1930s.

It was easy for Curran, after World War II, to shake off his Stalinist associates. In 1948, under pressure of the cold war, he joined with CIO president Philip Murray and the U.S. Coast Guard to root out the Stalinist-influenced unions from the CIO and to purge CP members from the NMU.

In the process, the Coast Guard screened all militant seamen from U.S. merchant ships, leaving union bureaucrats in charge of fat treasuries in all the seafaring unions. While union ranks dwindled in the postwar years, the bureaucrats set about consuming union funds. They all treated themselves to a feast, Curran being the most gluttonous of all.

In 1955 the union movement merged in a political fence-mending operation to form the AFL-CIO, but the maritime unions were unable to unify. The NMU and the SIU remain separate, small, controlled by corrupt officials. Both are AFL-CIO affiliates. Paul Hall heads the SIU and enjoys a position on the AFL-CIO executive council a few seats closer to Meany than the one assigned to Curran. While both Curran and Hall have been generous to themselves, Hall has been more lavish with political contributions to Democrats and Republicans in recent years.

### Chauffeured Cadillac

During the past 15 years Curran has sought less publicity, more of the solid comforts. It is reported that he has acquired a 100-acre estate in Dutchess County, N.Y., where he raises Black Angus cattle. He has

another place at Boca Raton, Fla., and rides around in a chauffeured Cadillac. His yearly pay as NMU president is \$85,275, plus expenses.

On Jan. 16, 1969, Curran's assistant, the man from nowhere with the name of Perry who never went to sea a day in his life but was hired to manage NMU affairs, was cashiered.

Perry got two checks that day totaling \$327,796.61. That is a large sum to hand over on any day—even to an ex-assistant to the president. This transaction has been under court scrutiny.

Elections for new officers of the union will be held between April 2 and May 31. James Morrissey, the leading candidate for NMU president against Curran's slate, is backed by the Committee for Democracy. Morrissey has fought a long battle against corruption in the NMU, having run for secretary-treasurer in a previous election.

He was attacked by Curran's goons several years ago and hospitalized with a fractured skull. He appealed to the courts and to the Department of Labor for a fair election in the union and won. But a rerun of the previous election, although supervised by the Labor Department, was clearly manipulated by the entrenched Curran machine, and Morrissey lost.

He stands a better chance this time. Morrissey has asked the federal courts for an accounting of NMU general funds, the Deep Sea Pension Fund, and the officers pension fund. He has also asked the government again to assure a fair election.

Curran, for his part, has quietly walked away. His interest in the outcome of the NMU election this year, until very recently, was surely not the greatest. But the attention of the courts and the government in his retirement funds, with the attendant publicity, has changed that. Curran is in about the same position as Boyle, ex-president of the miners union, when his corrupt regime was challenged.

Curran, like Boyle, has few friends to turn to. Certainly he has no sailor friends judging from the uproar at NMU meetings over at the Joseph Curran Hall on Seventh Avenue in the port of New York. But what about Meany and the AFL-CIO executive council? And what about all the influential people in government and those in the shipping offices that Curran knows so well and hobnobbed with so long and served so faithfully on occasions when they needed him over the years? They are unlikely to be of much help because his usefulness to them is spent.

Curran will have an opportunity to reflect upon his past and compare himself to others. After all, when Jimmy Hoffa came out of jail one of the first decisions he made was to pick up his lump-sum pension from

Continued on page 22



'A lot of sailors who spent their lives in the fo'c'sle are entitled to pensions too. . . .'

the Stalinists to build up Curran as the "natural leader."

He was a big man physically and had the look of a waterfront leader, but he was a lightweight on the top side. He signed a weekly column in the NMU *Pilot* called "Passing the Word." This was an apt title because his job was to pass along what others told him.

There was a vocal anti-Stalinist opposition in the NMU from the beginning, made up mostly of latter-day

go. He was careful not to get at cross purposes with the shipowners during that time, recommending in September 1939 that their proposals on war work compensation be accepted and that all talk of strike action be rejected.

During the war Curran gained his greatest notoriety. Anyone but seamen during those years must have thought he was a national hero. His picture was on the front pages of the daily papers, always doing his bit to

# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,  
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

MARCH 30, 1973

Fred Halstead reports from Argentina

## Socialist rally projects road to workers power

[Fred Halstead was in Argentina as a reporter for *The Militant* on the national elections held there March 11. This election campaign was of special significance because of the role of the campaign of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party). The PST ran Juan Coral and Nora Ciapponi for president and vice-president. The PST was credited with receiving around 77,000 votes, or 0.62 percent.

[In addition to running its own members as candidates, the PST offered use of its official ballot status to trade unionists and other workers who wished to run for office in a front against all the capitalist candidates and parties. A total of 2,300 candidates ran from the PST and Frente Obrero (Workers Front).

[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

The windup election rally of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores was held in Plaza Flores here Saturday, March 3. The Buenos Aires daily *Cronista Commercial* reported that 12,000 attended. My own estimate was more like 7,500 at the height, with perhaps 10,000 having attended at one time or another, since it went on for hours. It was a very impressive turnout for a revolutionary party.

I approached the place by car and on the way noted several buses and even an open truck full of PST sup-

porters going to the rally, waving red flags and throwing out handfuls of leaflets as they rode.

At the site itself, a loudspeaker played a record of "The Internationale" as the crowd gathered in the twilight. The plaza has a long



Jose Paez

open space in the center overhung by trees. These provided perches for some of the Juventud Socialista Avanzada (Socialist Youth Vanguard), the youth group associated with the PST.

The site was decorated with red flags and banners hung from trees and a statue or held on tall poles. Many of these advertised the presence of groups from various neighborhoods and workplaces in the metropolitan area.

Others bore slogans: "Support the workers, not the bosses"; "Freedom For All Political Prisoners—For a General Amnesty!"; "For a Socialist Argentina"; "Don't Vote Boss, Military, or Sellout Bureaucrat, Vote Working Class"; "Support the Citroen Strikers"; and so on.

In addition to banners of the PST and the Workers Front there were signs from several smaller socialist groups that are supporting the PST campaign and using the ballot status of the PST to run some of their own candidates for local offices. These include the Party of Labor and the Popular Socialist Party of Buenos Aires.

The first speaker was Nilda Carbon, 22. She derided the ideas of a spokeswoman for Nueva Fuerza, a rightist party, who had said that in Argentina it is not necessary for women to fight as women, only to stand behind their men.

"Not necessary to fight, when we

are half the population? Not necessary to fight when they pay us less than men for the same work? Not necessary to fight when they are attacking the family allowances? [Workers here are supposed to receive a stipend each month for each child in the family, and the government is cutting this back in some industries that employ many women.] Not necessary to fight when we are doubly exploited—as workers and as women?"

She continued: "But we are not pets to walk at the heel of their masters. We are equals, and we fight for equality. We fight alongside our male comrades to build workers power and make a revolution to do away with a society of exploitation of human by human and build a society of the free and equal."

Since this was the windup rally in the biggest city, several speakers from other places in the country had come. One of these was "Chino" Moya, a PST candidate from Tucumán who has been working with the strikers in the Panam plastics factory there. Before he spoke I caught his arm and asked him how things were going in the hard-fought strike [see the March 9 *World Outlook* for an account of this strike].

"They're still holding out," he said. "The strike is solid now, but it's a difficult situation."



Marita Gonzalez

When he spoke the crowd took up a chant: "Panam, Panam, there is exposed the GAN." (Gran Acuerdo Nacional, Great National Accord. This is the understanding between the mili-

tary dictatorship and the capitalist parties, including the top Peronist leaders, to return to elected constitutional government in an attempt to maintain "class peace.")

Luis Gómez, the leader of the occupation of the SOMISA steel plant, spoke next. He read the statement by Perón saying that the SOMISA occupation had been organized by provocateurs and infiltrators.

"That's right," he said, "eight thou-



Luis Gomez

sand workers infiltrated the plant because the bosses and the union bureaucrats provoked us."

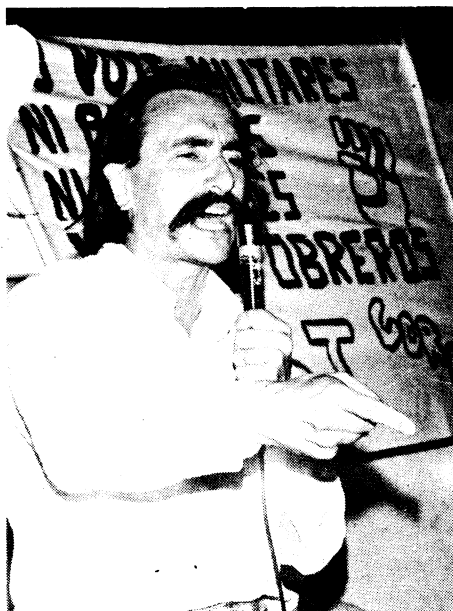
As the rally proceeded I noticed a great variety of literature being sold, mostly by PST members, but also by other groups. PST supporters circulated around the edge of the crowd taking names of those interested in further activity.

Jorge Mera, PST candidate for governor of Buenos Aires Province, developed a theme in his speech that I have heard over and over again from PST speakers in this campaign—the story of the mass struggles that have shaken Argentina since the first city-wide semi-insurrection in Córdoba in 1969, known as the "Cordobazo." It is these struggles that have shaken the military regime, caused the removal of one reactionary dictator, General Onganía, and forced the regime to attempt to stop the upsurge of the masses through a return to elections.

"But the elections will not solve the problems of the masses," said Mera. "It is necessary to continue the mass struggles, and they will continue because the crisis cannot be resolved by the ruling class, not even through the Peronists if they come to power in these elections."

"Our task is to gather the vanguard of these struggles together and to construct a revolutionary party that can

*Continued on page WO/4*



Juan Carlos Coral



# Chile's elections show gains for Allende, increasing polarization

By David Thorstad

The social polarization that has been developing in Chile since the Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity) coalition came to power in November 1970 was clearly reflected in the electoral arena March 4. The results of the first legislative election since Allende's six-year presidential term began show that the electoral base of his coalition has not only held firm but has expanded.

At stake were all the 150 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and half the fifty seats in the Senate. The final returns indicate that the Popular Unity coalition won 43.4% of the vote and the opposition CODE (Confederación Democrática—Democratic Confederation), a bloc between the Christian Democrats and the right-wing National party, 54.7%. The remainder were either blank ballots or went to the independent socialist group USOPO (Unión Socialista Popular—Popular Socialist Union).

The vote gave the UP an additional six seats in the Chamber and three in the Senate (one of which was won away from the USOPO), but, as anticipated, it left the control of both in the hands of the opposition. The breakdown of seats in the Chamber is now 87-63 and in the Senate 30-19, with the USOPO retaining one seat.

Supporters of both sides took to the streets following the vote to claim victory—the UP because of its definite gain over the 36.6% of the vote it won in the September 1970 presidential elections, and the opposition because it clearly retained its majority position in the legislature.

Yet in terms of what each side was predicting prior to the vote, the results were pretty much what the UP expected, while they fell short of what the opposition was hoping for. The opposition, which campaigned on the

idea that the election would be a "morally binding plebiscite," had set its sights on winning at least two more seats, thus giving it a two-thirds majority and the power not only to veto all major legislative bills but even to impeach President Allende. Instead, however, it lost seats in both houses. Everett Martin wrote from Santiago in the March 6 *Wall Street Journal*: "As a rule of thumb, political observers here said before the elections, anything less than 60% would be considered a disappointing performance by the opposition."

The increase in the UP's voter support is not only a reflection of the mounting polarization in Chilean society but also of the fact that the issue of economic difficulties was not the big vote-catcher the opposition had hoped it would be.

"Despite the hardships of the middle class," noted Jonathan Kandell in the February 9 *New York Times*, "Government officials and other sources contend that in terms of general welfare—the quality and quantity of goods and services—lower-income groups are better off than they were two years ago." In Santiago, for instance, where half the electorate lives, unemployment dropped to around 3% from a pre-Popular Unity level of 9%. "A blue-collar worker knows that this Government has done more for him than any previous one," a foreign economist living in Santiago told Kandell.

The UP's showing would seem to be part of a general trend. Since it came to power, eight provincial elections have been held. Of these, the UP won half. The total popular vote in the eight provinces gave it 49% to 51% for the opposition. And the UP won all but two of the elections held in 1972 in the ten major trade-union and student organizations. In the view of the editors of *Le Monde*, the



Luis Corvalan, Communist Party chief, thinks Popular Unity should take a more moderate approach.

March 4 results "confirmed the thrust to the left that has been going on in Chile for half a century."

Both the Popular Unity and the opposition regarded the election as a continuation in the electoral arena of last October's three-week confrontation aptly dubbed the "capitalist strike." And the results confirmed the continuation of the polarization that came to the fore in October. "Splinter parties on both sides lost heavily as Chileans cast their votes for the big parties in the two electoral alliances—the Christian Democrats and Nationals, and the Socialists and Communists," wrote Kandell in the March 6 *New York Times*.

This phenomenon was also noted by Pierre Kalfon, writing in the March 3 *Le Monde*: "Despite the attempts at moderation on the part of the more cautious sectors on both the right and the left, the economic and social order established by the bourgeoisie is being increasingly called into question.

It is no longer possible to be neutral or to take a wait-and-see attitude. One is either for or against—without nuances."

Also indicative of the increasing polarization is the fact that the right-wing National party won an additional three seats in the Senate and a substantial number in the Chamber—partly at the expense of its ally, the Christian Democrats. The National party consistently proclaimed throughout the campaign that it wants "Allende's head" and the elimination of the Communist party ("A new parliament is not enough—what we need is a new government"). The Christian Democrats, on the other hand, claim that they don't want to overthrow Allende, but only hope that he will "rectify his errors."

The crack in the opposition bloc that this difference in emphasis reflects has its counterpart in the UP coalition. Indeed, the elections increasingly drew into the open the differences over strategy that exist within the coalition.

The differences between the two largest parties in the UP coalition, the Socialists and the Communists, had already begun to surface during the October crisis. At the time, for instance, Carlos Altamirano, secretary general of the Socialist party, supported a Socialist statement denouncing as "a victory for the reactionaries" the decision of Allende and the Communist party to bring three military officers into the cabinet. But the differences erupted into a sharp public debate in January.

The immediate cause of the division was a proposal submitted to the legislature by Economics Minister Orlando Millas, a Communist, that would officially define the "social sector" of the economy and that entertains the possibility of returning to private ownership some industries that have been intervened. In an interview with Kandell prior to the elections, CP theoretician Volodia Teitelboim discussed the idea in terms that the *Times* correspondent found "quite businesslike":

"There must be a severe readjustment in economic planning, self-financing, quality of production, and salary demands. State-owned industries must justify themselves

## Tribute to Galanskov by Soviet political prisoners

[The following are excerpts from a letter by inmates of the Ural and Mordovian prison camps in the Soviet Union written in tribute to Yuri Timofeevich Galanskov, who died November 4, 1972, in the Mordovian prison camp at Potma. The Russian text, which recently became available, has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.

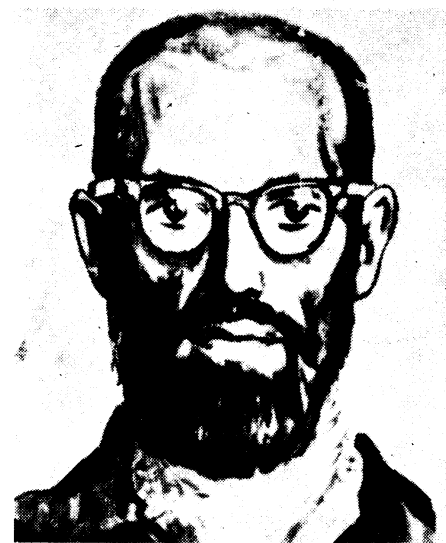
[Galanskov was one of the best-known activists in the Soviet opposition movement. A poet by profession, he wrote many works critical of the Soviet bureaucracy that appeared in samizdat publications. He also edited the *Phoenix*, a samizdat literary journal that appeared first in 1961 and again in 1966. In January 1967 he was arrested and a year later was tried and convicted under Article 70 of the Russian criminal code for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was sentenced to seven years of forced labor. While he was in prison, he actively protested the unreasonably harsh prison regulations.

[Galanskov died of peritonitis after having undergone an operation for a severe ulcer condition at the prison-camp hospital. He had been warned by a hospital surgeon that hospital

conditions were too poor to guarantee a successful operation, and because of this he had asked not to be operated on in the prison-camp hospital. Nevertheless, an operation was performed October 18 by a doctor who had no training as a surgeon.]

A tribute from Captivity to Yuri Galanskov, From the Political Prisoners of the Mordovia and Ural Prison Camps

Last November 2 Yuri Timofeevich Galanskov died. Our hearts are full of grief and rage. But it is not ordinary grief and rage, because this is not simply a death; it is a death that shows all the signs of a political murder. Yuri Galanskov wasn't taken around the corner and shot; he wasn't thrown out of a window or poisoned. His murder was prepared gradually, step by step. He was killed by constant persecution, by an unjust sentence, by the slanders of stool pigeons, and by the brutality of the camp regime. He was killed by the lack of concern in the camp regarding his state of health, despite constant worsening of his chronic illness. They kept at him, and at him, and at him



This drawing of Yuri Galanskov was made by Yuri Ivanov, another dissident who did drawings of many of his fellow political prisoners while serving sentences in various camps and prisons.

until at last they killed him. And he died on the operating table under the indifferent knife of a surgeon of the Mordovia prison camp hospital.

Despite his illness, which caused Yuri

economically and not weigh down on the Government."

The proposed law, which was submitted without prior consultation with either the Socialist undersecretary of the economy, Armando Arancibia, or the SP leadership, was strongly opposed by the SP. Altamirano denounced it as a "step backwards in the revolutionary process." And on January 29, the Political Bureau of the SP delivered a sharp statement to Allende—himself a Socialist—voicing indignation at being slighted, and condemning the proposed law. The statement was published in the bourgeois press.

Allende responded immediately with a statement reiterating the government proposal that the "social sector" be fixed at ninety state-owned factories and that a commission study what should be done with other industries already intervened but not on the list of those destined for the "social sector." This decision would be made, Allende said, by "taking into account the interests of the workers in these plants and of the national economy." He sought to downplay the number that might be returned to their capitalist owners.

The left-wing forces in the UP coalition do not want these plants—some of which were occupied by the workers against the wishes of the more reformist forces in the UP—returned to the private sector. The success of any postelection effort on the part of these reformist forces in the UP—headed by the Communists and the Radicals—to reach some "understanding" with the more "moderate" forces in the Christian Democratic opposition may very well hinge on this question.

Will the UP attempt such a rapprochement? And if so, will it require some kind of showdown with leftist forces in the UP? A number of things besides the Millas proposal would seem to point in this direction.

The CP, for instance, has apparently decided to step up its campaign against "ultraleftism." "In a recent published letter," reported Kandell from Santiago March 3, "Luis Corvalán, secretary general of the Communist party, criticized the growing influence of M. I. R. [Movimiento

de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] among the Socialists. He suggested that through a more moderate approach, as many as 90 per cent of Chileans might eventually support the Government."

During a television appearance on February 25, the minister of the interior, General Carlos Prats, lumped the revolutionary forces together with the right-wing reactionary forces as extremists and characterized the remaining political forces as the "progressives." Such observations lend substance to speculation that the "neutral" armed forces conceive of their present role as one of translating their concern for "social peace" and "respect for the constitution" into a blessing upon any rapprochement among "progressives." Any such understanding would, of course, be so fraught with contradictions that it would of necessity strengthen the role of the military as an "objective" arbiter. □

The past two issues of the weekly news magazine *Intercontinental Press* contain two articles that may be of special interest to *Militant* readers. In "The 'Second Serfdom' in Central and Eastern Europe" in the March 12 issue, George Novack examines the effects of uneven and combined development on social formations in Eastern Europe.

The March 19 issue contains an article entitled "Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification" by Jaya Vithana. It answers recent slanders against the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International by the Socialist Labour League in England.

Copies of these two issues are available for 50 cents each from: *Intercontinental Press*, Box 116 Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Galanskov so much torment, the impossibility of obtaining food, and insomnia at night because of constant excruciating pain, he fought as hard as his strength would allow for the recognition of rights for political prisoners and for creative and political freedom for other prisoners and for society at large.

He devoted himself fully to this task. His instruments of struggle were hunger strikes, appeals, and his own example. And this was terrible for the do-nothings, the thick-skinned, and the superfluous souls within the organism of arbitrary rule. For these qualities he was appreciated by all the prisoners; and, in fact, everyone who met him in the prison camp "zones" noted his responsiveness, kindness, and desire to help everyone with their problems, and they had confidence in him.

Galanskov died at the age of thirty-three, at the height of his political and literary abilities. In addition to everything else, he wrote verses. One of the lines of his verses reads as follows: "The lips of justice are stained with blood." Now this "justice" has touched him personally. He could not get away from it, and now the blood of yet one more fighter calls out to

everyone, "Brothers! All those who fight along with us for deliverance from the unyielding yoke of lawlessness, for the abolition of an unprecedented slavery, for a new, free Russia; all who struggle alone; all who can hear us throughout the world today! Raise your voices in defense of those who perish today for your, and our, common freedom—those in the prisons, those in the camps for political prisoners, and those who are perishing in spirit from the treacherous poison of daily propaganda."

Let us honor the memory of our friend Y. T. Galanskov, who stands as an example of conscience and duty for us. Let us increase our ranks and continue his work!

We appeal to the citizens of Russia and the whole world to honor his memory with a moment of silence. Let this moment also be marked by a special oath of loyalty to our common hopes and dreams! It is time to pull ourselves out of our criminal indifference and understand that only all together can we secure freedom for all of the peoples of Russia.

The brilliant memory of Y. T. Galanskov will always be with us.

## World news notes

### Danes demand free abortion

A demonstration of some 2,000 (below) was held in Copenhagen February 18 in favor of free abortion on demand. Speakers at the demonstration expressed support for the Social-Democratic government's legislative proposal on free abortion. The action was organized by the Dansk Kvindesamfund (Danish Women's Association) and supported by a number of political parties and groups.



### Swiss court upholds Mandel ban

The Federal Council in Switzerland rejected on February 7 the final appeal by Ernest Mandel against the government ruling banning him from Swiss territory. Mandel is a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. An appeal against a similar ban barring him from the United States was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court last June.

The argumentation of the Swiss council, according to the February 16 issue of *La Brèche*, semimonthly organ of the Swiss Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League), was based on two considerations: "Mandel 'has called on his audiences to create conditions favorable to a future revolution'; and Mandel is banned from France and Germany, so why not also from Switzerland?"

The ban against Mandel, noted *La Brèche*, is not a one-shot affair, but is part of a general attempt to lay the groundwork for an eventual criminalization of the political activities of the far left as a whole in Switzerland.

Meanwhile, Alain Krivine, another leader of the Fourth International, was barred from entering Belgium on January 31. Krivine, a leader of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, was scheduled to address a conference in the city of Tournai. But the night before the conference was to take place, a ministerial decree declared Krivine persona non grata in Tournai. The ban cited Krivine's supposed "interference in Belgium's internal affairs."

### Revolutionary socialists meet

Revolutionary socialists in the Swedish Revolutionära Marxisters Förbund (RMF—League of Revolutionary Marxists) held their third convention January 26-28. According to the February issue of the RMF's monthly *Mullvaden*, there has never been a revolutionary Marxist tradition in Sweden prior to the development of the RMF. The main event that encouraged the development of the Swedish Trotskyist movement was the role of Trotskyists in the May 1968 workers upsurge in France.

"The convention put forward two top priorities for our work," says *Mullvaden*, "first, to work to establish a political presence among the radicalized and politicized proletarian layers, and second, to carry out activity in solidarity with the Indochinese revolution. But in addition, 'work on questions relating to women's oppression' will receive special attention."

The overwhelming majority of participants in the convention were young—fifteen to thirty years old—with 66 percent of the delegates attending their first RMF convention.

### Quebec students strike over tuition

Earlier this year the Québec government ordered that all Québec university students who had not paid up tuition fees owed to the university by February 15 would face expulsion. Previously students had been able to register without paying their fees, and a situation of de facto free tuition existed. Hundreds of expulsions took place, which sparked mass student protests at several campuses. At the University of Québec at Montréal, for example, the 12,000 students went on a general strike that won support from the Montréal councils of the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Québec Federation of Labor, as well as the professors union and university employees union.

The students are demanding the right to pay the fees after having found a permanent job at the end of their studies. One of the main leaders of the University of Québec strike is John Lejderman, a member of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/Young Socialists.

## ... 'we need a national Cordobazo and a revolutionary party'

Continued from first page

assure that the struggles can advance to turn the Cordobazo into an Argentinazo."

As usual, this evoked cheers and chants of "Workers to Power!"

Marita Gonzáles, a teacher from Córdoba and candidate for vice-governor of Córdoba Province, spoke next, in clear, loud tones. "Argentine women," she said, "are among the most exploited persons in the country. It is not just exploitation. It is slavery, *compañeros* [in Spanish, it is clear this is addressed to men]. . . . The women who work in offices are paid 30 percent less than men, and the bosses and bureaucrats think the women are there to adorn their offices."

She listed some of the jobs generally held by women, and the wage rates, always much lower. She described the role of the women teachers in the "glorious Mendozazo" (another semi-insurrection, in Mendoza in April 1972).

The Workers Front candidate for senator from Buenos Aires, Enrique Broquen, who is 75, spoke on Vietnam: "There is no national socialism [this is a slogan often used by the Peronists] because imperialism is international, capitalism is international, production of the means of life itself is international, and it is impossible to construct socialism in one country."

"The class struggle is international and it is necessary to coordinate with revolutionists in other countries. A center of the international class struggle has been the struggle in Vietnam. The struggle of the Vietnamese people has weakened imperialism and allowed the upsurge of revolutionary struggles in other lands."

"Unfortunately, international solidarity in Vietnam hasn't been sufficiently effective because the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies have given very conditional support. We suspect that Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow served to negotiate secret agreements over Vietnam. The lack of enough aid to the Vietnamese has forced Hanoi and the PRG to sign an accord that is no more than a truce. The pact stops the bombing and that is good. But its terms also stop the reunification of the country on the basis of a socialist revolution and that's bad."

"It permits the Saigon clique to survive with continued U. S. military support and makes aid to the NLF from North Vietnam more difficult. What is more, the pattern is set for imperialism to make international settlements against the revolutionary peoples in other countries who struggle for socialism."

"*Compañeros*, as we build this great movement of the Argentine revolution,

let us never forget our international needs and obligations. They are part of us, we of them. Without this we cannot win. With it, we can build a world society worthy of humanity."

The chairman introduced José Páez, a leader of the Cordobazo and of the auto workers sitdown strikes that followed it, and the PST candidate for governor of Córdoba Province. He got a tremendous cheer as he took the platform and said: "We come to bring the Cordobazo to Buenos Aires."

He described the union struggle that led to the mass meeting called by

"And it is the same imperialists who steal the copper in Chile and the oil in Venezuela, who used to steal the sugar in Cuba. And it is not the 'patriotic' national capitalists who will expel imperialism. This was demonstrated in our own country by the Peronist government, by that of Torres in Bolivia. . . . It is only the workers with revolutionary parties that can definitively expel imperialism."

"In our continent we must make close ties with socialist Cuba, creating a socialist federation with Cuba and all the Latin American countries. We

socialist banners is capable of leading the struggle to free us from imperialist exploitation and from all forms of capitalist exploitation."

This concept enters into the everyday swim of political discussion here, so conscious are the ordinary people of the exploitation of their country by foreigners and their agents.

All the parties must have an answer, of some kind, to this question. After a careful development of the ideas, Coral takes on the central political problem facing revolutionaries in Argentina—the illusions of the masses in Peronism as a solution.

Coral continued: "The mass of Peronist workers—for 17 years made hungry, persecuted, jailed, tortured—waiting for the return of Perón to produce another 17th of October [October 17, 1945, when a mass mobilization saved Perón from a reactionary plot backed by the U. S.] that would permit them to defeat the reactionaries and the bosses. But instead of a revolutionary general to head the revolution, there returned an old vegetarian lion to negotiate with the enemies of the working class, creating the Great National Accord programmed by the military."

"Perón returned negotiating over his passport with embassies and chancelleries. We ask: Did Fidel Castro negotiate his passport with Batista when he decided to return to Cuba, to plant himself in the Sierra Maestra, and to construct the first socialist republic of the Western Hemisphere?" □



Section of crowd at PST rally in Córdoba

the CGT (the union federation) out of which the Cordobazo precipitated, the defeat of the police, and the temporary control by the workers of the city.

"The local forces of repression were overcome by the workers. But at that moment, then, the workers had to take power or lose it. We had no unified organization, and were confined to one city. To take power we need a national Cordobazo and we need a party, a revolutionary party. That is why we are here, to build that party."

The crowd took up the chant: "And come, and come, and come, *compañeros*, for here we are forming the great party of the workers."

"We are not here to get votes," Páez continued. "The bourgeoisie is going to get the votes. They control the process, and the illusions are still deep. But we are going to build the party. The military has put conditions on this election. [The regime demands that each party pledge to respect five points if it is elected. Among these is that there shall be no general amnesty for political prisoners.] But we say, five points, ten points, no points, we are for general amnesty!" The crowd gave him an ovation.

By this time it was well into the night and one would expect the crowd to thin out. But as Nora Ciapponi, the vice-presidential candidate, who was next, spoke, the crowd increased.

In this talk Nora cited some facts of imperialist intervention in Argentina. For example, "Recently the papers reported that the International Monetary Fund had refused to lend money to the Argentine military government if it didn't raise the railroad fares by 40 percent. This is one small demonstration of the real cause of the inflation in our country, an inflation that is already robbing the workers of the last raise and will wipe it out in another month."

must follow the example of Che as a revolutionary internationalist. As the oppressed, we have no country. We have the same enemy in common, imperialism and the national governments that are its junior partner."

Finally came Coral. His voice was hoarse from all the speaking he had been doing in the previous few days, but he was still a polished orator, one of the best I've ever heard. He speaks clearly, simply, in language and images the newest person in the audience can understand, developing concepts that leave the most experienced with a feeling they have learned something.

Coral said: "We are not part of any agreement with the other parties in this election because we have nothing in common with them. No longer is there a place for 'progressive' capitalists, nor for alliances of the 'center left,' nor for priests of the 'third world' [in Argentina this phrase signifies neither capitalist nor communist]. The national capitalists do not exist as an independent class in our semicolonial countries."

"We are not in the Europe of the eighteenth century, but in revolutionary Latin America in the last of the twentieth century. From the railroads and packinghouses to the thermonuclear generators and modern steel plants, all have been introduced here by imperialists of whom the native capitalists are junior partners and unconditional instruments. There is therefore only one social sector with the capacity to fight consistently for national liberation: the working class."

"We denounce the Communist Party and other sectors called 'leftists' who bog down the revolution creating false illusions about intermediate stages of revolution under the hegemony of the national capitalists, intermediate stages to complete the bourgeois democratic tasks and free us from imperialism. Only the working class with

## YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE DERRY

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

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

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

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

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

**INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS**  
P.O. Box 116, Village Station  
New York, N.Y. 10014

## Crisis and Repression in Argentina

By Peter Camejo and Nahuel Moreno

\$35

PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014



# Farm workers blame gov't corruption

## Lettuce found to contain lethal pesticides

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A new incidence of pesticide contamination of lettuce was exposed March 9 by officials of the United Farm Workers Union. Four days later California agricultural officials confirmed that thousands of boxes of lettuce harvested from Danny Dannenberg Farms, Inc., in the Imperial Valley may indeed contain illegal residues of an organophosphate pesticide called Phosdrin.

Government officials substantiated the Farm Workers' charge that Dannenberg Farms ordered workers to harvest the lettuce one day after it had been treated with the chemical. Federal regulations require a four-day waiting period after application of 16 ounces of Phosdrin per acre before harvesting. About 240,000 heads were harvested.

This is the second case of Phosdrin contamination in recent weeks. According to Food and Drug Administration officials in Boston, 24,000 heads of lettuce arrived in February with residues of 2 parts per million, four times the federal limit. The lettuce came from Bruce Church, Inc., farms in Yuma, Ariz.

Of the 24,000 heads, 15,500 were sold to customers before they could be seized.

In tests on laboratory animals, the presence of Phosdrin at the rate of 5 parts per million of body tissue has killed more than half the test animals.

Phosdrin began to be used by California growers when Monitor 4, another highly toxic organophosphate pesticide was banned by the Environmental Protection Agency March 7.

The ban came after it was discovered that thousands of cases of lettuce containing poisonous levels of Monitor 4 had been shipped all over the country. In one instance the residues were found to be 500 percent over the federal limits.

In the incidents with Monitor 4 too, the poisoned lettuce might have never been discovered had it not been for

the action of the UFWU officials. Government agencies that are charged with policing growers' use of chemicals stepped in only after pressure from the union.

Ray Huerta, UFWU director in Coachella, said, "Only the prompt action of César Chávez and the UFWU calling attention to the public of the lettuce scandal prevented a possible disaster. Now we are asking the Department of Agriculture for a complete disclosure of the facts, such as that the fields themselves are contaminated because there might still be residues on the ground."

Monitor 4 attacks the nervous system and can cause cancer, genetic disorders, and even death if ingested in large enough quantities.

Not only consumers, but also those who pick the vegetables are subject to its harmful effects. This was brought out by the union at hearings a California legislative committee conducted here in Los Angeles.

Among those testifying were Assembly members March Fong (D-Oakland) and Richard Alatorre (D-L.A.), who had made a tour of farm worker camps in the Imperial Valley. They testified that farm workers have suffered burned hands, missing fingernails, body rashes, and welts after picking lettuce in fields treated with Monitor 4 and other pesticides.

UFWU attorney Jerry Cohen laid the blame for the diseased farm workers to government corruption. "This is an instance of ultimate corruption in government—agencies serving the economic interests they are supposed to regulate," he said.

One witness, Dr. R.D. Wessel, representing Chevron Chemical Company, a producer of Monitor 4, labeled the claims that consumers and farm workers were being injured by the pesticides "sheer nonsense."

Meanwhile, government-grower efforts to prevent picketing by farm workers continue as Richard Chávez (brother of union president César Chávez) and two other union leaders

were convicted in Visalia of violating a court order limiting pickets at a Tulare County farm last summer. The farm workers are appealing the conviction.

The UFWU is suing Safeway to prevent it from claiming it sells "union" lettuce. Safeway buys some of its lettuce from growers who have sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters union. This means it is scab lettuce, not "union" lettuce.

The Farm Workers have a previous court decision in their favor on this score stating that the Teamsters was not the union chosen by the workers. The suit asks \$11.5-million in damages.

The Farm Workers have initiated a nationwide boycott of nonunion head lettuce. The union is also urging people not to buy at Safeway and A&P markets. These two giants are the biggest buyers of scab lettuce.

In a related development, the Interfaith Committee to Aid Farm Work-

ers recently asked for a court injunction to prevent Safeway from selling bug-infested "health-food" cookies. The chain was finally forced to "voluntarily" take them off the shelves to avoid further adverse publicity and possible damages. Yet another suit, charging Safeway sells "lean" ground beef adulterated with extra fat, is still pending.

In another victory for the union, a Los Angeles judge refused to issue a restraining order to limit UFWU pickets at Safeway stores. Safeway admits to losing \$5,000 daily at each store picketed.

In another development, several persons have pleaded guilty to fraudulently obtaining signatures to place anti-union Proposition 22 on the California ballot last fall. The grower-sponsored initiative would have made it impossible for farm workers to organize the union of their choice in the fields.

A widespread scandal had been caused when it was discovered that signature gatherers for the unionbusting proposition had been misrepresenting themselves as farm-worker supporters.



Farm workers picking contaminated lettuce have suffered burned hands, missing fingernails, and body rashes.

## CELEBRATE 100TH ANNIVERSARY

# PUERTO RICO MARKS ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

By JIM LITTLE

March 22 marks the hundredth anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico. The Spanish colonialists introduced African slavery into Puerto Rico in the middle of the sixteenth century after they failed in an attempt to force the native Indians into slavery.

The conquistadors drove the Indians to virtual extinction by forcing them into forms of labor totally alien to their lives. The Indians were unable to compete with the more advanced European technology, and their many rebellions were crushed.

The African slaves also rebelled against being forced to mine gold and work the fields for their Spanish masters. Throughout the nineteenth century there was an epidemic of Black slave revolts, not only in Puerto Rico but throughout the Caribbean.

In 1848, responding to massive slave rebellions in Saint Croix and Martinique, the Spanish military governor enacted the repressive Bando Contra La Raza Africana. This law, directed against Blacks both free and slave, made it a crime even to make



Miguel Rivera/Claridad

"rude remarks" to a person of European background.

The movement advocating independence from Spanish rule was also a movement to abolish slavery. In 1865 nearly half of Puerto Rico's 600,000 inhabitants were Black, 40 percent of whom were slaves.

The independence movement's most significant struggle took place Sept. 23, 1868, now remembered as El Grito de Lares. On that day the *Independistas*, led by the intransigent abolitionist Ramon Betances, declared Puerto Rico a republic and abolished slavery.

Originally the Lares insurrection had been planned for Sept. 29 to coincide with the Festival of St. Michael, celebrated by the Black slaves. But the Spanish military got wind of the plan, and it was necessary to launch the insurrection a week ahead of time, Sept. 23.

The insurrection failed to spread beyond Lares. Betances was prevented from obtaining arms and reinforcements, and the insurrection was bru-

tally suppressed in a few days. Slavery continued until 1873, when Spain finally ended it under the pressure of Puerto Rican public opinion.

The third week in March also commemorates the Ponce Massacre of 1937. On Sunday, March 21, 1937, the independence movement was celebrating the abolition of slavery and demonstrating for Puerto Rican independence from their new colonial oppressor, the U.S. (The U.S. imperialists had taken over from Spain in 1898, seizing Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Hispanola as war booty.)

Blanton Winthrop, the governor of Puerto Rico and a Franklin Roosevelt appointee, ordered police to attack the demonstration in Ponce. The police fired on the unarmed demonstrators, killing 19 and wounding more than 100 men, women, and children. For Puerto Ricans, the "New Deal" turned out to be the same old deal.

Today, 100 years after the abolition of slavery and 36 years after the Ponce Massacre, the struggle for freedom in Puerto Rico continues.

## Scores NY 'relocation' policies

# Oliver at tenant victory meeting

By HUGH MORGAN

NEW YORK, March 18—"The Democrats and Republicans in city hall don't operate the Housing Authority in the interests of tenants," Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, told a meeting of a Lower East Side tenants group at the Henry Street Settlement today. "They run it for the real estate sharks and the banks," he said. "They run it for the landlords."

The meeting was called by the Lower East Side Joint Planning Council to celebrate a partial court victory in a long-fought legal battle for the rights of victims of "urban removal."

The meeting was conducted in both Spanish and English. Nancy LeBlanc, attorney for Mobilization for Youth (MFY) Legal Services, Inc., explained the background of the case and the recent favorable court decision. Rosa Esperón of the Planning Council chaired the meeting.

In 1967, some 1,800 families were forced to relocate by the Seward Park Extension Urban Renewal Project, LeBlanc explained. Most of these families were Black or Puerto Rican. When the first 360 new low-income units became available last year, the Housing Authority failed to give priority to the 1,800 "former site tenants." Instead, 171 units were rented to whites who had not been forced to relocate by the Seward Park project.

The former site tenants filed suit in May 1972 to enjoin the city from renting to anyone but them. In January of this year a federal judge upheld the rights of the former site tenants. Judge Marvin Frankel voided

the 171 leases granted to other families.

Oliver told the group, "I'm here to express solidarity with your fight and to celebrate your victory with you." Oliver's remarks were translated into Spanish by Eva Chertov, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council from District 3, on the Lower East Side.

Jerome Kretchmer, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for mayor, also addressed the meeting. Kretchmer said housing "is a class issue, not a race issue." Inadequate public housing affects poor people, Kretchmer said, "whether they are orange or chartreuse—no matter what their color."

Without minimizing the effect on poor whites, Oliver attacked the racism of "renewal" projects like the Seward Park extension and pointed out

that inadequate housing especially affects Blacks and Puerto Ricans in New York.

On March 14, Oliver spoke to a meeting of 50 students at Richmond College in New York. The day before, Democrat Sanford Garelik had attracted an audience of 15, and the day after, another Democrat, Edward Koch, drew 20 students to a meeting. Both are candidates for the Democratic mayoralty nomination.

On March 15, Oliver attended hearings on the imposition of tuition for the City University of New York (CUNY) and participated in a picket line outside against tuition. The socialist candidate has been taking an active role in the CUNY struggle, and he is planning to take part in a March 25 city-wide mass meeting of students to protest tuition.



Norman Oliver and Eva Chertov speaking at tenant victory meeting

Militant/Arthur Hughes

## Cleve. socialists start petitioning

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, March 19—The Cleveland Socialist Workers Party campaign is moving ahead with its plans to collect 6,000 signatures on petitions to place mayoral candidate Roberta Scherr on the Cleveland ballot. The drive will begin on March 31.

According to Mary Zins, Young Socialists for Scherr coordinator, "Right now we are trying to talk to every one of the endorsers and supporters of the Scherr campaign about helping with petitioning and making donations to help meet the petitioning costs."

Zins said that the drive to obtain endorsements for Scherr, with a goal of 250, had already reached 228 and would probably be surpassed in the next week.

This week, while most area campuses are closed for vacations, Young Socialists for Scherr teams will be campaigning in high schools and in the community.

Another major activity of the Young Socialists for Scherr will be building a regional conference it called jointly with the Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance to be held at Case Western Reserve University on April 20 and 21. Featured speakers will be Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the Coalition to Abolish STRESS in Detroit; Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate; and Roberta Scherr.

Scherr's campaign has recently attracted attention throughout the state of Ohio. An Associated Press wire story appeared in a number of Ohio papers on March 13. In the article, Scherr was quoted as saying, "Socialism is the real alternative . . . and running an election campaign is one of the best ways of reaching mass sentiment."

As a result of the AP story, the *Lorain Journal* published an editorial on the Scherr campaign entitled "Participation in Politics." The editorial noted that "she is promoting a cause, socialism, in which she believes," and stated, "devotion of her time and effort to the campaign demonstrates a spirit of loyalty and enthusiasm to a political philosophy which too many members of the dominant Democratic and Republican Parties seem to have lost."

Scherr continued to take her campaign to the campuses. In the past week she spoke at Case Western Reserve University, to government classes at Cuyahoga Community College, and to a class at Ursuline College, where six people endorsed the campaign and volunteered to distribute campaign material on campus.



Roberta Scherr

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

# SWP hits racist UC investment

By RICK CONGRESS

BERKELEY, March 14—Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Berkeley city council, blasted University of California complicity in aiding white minority governments in southern Africa today.

Milner called attention to the report recently released by California State Assemblyman John F. Dumlap that documented UC Berkeley's South African investments. The report revealed that \$313-million of UC Berkeley money is invested in southern Africa and southern Rhodesia.

The investments are concentrated in firms that have the worst reputation for exploitation of African labor, including IBM, ITT, Caltex, Ford, GM, and GE. Dumlap charged that UC Berkeley, through these investments, "substantially strengthens white minority regimes in South Africa."

A representative of the university replied that "we had no prior knowledge of how much business these firms

do in South Africa and have no control over it whatsoever, whatever our feelings may be."

Milner, who is active in the African Liberation Support Committee, said that UC Berkeley as an institution is standing directly at odds with the South African freedom fighters and

their millions of supporters here in the U.S. and on the African continent. He also pointed out that UC Berkeley has substantial investments in Gulf Oil, which plays a major role in financing the Portuguese colonial occupiers in Angola.

He called for support to the African Liberation Day demonstration scheduled in Oakland for May 26. He urged the SWP's opponents in the city council race, the Berkeley Four slate and the April Coalition slate, to join in supporting the upcoming demonstrations. Both slates have so far remained silent on this question.

Milner also appealed for support to a planned picket of the South African Consulate called by the African Liberation Support Committee for Wednesday, March 21 at 11 a.m. in San Francisco. The picket will commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre in which South African government troops gunned down hundreds of peacefully protesting Blacks.



Ken Milner

Militant/Laura Moorhead

## Bilingual registration for NY vote extended

NEW YORK—In a highly unusual move, federal Judge Charles Stewart March 16 ordered the board of elections to extend its voter registration drive for three days. His action followed complaints that bilingual translators and registration forms were not being provided at many places of registration.

The registration process was monitored by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), a

voting rights organization, and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund. CoDEL and community control advocates from School District 1 initiated a lawsuit to establish bilingual election procedures here for the school board elections scheduled for May 1. Thirty-two local school boards will be elected on that date.

Earlier this month attorneys representing CoDEL and the parents succeeded in obtaining a court order requiring bilingual forms and trans-

lators for registration. When the groups complained the order was not being implemented, the judge ordered compliance and extended local registration.

In some areas, such as District 1, Puerto Ricans make up 70% of the public school enrollment. Failure to provide bilingual elections procedures severely limits the ability to these communities to have fair and representative elections.



# Launch campaign for school board, city council SWP denounces racism in Boston schools

BOSTON, March 15—The Boston Socialist Workers Party announced today that it is running John Powers, Jr. and Debra Byrne for Boston city council and Jeannette Tracy and Don Gurewitz for Boston school committee.

Reporters from Boston's two major dailies attended the news conference, and the *Boston Sunday Globe* carried a lengthy article announcing the campaign and quoting extensively from the candidate's remarks.

In her remarks, Jeannette Tracy called the Boston school system one of the most backward and racist in the country.

On March 2, federal administrative law Judge Laurence Ring ruled that Boston's schools had been operating in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and were not entitled to continue receiving \$9- to \$10-million in federal funds.

Ring was upholding a government complaint that there "were affirmative acts of discrimination" that went beyond any racial imbalance resulting from population shifts and had in fact set up two separate school systems for Boston's 95,000 public school pupils, one-third of whom are Black.

The government maintained that by using devices such as school feeder patterns, an open-enrollment system, and controlled transfer policies, Boston had created one high school system that was predominantly Black and Latin and another that remained substantially white.

Further, Ring pointed to strong evidence in his ruling that the Boston school system not only had failed to



Boston candidates (left to right): John Powers Jr., Don Gurewitz, Debra Byrne, and Jeannette Tracy.

hire Spanish-speaking personnel but also had totally failed to enroll or even find the addresses of thousands of Spanish-speaking children.

Tracy's statement focused on this backwardness and racism of the Boston school system. She described how Black and Latin students are forced into miserable segregated school environments, how there is virtually no bilingual education for the city's Spanish-speaking students, and how up until this year the city had not built a single new high school in more than three decades!

Tracy emphasized the need for free, quality education through college, available to all students. She called for eliminating Washington's war budget and using the money for a program to immediately build enough school facilities for all students in

Boston and throughout the country.

She stressed the necessity of Black and Latino control of the Black and Latino schools. "Every aspect of education of Black and Latino children—from hiring and firing teachers to the curriculum, from discipline to the school budget—should be controlled by the Black and Latino communities and no one else," she said.

City council candidate Debra Byrne announced she would simultaneously be running for student government at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. A major controversy has developed over a new U Mass. campus that is slated to open next September near Columbia Point, a low-income, predominantly Black and Puerto Rican housing project. Many Columbia Point residents have expressed the fear that a large influx of students will drive up their rents and eventually

force them out of the area.

Byrne called for an immediate rent freeze and rollback of rents to no more than 10 percent of a family's income. She also called for the establishment of a democratically elected tenant board with full powers to halt all block-busting, evictions, and other landlord attempts to raise rents and drive out local residents.

She called for a crash program of federal and state funds to build comfortable and ample low-cost housing for both students and Columbia Point residents. She said a mobilization of the students and the residents of Columbia Point would be needed to force the university and the government to meet their needs.

In his statement released at the news conference, Powers explained that the socialist candidates will challenge the attempts by the Democrats and Republicans to portray national issues as "irrelevant" to the municipal elections.

The SWP has also announced its campaigns for the Cambridge city council and school board. Carol Henderson Evans, one of the SWP Cambridge city council candidates, spoke today at a demonstration of 200 to 300 protesters against federal cutbacks of social services.

Evans told the demonstration that "instead of using our money to prop up the Thieu dictatorship, which slaughters the people of Vietnam, this government should provide free, 24-hour, community-controlled child care, decent schools, and all the other social services that we need and are entitled to as a matter of basic human rights."

## Socialists win broad support at L.A. rally

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, March 19—With two weeks remaining before the municipal election in Los Angeles, the socialist campaign held an enthusiastic and successful campaign banquet and rally March 17. More than 125 supporters gathered to hear words of endorsement and support. Contributions for the campaign totaled \$1,200.

Pearl Hazlewood, business agent of Social Services Union Local 535, which has endorsed Walter Lippmann's candidacy for the school board, spoke on behalf of the union. She told the rally, "Our union endorsed Walter Lippmann for the school board because he is a loyal member and because he shows everybody how to be democratic and how to be militant. We think that's the most important thing."

John Costello of the Friends of Ireland Coalition traced his involvement in the defense of the Irish struggle in the past year. "I have gotten a great respect for your party and your work. I can tell you that without the help we've seen from some of your members, that we would not be as effective as we have been, and I don't know to what degree we would even be in operation. . . . I would unqualifiedly like to give my personal endorsement to your ticket in this coming election."

Drawing the most enthusiastic response was Andrés Rodríguez Torrès, speech professor at L.A. Valley College. Torrès ran on La Raza Unida Party ticket in a special state senatorial election in the L.A. area last



Olga Rodríguez

month. He endorsed the campaign of Olga Rodríguez because "every other candidate in this election represents some kind of interest, or position, or approach that is responsible for the conditions that exist today."

"A vote for them, obviously, is a vote for more entrenchment of the same kind of thing and a continuation of that. . . . Olga Rodríguez, to me, represents the only choice, the only position, the only approach away from what we have seen has not worked. And therefore I speak for her endorsement and I ask other people to make the same judgment."

Highpoint of the rally was Olga Rodríguez's speech on "Who Rules Los Angeles?". Rodríguez pointed out that L.A. has not always been ruled by wealthy white men. "This land was ripped off from the Native American tribes of California, then from the

Mexicans in 1848, and from the Japanese-Americans in 1942—and has been passed down from father to son. The people who now own and rule Los Angeles are descendants of European thieves."

Rodríguez described the "Committee of 25," a self-appointed group of big business men in L.A. who informally make the policy that is carried out by the mayor and city council. She said they hold controlling interest in Litton Industries, Occidental Oil, General Dynamics, and Bank of America, to name a few.

"In any society, those who own the wealth producing property will rule. And those who are left without such property will be ruled. The task we have is to change that: to take the property out of the hands of those who now own it and to place it in the hands of those who should own it: those who work to produce it."

The rally voted to send a statement to the U.S. Department of Justice that read in part: "We demand the immediate release of the Los Angeles supporters of the American Indian Movement jailed in Nevada on the trumped-up charge of crossing a state line to incite a riot. On their way to Wounded Knee with food, clothing, and medicine, their mission is of the highest human order. To jail them is one more demonstration of the racist bankruptcy of the United States government."

David Aberson, the Los Angeles attorney who filed the law suit that resulted in Olga Rodríguez being placed on the ballot without paying a filing

fee, praised the SWP for its fight for a democratic ballot.

John T. Williams a teamster organizer and leader of the National Peace Action Coalition, spoke briefly and was warmly applauded.

Ken Milner, SWP candidate for Berkeley city council, and Leslie Dork, SWP candidate in a special state senatorial election in San Diego, also spoke at the rally.

The banquet followed a weekend socialist conference at UCLA. The highlight of the conference was a panel on the deportation of undocumented workers. Speakers included Andrés Torrès, Steve Hallapeter of CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo), and Mariana Hernández, SWP candidate for L.A. Community College board of trustees.



Andrés Torrès



# Transitional Program-new collection of writings Strategy for a mass socialist

The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution by Leon Trotsky. With introductory essays by Joseph Hansen and George Novack. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 224 pp. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

By CAROLINE LUND

Trotsky's *Transitional Program*, the central part of this book, is one of the most important works of the Marxist movement. It ranks with such works as the *Communist Manifesto*, Engels's *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, and Lenin's *State and Revolution* as one of the basic documents that should be read and studied by anyone who is a socialist or is interested in socialism.

The book concerns the all-important question of how to make a revolution. It deals with the problem of how revolutionary socialists—now only a tiny minority in this country—can best go about winning over the majority of working people and leading them in the task of taking state power in the interests of that majority.

This is not a new question, of course. Revolutionists have always faced the problem that their ideas were far in advance of the understanding of the masses. Though they understood that a socialist system was in the interests of working people, most working people themselves did not understand that fact, and moreover did not feel they had the power to change society even if they wanted to.

Marx and Engels attempted to deal with this contradiction between the consciousness of the communist movement and the consciousness of the masses as early as 1848, when they wrote the *Communist Manifesto*.

In this historic document they suggest several elements of the answer to the question:

1) The need for revolutionists to be in the forefront of struggles for the immediate demands being raised by masses of people;

2) That the method of struggle for revolutionists is to promote "the ever expanding union of the workers" themselves—that is, mass organization and action—as the only power capable of winning their liberation;

3) That revolutionists always attempt to bring the "property question" to the fore—that is, to point out how the private property system stands in the way of satisfying the needs of working people;

4) The need for a thought-out program of demands of a transitional character—that is, a program that makes a bridge between demands understood by masses of people and the socialist future.

Later, revolutionists in the Second International, especially Rosa Luxemburg, continued to try to come to grips with the question of how to reach and mobilize the masses. Lenin and the Bolsheviks made a major contribution to this discussion in the process of successfully leading the Russian revolution.

## Crisis of leadership

Basing himself on all of these contributions—on the collective experience of the socialist movement



Militant/Flax Hermes

New York City high school students rally against Vietnam war during Oct. 15, 1969, Moratorium. U.S. antiwar movement, organized around demand for immediate withdrawal of American troops from Southeast Asia, is powerful example of how to mobilize masses of people in anti-imperialist action.

over the years—Trotsky took this discussion a qualitative step forward. In his *Transitional Program* he makes the profound generalization that today "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

That is, he concluded that in general, on an international scale, objective conditions were ripe for a socialist revolution. What was lacking was revolutionary parties with a correct perspective for winning the masses to revolutionary action.

The Russian revolution had proved that masses of people would fight for socialism if they had a trusted leadership audacious enough to lead them in taking on and defeating the entire capitalist system of oppression.

Since then, Trotsky noted, masses of people had risen up in country after country, in strikes, plant occupations, land occupations, guerrilla wars. Moreover, as capitalism has become more and more rotten, even struggles over democratic demands such as free speech, land reform, or national independence tend to quickly outstrip those original goals and go over into more far-reaching challenges to the social order. Trotsky called this process one of uninterrupted, or permanent, revolution.

But despite these conditions favoring revolutionary change, most struggles did not result in social revolutions. Time and again when masses of working people and other oppressed people have risen up fighting for social justice, their struggles have been stopped short, or crushed, because of false leadership.

For this reason, when Trotsky wrote the *Transitional Program* during the 1930s, the problem of the contradiction between the consciousness of the revolutionary movement and the consciousness of the masses had become even more complex and pressing than during Marx's time.

On the one hand the organs and institutions of the capitalist class had always been designed to confuse working people and convince them that the capitalist system served their interests. But the working class was also increasingly confused and disoriented by many of its own misleaders, who had been bought off and corrupted by the capitalist system—today represented by the George Meanys, the Harold Wilsons, the Willy Brandts, and the bureaucrats at the head of the Stalinized Communist parties throughout the world.

While claiming to fight for the interests of the workers, they actually cooperate with the capitalist rulers to keep all mass struggles from breaking out of the bounds of the capitalist system.

In writing that the crisis of humanity was reduced to a crisis of leadership, Trotsky meant that if an alternative revolutionary leadership is not built that can win the workers away from their misleaders, humanity only faces the prospect of continued social degeneration and fascist barbarism. Today, atomic destruction is an added threat.

Trotsky's *Transitional Program* is designed to aid in building such a revolutionary leadership. It is a program for an international revolutionary socialist party and was adopted by the founding congress of the Fourth International in 1938.

The idea behind the *Transitional Program* is simple. As Joseph Hansen explains in one of the introductory articles in this book, "It consists in approaching the masses at whatever level they may stand and in drawing them through progressive struggles and explanations toward a higher level of thought and action, that is, in the direction of socialist revolution." The Fourth International is the only current in the world working-class movement that holds this revolutionary perspective. The organizations in this country adhering to this perspective are the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.



Black workers picket Mead packaging plant in Atlanta, Ga., during recent strike against company's racist practices

# movement

The *Transitional Program* consists of demands calculated to demonstrate—in the course of struggle—that the capitalist system is incapable of answering the basic needs of the masses of working people.

For example, one such demand in the program is for a sliding scale of hours and wages. This demand speaks to the two major problems endemic to capitalism: unemployment and inflation. It says that wages should automatically be increased to keep up with rises in the cost of living, while the length of the work day should be progressively shortened, at no loss in pay, to create jobs for all the unemployed.

The demand seems eminently reasonable to working people, even those who do not consider themselves socialists. In fact it has been partially won by the trade unions in the form of cost-of-living escalator clauses in some union contracts and less than 40-hour workweeks in some industries.

But the concept contained in the demand is at the same time revolutionary. It expresses socialist methods of organizing labor and challenges the private-property rights of the employers. The demand itself makes a bridge between the present consciousness of working people and the socialist consciousness of the revolutionary party.

In addition, the *Transitional Program* contains proposals aimed at what Marx called "the ever expanding union of the workers" against the capitalists. Trotsky explains how the revolutionary party should introduce proposals for workers self-defense against police, scabs, or the army, as well as the organization of factory committees and broad democratic councils to represent the trade-union movement, unorganized workers, and all social layers who ally with the workers struggle.

The *Transitional Program* also deals with the questions of the fight against imperialist war, the colonial revolution, the struggle in fascist countries, the fight for democratic and social rights in workers states like the Soviet Union and China, and the importance of special demands for women and youth.

Trotsky wrote the *Transitional Program* in close collaboration with the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. This book contains transcripts of his discussions with SWP leaders in the 1930s on various demands in the program and the general concepts behind it. It also contains articles by Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leaders of the SWP, analyzing the significance of the program, its origins, and the method it embodies.

## Transitional approach

As George Novack points out in his article, equally important as the specific demands contained in the program is the transitional method they stem from. No one program can be a blueprint for revolution, nor can a program replace the need for a party of revolutionists who think for themselves. Marxists must employ the transitional approach to deal with new developments as they arise, and to express the concepts and demands of the program in ways that fit the conditions and concerns of working people today.

Thus this book also contains two documents illustrating how the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International have applied the transitional method in dealing with new phenomena: the Black liberation struggle in the United States and the international radicalization of youth that arose in the 1960s.

These two documents codify many of the ideas about the Black struggle and the youth radicalization that have been explained in more detail in the pages of *The Militant*. The "Transitional Program for Black Liberation" and the "Strategy for Revolutionary Youth" should not be seen as separate programs but as part of, or extensions of, the *Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*.

The proposals in these documents stem from the same revolutionary approach Trotsky explains so well in this book: "All methods are good which raise the class-consciousness of the workers, their trust in their own forces, their readiness for self-sacrifice in the struggle. The impermissible methods are those which implant fear and submissiveness in the oppressed before their oppressors, which crush the spirit of protest and indignation or substitute for the will of the masses—the will of the leaders; for conviction—compulsion; for an analysis of reality—demagoguery and frame-up."

## Pension & job rights in question

# Rail settlement announced

By FRANK LOVELL

MARCH 19—Railroad workers were surprised to read in newspaper accounts March 13 that they had "won" a 10.7 percent pay raise over the 18 months of a new contract, beginning July 1. This is the first time a rail settlement has been reached in advance of the contract deadline.

About 500,000 workers represented by 14 unions are covered. The tentative contract does not apply to five Northeastern railroads now in reorganization under bankruptcy proceedings, including the Penn Central.

At a March 16 Washington news conference called by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan hailed the agreement, giving it the Nixon administration stamp of approval. BRAC president C. L. Dennis also called it a "fine agreement," predicting "all bona fide railroad unions will ratify it."

An official of the United Transportation Union (UTU), largest of the operating unions, gave assurances the agreement would be accepted "without difficulty," since UTU President Al Chesser is one of the chief negotiators and has endorsed it.

Spokesmen for other unions, such as the Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, and Carmen, however, revealed that the wage increase is only 4 percent, not 10.7. They said union members may turn the agreement down.

The contract commits the UTU and the Locomotive Engineers to continue a standing committee on work-rule changes. The carriers are demanding changes that will drastically reduce the already shrinking number of railway workers during the 18-month life of the contract. Further elimination of money-losing rail service will also reduce the workforce. In exchange for acceptance of these conditions by the union officials the carriers have agreed to pay the costs of dues check off for all unions that go along with the settlement.

The substantial part of the agreement relates to the railroad pension fund established under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1935. Under this legislation railroad workers now pay 10.6 percent of their income (up to \$900 a month) into their pension plan, twice what other workers pay into Social Security. Their pension is also about double Social Security benefits.

The new contract would bring deductions into

line with the amount generally deducted from wages for social security. The carriers would pay all contributions over 5.85 percent of the first \$10,800 yearly earnings of railway workers.

This will add \$42.75 a month to the paycheck of railroad workers who now contribute the maximum amount to the pension plan, and after Jan. 1, 1974, when contributions are scheduled to go up, it will be \$47.50.

The railroads have also agreed to extend temporary increases in retirement benefits previously adopted. Retirement now becomes voluntary at age 60 after 30 years on the railroad.

But the implementation of this agreement requires congressional approval. The Commission on Railroad Retirement recommended last year that the railroad retirement system be restructured in order to ensure its solvency. The unions and management have agreed to a standing committee to prepare recommendations for restructuring the pension system, and have agreed to ask Congress to postpone any action until July 1, 1974, when they promise to submit their proposals.

The success of these joint efforts requires either congressional approval of an excise tax on rail shippers or approval of rate increases by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This is in accordance with UTU President Chesser's plan to bail out the bankrupt railroads and the insolvent railroad retirement fund at public expense.

One Carmen's local in St. Paul voted overwhelmingly against the proposed agreement, arguing, "it takes away from us something that is ours, the pension, and then gives it back refurbished as a wage increase."

Railroad workers have contributed heavily to pension funds over the years, and many are afraid they are being swindled out of them now. A switchman in Minneapolis says, "Our pension fund has appeared to be more stable than most. At least no one got beat out of it as in other industries. Now I've got my fingers crossed."

In Chicago, Ed Heisler, a UTU member and secretary of the railroad workers' Right To Vote Committee, says the proposed contract limits wages without protecting working conditions or pension rights. "If wages of railroad workers can be held down, then retirement benefits can also be held down by the government," he said. "Furthermore, this contract provides the machinery for changing work rules to suit the carriers."



New contract has no guarantee for the retention of retirement benefits promised to rail workers

# Second trial set in Lawton case

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, March 16—On May 14 Black activist Gary Lawton and his codefendants, Larrie Gardner and Nehemiah Jackson, will face their second trial on charges of killing two white policemen in 1971. Like the first trial, the second one will be held in the isolated desert town of Indio, Calif. Indio is 72 miles from Riverside, where the killings took place and the defendants live.

The state moved the trial to Indio to isolate the defendants and to make it easier to railroad them to prison. The political nature of the charges has been underlined by the district attorney's insistence in pursuing the case after a five-month trial ended in a deadlocked jury Feb. 16.

Nine jurors and all four alternates agreed there was not a shred of evidence to convict the de-

fendants. They stated publicly that the wrong men had been arrested and asked that they not be retried. The three other jurors have refused to be interviewed. But the Riverside district attorney simply stated that the jurors' opinions "didn't carry too much influence" with his office.

The fact that the prosecution case was so weak that it was unable to win a majority on an all-white jury, with only one under 50 years of age, has heartened the defense. However, Lawton, Gardner, and Jackson have all been denied bail and remain in prison awaiting their second trial. Efforts to obtain bail and to avoid a retrial are continuing. Contributions can be sent to the Lawton Defense Committee, P. O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412.



# THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: THEY KEPT ALIVE THE IDEAS OF SOCIALISM

The following is the final article in a series 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

Despite the heroic struggle of the Left Opposition, the Soviet bureaucracy successfully established its dictatorship. In the course of this process the Bolshevik Party that had been built by Lenin and the Communist International established following the victory of the October revolution were destroyed as revolutionary organizations. Does this mean that the battle waged by the Left Opposition was fruitless, that its defeat was inevitable, and that its adherents were deluded romantics, revolutionary Don Quixotes?

In answering these questions it is best to review what the Left Opposition saw as its role. The Opposition was based first of all on the existence of the class struggle. The victory of the October revolution had brought the working class to political power in Russia, but it had not eliminated class differences and class conflicts within Russia or in the rest of the world. The role of revolutionists was to formulate and fight for a conscious policy aimed at maximizing the power of the working class, its self-confidence, its numerical strength, etc., both within the Soviet Union and internationally, in order to best prepare for future struggles.

This was the basis for the economic policy of the Left Opposition. Its call for industrialization and the collectivization of the peasantry was based on the need to increase the strength of the Soviet working class while reducing that of the rich peasantry. The need to extend the revolution was based on the expectation of a confrontation between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers, as well as on the necessity of international cooperation in the building of socialism.

The confrontations predicted by the Opposition did come. In 1929 the bureaucracy was forced to take the most draconian measures in order to meet the challenge posed by the kulaks, while all of Stalin's maneuvering and nonaggression pacts were incapable of staving off the Nazi invasion. Trotsky had predicted these problems years before, and had the policies of the Opposition been followed, they could have been overcome with only a fraction of the sacrifices that were actually exacted from the population of the Soviet Union.

The Opposition understood that the majority of the Bolshevik Party, faced with the political passivity of the working class, was responding to the pressures of other classes and to privileged layers within Soviet society. Later, it realized that the bureaucracy within the party and state had grown into an independent force, represented by Stalin.

The fact that most of the Bolshevik old guard saw the bureaucratic danger at different times, and not soon enough, eased Stalin's rise to power. But the decisive factor was the passivity of the workers.

The retreat of the working class from political activity was based on economic privation, disappointment resulting from the defeats of the revolution abroad, and physical exhaustion. It was furthered by the growth of bureaucracy and the stifling of political debate. The Opposition sought to counteract these factors by calling for the improvement of the economic position of the workers, and

for increased soviet democracy. But most of all the Opposition looked to a victory for the revolution in Europe to revive the political activity of the masses.

Clearly, this was not a utopian perspective unless one argues that the expectation of revolution itself is utopian. The appreciation liberal politicians and writers of the 1930s had for Stalin's "hardheaded realism" was based precisely on his rejection of reliance upon the world revolution.

Nevertheless, there are some historians who claim that objective conditions in Russia and the world made the triumph of the bureaucracy inevitable. This theory leaves out the role of individual human beings in the making of history. Was it inevitable that the German revolution of 1923 ended in defeat? Was it inevitable that a larger section of the old Bolsheviks was not won over to the Opposition earlier in the inner-party fight?

Even to pose these questions demonstrates how developments within the Soviet Union depended upon the outcome of a political struggle that was in no way decided in advance. The incorrect policies of the Comintern were directly responsible for defeats in China and England—defeats that were to play a decisive role in reinforcing the political inactivity of the masses in the Soviet Union. Whether these policies could be changed could only have been revealed in the course of the political fight carried out by the Left Opposition.

The argument of many capitalist historians that Stalinism was a logical outgrowth of Leninism, and that the Russian revolution degenerated because it was led by a Leninist party, is another variation of the "inevitability theory." This theory has even less to recommend it than the idea that objective conditions had ensured Stalin's triumph in advance. It totally ignores the degree of revolutionary activity of the masses, the success or failure of revolutions abroad, the poverty and isolation of the Soviet state, etc. Everything is reduced to the original sin of Bolshevism.



Trotsky

But the Bolshevik Party evolved under a given set of circumstances; under other circumstances its evolution would have been different. Moreover, even under the actual conditions, which were most unfavorable, there was a long and bitter struggle before Stalin was able to master the Bolshevik Party. In order to ensure his continued rule he had to physically destroy the old cadres of Lenin's party. Does this show that Stalinism was the inevitable outgrowth of Bolshevism?

Just as there are those who hold that the whole effort of the Left Opposition was hopeless from the beginning, there are others who claim that this or that tactical mistake by Trotsky was decisive. Trotsky himself answered "the



Kronstadt sailors arrive in Petrograd in 1917. The participation of the masses in political activity was the basis for the triumph of the revolution. Their withdrawal was the basis for the triumph of Stalin and the parasitic bureaucracy he headed.

sages who with hindsight accuse us of losing power because of indecision. . . ." He said, "they think that there are certain special technical 'secrets' with whose help revolutionary power can be won or preserved, independently of the effect of great objective factors: victory or defeat for the revolution in the East and the West, the rise or fall of the mass movement in a country, etc."

While the energy and skill of individual leaders are not unimportant, and in some cases can be decisive in influencing objective developments, they cannot determine the course of history independently of objective conditions. This consideration also explains why Trotsky never tried to use the army to stage a coup d'etat. The only way he could have ensured the loyalty of the officer corps for such an undertaking would have been to promise it privileges greater than those it already enjoyed, since the army was just as bureaucratized as the rest of the state apparatus.

The Belgian Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel has pointed out in this regard that "the task of a proletarian revolutionary is not to 'take power' by any means, under any conditions; it is to take power in order to implement a socialist programme. If 'power' can be won only under conditions which drive one away from the realization of that programme, instead of bringing one nearer to it, it is a thousand times preferable to stay in opposition."

Trotsky also discusses this question. In his biography of Stalin he explained that "A struggle for power by the Left Opposition, by a revolutionary Marxist organization, was conceivable only under the conditions of a revolutionary upsurge. Under such conditions the strategy is based on aggression, on direct appeal to the masses, on frontal attack against the government. Quite a few members of the Left Opposition had played no minor part in such a struggle and had first-hand knowledge of how to wage it. But during the early twenties and later, there was no revolutionary upsurge in Russia, quite the contrary. Under such circumstances it was out of the question to launch a struggle for power."

The task of the Left Opposition, writes Trotsky, was "the preservation

of revolutionary traditions, the maintenance of contact among the advanced elements within the Party, the analysis of the developing events of the Thermidor, the preparation for the future revolutionary upsurge on the world arena as well as in the USSR."

The struggle of the Left Opposition certainly had an effect on the development of the Soviet Union—it was that

Those interested in further reading on the history and ideas of the Left Opposition will find the following books particularly helpful:

**The Prophet Unarmed**, by Isaac Deutscher, \$2.45  
**The Third International After Lenin**, by Leon Trotsky, \$3.45  
**The Revolution Betrayed**, by Leon Trotsky, \$2.95  
**The Stalin School of Falsification**, by Leon Trotsky, \$3.45

All of these books are available from Pathfinder Press, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

struggle, more than any other factor, that made it impossible for the bureaucracy to take the road advocated by Bukharin in the late 1920s—a road that would have ended in the restoration of capitalism. But an adequate assessment of the role of the Left Opposition requires a broader historical perspective.

In 1917 the working class of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, tried for the first time in human history to undertake the reconstruction of an entire society according to a rational and conscious plan. The attempt to lay the foundations of a higher culture, by the very nature of the task, is not something that will be accomplished in a few decades.

Those who would abandon the idea of humanity controlling its own social development, which is the essence of socialism, because of the flaws and difficulties encountered in the first efforts are similar to those who argued that it was impossible to build airplanes because the earliest efforts failed to meet ideal specifications.

The men and women who formed the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, and later on internationally, were the people who refused to

Continued on page 22



# YSA presses suit for campus rights

By MALIK MIAH

A suit demanding campus recognition for the Florida Young Socialist Alliance is awaiting a hearing in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The Florida board of regents banned the YSA from state university campuses in the spring of 1970, and the ban has continued ever since.

Sally Whicker, national secretary of the Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC), told *The Militant*, "The regents are taking this case very seriously and up to this point have refused to back down."

She referred to the legal brief submitted by the regents' lawyers to the Fifth Circuit Court. It said in part: "The denial of recognition must be predicated upon some reasonable forecast of disruption which might occur should recognition be granted. . . . the District Court correctly found that demonstrable factual support existed that YSA was a disruptive organization in philosophy and practice."

"Their so-called proof," Whicker said, "is that 'the YSA was involved in disturbances at Berkeley and the Watts riots.' But Burke Kibler, former chairman of the board of regents, has already admitted these charges were only hearsay at a previous hearing."

The YSA's application for recognition was approved by the student senate at the University of Florida at Gainesville on March 5, 1970. In a letter dated March 6, 1970, Kibler told university President Stephen O'Connell that he felt a revolutionary organization "has no place on a college campus." This letter outlined the policy for banning the YSA from campus.

"The regents' unconstitutional ban,"

Whicker explained, "is based not on 'disruptive' activities carried out by the YSA, as they feebly try to prove, but on their fear of radical ideas and organizing on campus. It is clear that the board is willing to deny *any* student organization formal recognition if they are uncomfortable with its political ideas."

Before the regents banned the YSA, they refused to recognize the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) on the same grounds. These organizations are still banned.

"The question involved here," Whicker continued, "is larger than the prescription of the YSA. The regents are attempting to maintain their control over what political groups have the right to exist on Florida campuses. Any precedent set in the case of the YSA would make it extremely difficult to again ban another student organization."

However, the board of regents did not count on a fight from those it is attempting to victimize.

FAPEC has organized many successful activities, including a referendum at Florida State University in Tallahassee, where the majority of students voting favored YSA recognition. Although the regents have not backed down, they have been very sensitive to such actions.

For example, Robert Mautz, chancellor of the Florida state university system sent a letter to the University of Texas (Austin) student government after it passed a resolution supporting the YSA's rights. In his letter Mautz claimed he supported freedom of speech and political expression. But he then went on to justify the board of regents' actions with the false charge that the YSA advocated "violent over-



Sally Whicker

Militant/Dave Warren

throw of the government."

The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) is calling for support from all those who support the right of the YSA to campus recognition. This is especially important now to ensure an early hearing for the case. The more pressure that is brought to bear upon the board of regents, the more likely it is that the YSA will get a favorable ruling.

Lawyers, student government representatives, student organizations, public officials, and others who support civil liberties are urged to send letters of protest and resolutions condemning the ban on the YSA to the Board of Regents, 210 Collins Building, 107 N. Gaines St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

Requests for more information or contributions to the committee's work should be sent to FAPEC, c/o Sally Whicker, 27-08 39th Ave., #4G, Long Island City, N. Y. 11101.

# Conn. steel workers strike

By KEN HOBBS

MERIDEN, Conn., March 14 — Members of the United Steel Workers Union have been on strike against three Insilco (International Silver Company) plants in this area since Feb. 19. The 2,700 strikers at the Meriden Rolling Mill plant, the Flatware Division plant, and the Eyelet facility are attempting to gain their first contract.

Basic issues in the strike include the fact that the workers have had no general wage increase since 1966. Wages for the same job vary as much as \$2 per hour—an effort, workers believe, to break the union by playing favorites. The strikers are also protesting a piece-work system where wages are geared to production—wages at Eyelet, for example, may go down to \$1.65 an hour.

The company's resistance to the strikers' demands reflects a pervasive "company town" atmosphere in this community of 50,000 people. Insilco, which has contracts with the USW in plants in Indiana, Alabama, Illinois, and nearby Wallingford, Conn., has grown used to having its own way here.

The USW began organizing the plants here in 1969, and Insilco grudgingly recognized the workers' right to a union in April 1972 after a walkout was threatened. Workers tell bitterly of how past mayors have been Insilco executives and of the way the police and newspaper side with the company.

The strike is solid, with less than 100 of the 2,700 workers crossing the picket lines. At a mass strike meeting on March 13 the strikers rejected an Insilco attempt to split the strike that consisted of sending all employees individual terms of settlement and requests to return to work.

Insilco's aloof stance was exhibited by the fact that the only negotiating session it chose to have with the union in the past three weeks lasted a mere hour and a half. However, the strikers are confident of success. More than a dozen merchants have contributed to the strike fund, and community support for the strike is growing.

# Defense opens in San Q trial

SAN FRANCISCO, March 20 — The defense opened its case last week in the trial of San Quentin convicts Larry Justice and Earl Gibson. Justice and Gibson are both charged with murdering a prison guard on July 21, 1971.

Only one witness, Herman Johnson, has testified to actually seeing the two convicts kill the guard. One of the first defense witnesses, Doyle Moore, contradicted Johnson's statement that both Justice and Gibson had assaulted him with a knife two days before the guard was killed.

Moore testified that Justice was lifting weights with him in the prison hospital at the time Johnson was brought in with a neck wound. Johnson was granted parole five days after the killing of the guard, although he had been turned down a month earlier. He was arrested again for burglary in December 1971.

When the defense asked Johnson if he thought that his testimony for the prosecution might help his chances for parole a second time, he replied, "Of course I do!"

# Ruchell Magee case goes to jury

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, March 20 — The trial of Ruchell Magee for murder and kidnapping is set to reach the jury after nine weeks of testimony. The Ruchell Magee Defense Committee is organizing a vigil from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m., and 12 a.m. to 1 p.m., and 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. outside the federal building in San Francisco while the jury is deliberating.

The defense rested its case on March 19 with the rebuttal testimony of Dr. Ruddiger Breitmecker, who performed the autopsy on Judge Harold Haley. Magee is accused of killing Haley by firing

a shotgun at the judge's head. Dr. Breitmecker expressed the opinion that Judge Haley was killed by a .38 caliber bullet that punctured his lung rather than by the shotgun blast.

A jury of six men and six women, including three Blacks and one Chicano, will consider the charges against Magee. The case grows out of his participation in an escape attempt several prisoners made on Aug. 7, 1970, during which Judge Haley was taken hostage. Magee contends that he participated because prison authorities blocked attempts to prove he was unjustly imprisoned.



Courtroom sketch of Ruchell Magee, March 8.

# Debate ecology issue in Shell strike

By LOUIS PROYECT

HOUSTON, March 14 — The Citizens Environmental Coalition sponsored a meeting today at the University of Houston at which a leader of the striking unionists at Shell Oil's chemical plant in Deer Park, Texas, debated the plant manager.

The coalition, which includes 34 organizations, has made Shell a target of its antipollution efforts. It says in a brochure supporting the Deer Park strike, "Workers, Environmentalists, Unite!"

Four thousand members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union are on strike at nine locations in five states. OCAW has called for a boycott of all Shell products as a means of supporting the strike.

The Houston meeting was called to relate the strike issues to environmental questions. Roy Barnes, secretary-

treasurer of OCAW Local 4-367, spoke for the union. He said, "The pollutants that you smell and that ruin the paint on your car are highly concentrated within the plants, and they make up the atmosphere that a worker must breathe. We don't know all the hazards we face in the plants, and if Shell knows, they certainly aren't telling us."

E. S. "Pinky" Martin, the plant manager, claimed the union was using environmental, health, and safety issues to disguise a "power play" against the company.

Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, said at the meeting that if the issues were not real ones 800 workers would not have walked out of the plant. Fein has frequently spoken in support of the union's demands.

The meeting was covered by the *Houston Chronicle*.



Shell workers, wives, and friends on Houston picket line March 3.

# In Review

## THE CASE OF 'ZOMBIE' EDWARDS

People, Places, and Things. Produced by Alan Cohen. WABC-TV.

What does the state do for an ex-convict who is 60 and has spent the last 25 years of his life in prison? How does the government help prisoners readjust to life on the streets again? This was the subject of a WABC-TV program shown in New York March 11. The program focused on the case of Lenox "Zombie" Edwards and showed the problems prisoners encounter when returning to society.

Edwards got the name "Zombie" after he fell from a window and was pronounced dead. Although he was merely unconscious, he was taken to the morgue. The next day he awoke only to be charged with murder. He was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for allegedly beating to death a Bronx grocer.

After serving 25 years in various New York state prisons, Edwards was paroled Jan. 20. To this day he maintains his innocence.

When he left Greenhaven prison, he was given a check for \$40 and a bus ticket to New York City. In prison

## Television

he learned to become a tailor. But now that he's out he can't find a job as one. Wherever he looks, the excuse is the same: he's too old and an ex-con. As a result, he's had to settle for a part-time job at a restaurant.

In several ways, though, Edwards is "fortunate." During his prison sentence he became a "jail-house lawyer" and helped get several prisoners released. One of them never forgot the favor and has since been helping him.

When he was jailed, his relatives turned their back on him. He has few friends. He had only two visits during his 25 years in jail. The roughest part, he admits, is adjusting to the new life with no help from the state.

Prison officials tell you: "'Goodbye, hope you fit in,' even though you never saw a color TV or a jet plane, even though you reach into your pocket for a nickel for the bus. [New York bus fares are now 35 cents.]

"I've missed the small things the most . . . to be able to go into a store and have a soda, to watch a child play with a toy . . . all this I've missed."

Edwards is older now and determined to lead a "clean" life. But he points out, "They put you away and forget you. And if a man goes to prison with nothing and comes out with nothing, he's got to resort to crime."

There are 12,500 men in New York prisons. It costs the taxpayer \$6,000 to \$14,000 a year to keep each one locked up. Many of the younger men that come out of New York prisons wind up right back inside. They try to "make it" in the only way they know, but it's not good enough. The recidivism rate is 40 percent.

Edwards is lucky because he'll probably stay out. —BAXTLER SMITH

## VATICAN, USA



Vatican, USA by Nino Lo Bello. Trident Press. New York, 1972. 237 pp. Cloth \$6.95.

They were always trying to make the improbable sound likely, the unimaginable seem real: "Imagine," they would say, "that every grain of sand in the Sahara represents one year—that's infinity!"

As schoolchildren, however, we might have found timelessness easier to grasp if they'd gone about it differently: "Imagine," they might have said, "that every dollar in the hierarchy's purse represents one year—that, by pets, is infinity!"

Actually, it's not so much that the Roman Catholic Church's financial resources are infinite, it just seems that way. Especially after reading Nino Lo Bello's *Vatican, USA*.

For instance, Lo Bello puts the total U.S. real estate holdings of the Catholic Church at \$44.5-billion—a figure rivaling that of the first five American corporations combined: Standard Oil of New Jersey (\$12.6-billion), General Motors (\$10.8-billion), Ford Motor (\$5.9-billion), U.S. Steel (\$5.1-billion), and Socony Mobil Oil (\$4.7-billion).

In New York City alone, Catholic Church-owned real estate is valued at some \$690-million. If this property were taxed at the current rates, these real estate holdings would produce an additional \$35-million in revenue—money that could go a long way

## Books

toward solving New York City's school crisis, for example. Instead, a considerable chunk has been used to finance the Church hierarchy's campaign against the right to abortion.

Lo Bello reports from a recent Senate Finance Committee hearing: "If the business income of churches were taxed and if the capital appreciation of gifts and bequests were subject to capital gains taxation . . . the United States Treasury would be richer by \$5-billion."

But neither church property nor church income is taxed. Because it owns the Mueller Company, Lo Bello writes, New York University pays taxes on its spaghetti and noodle profits; but Catholic-owned Monk's Bread ("bread that wasn't meant to be sold," the wrapper boasts) pays no tax on its profit.

And did you know that the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic men's organization, owns the land under Yankee Stadium and the surrounding parking lots? Did you know that in 1921 Congress enacted a complex law designed specifically to allow Katherine Drexel—"the world's richest nun," with an income estimated at \$1,000 a day—to give her money to "charity" tax-free? And that the same law today allows the super-rich, the corporations, and religious organizations to avoid paying taxes on billions of dollars?

So far, in fact, the government has made only gingerly encroachments on the Church's tax-exempt status—and those only for the benefit of competing private enterprises, not for the public's benefit.

As usual, we discover the Church hierarchy and the U.S. government in cahoots, ripping off the rest of us, while maintaining—for the moment—a mutual nonaggression pact between them. Honor among thieves and all that.

So the next time the schoolchild's popular question comes up—Can god make a rock so big he can't lift it?—maybe we can expect a paraphrase of J. Pierpont Morgan's famous line: I don't make rocks. I buy them.

—CLAIRE MORIARTY

## THE WAR IS NOT OVER

The War Is Not Over: Press Clippings on U.S. Covert War in Indochina, November, 1972-January 31, 1973. Published by Indochina Resource Center.

This compilation of newspaper articles documents that—barring renewed overt U.S. intervention—the nightmare of American aggression in Vietnam will continue by covert means. The clippings focus on U.S. government activities in preparation for this hidden warfare.

Descriptions of Nixon's public identification with and commitment to his South Vietnamese counterpart leave no doubt as to Washington's aims.

Nixon intends to maintain a puppet regime in South Vietnam in part by playing paper dolls with the military. The news articles explain that 10,000 U.S. military personnel will simply regarb and become civilian advisers—carrying out such functions as the funding and direction of the South Vietnamese air force and army.

Several articles deal with the ruthless suppression of democratic rights in South Vietnam—a necessary part of Thieu's dictatorship. Some clippings reveal funding by the U.S. to expand Thieu's prison system, secret police, Phoenix, and refugee programs.

The pamphlet includes articles on the pattern of denying news reporters

## Pamphlets

information in situations potentially embarrassing for the U.S. or Saigon.

There are also clippings on the war in Laos.

This compendium is handily cross-indexed by article title, subject matter, and U.S. truce violation. Among the publications clipped are the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Le Monde*, *Washington Post*, and *Newsweek*. Antiwar activists will find it an effective educational and resource material,



Ex-prisoners of Con Son tiger cages in South Vietnam.

useful in explaining why the antiwar movement should continue to demand that the U.S. get out of all Indochina now.

The pamphlet is available from the Indochina Resource Center, 1322 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

—MIMI HARARY

# Good response to Militant's coverage of Wounded Knee

By NANCY COLE

MARCH 21—Sales of the March 16 issue of *The Militant*, with the eyewitness report from Wounded Knee, reached a new high for the sales campaign. Total street sales by areas reporting were 6,814, just short of our spring goal of 7,000 per week. The Young Socialist teams sold an additional 1,313, making last week's sales a record high for the year. Fourteen areas made or exceeded their quotas, and the total increase in sales from the previous week was 2,262.

The interest in the Wounded Knee events and the response to *The Militant* was overwhelming, according to salespeople across the country. Some areas ran out of *Militants* in midweek and then ordered more. In San Francisco, which had the highest sales (581), sellers report that no matter where they sold last week, they inevitably sold out of papers.

*The Militant* was well received at meetings and demonstrations called in support of the Oglala Sioux at Wounded Knee. At Wayne State University in Detroit, YSAers sold 176 *Militants* while helping to build a demonstration in solidarity with the Wounded Knee activists. One YSAer, Arturo Ramirez, sold 44 *Militants*. He reports people would sometimes buy four or five papers at a time so they could distribute them to their friends.

Some areas had to sell in the face of substantial obstacles. Blizzards hit several Midwestern cities, including Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit. Chicago reports selling 100 *Militants* on Saturday in subfreezing weather and high winds.

Some areas reported campuses were closed for spring break, which eliminated an important selling place. But they made up for it by increasing sales in the Black and Chicano communities, at unemployment lines, and outside grocery stores.

Philadelphia is in the midst of a petitioning drive to put the SWP 1973 municipal candidates on the ballot. They succeeded in making their sales quota of 275 despite this by sending out sales teams to college dormitories on every night that they weren't petitioning, and by having three people selling all day. Saturday, their biggest petitioning day.

And members of the YSA and SWP in San Diego confronted the problem of a deteriorating postal service when their *Militant* bundle arrived late in the week. They sold 300 *Militants* in two days and have now decided to raise their quota from 200 to 225.

For those areas where campuses were still in session, campus sales went well last week. Brooklyn YSAers sold 219 on campus, and their top salesperson, Dennis Bradsky, sold most of his 81 at Brooklyn College. Cleveland sold 234 on

campus; 104 of them were sold at Cuyahoga Community College by Joe Kerr.

If readers and supporters of *The Militant* want to help in the spring sales campaign, they should set a quota they think they can sell each week. The campaign will run through the end of May.

## Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK
San Diego	348	200	174 (245)
Lower Manhattan	515	325	158 (325)
Cincinnati	100	70	143 ( * )
Brooklyn	457	325	141 (250)
Huntington	25	20	125 ( * )
Cleveland	305	250	122 (240)
San Francisco	581	500	116 (240)
Binghamton	37	35	106 ( * )
Denver	236	225	105 (165)
Seattle	263	250	105 (151)
Upper West Side	342	325	105 (133)
New Palz	35	35	100 (20)
Philadelphia	275	275	100 (77)
Scranton	10	10	100 ( * )
Austin	193	200	97 (140)
Storrs	29	30	97 ( * )
Atlanta	233	250	93 (227)
Oakland/Berkeley	419	500	84 (349)
Washington, D.C.	210	250	84 (220)
Houston	400	500	80 (400)
Detroit	270	350	77 (241)
Chicago	380	500	76 (310)
Portland	144	200	72 (80)
Boston	330	500	66 (238)
Phoenix	25	40	63 ( * )
Hartford	28	45	62 ( * )
Los Angeles	340	550	62 (160)
Madison	33	55	60 ( * )
Long Island	25	45	56 ( * )
Twin Cities	226	425	53 (174)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	6,814		
GOAL	7,000		
(*no report)			

I WANT TO TAKE A SALES QUOTA OF \_\_\_\_\_

Please send me a weekly bundle of (12.5 cents/copy, payable after you sell them): 5 10 25 Other \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014

# YSA chapter formed in San Antonio

By DELPFINE WELCH

A Chicano student who headed the Young Democrats at Southwest Texas State University during the McGovern campaign just joined the Young Socialist Alliance in San Antonio, Texas. He is one of eight who have decided to become members of the YSA after meeting with the Young Socialist Teams in the two weeks they have been on the road. Of the eight, four were recruited by the Austin-Houston team to form a new YSA chapter in San Antonio.

A high school senior in Andalusia, Ala., who has read *The Militant* for two years, joined the YSA this week when he met the Atlanta Young Socialist Team at a literature table at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. The three other new members are students at the University of Ohio in Athens, Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pa., and the University of Kansas in Lawrence.

After meeting the YSA for the first time when the Cleveland-Detroit team came to the University of Louisville, a student there decided to travel with the team for a week visiting campuses in Pittsburgh, Pa.

While the Young Socialist team was in San Antonio, the Texas Junior College Student Government Association was holding a convention.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

More than 150 people representing 36 different colleges passed a resolution supporting the right of the YSA to be a recognized campus organization in Florida.

The YSA is presently appealing the ban from Florida campuses in federal court.

At the convention the team sold 30 *Young Socialists* and 30 *Militants*, including a *Militant* sold to Texas Governor Dolph Briscoe.

The Teams Fund urgently needs contributions to help pay for their activities. We still have \$4,348 to raise out of the \$10,000 that is needed.

Please send in your contribution today.

## Young Socialist teams

TEAM	MILITANT		YOUNG SOCIALIST	
	SOLD LAST WEEK	% OF WEEKLY GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	% OF WEEKLY GOAL
Atlanta	194	130	168	112
Austin-Houston	176	117	51	34
Berkeley-San Francisco	135	90	130	87
Boston	163	109	53	35
Cleveland-Detroit	178	119	102	68
Denver	55	37	77	51
Los Angeles-San Diego	31	21	47	31
New York	175	109	53	35
Philadelphia-D.C.	206	137	114	76
TOTAL SOLD	1,313	97	795	59



\$0 \$5,652 \$10,000

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

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

# NY teacher views school fight

The following was written by a teacher in Junior High School 263 in Brownsville, a section of Brooklyn, N. Y.

The struggle of Blacks in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn to get a decent education for their children has resulted in two school boycotts by white Canarsie residents. The parents and children of Brownsville's Tilden Houses, which border Canarsie, face this abuse because white Canarsie parents oppose the presence of Black students at Junior High School 211 in school District 18 in Canarsie.

As a teacher in Brownsville, I am aware of the many reasons why the Tilden parents are struggling to keep their children in Canarsie schools. If the Tilden Houses children are successfully barred from Canarsie, they would be forced to attend my school, Junior High School 263, and probably graduate from eighth grade as functional illiterates.

According to the results of a city-wide reading test published in the Nov. 19, 1972, *New York Times*, the schools of District 23, Brownsville, had the lowest reading levels in the whole city. My school, for example, had only 4.7 percent of its students reading at or above grade level, while JHS 211 in Canarsie had reading scores that were 10 times better! Of the JHS 211 students, 47.8 percent are reading at or above level. The Tilden House parents cannot give up their children's rights to attend Canarsie schools when such disparities in education exist.

The incredibly low reading scores tell only part of the story of JHS 263. We have a faculty that is 85 percent white, while the student enrollment is 70 percent Black and 30 percent Puerto Rican. There are no Puerto Rican teachers or administrators on the staff.

Most of the teachers do not accept the Black and Puerto Rican cultures and often refer to students as "animals who can't learn." A teacher is considered successful if he or she keeps the students busy, doing almost anything—nonsense puzzles, daily irrelevant film strips, taking classes for unscheduled gym periods, etc.

The parents who have shown an interest in improving schools are still angry at teachers because of the 1968 United Federation of Teachers (UFT) strike. That strike closed down the city school system for two months in an effort by the UFT to deny Black and Puerto Rican parents of Ocean Hill-Brownsville the right to control their own schools. Even if parents wanted to work with the teachers at my school, some of the teachers could not be expected to cooperate with the community people they often refer to as "schwarzers," the Yiddish term for "nigger."

At this time, Brownsville schools offer illiteracy, while Canarsie schools offer some hope. The racist boycott should be denounced by New York teachers. Only when teachers support the right of the Black and Puerto Rican communities to control their own schools can the kind of parent-teacher unity be forged that can help win decent education in New York.



# Calendar

## BOSTON

**PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE MIDEAST CRISIS.** Hear: Don Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party 1972 candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts; Jon Brandow, student at Brown University, past head of the Radical Zionist Alliance, and recently returned from Israel; Feiruz Husayn, Palestinian student. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**REPRESSION IN THE CARIBBEAN.** Speaker: C.L.R. James, author of *The Black Jacobins*; and Daniel Hutlinot, Third World Coalition. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m., \$1.50. Ausp: Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CHICAGO

**CHINA SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Les Evans, editor of *International Socialist Review*. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m., \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

## CLEVELAND

**REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL ABORTION RIGHTS MEETING.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## HOUSTON

**OPENING OF NEW SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS.** Open house, Sat., March 31, 12 noon to 11 p.m. Refreshments, 5 p.m.; Texas barbeque, 6:30; followed by campaign speeches and party. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1.95. For information call (713) 674-0612.

## LOS ANGELES

**FRAME-UP! THE TRIAL OF GARY LAWTON CONTINUES.** Speaker: Chukia Lawton. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM WOUNDED KNEE—** Struggle of the Oglala Sioux. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance; and others. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near W. 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Lower Manhattan Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**WITCH-HUNT IN ISRAEL.** Speaker: Immanuel Sarjoun, Israeli mathematics instructor at CUNY. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 105th St.), Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Upper West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PHILADELPHIA

**THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST REPRESSION.** Speakers on Iran, Greece, and Latin America. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. U of P, Steitler Hall, B21, 37th

St. below Walnut. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Philadelphia Socialist Forums. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## SAN DIEGO

**PSYCHOLOGICAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN.** Speakers: Jane Tolman, Hanna Takashige, Lori Adolewski. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. Council Chambers, San Diego State University. Donation: \$1. For more information call (714) 582-3352.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**(NOTE NEWADDRESS.) FIGHT FOR CHILD CARE.** Panel discussion. Speakers: Mary Pogones, teacher and parent; Carole Seidman, parent; and others. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## TWIN CITIES

**VIETNAM AND NIXON'S WORLD STRATEGY.** Speaker: Wendy Reissner, national antiwar director of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave., N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## ...opposition

*Continued from page 18*

sell short the vision that had inspired them to become revolutionaries in the first place. They kept alive the method and tradition of revolutionary socialism, and passed them on to another generation. They kept alive and continued to develop the ideas that will some day eliminate once and for all exploitation, injustice, and needless suffering from the face of the earth. That is the tradition and program the Socialist Workers Party here in the U.S., and the Fourth International around the world, is based on.

## ...Curran

*Continued from page 12*

the Teamsters of \$1.2-million, after taxes. If Hoffa could do it, why can't Curran? The difference is Hoffa still has something going in the union and a few friends who need him, or think they do.

What about a few others who started with very little, Truman and Eisenhower and Johnson and Nixon? They all got to be president mostly by passing the word like Joe. None of them ended up poor. Each one of them must have gotten at least a million he didn't work for. When Johnson died he had more than \$20-million.

Curran started out with less than

any of those mentioned. He had nothing but rope yarns in 1935. He didn't get to be president of the country, but he knew presidents and dined at the White House and he is the only one ever to become president of the National Maritime Union. Why is there so much fuss just now if Joe Curran at age 65 wants to retire on a \$1-million pension after all he's been through?

The reason is a lot of sailors who spent their lives in the fo'c'sle are entitled to pensions too, and they don't think Curran should hog it all and leave nothing for them. The money is running short. Curran should get his pension from those he has served most of his life, not from the sailors.

This is why most sailors would like to see James Morrissey get in as the new NMU president. He goes to sea for a living. He has done more than anyone else to guard the union treasury and deserves support on that account alone.

## ...Denver

*Continued from page 3*

Suddenly, while the police fire was ripping into the building, there was a terrific explosion, and a section of the building wall crumbled.

After the explosion, the cops finished clearing out the building. Then they began firing into another building next door, claiming there had been sniper fire from there.

When the night was over, two cops had minor bullet wounds that could easily have been from other cops' guns. A half-dozen more cops were treated for injuries. Mostly they had sprained wrists and injured hands—the kinds of injuries that result from beating people.

Several victims of the police shoot-out have been charged with felonious assault and other major offenses. Bail has totaled \$65,000. One Chicano was found unconscious in the rubble of the wall collapsed by the explosion. He was held on \$25,000 bail for investigation of aggravated assault on a policeman.

Corky Gonzales arrived on the scene shortly after the explosion. When the

cops had stopped shooting, the Denver police chief, who was already there, immediately approached Gonzales and began talking to him. A few minutes later, I talked to Gonzales. He told me the chief had said it was a freak confrontation and had nothing to do with the Crusade. The chief told Gonzales the shooting had involved an Anglo person, and that nobody had been injured in either the shooting or the explosion.

At a press conference on Sunday, March 18, Gonzales charged the police chief had deliberately lied to him.

As reporters gathered at the scene of the police attack, Gonzales said the Crusade would press for a full investigation of how the blast occurred. He rejected the police assertion that ammunition or dynamite in the building had exploded when hit by police bullets.

Early Saturday morning, Crusade attorney Ken Padilla went to the district attorney and insisted that the area remain untouched until a comprehensive independent investigation was made. The district attorney replied that he would not issue such an order unless he was provided with documentary proof that such an investigation was necessary.

Meanwhile, the police had already sent a wrecking outfit to the area, and by Saturday noon they had the section of the building where the blast occurred completely demolished. They said it was "unsafe."

In addition to pressing for a full probe of how Luis Martinez actually died, the Crusade is demanding a probe of the shooting of another of its activists who was on the scene. Ernesto Vigil, 25, a Crusade leader and a teacher at Tlatelolco, was shot in the back by cops who arrived while Snyder and Hogue were still pursuing Martinez. The police claim they shot Vigil because they saw him fire at Hogue's police car.

The Crusade has vowed it will rebuild the dormitory and that the criminal attack on them will not stop the activity of the Crusade or its school.

Messages of solidarity and contributions for legal expenses and to help rebuild the dormitory can be sent to: Crusade for Justice, P. O. Box 18347, Denver, Colo., 80218.

# Socialist Directory

**ALABAMA:** Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.  
**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.

San Diego: Militant Bookstore, SWP and YSA, 5617 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 582-3352.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 543 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

**COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS:** Carbondale: YSA, c/o Lawrence Roth/Mark Harris, 505 S. Graham, #341, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St. Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexing-

ton, Ky. 40506.

**MARYLAND:** College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE:** Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**OHIO:** Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228.

Toledo: YSA, c/o Shannon O'Toole, 1606 Freeman St., #2, Toledo, Ohio 43606. Tel: (419) 472-2592.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

**OREGON:** Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

**SOUTH DAKOTA:** Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, Box 1658, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57102.

**TENNESSEE:** Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006.

Lubbock: YSA, c/o Tim McGovern, P.O. Box 5090, Tech. Station, Lubbock, Texas 79409.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

**VERMONT:** Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Huntington: YSA, Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va. 25701.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

# coming soon to your local bookstore

## DOCUMENTS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL: The Formative Years (1933-40)

A compilation of all the reports and resolutions issued by the first four conferences of the international Trotskyist movement, now known as the Fourth International. Index. 400 pp., \$10.00, paper \$3.95

## FROM LENIN TO STALIN

by Victor Serge

A poignant firsthand account of the Russian Revolution and civil war and of the years of betrayal of the revolution under the Stalin regime. This new expanded edition includes six other essays on the Soviet Union by Serge. A MONAD PRESS BOOK. Notes, Index. 160 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45

## LEON TROTSKY ON BRITAIN

Introduction by George Novack. Trotsky's writings on Britain during the 1920s, a period of rising labor militancy culminating in the 1926 general strike. A MONAD PRESS BOOK. 250 pp., \$7.95, paper \$2.95

## LETTERS FROM PRISON

by James P. Cannon

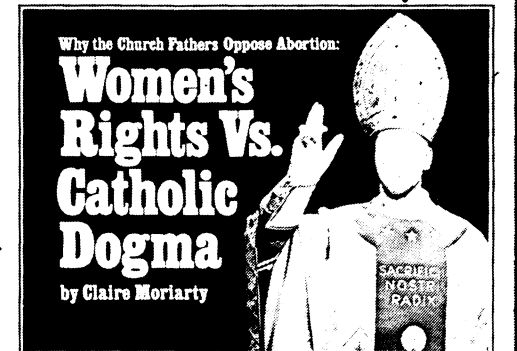
The collected prison letters of a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party imprisoned in 1944 under the U.S. government's first use of the Smith Act. A manual for revolutionary organizers. New edition; Index. 355 pp., \$7.50, paper \$3.75

MONAD PRESS BOOKS are exclusively distributed by Pathfinder Press. Write for our free 1973 catalog: PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 Tel. (212) 741-0690

# ISR a monthly Marxist journal

international  
**socialist**  
review

What Has Been Settled in Vietnam?  
by Les Evans



Creative Practice in History by George Novack  
Editorial: International Women's Day  
Stalin's Heirs by Cliff Conner

## 3 months for \$1 / 1 year for \$5

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.  
☐ Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

## Join the Young Socialist Alliance

IF YOU SUPPORT: Self-determination for Vietnam • Black and Chicano liberation • Women's liberation • Worker's struggles for a better life • Revolutionary struggles in Ireland, Palestine, Angola, and around the world • The fight for socialist democracy in China, USSR, and Eastern Europe • A socialist America. . . JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE!

The YSA is a revolutionary socialist organization for young people who want an alternative to this decaying society. A total transformation of society and the construction of socialism is what the YSA is fighting for. If you want to work for a revolutionary change, join the YSA.

- ☐ I want to join the YSA.  
☐ I would like more information about the YSA.  
☐ Enclosed is \$1 for 6 months (6 issues) of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. (212) 989-7570.

# THE MILITANT INTRODUCTORY OFFER THREE MONTHS/\$1

- ☐ \$1 for three months of The Militant.  
☐ \$2 for three months of The Militant  
and three months of the International Socialist Review.  
☐ \$5 for one year of The Militant. ☐ \$1.50 for six months of The Militant for GIs.

☐ New ☐ Renewal

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## WHY IS THE DOLLAR IN TROUBLE AGAIN?

In *DECLINE OF THE DOLLAR: A Marxist View of the Monetary Crisis*, internationally renowned Marxist economist Ernest Mandel offers a clear explanation of the complex causes for the recurrent monetary crises. Probing below the immediate causes of monetary upheavals, he demonstrates how they reflect broader economic, social, and political problems—problems of importance in understanding the increasing antilabor policies of capitalist governments. Notes, Chronology, Glossary. 128 pp., \$4.95, pbk \$1.75.

A Monad Press Book, exclusively distributed by Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



## read the young socialist

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for six months.  
☐ Enclosed is \$2 for one year (11 issues).  
☐ Please send me a bundle of \_\_\_\_\_ YOUNG SOCIALISTS a month to sell.  
Bill me 12 1/2 cents each.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
YS, Box 471 Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

## Teamster Rebellion

by Farrell Dobbs/\$2.25 paper; \$6.95 cloth.

A Monad Press Book. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Genocide Against the Indians by George Novack

**\$1.60**

PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

# THE MILITANT

## Angered by soaring food prices

# Shoppers call for meat boycott in April

MARCH 20 — Shoppers around the country are increasingly angry over the continued rise of food prices. And in cities from coast to coast that anger is being expressed in action.

The March 19 *Christian Science Monitor* reports, "The high cost of meat has spurred plans of several thousand shoppers across the country to take part in a meat boycott the week of April 1. It may well last longer. As yet, it is not a highly organized effort, but the determination of those involved seems to assure it a firm spot on the calendar."

Women shoppers in Los Angeles have formed a group called Fight Inflation Together (FIT). June Donovan, the group's founder, hopes for as many as 20,000 participants in the April boycott. The Connecticut Federation of Women's Clubs is supporting the boycott. And ad hoc groups and established organizations in many cities are also joining in.

On March 16, Representative Benjamin Rosenthal (D-N.Y.) and consumer activists held a press conference in front of a Manhattan supermarket to announce support for the April boycott. Rosenthal said consumer groups in 19 cities had endorsed the boycott. He said that many local groups had started organizing their own boycotts but they felt "their protests will be taken seriously and

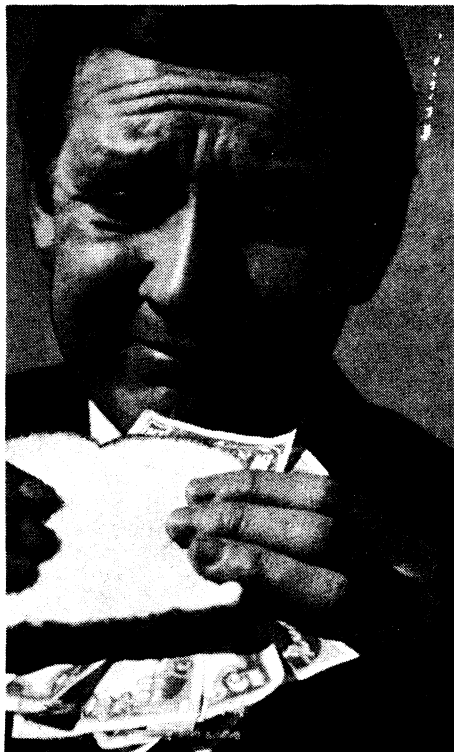
translated into effective federal action only if their movement has a national focus."

Since December the average retail price for choice beef has gone up 8 percent. And overall food prices have increased about 20 percent since November 1971.

Last week Virginia Knauer, Nixon's special assistant for consumer affairs, held a press conference at the White House to announce the administration's advice on how to save money buying food. According to the *New York Times*, Knauer "put in a good word" for liver, kidney, and brain. "I always say that cheaper cuts can be turned into a gourmet meal," she said.

The government has been trying for some time to convince people they could save money by "shopping selectively." But as June Donovan of FIT explained, "there is just not an inexpensive cut of meat any more. Hamburger is often up to 99 cents a pound, and half of it melts away by the time you cook it. Soup bones you used to give to your dog are going for 89 cents a pound."

At her news conference, Knauer also unveiled a "new weapon," the "Rutgers Tell-a-Cost slide rule," to aid shoppers in finding the actual cost per serving of food. The *Times* reported, "the maximum price [for porterhouse steak] on the slide rule, which was printed 21



months ago, is \$1.40 a pound, whereas one market near the White House listed the price today at \$2.39 a pound.

"The fact that some of the Tell-a-Cost prices no longer apply led to some bewilderment at the news conference, but Dr. Spellman [inventor of the device] noted helpfully that newer prices 'could be penciled in.'"

Asked if there might be profiteering in the food industry, Knauer replied, "I don't think there are any bad people."

The current boycotts are similar in many ways to the supermarket boycotts women organized in the fall of 1966. Consumer boycotts in more than 100 cities protested rising prices in chain markets. At that time there were also picket lines and other protest activities. Some stores temporarily lowered prices.

One of the things that could grow out of these boycott activities is permanent price-watch committees, based on the consumer groups and the trade unions, to exercise effective control over food prices. Nixon's price controls are a fraud, and expecting the government to hold down food prices — when it hasn't held down other prices — isn't realistic.

Such price-watch committees could also provide accurate documentation on the rising cost of living to back up union demands for cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts to guarantee that wages keep up with prices.

If retailers continue to raise prices, arguing that they are "only covering costs," these committees could demand to inspect the food corporations' financial statements to determine their real rate of profit. Then we could see what kind of profiteering is really going on.

## Hospital strike in third week

# Workers in Britain battle wage controls

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 20 — Hospital workers have taken center stage in the continuing battle of British workers against London's wage-control policies.

Among the lowest paid workers in the country, the hospital workers have been staging strikes and slowdowns at hospitals across the country for three weeks. Two hundred hospitals have been affected, with 60 more due to be hit this week.

The threat of a one-day general strike continues to hang over the British ruling class, but the Trades Union Congress, which set the strike, has not yet scheduled a date.

Meanwhile the railroad engineers have agreed to go back to work and train services were resumed beginning March 19. But the vote to go back was close. The *Financial Times* of London warned March 19: "The return to work by members of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen is welcome, but it would be wrong to regard this as conclusive evidence that the [government's] policy of standing firm has already succeeded."

"The ASLEF executive voted to call off the drivers' go-slow by the narrowest of margins, 5 to 4. . . ."

Two other unions are voting on wage settlements this week. Forty-seven thousand gas workers will vote on a new offer of the British Gas Corporation. Gas workers initiated the present round of strike struggles, and the outcome of the vote is by no means certain.

Coal miners are also scheduled to vote. "The threat of a national coal strike grew yesterday with separate coalfield decisions to recommend strike action to 115,000 mineworkers," the *London Times* reported today.

Last year's militant strike of the coal miners blasted the wage-control policies of the government then in effect.

In a new show of solidarity, coal miners threatened to bring the entire Yorkshire coalfield to a standstill in support of the striking hospital workers. The coal miners will apparently join hospital workers in protests scheduled this week.

The 220,000 hospital workers are represented by the National Union of Public Employees. As in the United States, hospital workers are on the bottom rung of the wage scale.

About 70 percent of the hospital workers are women. Many come from outside Britain. St. George's hospital in London employs workers of 35 different nationalities, according to the *Financial Times*.

At issue is the government's attempt to impose a rigid pay formula on all workers. This consists of a weekly wage increase of one pound plus 4 percent of their wages. It is being billed as a way of treating all workers equally, as though there were a fund of total wages to be split up among all workers, in such a way as the lower-paid workers will get more compared to their incomes.

The meaning of the formula is clear in the case of the hospital workers,



Striking workers from St. James' Hospital, south London

whose wage scale begins at the equivalent of about \$42 a week. Under the "one pound plus four" formula they would still make only around \$45. This is not enough to have a decent standard of living and to keep up with inflation.

The hospital workers appealed to the Trades Union Congress for support. What they got was a letter from TUC leader Victor Feather to the gov-

ernment urging it to review the pay situation of hospital workers. The government turned down this request the next day.

It would be of much greater help for the TUC to set the date for the general strike and, following the example of the Yorkshire miners, to place the demands of the hospital workers high on the list of demands of the national protest.