

THE MILITANT

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

United antiwar actions must answer Nixon

The Nixon administration's deceitful promise that "peace is at hand" has been replaced by the open threat to annihilate the Vietnamese if they do not accept Washington's demands. Nixon's decision to suspend negotiations with the Vietnamese in Paris and to intensify the bombing to unprecedented heights has been met by the people of the world with shock and a new sense of outrage and indignation.

Massive, unified protest demonstrations throughout the U. S. and around the world must be the response to Nixon's outrageous new aggression.

With the arrogance of a Hitler, Nixon unleashed the U. S. air fleet over Vietnam to ensure, as his aides told the *New York Times*, "that the North Vietnamese leaders would comprehend the extent of his anger."

While the details of the secret negotiations are not known, it is absolutely clear that the latest developments stem from Washington's determination to compel the Vietnamese liberation forces to accept the Saigon regime's "right" to maintain its rule over South Vietnam. The U. S. demanded key additional concessions, above and beyond those already extracted from the North Vietnamese in the nine-point draft disclosed on Oct. 26.

The talks broke down over precisely the question that has been at the heart of the armed conflict throughout the war: Who is to rule in South Vietnam? The U. S. has been, and remains, committed to preserving the regime of the landlords and capitalists. The masses of Vietnamese have been fighting to oust that ruling class and its U. S. master and to install a government that would be on the side of the workers and peasants of Vietnam in their fight for land reform, democratic rights, independence, and an end to economic exploitation.

economic exploitation.

The Vietnamese struggle is a civil war between two unalterably opposed forces whose interests are irreconcilable. The United States, with all its military might, has intervened on the side of the oppressors in Vietnam.

But this civil war, between opposing classes each with armies in the field, cannot be resolved through negotiations. Diplomatic accords could lead, at most, to a temporary truce. They cannot overcome the profound conflict between major social forces. The United States, as its bellicose actions throughout the peace talks make clear, cannot be "negotiated" out of Vietnam.

Nixon successfully capitalized on the preelection diplomacy to

portray himself as "the real peace candidate." Kissinger's notorious Oct. 26 promise that "peace is at hand" was clearly calculated to further enhance Nixon's fortunes on election day.

On Nov. 1, Linda Jenness, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, declared, "Nixon's top aide Henry Kissinger says that 'peace is at hand' in Vietnam. This is a lie." She explained that "the nine points represent a formula for maintaining the capitalist system and a foothold for U. S. imperialism in Vietnam. And Washington is pressing for even more concessions."

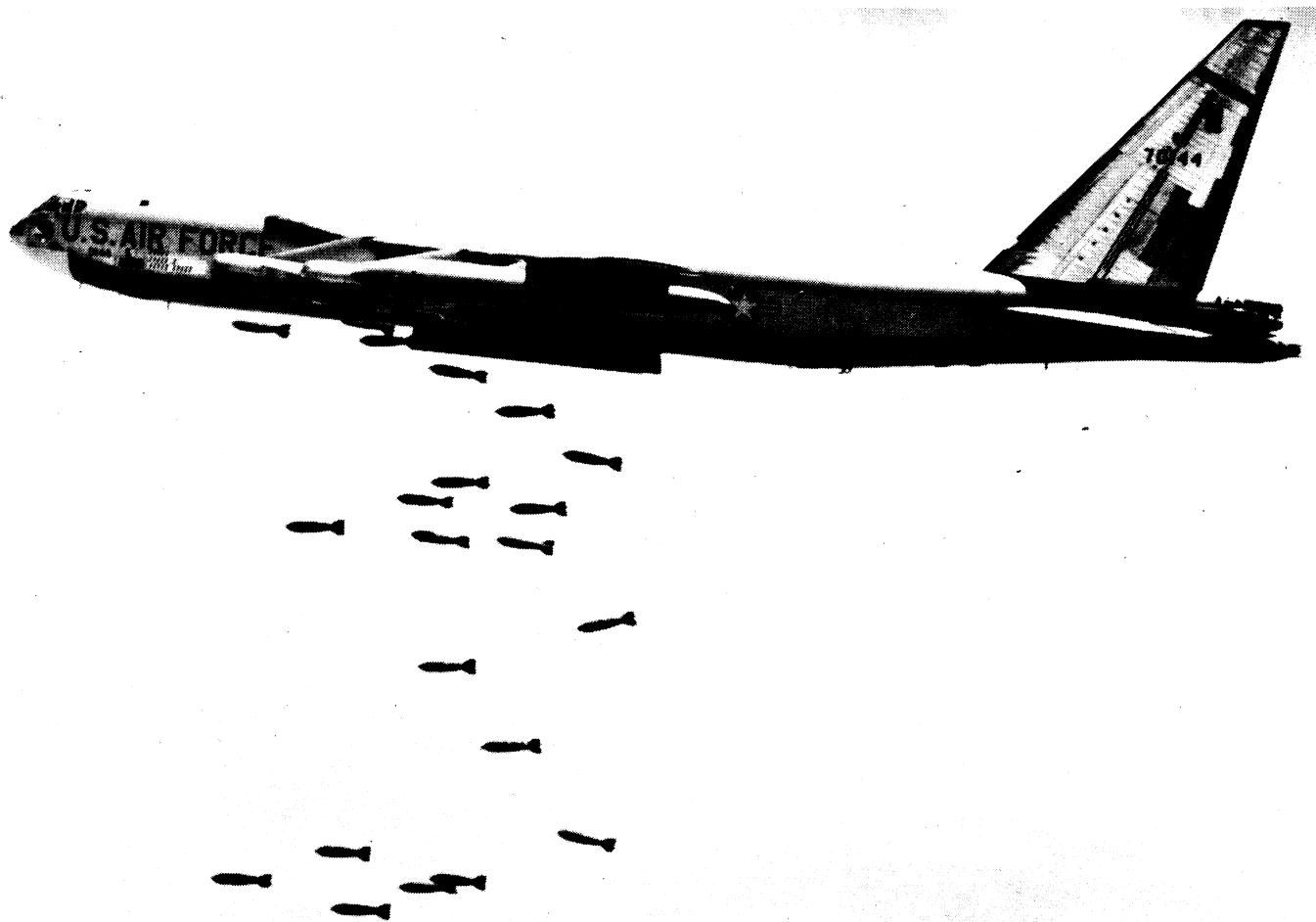
While unleashing barbaric bombing raids to force the Vietnamese to accede to his terms, Nixon is simultaneously counting

on Moscow and Peking to continue to put the squeeze on Hanoi. He confidently expects that the bureaucrats in the Kremlin and their counterparts in Peking will continue to follow the course of subordinating the needs of the Vietnamese revolution to their own narrow, nationalistic diplomatic objectives.

Last May, when Washington dramatically escalated the war by mining the ports of North Vietnam, Moscow and Peking, instead of coming to Hanoi's aid, stood silent. They privately urged Hanoi to settle the war through "negotiations."

When the Soviet leaders decided to proceed with their plans to host Nixon's visit to Moscow, it was

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L.A. MOVEMENT CENTER FIREBOMBED: On Dec. 7 the Long March in Los Angeles was firebombed by unknown assailants. A similar attack on the Long March was carried out in 1970 by Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles. Office equipment, films, and film equipment estimated at \$5,000 was destroyed, in addition to heavy damage to the building itself. The Long March will be holding its regularly scheduled events at the Unitarian Church of Los Angeles until it can reopen.



Long March movement center after it was firebombed

ANOTHER SAILOR FACING SABOTAGE CHARGES: James Wesley Fields, a naval reservist and a former crew member of the Norfolk-based USS Chilton, has been charged with damaging the shaft bearings of the Chilton. Fields pleaded not guilty on Dec. 18, and his trial will begin March 1. Another sailor who was stationed at Norfolk, Jeffrey Allison, was recently sentenced to five years in prison after pleading not guilty to charges of starting a fire aboard the USS Forrestal.

2,500 RALLY FOR BLACK POLITICAL PRISONERS IN N. C.: On Dec. 14, 2,500 people attended a rally sponsored by the North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee in Charlotte, N. C. Speakers at the rally included Owusu Sadaukai, head of Malcolm X University in Greensboro, N. C.; Jim Grant, a reporter for the Southern Patriot and an organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund who faces a total of 35 years in prison for his movement activities; and Elizabeth Chavis, the mother of the Reverend Ben Chavis. Ben Chavis faces 34 years in prison for his political activities (see **By Any Means Necessary**, p. 7). The rally was also addressed by Angela Davis, who spoke by telephone from Atlanta, where her plane was fogged in.

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

BLACK STUDENTS HIT RACISM AT RUTGERS: Several Black student groups at Rutgers University in New Jersey have charged that institutional racism continues to function at Rutgers. They have demanded the removal of two deans, the hiring of Black head coaches in all sports, more Black professors and staff members, and an all-Black student dormitory. The demands were issued on Dec. 15, coinciding with a speech at Rutgers by Stokely Carmichael.

RACIST FRAME-UP FALLS APART IN HOUSTON: After more than two years in jail Aureliano Silva was acquitted of murder charges on Dec. 15. Silva, a 22-year-old Chicano, was arrested in 1970 for the murder of a saleswoman who had been found dead in a model home near where Silva had been working as a painter.

Militant reporter Paul McKnight reports that shortly after Silva's arrest officials produced a signed confession saying that he was guilty. Silva said the confession had been beaten out of him by sheriff's deputies. A Silva Defense Committee was formed that publicized the case in the community and organized a march of more than 400 people when Silva first came to trial a year ago.

ATTORNEYS GENERAL CAN'T WAIT FOR NEW DEATH PENALTY: The National Association of Attorneys General voted 32 to one in favor of the reinstitution of the death penalty on Dec. 6. The association made a partial list of 11 separate offenses for which the death penalty might be made mandatory. "We did not go out-

side of premeditated murder cases," a spokesman explained, "but the states might decide that other cases would come under the death penalty."

ABOLISH HISC NEXT? Peace in Vietnam will not put an end to activities by "hard-core revolutionaries," says the chairman of the House Internal Security Committee. Representative Richard Ichord (D-Mo.) predicts that revolutionaries will "try to find new issues to exploit."

Ichord explained that revolutionaries seek to organize around issues "with which a large number of people that are loyal to the U. S. will agree, just as the issue of the war in Vietnam was one." For Ichord's information, the war still is an issue, as he and Nixon will soon find out.

'TEAMSTER REBELLION' REVIEWED: Among the many reviews of Farrell Dobbs's new book on the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of 1934 is one by H. W. Benson in *Union Democracy Review*. Benson writes that "the reader must keep reminding himself that Dobbs's story occurred a lifetime ago; he has a knack of stripping away those four decades and writing as though it took place last week. That's the charm of this book; you hear them coughing in the meeting hall from the cigarette smoke."

"Teamster Rebellion," Benson concludes, "is a valuable first-hand account of heroic battles led by rebels of another day, men who faced martial law and two killings to open the road for mass unionism."

Chomsky, others hit anti-Semitism charge

NEW YORK—A number of prominent figures have signed an open letter to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'nai B'rith. Professor Noam Chomsky, writer Murray Kempton, literary critic Dwight Macdonald, Rabbi A. Bruce Goldman, and others are demanding that the ADL retract its charge that the Socialist Workers Party is "anti-Semitic."

A delegation headed by Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will picket the ADL's New York offices on Dec. 21 and attempt to present the letter to ADL officials.

The ADL charged in a Nov. 20 report that the 1972 SWP presidential campaign "engaged in bitter anti-Israel appeals." The report asserted that in calling for "the outright destruction of Israel," the SWP had crossed the line into outright anti-Semitism.

Disputing this charge, the open letter says, "While we do not necessarily agree with the program and policies of the Socialist Workers Party we believe that their opposition to Zionism cannot in any way be equated with anti-Semitism. . . . We expect your immediate retraction of these charges."

Other signers include: Joseph Ben-David, executive director, Humanist Society of Greater New York; Ruth Gage-Colby, United Nations representative, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Ed Goodman, station manager, WBAI; Jerry Gordon, national coordinator, National Peace Action Coalition; Mary Kochiyama, Asian-Americans for Action; Sidney Lens, author; Conrad Lynn, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Paul Massas, president, Student Government, Brooklyn College; David McReynolds, War Resisters League; Dr. Sidney Peck, professor; Jane Tam, District 1 community school board; and Robert Van Lierop, Africa Information Service.

YSA CONVENTION REPORTS PRINTED: The January issue of the *International Socialist Review* contains the reports on the women's and Chicano liberation movements given at the twelfth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The report on the women's movement centers on the fight around the New York abortion law, while the one on the Chicano struggle is an evaluation of the Raza Unida parties in the Southwest.

Don't blame your mail carrier

The Militant will suspend publication for one week. The next issue you receive will be dated Jan. 12.

THE MILITANT GETS REPRINTED: The *Ontario*, the student newspaper at the University of Guelph in Canada, reprinted the article by Baxter Smith on the killings of two students in Baton Rouge in its Nov. 30 issue. Smith's article appeared in the Dec. 1 *Militant*.

An article by Lee Smith in the Nov. 24 *Militant* dealing with *Akwesasne Notes*, an Indian paper currently under attack, was reprinted in the Dec. 11 *Great Speckled Bird*, published in Atlanta.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Nixon-Kissinger lies exposed

Air war 'without limit' against Vietnamese

By DICK ROBERTS

DEC. 20 — The massive indiscriminate bombing of the Hanoi-Haiphong area of North Vietnam is entering its third day as we go to press.

Following almost two months of consistent lies about the negotiations, symbolized most clearly by Henry Kissinger's Oct. 26 statement that "peace is at hand," Washington's ferocious escalation of the war is enraging the world.

"President Nixon's intensification of the bombing . . . is drawing harsh criticism from U.S. political leaders and from governments around the world," the *New York Post* declared Dec. 20. "Editorial comments in Europe and elsewhere were mainly critical of the intensified U.S. bombing campaign," said the *Post*.

Never in the history of the war has it been clearer that the only way to bring peace to Southeast Asia is the complete withdrawal of all United States military forces.

As long as Washington maintains a military presence in the region it will seize any pretext to reescalate the war. The living proof of this is the present hail of bombs, the biggest by far in the history of the war, raining down on North Vietnam's two most populated areas.

From Saigon, Associated Press reports that the U.S. Command is "maintaining one of the densest news blackouts of the war."

Nevertheless, the fact that the Pentagon has already admitted to the loss of three of the striking B-52s is testimony to the intensity of the U.S. attack. Only one of the giant jet bombers has been previously acknowledged lost in an attack on North Vietnam.

"Recently," the Dec. 20 *New York Times* stated, ". . . the North Vietnamese, instead of aiming at a specific plane with a missile, as they used to, now often fire barrages—something like a hunter using a shotgun to kill birds. They hope for a lucky hit as the missiles explode into hundreds of pieces of jagged metal."

According to the Dec. 20 *Washington Post*, "The B-52s have attacked around Haiphong only once . . . and have ventured above the 20th Parallel only about six times in the past



eight months. Until the heavy raids began on Monday, the huge jets . . . had never flown into the Hanoi area and had never been used that far north in anything like the current 100-plane raids now going on."

The *Post* continued, "The B-52s are viewed as a *terror weapon* by many U.S. officials. The crushing raids have been cited as a psychological depressant. . . . Almost 100 B-52s and about 25 F-111s a day are hitting the North. . . . *Neither plane has a reputation for pinpoint bombing.*" (Emphasis added.)

Kissinger's lies

Despite Kissinger's claim that Hanoi is responsible for the collapse of the Paris secret negotiations, it is clear that the sole responsibility for continuing the war lies with the Nixon administration. The White House never abandoned its goal of securing the Saigon regime's power over South Vietnam.

It was not over minor issues that

the secret talks were deadlocked. At issue was Washington's demand for guarantees that the proimperialist regime in Saigon would remain in command.

New York Times reporter Bernard Gwertzman stated on Dec. 20 that high officials told correspondents in Paris that "Hanoi had balked at any language proposed by the United States that would give Saigon a basis for claiming that it had sovereign right over all of South Vietnam."

This is the central issue in the civil war in South Vietnam. After pretending to be open to some kind of future "coalition government" in South Vietnam that would supposedly not be tied to the Thieu regime, Washington now insists on guarantees of Saigon's sovereignty.

Gwertzman continued, ". . . on Saturday [Dec. 16] Mr. Kissinger said the United States wanted some language 'however vague, however illusive, however indirect,' that would 'make clear that the two parts of Vietnam would

live in peace with each other and that neither side would impose its solution on the other by force.'

"In other words," said Gwertzman, "the United States was seeking some acknowledgment by Hanoi that the Saigon government had a right to exist."

Xuan Thuy, Hanoi delegate to the peace talks, on Dec. 19 charged that the United States had demanded 126 revisions of the Oct. 26 draft agreement. According to the Dec. 20 *Washington Post*, Thuy "charged that the 126 changes sought by Kissinger were 'attempts to seek modifications of substance' aimed at 'perpetuating the division of Vietnam.'"

The question of "two Vietnams" is the question of Washington's "right" to impose a regime on South Vietnam, which it did in 1954 in violation of the Geneva Accords. So long as this capitalist government continues to exist, backed by the armed might of U.S. imperialism, the civil war in Viet-

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Nixon asks Brezhnev & Mao to pressure Hanoi

By ED SMITH

DEC. 20—"Will Red powers twist Hanoi's arm?" This headline on the front page of the Dec. 20 *Christian Science Monitor* pinpoints a key ingredient of President Nixon's escalated bombing attack on North Vietnam.

Washington's aim is to demonstrate to Hanoi that no matter how ferocious the U.S. bombing of Vietnam, Moscow and Peking can be counted on to continue their treacherous policies of pressuring Hanoi to settle the war on terms favorable to Washington.

So blatant are Nixon's aims in this respect that they were stated to the *New York Times* and carried on the front page of that paper Dec. 18. "President Nixon is considering a number of diplomatic measures designed to put pressure on North Vietnam to reach an early cease-fire agreement," the *Times* stated. These include "Private diplomatic efforts to have the Soviet Union, China and other nations try to use their influence to get the negotiations 'back on track.'"

Earlier this year Moscow and Peking held summit meetings with Nixon as he carried out the heaviest bombing of Vietnam in the history of the

war. And Moscow consistently refuses to supply Hanoi with adequate air defenses to deter the U.S. bombers—although the Soviet Union has the most advanced antiaircraft technology outside of the U.S. These acts have left an indelible impression of the willingness of the bureaucratic rulers of Russia and China to sacrifice the Vietnamese revolution to their own global diplomatic interests.

"There is no doubt that both of Hanoi's aid suppliers advocate a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war," the Dec. 20 *Christian Science Monitor* stated. "Ever since the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting, Moscow has publicly exhorted all parties, including Hanoi, to reach a political solution. Peking likewise is on public record as favoring an early settlement."

The *Monitor* continued, "Even when North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho recently transited through Moscow after the breakup of the Paris talks, a Soviet statement on the visit expressed hope that the 'enemies of a settlement' would not succeed in frustrating one. Significantly, the North Vietnamese did not pick up that phrase."

Most glaring of all was Moscow's refusal to cancel Nixon's trip when Washington opened the heavy bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong last April and May. The *Monitor* singled it out. "The failure of Moscow to respond to the U.S. mining of North Vietnamese harbors, for example, indicated that the Russians were not willing to jeopardize the impending summit meeting with the Americans. It also caused strains in Soviet-North Vietnamese relations, although Hanoi knows that the Kremlin must demonstrate good faith to the Communist community so that it cannot cut off aid."

The *Monitor* believes, however, that "the North Vietnamese may not be as sure now of the eagerness of Moscow and Peking to support them to the war's bitter end and this in itself exerts a pressure on them."

Moscow's and Peking's craven efforts to reach understandings with the imperialists were underlined by their favoring Nixon's election and praising his election victory. A Nov. 13 Associated Press dispatch from Moscow reported that Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev de-

clared that Nixon's election strengthened the prospects of world peace.

In an interview Nov. 11, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai stated, "For us, our attention is on having the Vietnam war settled and peace realized according to the agreement already reached [the Oct. 26 nine-point plan]." Asked if President Nixon's election was a good thing for China, Chou declared, "Yes, because he did play a role in improving relations between the United States and China."

Meanwhile eyes are focused on Moscow, where the Soviet Union is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its formation. So far the response has been comforting to Washington. As expected, Tass issued a statement condemning the bombings. "The Soviet Union comment yesterday was considered cautious and moderate," said the Dec. 20 *Washington Post*.

"The mood in Peking, for its part, was restrained as of early Tuesday [Dec. 19]. The New China News Agency issued a brief report on the resumption of the bombing which was on the whole straightforward. It contained no editorial comment . . ." the *Christian Science Monitor* reported.

Teamsters chief in alliance with growers

Fitzsimmons scabs on farm workers union

By MILTON ALVIN

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 13 — A disgusting exhibition of scabbing was staged here yesterday when Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons offered the convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation an "alliance" directed against the United Farm Workers Union.

The American Farm Bureau is a giant conglomerate with \$4-billion in assets and represents the most powerful agribusiness elements in America. It was the principal organizer, sponsor, and financial supporter of Proposition 22 on the California ballot in the recent elections. This proposition would have hog-tied the United Farm Workers and effectively prevented further organization of farm workers in California. It lost despite support from Governor Ronald Reagan and the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars by wealthy growers.

Fitzsimmons's appearance before the convention was arranged by Under Secretary of Labor Laurence Silberman, a Nixon appointee. In his speech Fitzsimmons falsely described the UFW, led by César Chávez, as "a revolutionary movement which is perpetrating a fraud on the American public."

The UFW, which has won only a foothold among agricultural workers, has improved conditions to some extent and is now engaged in a bitter struggle to extend its organizing efforts, especially among lettuce workers.

While Fitzsimmons was telling the 9,000 growers, "I am most happy to be with you here today," a picket line of hundreds, sponsored by the UFW, marched outside under the leadership of the union's vice-president, Dolores Huerta. The pickets protested the appearance of the Teamsters president at the reactionary gathering of wealthy growers.

According to Harry Bernstein, *Los Angeles Times* labor writer, Fitzsimmons is sponsoring a drive by his union against the UFW. Bernstein re-

ported that sources close to Fitzsimmons said it is almost certain the drive will be pressed.

The Teamsters intervened in the farm workers' field about two years ago. They signed a number of "sweetheart" agreements with growers who were anxious to keep the United Farm Workers Union out. The signing of these toothless contracts behind the backs of the workers led to jurisdictional fighting between the unions. This added to the already imposing number of difficulties that confronted organizers in the farm areas.

If Fitzsimmons goes ahead with a major organizing drive in competition with the UFW, he will be doing the labor movement a good deal of harm and the wealthy growers a big favor.

Bernstein quotes Robert Fleming, secretary-treasurer of the Farm Bureau, as saying, "of course farmers would be more favorable to the Teamsters than to Chávez' outfit."

The rich growers like the kind of contracts they have with the Teamsters. These were not approved by the workers nor are the provisions in them enforced, according to Chávez.

The victims of the Farm Bureau-Teamsters alliance will be the field workers, who labor under horrible conditions of low pay, backbreaking work, rotten housing, poor schools or none at all, and the need to keep moving from place to place as the seasons change. In addition, they do not have rights to unemployment compensation when there is no work or other reforms won by unionized workers many years ago.

Fitzsimmons's offer to the Farm Bureau is an admission that the Teamsters cannot organize the farm workers into their union through their own efforts. By appealing to this reactionary boss outfit the Teamsters' head is only saying that if the growers will sign up with him, they can be assured of the same kind of sweetheart contracts that some of them already have.

Such treachery is consistent with Fitzsimmons's record. When four union representatives on President

Nixon's wage-control board, led by AFL-CIO President George Meany, resigned from that body in protest against its antilabor policies, Fitzsimmons remained. By doing so, he extended the life of the board, which would have had to give up its existence if it had no labor representative on it. Nixon simply had four out of the five business representatives re-



Teamsters president and growers were for 'four more years' of Nixon.

sign, and the remaining business member, Fitzsimmons, and five so-called public members have constituted the board since.

In the recent presidential campaign Fitzsimmons supported Nixon for reelection. This was thought by many observers to be a payoff to Nixon for paroling James Hoffa, former president of the Teamsters who was sentenced to a prison term during the Kennedy administration.

In his speech to the Farm Bureau

convention Fitzsimmons tried to avoid charges of being too chummy with the growers by making some criticisms of their antilabor record. But his sharpest attacks were directed at the United Farm Workers Union.

Not all Teamsters leaders have the shabby history of Fitzsimmons and two of his predecessors, Daniel Tobin and Dave Beck. While Fitzsimmons gets by on a salary of \$125,000 a year, a private jet plane and expenses, others at one time provided quite a different picture. These were the Minneapolis Teamsters leaders of the 1930s whose story is told in *Teamster Rebellion*, by Farrell Dobbs. This book can be obtained from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

DEC. 14 — A raiding operation by the Teamsters on the United Farm Workers Union appeared inevitable as Einar Mohn, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters, announced that a decision has been made "to renegotiate the contract it has with more than a hundred growers covering approximately 30,000 farm workers in California, Arizona, and Colorado."

The announcement followed the apparent failure of peace-making efforts by Roman Catholic clergymen.

The UFW responded through a statement today by Vice-president Dolores Huerta, who said the Teamsters' decision "will not deter us from our struggle to bring the benefits of real unionism to farm workers."

"The Teamsters said," she continued, "they were willing to get rid of the pieces of paper they negotiated with the growers two years ago just after we had started an organizing drive among the lettuce workers."

"It is significant to us that the new move to reaffirm those 'sweetheart' agreements between the Teamsters and growers comes the day after Frank Fitzsimmons addressed the American Farm Bureau convention in Los Angeles and publicly called for an alliance with the growers."

Victimized L.A. journalist receives support

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Support is being marshaled here in behalf of Ron Ridenour, the radical journalist who faces a year in jail for photographing cops beating a paralyzed Vietnam veteran.

At a Los Angeles Press Club news conference Dec. 12, support for Ridenour was urged by George Laine, chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; Ramona Ripston, director of the Southern California Civil Liberties Union; and John T. Williams, Los Angeles Teamsters union official and a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.

Ridenour was arrested during a demonstration last May protesting the mining of Haiphong harbor and the renewed bombing of Hanoi. On the scene as a staff reporter for the underground weekly the *Los Angeles Free Press*, Ridenour was grabbed while photographing cops knocking Ron Kovics from his wheel chair and beating him as he lay helpless on the ground.

Ridenour's film was exposed and he was taken to jail. Later he was charged with "interfering" with an officer.

At the press conference, Ridenour's attorney, Neil Herring, pointed out that the prosecution conveyed to the jury that Ridenour was not really a working reporter because he didn't have an official police press pass.

This fact was emphasized by a clearly hostile presiding judge. Twice he pointed out to the jury that not only had the L.A. police denied press cards to *Free Press* staff members but that when the paper appealed this denial to the California courts, the cops were upheld.

The judge refused to explain to the jury, as the defense requested, that a police pass only has the legal function of permitting the bearer to cross police or fire lines. The First Amendment right of reporters to cover a story is in no way contingent on police license, or at least should not be.

This factor was emphasized at the press conference by George Laine, who said that journalists are increasingly resisting this police encroachment on their rights. He said reporters on Chicago and Seattle papers are already making it Newspaper Guild policy that they not use any accreditation other than that provided by the paper for which they are working.

He said that in current negotiations with his own paper, the *Long Beach Independent*, the Guild is seeking such a clause in its contract.

"We don't need the police to tell us



Ron Ridenour

Militant/Harry Ring

who is an accredited reporter," Laine said.

Ramona Ripston said the Civil Liberties Union regarded the attempt to imprison Ridenour as "a travesty of

justice." She characterized his prosecution as of the same cloth as the contempt jailings of various journalists who have refused to divulge their news sources to juries. All of these prosecutions, she declared, represent an "extreme assault on First Amendment freedoms."

John T. Williams said he supported Ridenour as a Black person, a unionist, and an antiwar activist. For Black people, he said, police harassment and intimidation has long been a way of life. As a unionist, he added, experience has also taught him that the police club is "always a deadly weapon to attack our picket lines."

As an opponent of the Vietnam war, he concluded, he stood in solidarity with Ridenour, who has written and acted in opposition to the war.

Attorney Herring announced that in the appeal of Ridenour's conviction, friend-of-the-court briefs are being filed by the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, the Southern California Civil Liberties Union, and Sigma Delta Chi, the journalism society.

Inquiries about the case and financial contributions to aid the defense should be sent to: Ridenour Defense Committee, 3440 Wilshire Blvd., #608, Los Angeles, Calif. 90010.

NPAC, SMC call January actions

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 20— As angry reaction to Nixon's renewed escalation of the war began to mount, the National Peace Action Coalition held a news conference here today to announce renewed antiwar protests.

Jerry Gordon, one of NPAC's national coordinators, told the news media that NPAC would be organizing street demonstrations in major cities across the country in January, on or before Jan. 20, Inauguration Day.

"The American people have been lied to once again," Gordon said. "Instead of peace being at hand, there is intensified war. Instead of the slaughter in Vietnam ending, it is escalated. Instead of the POWs coming home for Christmas, their detention continues and their ranks increase. Instead of U.S. warplanes being withdrawn, warplanes fly in greater numbers, dropping more bombs and killing more Indochinese than ever before."

"During the past several months Richard Nixon has frequently claimed to be the architect of a generation of peace. As the world knows there has not been a single day of peace during his presidency."

The response to the breaking off of the Paris negotiations and the re-

escalated bombing took the form of immediate protests in many cities. A number of additional demonstrations are planned for the coming days, including Christmas Day.

Rich Robohm, representing the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia, also appeared at the news conference. He said, "The Student Mobilization Committee calls on students and young people from every part of the country to unite in active opposition to Nixon's stated policy of unlimited aerial and naval assaults against Vietnam. The SMC is encouraging the broadest possible united response from the student movement to these escalations, which are intended to deny the people of Vietnam the right to determine their own future."

Robohm said that the SMC will cooperate with NPAC in "organizing and building demonstrations in cities across the country as they are called in the days and weeks ahead."

In announcing the new protest actions, Gordon said, "Today we serve notice on the Nixon administration that its latest atrocities will not go unchallenged. The antiwar sentiment

runs very deep in this country, as every poll has indicated. The U.S. antiwar movement will respond to this new escalation by mounting appropriate actions. As illusions of the war's imminent end are dispelled, the possibility of involving large numbers of people in antiwar actions increases

correspondingly."

Gordon stated that "the basis has now been laid for the resumption of massive antiwar street demonstrations in major cities all across the country." He said that a date in January for coordinated nationwide protest actions will be announced by Christmas.



YSA wins victory in campus charter fight

By SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK, Dec. 20— An important partial victory has been won in the fight to restore the campus charter of the Young Socialist Alliance at Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC). At a BMCC student government meeting tonight, student government official Dave Sanders told YSA members and supporters that "the charter was never officially revoked."

Joseph Harris, chairman of the BMCC YSA, said after the meeting, "We feel that this is a victory for the YSA and for democratic decision-making in the student movement as a whole. We also feel it will be necessary to maintain vigilance against further attacks on the rights of students at BMCC."

Will Stanley, another YSA member at BMCC, said that "two days ago, student government members forced the YSA to take down its campus literature table, claiming we did not have a charter." Stanley explained that at a Nov. 22 student government meeting a motion was passed to revoke the YSA's charter although the ma-

jority of delegates present abstained. Revocation of the charter occurred after Richard Hoyer, a national leader of the Young Workers Liberation League, accused YSA members of being "counterrevolutionaries" and "agents."

After the Nov. 29 student government meeting, where the YSA appealed the decision on its charter, Will Stanley was physically attacked by Hoyer and two other persons who are members of the Third World Coalition.

Since the attack, more than 30 student leaders in New York City have joined a campaign in support of the YSA's right to be chartered at BMCC. Former Panther 21 defendant Lonnie Epps and Carolyn Johnson, a member of the BMCC Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBUB), attended the Dec. 20 student government meeting to support the YSA's rights.

Additional support for the YSA's rights has come from Robert Hassin, a founding member of the Third World Coalition; La Union Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos at Queens College; the Washington Square Council

(student government at New York University); Marilyn Chin, student body president at Barnard College; Jim Fitzer, president of Hunter College evening student body; and the day student government at Hunter.

Those who have endorsed the YSA's right to a charter from Boston include Tony Prince, Northeastern U student senate; Peter Dominecio, U of Mass. College One student senate; Marilyn Leving, U of Mass. all-university senate; Becky Cheston, Boston University Liberation Front; and Charles Wilson, president of BU Umoja.

At the University of Houston, Paul Rodgers, president of the student body; Jan Serene, vice-president; and Edward Castillo of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) have endorsed the YSA's right to a charter. The YSA national office also received a petition supporting the YSA's rights signed by 100 students at Augustana College in Sioux Falls, S.D.

(The Dec. 22 issue of *The Militant* incorrectly listed student leaders as signers of an open letter to the BMCC

student government. These were actually signers of a petition in defense of the YSA's rights.)

"Attacks on the democratic rights of any students simply open up the entire student movement to attacks from school administrations and the government," Joseph Harris noted. He pointed out that on Dec. 15 the BMCC school administration sent letters to the YSA and the student government requesting a meeting. It also requested a report on the denial of a charter to the YSA and information on a physical attack on one YSA member.

The YSA responded with a Dec. 18 letter to the administration stating: "Because the Young Socialist Alliance believes that all student affairs should be under student control, and because we feel that the undemocratic denial of the YSA charter at BMCC is a matter to be resolved by the student body as a whole, and because we oppose the administration's intervening in the affairs of students, the YSA will not prepare any reports for, or have any meetings with the administration on this matter."

...united antiwar actions needed

Continued from page 1

crystal clear to the whole world that they would not lift a finger to oppose Nixon's aggression.

Now, while the Soviet Union keeps in its own arsenals the sophisticated anti-aircraft missiles that could extract a heavy price from the U.S. air forces, the Vietnamese people, North and South, stand with completely inadequate defenses before the saturation bombing being carried out by U.S. forces. By refusing to make these weapons available to the Vietnamese, these bureaucrats are encouraging Nixon to continue his plan to terrorize the Vietnamese into making further concessions.

These traitors to the Vietnamese revolution are clearly willing to let the heroic fighters of Vietnam be bombed into submission before they will "antagonize" Nixon and endanger the diplomatic detente they have worked out with Washington!

Nixon is also calculating that the antiwar sentiment has been sufficiently disoriented by his "peace" campaign to prevent a major reaction here in the U.S. But antiwar forces must respond to this new escalation with a loud and resounding cry of "U.S. Out of Vietnam Now!" Nixon's hand must be stayed by the mobilization in the streets of masses of American people.

The shock and anger at the lies and the realization that the U.S. government is determined to continue the war indefinitely can provide the basis for renewed united mobilizations by the antiwar movement.

The belief, encouraged by Kissinger and Nixon, that an end to the war was only a matter of days or weeks away served to heighten and encourage the antiwar sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the American people. The shattering of this illusion can provide the momentum for renewed activity and demonstrations.

The antiwar movement must tell the truth: the hope for an end to the war can only be realized through massive action in the streets to force Nixon to get out of Vietnam.

There is an urgent need for united action by all forces opposed to the war. Sharp differences of opinion have arisen within the antiwar movement between those who have put forward the demand for Nixon to sign the nine-point draft agreement and those, including ourselves, who have argued that the demand for complete, total, and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces is the only demand we can make on Nixon that is consistent with the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination.

We believe that the new escalation of the war and the light it sheds on Nixon's real objectives in the negotiations confirms our view that the demand for "Out Now!" is in the best interests of the Vietnamese people and can mobilize the maximum number of

Americans in opposition to the war.

But this dispute among antiwar forces should not stand in the way of united actions against the war. Antiwar organizations must appeal to all those who want an immediate end to the slaughter in Vietnam and are willing to act together for that goal. An immediate and unified response by the antiwar movement can evoke a significant response from the American people. Within the context of united actions, everyone can present their demands and points of view.

The call for united antiwar demonstrations to take place around the country in January, issued by the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, can provide an initial focus for unifying all antiwar groups and individuals. These demonstrations, which must be built on short notice, require the full and enthusiastic participation of all opponents of the war.

LIRR: strikers and commuters

Negotiations in the three-week-old Long Island Rail Road strike have apparently reached an impasse. The coalition of 12 unions of nonoperating employees is holding to its demand for a 28 percent wage increase to bring them closer to parity with wages of operating employees.

The employers are intensifying their pressure on the unions through all means available to them. Their anti-union tactics are the same that have been used across the country against many other unions, especially public employee unions. One pressure tactic is to demand a productivity deal. That is, they say the striking workers can't expect a significant wage increase unless they can get more work out of fewer workers. But the railroad is *already* cutting back on the work force through attrition from resignations and retirement of 9 percent of nonoperating employees. Such cutbacks—which will throw people out of work as well as decrease safety on the trains—are not in the interests of railroad workers or working people in general.

On another front, the company is demanding binding arbitration. One proposal is to force the unions to accept arbitration through special legislation similar to the state's Taylor Law (which prohibits strikes by public employees). The employers would not be demanding binding arbitration unless they are reasonably assured of a ruling in their favor. A presidential emergency board has already lent its authority to the railroad's side, declaring that the workers should not get more than a 6 percent wage increase.

What is there to "arbitrate" anyway? The demand of the nonoperating employees for wage parity with operating employees is completely just. People who work as clerks, electricians, metal workers, or in other nonoperating jobs need just as much to live on as the engineers and trainmen.

Another major offensive of the employers has been to try to turn the commuters against the striking workers. Their story is that the Metropolitan Transit Authority, which runs the railroad, is broke, and any wage increases will necessitate fare increases. They have even threatened to double the fares!

Commuter concern over these threats is totally justified. The LIRR has already raised fares by nearly 17 percent this year. But railroad workers' demands for a decent standard of living are not to blame for the financial mess of the mass transit systems in this country. As is pointed out in the article by Dick Roberts on page 16, the financing of transit systems and other public services through tax-free municipal bonds is a method of soaking the public and siphoning off high interest payments to banks and big business.

Most commuters are working people who cannot afford to shell out a big chunk of their weekly pay simply for getting to and from work each day. They need safe, comfortable, and free mass transit systems.

There is no reason why public transportation cannot be financially solvent and at the same time provide transit workers with a decent income. The striking Long Island Rail Road employees can win broad support for their demands, and put the company on the defensive, by raising the demand for federal funding of mass transit. They can demand that the MTA open its books so the public can see exactly how much of their fare money is going into interest payments to big business.

What is needed is a campaign by the 12 striking unions to rally support for their just demands from trade unions representing other working people in the city and from commuters. The way to meet the employers' offensive is to turn the pressure of public desire for efficient mass transit with no fare increase against the transit authorities and the government.

Reply to a reader

As a Black person who needs the weapon of truth at all times, I am grateful for your paper, which boldly presents what is happening in the world. It is a refreshing experience to read a paper that is not afraid to present the facts.

Contrary to the opinion of Richard Kujoth in his letter to *The Militant* (Dec. 8, 1972), there was little you could have done to have prevented Richard Milhous Nixon from becoming president of the USA. You did all that could be expected of you—you put the facts on record. The reason Nixon became president is because it was the will of the racist capitalist-imperialists and their cohorts.

Again, as a Black man, I know that one has to be an absolute fool to believe in the promises of Nixon or McGovern. Nixon will operate with legalized immorality, legalized violence, and with continued suppression of the poor, the Blacks, the Chicanos, and the Indians. There is no reason to believe that McGovern would do differently.

I do not know why many of my Black brothers and sisters continue to have faith in these political parties. Continue to print the truth in your paper.

L. Francis Griffin Sr.
Farmville, Va.

Hospital workers

Thirty-six members of the striking Hospital Workers union Local 1199 were beaten and arrested Nov. 18 when Boston police broke up their mass picket line in front of the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Hospital. The hospital workers have been waging a militant strike to gain bargaining rights for their union.

They have faced not only police repression and vicious red-baiting, but government intervention. The Selective Service Board (at the request of the hospital bosses) has ordered six Conscientious Objector strikers back to work.

The severity of the repression directed against Local 1199 flows from the fact that only two of Boston's many hospitals are unionized. The hospital bosses fear a successful strike by the Massachusetts Rehabilitation workers could ignite a city-wide organizing drive in Boston similar to the one that made New York City hospitals union shops.

B. M.
Easton, Mass.

Militant subs

I would appreciate it if you would apply the enclosed check toward gift subscriptions for my brother and my roommate's sister. I think it is fitting that the money comes from a check I get every month from the government for being a "light casualty" (loss of use of left arm, partial paralysis of left leg, loss of peripheral vision on left side) in Vietnam.

The government should be responsible for getting the truth to the people. If it has to be through a newspaper that is able to uncover the total corruption of governmental structure in this country,

then that's the way it'll be.

It was quite impressive to me, a person acquainted with self-serving newspapers that are not able to admit a follower of their philosophy could be wrong, to see that you also spare no words in pointing out shortcomings of the major socialist regimes.

Keep up the good work. Your report on the vote counting in the Dec. 1 issue was quite an eye-opener, although I have always suspected this.

R. C.
Goleta, Calif.

Bolshevik 'totalitarianism'?

I have found *The Militant* to be both informative and interesting. But I must take issue with you on an article printed in the Dec. 8 issue.

In "Why the Bureaucracy Arose," Dave Frankel seems to overlook the fact that what really caused the Soviet bureaucracy was not only economic and social conditions facing Russia at the time, but also the very setup of the government from the beginning. The very fact that a totalitarian government was set up from the start doomed that nation to be ruled by an elitist class, who, not faced with the immediate possibility of the loss of their positions through popular elections, could rule as they saw fit.

What this did was to form a break between the rulers and masses, thereby forming a corrupt ruling class. Frankel fails to point out that all totalitarian nations are doomed to follow the anguished road of the Soviet system.

P. H.
Bronx, N. Y.

Dave Frankel replies—An examination of the early years of the Russian revolution shows that Stalinism was not the logical outgrowth of Bolshevism. For the few years that it functioned, the system of elected councils—the Soviets—was the most democratic on earth. It drew into political consciousness and activity millions of the most oppressed and downtrodden working people and peasants—people who had never before had any say over their lives.

The murderous hardships that gradually exhausted the population, and the bitter disappointments as the revolution in the rest of Europe were defeated, were not due to Bolshevik "totalitarianism."

It was precisely the attempt by Stalin to impose a totalitarian regime on the Bolshevik Party and on the country it led that resulted in the formation of the left opposition—an opposition that took its inspiration from the program and tradition that our reader has labeled "totalitarian."

D. C. Teachers Union

On Nov. 27, the members of the Washington, D. C., Teachers Union Local 6 of the American Federation of Teachers decided by a vote of 64 to 44 to drop charges against two members of the union's executive board. They had been charged with "conduct detrimental to the best interests of the union" for signing into their schools during the recent teachers strike.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Speedup cuts into mail service

About 680,000 postal employees will be looking for a pay raise when present contracts with the U. S. Postal Service expire next July. These men and women are among the lowest paid and most overworked in public service.

Since the United States Post Office Department became the U. S. Postal Service on July 1, 1971, new machinery has been introduced to "computerize" mail delivery. The work force has been reduced and the work load increased.

The service has deteriorated badly. Letters and packages cost more to mail, take longer to deliver. Many are lost in transit.

The daily operation of U. S. business depends on rapid mail service to a far greater extent than is generally recognized. For many years the U. S. Post Office was so reliable and developed such an efficient service for such minimal charges that it came to be taken as one of the natural endowments of this country, like rich soil and clean air. But in recent years the mail service underwent a change for the worse like everything else.

Big Business yearns for the "good old days" when the two-cent stamp brought twice-a-day deliveries, when an airmail special-delivery letter was sure to arrive the next day from any part of the United States. A Washington wag recently pitted a pony-express service against present-day U. S. mails between Philadelphia and the Capitol. He said the ponies would get there faster (they did), and "also bring back fond memories of the days when the postal system used to work."

Washington bureaucrats and business leaders once took the mails so much for granted that they forgot all about those who sort and carry. They were reminded that these are people too when the postal workers struck in most major cities for the first time on March 18, 1970. That was the day the ruling class discovered how much it depends on the mail carrier.

Before the strike, postal workers had a starting pay of \$6,176 a year, and if they lasted 21 years they could get \$8,442. The strike changed that, but not much. Postal workers won a 12 percent raise.

Shortly after the strike Congress voted to turn the mail service over to private enterprise on the promise

that the new management would be more efficient and less costly. It has proved less efficient and more costly.

The present operation—still federally financed but privately managed—is a quasi-independent \$10-billion public utility. The enterprise started in July 1971 with assets of more than \$2-billion in buildings and equipment, and with cash assets of approximately \$1-billion for investment purposes.

About 100,000 fewer workers are employed today than in 1969. Last March a hiring freeze was imposed. The price of postage has gone up 33 percent. Yet the financial condition of the mail system seems to be in bad shape. In a *U. S. News & World Report* interview (Nov. 13) Postmaster General Elmer Klassen, former president of the American Can Company, admitted that "Congress gave us an annual public-service subsidy of about a billion dollars for 1972, which is to be scaled down gradually through 1984."

"I have a rough idea," Klassen said, "if the business people and the Congress and the public generally give us a half a chance—we could break even before 1984."

Klassen blames the present difficulties of the postal service on the workers, "an element who couldn't care less."

The unions have charged that greedy management is the cause of the breakdown of the postal system. As the Christmas rush began Moe Biller, president of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union, led news reporters to a parcel center and showed them packages undelivered for almost a month. The present management refuses to hire additional Christmas-season workers as has always been done in past years.

In Los Angeles on Oct. 9, Branch 24 of the National Association of Letter Carriers organized a demonstration for a better postal service. A leaflet distributed by the organizing committee said, "We are insisting that postal workers' just grievances be corrected by management, and that we be allowed to give the public the service to which they are entitled. We are NOT protesting for higher salaries—we want to be allowed to give BETTER SERVICE."

This can only mean more workers and shorter hours. But decent wages ought to help improve service too.

Union President William Simons opposed the move, and sought the advice of union attorney William Peer on the legality of the charge. Peer's opinion, which was distributed to the membership by mail, held that the charge was "legally defective" due to the fact that the union constitution nowhere mentions strike-breaking or any penalty for it.

Nevertheless, a seven-member committee elected by the union membership to conduct a hearing on the charges recommended that the membership request the resignation of the two executive board members. This motion was defeated at the membership meeting.

The attempt to remove the two members of the executive board from their posts reflects a division that exists on the committee. The majority supports Simons, but the dissident minority considers him "too conservative and too autocratic." The two charged executive board members are in the Simons wing.

Union elections for all elected officers will take place in May 1973. Although he ran unopposed in the 1971 elections, this time Simons is expected to face opposition from the dissident board members.

P. S.
Washington, D. C.

'Right to lifers'

Often in discussions about the right of women to an abortion I've heard references to the "Right to Lifers." I think Linda Jenness in the Dec. 1 *Militant* article on the New York abortion rights struggle referred to these people more accurately as the anti-abortion forces and the enemies of women's right to abortion.

The right of women to terminate an unwanted pregnancy is being aggressively fought against by well-financed organizations, backed predominantly by the Catholic Church hierarchy. These people want to make their personal religious beliefs the law of the land.

The best known of these groups calls itself "The Right to Life." Their name for themselves is a deception we shouldn't help them put over. They are not for the rights of the living. If they were they wouldn't be fighting for more restrictive abortion laws.

And one reason they would support legalized abortions if they were really for the right to life is that even the present liberalized abortion laws have substantially helped lower the maternal death rate.

In the two years the liberalized laws have been in effect in New York City the maternal death rate went down by 28 percent. And in Los Angeles County, where legal abortions have been relatively easy to obtain since 1967, the maternal death rate is down 50 percent!

Priscilla March
Los Angeles, 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.



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith

Ben Chavis & 'Southern justice'

News of Ben Chavis's release from prison on Dec. 9 was warmly greeted by all who know the repression that has fallen on this brother. The executive council of the United Church of Christ provided the \$50,000 cash bond for his release pending appeal of the conviction. However, nine other defendants in the case are still in prison under a total bond of \$350,000.

Chavis is a field organizer for the Commission for Racial Justice, an affiliate of the United Church. He is also a member of the North Carolina Black Assembly and the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

He was convicted Oct. 17 on charges of arson and conspiracy for the burning of a grocery store and conspiracy to assault firemen and other emergency personnel. For this he was sentenced to serve 34 years. The nine other defendants, most ranging in age from 18 to 22, were charged with similar offenses. The highest sentence was 10 years and the others range from 22 to 26 years.

These charges grew out of a Black upsurge in Wilmington, N. C., in February 1971 during which police killed a Black youth and white vigilantes cruised the Black community. Chavis is the minister

of the First African Congregation of the Black Messiah, and his church was the frequent target of vigilante attacks.

During this conflict a white man was killed near the church. Black residents claim he was a vigilante and was shot after he aimed his gun at Blacks inside the church.

It was not until a year after these events that Chavis was indicted for allegedly murdering this man. At the same time he was hit with the arson and conspiracy charges. The murder charge was later dropped. His bond originally totaled \$120,000. After the arrests, the Wilmington police chief told reporters, "I'm the happiest damn police chief in the country. In my opinion we have the majority of the people who gave us trouble in 1971."

When the trial opened last May it was argued that it could not be held in Wilmington because of pretrial publicity. Hence it was moved to Burgaw, 20 miles away. Then, after a jury was chosen consisting of 10 Blacks and two whites, prosecutor Jay Stoud claimed he was ill and that no one else could take his place. The judge agreed and declared a mistrial! A new jury of 10 whites and two Blacks found Chavis and the others guilty.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Coexistence and Christmas—We've checked out our Neiman-Marcus Xmas catalog and are pleased to report it reflects the president's coexistence spirit by featuring a variety of items from the People's Republic of China. The opening section is entitled "Door into China."

Peace and prosperity—For openers, the N-M catalog offers a Red Dragon Court Robe with embroidered patterns including traditional symbols of peace. \$1,500.

Post-Xmas R&R—Pooped out from too much holiday? Spend a week at N-M's Texas Greenhouse. Rest, relaxation, exercise. Daily massages and facials. Lectures on astrology. "A glorious renaissance not only of the body but of the spirit." The entire week only \$825, plus 15 percent in lieu of tips.

Two from Group A . . .—Among the other Chinese items offered are a pound of tea or an authentic Chinese ping pong set. Either item \$6. Also, a jade pendant on a braided silk cord. \$2,000.

Outsize pin cushions—This year's "His and Her's" special: Life size models of you and your companion, wired for sound to laugh at jokes, etc. Excellent substitute when one of you is traveling. Price, exclusive of costumes and sculptor's air fare to your home, \$3,000.

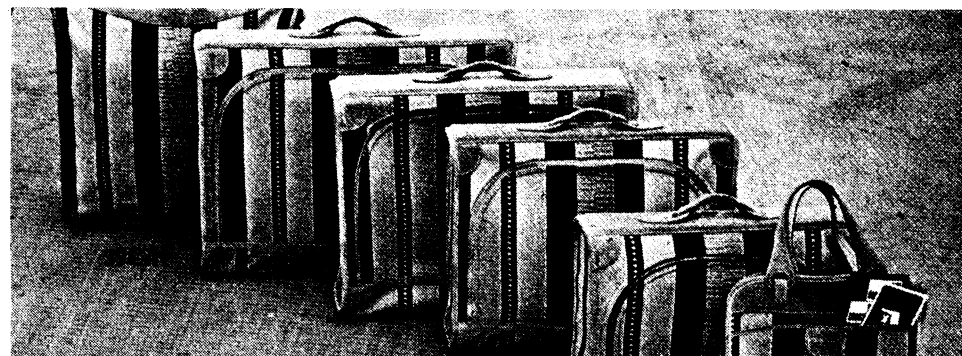
Drip dry—We reported previously N-M's special offer of a Russian sable overcoat, \$42,000. But we didn't know you could get a nice shirt for underneath. Natural pearl mink. Gold cuff links and monogram included. \$1,995. Postage, \$1.15.

Conversation piece—For that dressed-up feeling at martini time, a necklace of black opals clasped by a large diamond. \$90,000. So the neckpiece doesn't look conspicuous, a 16-karat emerald ring. "It shimmers with unearthly light." \$150,000.

Stocking stuffers—Numerous little items for those dratted nephews and nieces. Like a canvas bike bag. \$50.

Fly yourself—A roomy, two-seater fiberglass sailplane, jet-powered for those still moments. \$32,000. Shipping cost not listed.

Don't catch cold—For those nippy moments while soaring around in that sailplane, his and her sweaters in camel-tone dyed mink. His \$950. Hers \$950.



Light but durable. Cotton webbing luggage, trimmed in suede. 885.00 dollars the set.

Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Maternity issue worries bosses

For many women who work, getting pregnant means quitting your job at the date set for you by the boss (not your doctor). It means forgoing all pay while you are on maternity leave and getting no health insurance payments to cover the medical costs. And when you are ready to return to work, often you find out you no longer have a job.

Is this the way it should be? Should having a baby be treated differently from other operations or from accidents? Most companies think so, but their female employees are more and more challenging this concept.

For example, seven women at the General Electric plant in Salem, Va., along with the International Union of Electrical Workers, are suing GE to win disability pay in maternity cases. One of the women, 27-year-old Alberta Smith, explained why the lack of these payments constitutes sex discrimination. "If a man hurt his finger," she says, "he'd get paid weekly disability benefits." Smith lost \$1,000 in wages last year when she was pregnant.

Suits like the one at GE are making maternity leaves what one official in the American Society for Personnel Administration calls "the hottest issue

confronting personnel men these days." Thus, in its Dec. 1, issue, the *Wall Street Journal* devoted a long article to the debate over pregnancy leaves.

Women have begun to win impressive victories in this fight. In Ohio and Virginia, federal appeals courts have overruled school policies that forced women teachers to stop working early in their pregnancies. In 1965 four out of five companies set the limit for how long a pregnant employee could remain on the job. Now polls show that six out of 10 firms allow women to make this decision themselves.

A number of large businesses, such as Du Pont and the National Can Corporation, are presently in court on government charges of sex discrimination because of their policies on maternity leaves. In addition, several unions have gotten involved in fights for the rights of pregnant workers. The United Auto Workers, for example, has filed sex discrimination charges against General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler.

The bosses can be expected to put up a fight before they allow disability payments for preg-

nancy to become the rule. For one thing, it means shelling out millions of dollars that have up until now been profits for them. For another, yielding on the maternity leave issue opens up the door to challenges on other aspects of their discriminatory policies toward women.

The pregnancy issue is also a delicate one because the employers have always justified their discrimination against women on the basis that the primary role of females is in the home, raising children. Now women are saying they should be able to have children and work too, with no loss of pay.

James Hoose, director of industrial relations at Michigan Seamless Tube Co., sums up the company attitude well: "To pay a woman a salary during that period, when maternity is a matter of her choice, grates a little bit."

The idea that maternity is always a "matter of choice" will undoubtedly grate many women more than a little bit. As Alberta Smith put it: "Nobody is going out having babies to get a couple of pennies. Even with birth-control pills, women do get pregnant."

The American Way of Life

Michael Baumann



Mass transit blues

Each weekday morning more than two million people fight their way into Manhattan. Ninety percent use public transportation, and a new subway line on Second Avenue is supposed to help relieve some of the crowding. If completed as scheduled in 1976, it will be 51 years since city officials first announced the project.

This, unfortunately, is not an isolated example. A recent Associated Press survey confirmed that most transit systems are suffering from "years of neglect, underfinancing, and poor planning."

The millions of working people who have to use them every day, the survey concludes, are "abused by antiquated equipment and forced to pay a sharply rising double charge—part into the fare box, the rest in taxes levied for transit."

Anyone who rides to work on a bus or subway must wonder where these taxes go. In the last nine years at least 100 bus systems ceased operating altogether. Philadelphia's subway cars, built in 1929, are older than most of their riders.

Twelve hundred of New York's 7,000 subway cars "lack passenger amenities," as one Transit Authority official gingerly put it. He went on to explain that this meant the cars are 40 years old, noisy and uncomfortable, lack air conditioning,

and are illuminated by bare light bulbs.

Here's where the tax money went. From 1947 to 1970 the government spent a total of \$77.4-billion on transportation: \$58-billion for highways, \$12.6-billion for airports and airline subsidies, \$6-billion for waterways, but only \$795-million (about 1 percent) for urban mass transit.

What little money the government does make available for mass transit comes on terms far less favorable than funds for highway construction.

"Suppose the city has 10 bucks and it wants to get some money for moving people," James McConnon, head of the Philadelphia transit system, told a reporter recently. "With that 10 bucks it can get \$100 of highway money, and it can only get \$30 of mass-transit money. Now, how are the cities going to invest their money? I mean, there's no contest."

That's because the small handful of people who control the oil, steel, and auto industries want highways, the more the better. Private automobiles in the U.S. may kill 55,000 people a year and disable another two million. They may pollute the environment and clog the street. But they are very profitable to manufacture.

The main interest the government and the ruling

class it represents have in mass transit is keeping it barely tolerable. If you can somehow get to work, that's all that counts. No matter if the train is an hour late, the subway is dirty and overcrowded, or the bus doesn't come anywhere near your house.

As far as they're concerned it's tough luck for old people on pensions, those who aren't old enough to drive, working people who can't afford a car. Pollution? Don't be too hasty, they say. It's not peeling the paint off the walls yet. Expressways crowded? We'll build more.

There are signs, however, that the government's arrogant dismissal of our need for efficient, comfortable, and cheap mass transit is going to meet stiffer resistance. In October, angry Long Island commuters, stranded by a breakdown, halted an express train and refused to budge until it picked up all 400 of them.

A month later a White Plains, N. Y., jury refused to convict a Penn Central commuter who declined to pay for his ride on a hot, crowded train that lacked both water and toilet facilities. After all, as he explained to the jury, "if you shipped animals under these conditions, you would unquestionably be arrested."

Insurgents win mine workers election

By LEE SMITH

DEC. 18 — Arnold Miller, the 49-year-old West Virginia miner who ran for president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) as the candidate of the insurgent Miners for Democracy (MFD), won the court-ordered election by more than 14,000 votes, according to a final Labor Department count announced Dec. 16. Mike Trbovich and Harry Patrick, MFD candidates for vice-president and secretary-treasurer, won by slightly smaller margins.



Arnold Miller

The same day, the totals were announced, an explosion, apparently of methane, killed five miners and injured three others in a Consolidation Coal Company mine at Itmann, W. Va. This explosion followed on the heels of a Dec. 15 coke-oven gas explosion in Weirton, W. Va., that killed 19 mine construction workers.

The day after the Itmann explosion, Miller chartered a plane to fly from Washington, D. C., to the site of the tragedy. At the entrance to the mine, he encountered Consolidation Coal's president, John Corcoran. Introducing himself to the UMW president-elect, Corcoran said: "I just want you to know that we are willing to cooperate with you."

"I am sick of these things," Miller answered. "There hasn't been one of these things yet that couldn't have been prevented," he continued. "This is going to stop."

He also told the coal boss: "I intend to sit down and look at what you are doing about safety, and when

I find something wrong I am going to tell you about it.

"There's just too much plain, ordinary irresponsibility here, and the former leadership of this union has been too close to the industry to see it or fight it. That's over now," Miller said.

Outgoing UMW president W. A. (Tony) Boyle announced his retirement at a \$50,000 annual pension Dec. 18. Technically, the 70-year-old defeated candidate could have remained in office until the results of the election were confirmed by the fed-



Joseph (Jock) Yablonski

eral judge who ordered last May that it be held. Judge William Bryant ordered the new election when he invalidated a 1969 contest in which Boyle had claimed victory over Joseph (Jock) Yablonski.

Yablonski, his wife, and his daughter were murdered shortly after he lost the 1969 election. One international board member and other lower-ranking UMW officials have been implicated in this murder.

Joseph Rauh Jr., an attorney who had worked with Yablonski, other attorneys, and several hundred miners met in church the afternoon of Yablonski's funeral in January 1970 and formed the nucleus of what became, in April 1970, Miners For Democracy.

Rauh and the others went ahead to challenge the 1969 election, as Yablonski had planned. Charging Boyle and the UMW administration with violating provisions of the Landrum-Griffith Act, the MFD went to the Labor Department and the courts seeking a new election. Judge Bryant's order last

spring provided for such an election. At the same time it gave the Labor Department sweeping authority to police internal union affairs during the campaign and the election.

The Labor Department is reported to have spent in the neighborhood of \$4-million to carry out this policing job. Government agents supervised the publication of the *UMW Journal*, restricting "partisan" content to the back section and dividing the space evenly between the incumbents and the challengers.

Government agents were also on hand at all the polling places—union halls and mine-site bathhouses—across the country. The election was staggered over eight days throughout the UMW's 22 districts to allow the 1,000 Labor Department observers to watch over the balloting. In addition to the government observers and the men from the Boyle machine, students who volunteered in response to appeals from the MFD kept an eye on the polls.

A group of New York University law students who acted as observers talked about the election at an NYU meeting Dec. 16, sponsored by the Association for Union Democracy. All five of the poll watchers who spoke said they considered the election fair and believed the Labor Department's role had been impartial.

Herman Benson, editor of *Union Democracy Review* and chairman of the meeting, said this was a contrast to the government-supervised election in the National Maritime Union (NMU) in 1968. In the NMU election, Benson said, the Labor Department's intervention blatantly favored incumbent Joseph Curran against his challenger, James Morrissey.

Miller cut into Boyle's base of support among the pensioners by promising to raise pensions from the present \$150 a month to \$200. Among the active miners, his extensive face-to-face campaigning and promises to cut official salaries, move the national office closer to the mine fields, and make the UMW more responsive to its membership won Miller a solid majority.

Boyle tried to capitalize on the incumbent's traditional advantages and the miners' marrow-deep distrust of lawyers. He pictured the MFD as an

outfit that would wreck the UMW, stressing the role of Rauh and other "outsiders" in the Miller camp.

Now that the votes are in, the MFD insurgents are faced with the challenge of making good on their promises. Miller said in a Dec. 15 news conference that he intends to fight hard in the next round of bargaining late in 1974 for a cost-of-living escalator clause and that he won't conclude any agreement without rank-and-file ratification.



W.A. (Tony) Boyle

Coal operators don't like the way Miller talks. An article in the Dec. 18 *Wall Street Journal* illuminates the cozy relationship Boyle had with the bosses and their concern that Miller may change all that. Boyle, the newspaper says, "usually wielded enough clout to enforce his agreements with employers. One executive says Mr. Miller is honest and isn't arbitrary, but he quickly adds: 'Sometimes to run a big organization you have to be arbitrary.'"

The anonymous president of a coal company commented to the *Journal* about Miller's task in gaining control of the pro-Boyle executive board: "The danger in this to us is clear. When there's confusion in the UMW, it seems to result in only one thing—work stoppages."

These coal bosses are used to a UMW that served as a cop to enforce the contract and keep the mines running. Even the hint that those days might be numbered worries them.

California lowers one tax, raises another

By MILTON ALVIN

LOS ANGELES—When California Governor Ronald Reagan says he is "delighted" by the passage of a tax bill, it is time for all honest citizens to get a firm grip on their wallets.

The governor's gratification was a result of the passage of a "tax-relief school-fund bill." Supporters of the bill made widely publicized but false claims that it would lighten the burden of school taxes. These taxes fall disproportionately on poor people and small homeowners.

The new law cleared the state legislature with the support of a majority of Republicans and Democrats. The Democrats were led by Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti, who negotiated with Reagan for some time before reaching agreement on provisions of the bill. Moretti expects to run for governor in 1974.

Far from lightening the tax load on small property owners, who were supposed to be the chief recipients of relief, taxes to pay school costs will now be shifted even further from the rich to the poor. This will be accomplished by raising the state sales tax a whopping 20 percent, from the

present 5 percent to 6 percent. A sugar-coating to sweeten the pill, a measly increase in bank and corporation tax of 1.4 percent, will go into effect at the same time.

Backers of the new program state that the drop in the school-district tax rate in Los Angeles, for example, will be from the present \$4.38 per \$100 of assessed valuation to \$4.12. This sensational saving—which amounts to the huge sum of \$13 a year for a \$20,000 home, assessed at \$5,000—will become effective only by 1976-77.

In Los Angeles property is assessed at 25 percent of its "fair market value." Since most of the people who are supposed to benefit from the new law own modest homes, their saving will be far smaller than the additional sales tax they will have to pay.

Rich property owners whose dwellings are in the \$100,000 and up range are also assessed at the 25 percent rate. For example, a Beverly Hills owner of a \$100,000 home is able to avoid tax on \$75,000, while the owner of a \$20,000 house avoids payment on only \$15,000. This disproportion has existed here for a long time and is not changed by the new law.

Some additional relief, if one can call it that, is provided for in the bill through increasing the assessed exemption figure from \$750 to \$1,750.

Renters of homes and apartments, who make up the majority of poor people, are supposed to get a credit on their state income tax in lieu of property-tax relief. This credit is not only very meager, from \$30 to \$45 a year, but in actual practice will not apply to many working people who don't make enough to pay state income taxes to begin with.

The increase in sales tax will go into effect June 1. But the lowered property tax, for whatever it is worth, takes effect only when the next tax bills are due, in December 1974 and April 1975.

After expressing his delight at the passage of the new bill, Reagan was asked about the plight of older homeowners, who are more and more unable to meet their tax bills because of higher assessments due to rising land values. The governor snapped back with the compassionate attitude that has traditionally distinguished his administration, "We can't protect every individual on the basis of sentiment."

Reagan's six years as governor have

been featured by periodic attacks on the school system to make it harder for poorer people to get college educations. One result of his efforts, which have not been seriously opposed by Democrats, is that fees California students must pay to attend a university have increased. At the same time, appropriations the universities need to expand facilities and pay better salaries have been reduced.

Reagan has also been the leader in demanding appointment of reactionary administrators. He has used his power as governor in attempts to influence the state board of regents to adopt his policies. Even the conservative *Los Angeles Times*, owned by one of the richest families in the state, has opposed his policies in the field of higher education.

The net result of the combined Republican-Democratic policy toward education is that poorer Californians will now have to pay a larger part of the expenses of elementary and high schools while their children have fewer opportunities to get a higher education. No wonder Reagan and Moretti are delighted with the results of their efforts.

Defending the right to abortion

Abortion & respect for life

This is the second in a series of articles dealing with the most common arguments of anti-abortion groups against a woman's right to control her reproductive life.

By CAROLINE LUND

Anti-abortion professor Robert Byrn argues that the prime consideration in the abortion controversy must be "the protection of life in the community." "If that is abandoned," he says, "then the whole community value of life is in danger of breaking down. And the next step is probably euthanasia, or the idea that only those who contribute to society have the right to live."

This is one of the favorite arguments of the anti-abortion forces—and one of their most demagogic. They say that if people get used to "extinguishing human life for convenience" (that's what they call abortion), then they will soon move on to killing off old people, the mentally ill, or racial minorities.

This argument appeals not so much to an abstract concern for the "sanctity of life" of the fetus, but rather to people's well-founded concern about the callousness of this society toward the lives of old people, the mentally ill or handicapped, and Black people and other oppressed nationalities. Through this argument the anti-abortion forces try to turn this concern against the abortion rights movement.

What's wrong with this argument?

First, it assumes that it is humanistic and pro-life to equate fetal life with the lives of human beings. The falseness of this equation was dealt with in last week's *Militant*. By using slides and bottles of pickled fetuses to conjure up feelings of horror at abortion, the anti-abortion people try to cover up the horror that anti-abortion laws can mean for the lives of women.

They don't talk about the callousness of driving women to secretly seek out illegal butcher abortionists, or to attempt the desperate step of self-abortion. According to medical authorities, thousands of women die each year from botched illegal abortions.

The anti-abortion forces don't mention the misery of battered, unwanted children. They don't mention the psychological damage to women wrought by the fear of an unwanted pregnancy that could destroy their aspirations for their lives, in terms of education or life-work.

What kind of "respect for life" is it that justifies making women into breeders against their will? The real "disrespect for human life" is the harm done to women, to whole families, and to unwanted children by anti-abortion laws.

The second false assumption in this argument is that women only want abortions for "convenience." Can the desire for personal liberty be reduced to a matter of "convenience"? What about the desire of women to be able to control their destiny? Are the Constitutional rights to personal liberty and the pursuit of happiness limited only to males? Would men be willing to give up these rights as simply "conveniences"?

Women want the right to abortion because it matters very much to them to be able to make decisions over their own lives. It can matter so much that many are even willing to risk

death rather than be forced to continue an unwanted pregnancy. This is why women resort to illegal abortionists or attempt self-induced abortions.

The third false aspect of this argument is its attempt to draw a parallel between the dependency and helplessness of the fetus with the dependency of the old, the sick, those on welfare, etc. Using this parallel, the anti-abortion people conclude that abortion will set a precedent for eliminating sectors of the population who are dependent on society.

This argument turns reality on its head. Women who want the right to abortion are not threatening the lives of the old, the ill, and Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans.

Government experimentation on Black people as in the Tuskegee syphilis study, forced sterilization and population control schemes aimed against welfare recipients and Black and Latino people, and anti-abortion laws forcing women to bear children against their will—these are all policies aimed at controlling people's lives.

The struggle of women for the right to control their reproductive lives can

mes. It is the capitalist system that in effect throws old people on the scrap heap. It is the U.S. capitalist rulers who are responsible for hundreds of years of racial oppression. It is this government of the rich that has money for bombs but no money for quality mental hospitals and care for the handicapped.

When Robert Byrn says the abortion rights movement wants a society in which "only those who contribute to society have the right to live," he is really describing *this* society, where only those who are able to sell their labor power have even a chance for a decent income. (While those who contribute nothing—the richest capitalists—have control over everyone else's lives.)

If you are too old to work, or too sick, or have too many children to care for, or find yourself among the unemployed—then this society condemns you to poverty. Just as it condemns women to bear unwanted children if they are not rich enough to pay for an illegal abortion or travel somewhere to get a legal one.

Anti-abortion speakers compare the abortion rights movement with Hitler's policies of mass murder, euthanasia,



Militant/Caroline Lund

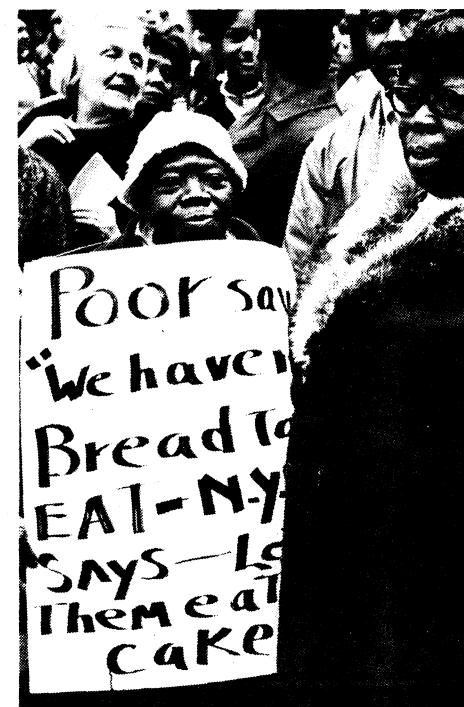
Women who want the right to abortion are not threatening the lives of the old, the ill, and Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans, contrary to the claims of the anti-abortion forces.

only complement and aid the struggles of others who are denied control over their lives. For example, it complements the struggle against forced sterilization, which prevents women from controlling their own lives by denying them the choice to bear children.

It is absurd to imply that women will naturally move on from aborting fetuses to eliminating old people and others. Women are fighting simply to control their own lives, not other people's lives. Terminating a pregnancy does not threaten any human being's life.

It is not women who are the threat to old people, Blacks, and others. It is the inhuman capitalist system and the U.S. capitalist government—the same government that declares abortion illegal.

It is the rulers of this capitalist society who have such a low regard for human life that they carry out a war of genocide against the Vietna-



Alan Mercer

and experimentation with human beings. But they never mention the fact that Hitler outlawed abortion and contraception, declaring that women's place was with children, kitchen, and church—*kinder, küche, kirche*.

Policies such as Hitler's extermination camps; U.S. genocide in Vietnam; the destruction of lives through poverty, racism, and exploitation; and the controlling of women's lives through anti-abortion laws all flow from the capitalist system of controlling people's lives for profit.

When anti-abortion politicians and church officials try to link women's aspirations for freedom with policies of extermination of oppressed sectors of society, they are only attempting to divert attention from the crimes presently carried out by their capitalist system. Their absurd logic shows that their real concern is not with protecting life, but with controlling the lives of women.

Stewardesses protest sexist treatment by airlines

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK—The "I'm Linda, Fly Me!" ad—part of the disgusting advertising campaign run by National Airlines—is just one of the reasons that stewardesses have begun to rebel against their treatment on the job.

Four stewardesses held a news conference here Dec. 12 to let the public know they intend to organize against the discrimination they face from airline companies. In particular, the women want to combat the stereotyped image of stewardesses as sex objects. With this goal in mind, they announced the formation of two new groups: Stewardesses for Women's Rights and the Stewardess Anti-Defamation Defense League.

Joanna Chaplin, founder of the League, told reporters that books such as *How to Make a Good Airline Stewardess* have "slandered and defamed every girl working as a stewardess." This type of literature, as well as films and sexist airline advertising, will be targets of her group.

Chaplin also described other forms of discrimination, including the fact that stewardesses often lose their jobs after taking maternity leaves. The airlines refuse to even hire women who are already married, she asserted. A stewardess for 11 years, Chaplin is presently on maternity leave herself.

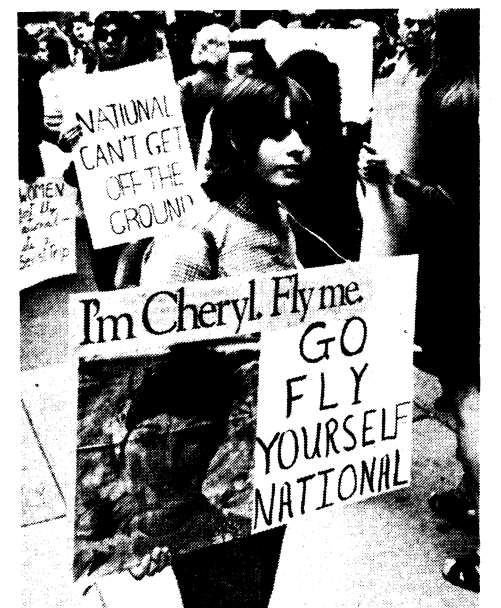
Stewardesses are also required to take makeup and posture classes and to double up in accommodations during layovers, Chaplin said, but male airline employees each get their own room.

Judi Lindsey, a member of Stewardesses for Women's Rights, described the "underwear inspection" that women are subjected to. Male and female supervisors "check" stewardesses to see among other things if they are wearing bras, she said.

Another member of Stewardesses for Women's Rights, Toby Gelband, said, "We can be 'written up' for conduct. The airlines back the customer every time. He's paying." Chaplin added that stewardesses who fail to respond warmly enough to the "familiarity" of customers may be reported as being "unfriendly" by their supervisors.

Recently Chaplin placed an ad in a local magazine, asking stewardesses who wanted to change their situation to contact her. She said she has received 25 answers.

There are 60 charter members in Stewardesses for Women's Rights, which held its first meeting in November in Washington, D.C. The group plans a "national workshop" for New York City in February or March.



Cops should be tried for murder

National pressure forced La. investigation

By BAXTER SMITH

The state-appointed commission of inquiry declared Dec. 14 that the blame for the shotgun deaths of two Southern University students Nov. 16 falls squarely on the shoulders of the East Baton Rouge Parish (county) sheriff's deputies. Its latest findings revealed that Sheriff Al Amiss ordered his men to load their guns with buckshot shells in addition to a tear gas shell. It also claimed to have narrowed the field of deputy-suspects to six, several of whom have refused to take a lie-detector test.

This is the first time that a state-appointed investigating committee in the South has found white law enforcement officers virtually guilty of murder in their attempts to repress Black student protests.

In 1968 at Orangeburg, S. C., racist state highway patrolmen killed three Black students and there was no investigation or indictments. In 1970 at Jackson State College in Jackson, Miss., two Black students were killed by police, and both a state and county investigation called it justifiable homicide.

Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards was compelled to open a state investigation of the murders in order to maintain an image as a fair-minded governor, especially in light of the angry reaction to news of the sheriff's involvement.

Black student groups and other organizations played an important role in building support through rallies, letters of protest, contribution of financial and other aid, as well as organizing visits to Baton Rouge to meet with the student organizers and obtain accurate information to take back.

The Black People's Committee of Inquiry, composed of nationally and locally known figures from the Black community, played a major role too. This committee, which was independent of the state-appointed committee, had a large impact by swiftly conducting an accurate investigation and ascertaining the guilt of the law enforcement officers.

Despite the findings of their own commission, however, Louisiana officials are reluctant to draw the proper conclusions. Governor Edwin Edwards stated that despite the committee's evidence to the contrary, he still believes the first tear gas canister was tossed by the students—even though the committee verified through film that it was the police who threw the first canister.

During the protests on the Southern University campuses of Baton Rouge and New Orleans, Edwards tried at times to maintain that the students were armed or arming. So when the events broke on Nov. 16, Sheriff Amiss automatically claimed that his men were not at fault. Amiss originally maintained that the students may have been trampled to death or killed when other students threw fragmentation grenades or homemade bombs filled with buckshot at the deputies, which exploded killing the two students, Denver Smith and Leonard Douglas Brown.

Edwards now feels that the best thing he can do in response to the committee's findings is to assemble a "highly specialized riot squad of state police and National Guardsmen" to handle situations like this in the future. But Edwards knows quite well that a specially trained riot squad is no answer to dilapidated buildings,

unbalanced menus, incompetent staff, or an education designed not to stimulate student initiative but to dampen it.

The state investigating committee was not given the power to indict the sheriff's deputies. Instead, it has turned its findings over to the East Baton Rouge Parish district attorney, Ossie Brown. Brown will then determine "if there is a need to prosecute" guilty bodies.

Students may be indicted because the state committee claimed in its findings that the students "improperly" prevented the normal use of the campus administration building. (Four students arrested the morning of the slaughter are already charged with "obstruction or interference with an educational institution." One is charged with criminal trespass. Three others were charged with disturbing the peace and criminal mischief.)

Who are the guilty bodies? Office personnel in the administration building stated that the students did not

attempt a building take-over. A state police lieutenant is *known* to have tossed the first tear gas. It is *known* that the students were unarmed. And the sheriff's deputies were specifically *told* to load their guns with buckshot.

Both the state-appointed panel and the independent Black People's Committee of Inquiry have established who is guilty. The first step to be taken if justice is to be served is for district attorney Brown to fully prosecute the sheriffs and all others found complicit in the murder of the two students and drop all charges against the students.

The second step to be taken is for the state to grant all the demands that the students died trying to win.

In order for this to be accomplished, pressure will have to be mounted. Pressure similar to the kind that originally forced the state to investigate the murders and find the sheriffs guilty. The sheriff's deputies must not be allowed to go free in face of overwhelming evidence proving their guilt.



Militant/B.R. Washington

D'Army Bailey (l) and Owusu Sadoukai were members of Black People's Committee of Inquiry, which helped force 'official' state investigation.

USLA demands freedom for Bolivian prisoners

MIT professor Noam Chomsky, Ms. editor Gloria Steinem, and Ramón Arbona, first secretary of the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, have joined with other prominent individuals and groups in urging a special Christmastime effort to win freedom for Bolivian political prisoner Delfina Burgoa. A campaign in defense of Burgoa's rights was launched in September by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Burgoa, a 67-year-old woman, worked for many years as a member of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. In that capacity she visited prisoners and helped them find lawyers. She was arrested by the gov-

ernment of Colonel Hugo Banzer Suárez on April 4, 1972, and tortured despite her age and health. Three of her ribs were broken. She was then confined to the cold and isolated Achocalla prison.

Burgoa remains at Achocalla and is ill. Christmas day will mark her sixty-eighth birthday. She is still denied legal counsel, and relatives who have inquired about her have been arrested.

The Christmas period is a traditional time for granting amnesty to political prisoners. Therefore, USLA is urging all supporters of civil liberties to send letters and telegrams demanding freedom for Burgoa to Colonel

Banzer at Palacio Nacional, La Paz, Bolivia.

Also joining this call for support to Burgoa are columnist Nat Hen-toff, cartoonist Jules Feiffer, dramatist Julian Beck, and Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*.

Under the present state of siege in Bolivia, civil liberties have been suspended. It is now 16 months since all the country's universities were closed down. The government has arrested 1,000 workers, students, and professionals. Despite this repression, the workers have mobilized in strikes and demonstrations in the face of Banzer's devaluation of the Bolivian peso.

Sixty-seven Bolivian political pris-

oners escaped from the prison on Coati Island and arrived in Cuba on Nov. 6. In the Nov. 12 *Granma* and the Nov. 20 *Tricontinental News Service*, the prisoners described the repression carried out against political prisoners in Bolivia.

All the prisoners who escaped had been subjected to torture; beatings with rubber hoses, burning of the testicles, and driving of pins into the genitals are common practices. Several of the prisoners had had their ribs broken. Cases of castration and electric shock treatment have also been reported.

For further information, contact USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

Mpls. teachers 'action slate' wins union post

By KEN PETERS

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 18—A well-organized "program for action" slate picked up an executive board seat in the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers (MFT) election held here Dec. 6. The three other slate candidates lost by narrow margins in the balloting, which saw the largest turnout in years despite sub-zero weather.

The slate's winning candidate, Greg Cain, said of the elections, "It shows that the union membership wants the union to become more involved in social and political issues as well as bread-and-butter economic policies."

The slate included teachers Ann Burns, Greg Cain, Marianne Christianson, and Brian McKinley. All of them are active in either the women's liberation movement or the antiwar movement.

The recently organized slate wanted the union to become more involved in social and political areas as well as to continue to improve the educational standards and the standard of living of Minneapolis teachers. The slate's backers kicked off the campaign a month prior to the election by sending copies of the program to more than 150 members, building stewards, and current executive board members. The result was more than 160 endorsements from one-half of the school buildings in Minneapolis.

The slate's "program for action" called for the establishment of a women's rights committee to work for unrestricted maternity leave for women teachers, elimination of disparities in pay between men and women athletic coaches, and elimination of educational materials that stereotype roles of

men and women.

Under the heading "politically active teachers," the program called for running a "teacher candidate on a platform written by teachers" in the upcoming school board elections.

It called for "membership participation in union-initiated activities designed to bring an end to wage controls."

Teacher unity [merger with the Minneapolis affiliate of the National Educational Association] has previously been openly opposed by the Local 59 leadership. The "program for action" called for a "full discussion on the issue and a referendum of the membership to determine if members wish to pursue this issue."

Under "organizing the unorganized," the platform called for organizing into the union 700 Minneapolis teachers, tutors, and reserve teachers, as well

as 1,000 teacher aides, and working for their full seniority benefits.

The program also called for an educational program for filing grievances within the union and developing ties with community groups for united action on educational issues. It called for broader orientation to union and social issues in the union newsletter.

One slate backer, Greg Cottle, said after the election, "The program was broadly endorsed and well organized. I think the program for action gives the membership some sense of direction in what the union ought to do." Greg Cain, another MFT executive board member, and one of the slate backers appeared at the Twin Cities Militant Forum on Friday, Dec. 15, to discuss the topic "The Teachers Union and the Struggle for Better Education."

Angela Davis ignores plea for political prisoners

National oppression in the Soviet Ukraine

By PETER SEIDMAN

Since the beginning of 1972, more than 150 fighters for socialist democracy and national rights have been arrested in the Soviet Ukraine. Some have been sentenced to as long as 10 years in prison. These prosecutions underscore the existence of a growing movement among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union against the Kremlin bureaucracy's policy of Russification.

On June 15, 1972, the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, an organization of students in Canada and the United States who are primarily of Ukrainian descent, addressed an appeal to Angela Davis. The committee congratulated Davis on her court victory and asked her to exercise her authority as a prominent Black leader of the American Communist Party to focus attention on the trials of these Ukrainians.

Since that time, Angela Davis has made no reply to the committee and no direct statement on the prosecutions under way in the Ukraine. But in a New York news conference on her return from a six-week tour of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Cuba, Davis praised the treatment of national minorities in the Soviet Union.

Her remarks were reported in the Nov. 4 *Daily World Magazine*: "There are of course 130 different nationalities living within the Soviet Union; 15 different national republics and a variety of other forms in which national self-determination is practiced. . . .

"We learned that books were published in scores of languages in the Soviet Union and we learned about the very marvelous uses of culture which occurred since the triumph of socialism."

What is the truth about the status of the Ukraine within the Soviet Union?

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The central leaders of the Russian revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, saw the USSR as a union in which the nations of the former czarist empire would exist under conditions of full equality but would have the right to



Angela Davis

separate if they chose to do so. In fact, Lenin saw the need for the Russians within the new USSR to "bend over backward" to make up for the years of bullying that characterized relations prior to the revolution between Russia and the nations oppressed under the czar.

Flowing from this approach, many languages were given written form for the first time, newspapers and schools were created to develop national cultures, and a conscious policy of developing non-Russian leadership was begun.

However, with the rise of Stalin to power, this Leninist policy of defending the national rights of the non-Russian peoples was replaced with a policy of Russification. In the Ukraine, for example, under Lenin a policy of "Ukrainization" had fostered the growth of the Ukrainian language, culture, and national pride. But in the 1930s this policy was reversed, and many of the "Ukrainized" cadre and the apparatus designed to carry on their work were purged.

Since that time, the basic policy of the Kremlin has been to strip the Ukraine of its national roots, to Russify its strategic centers, and to disperse the Ukrainian population.

However, beginning in the 1960s, opposition to Russification, along with other manifestations of revolt against bureaucratic rule, began to develop both within the Ukraine and in Russia. The Ukrainian dissidents provided detailed proofs of the results of Russification. This and their struggle against the policy caused the Kremlin bureaucrats to have them arrested.

For example, using official Soviet sources, Ivan Dzyuba, one of the arrested dissidents, documents the national oppression of the Ukrainians in his book, *Internationalism or Russification?* (London, 1970).

Dzyuba exposes how it is the official policy of Moscow to force the emigration and cultural assimilation of Ukrainians into other nations within

the Soviet Union. This practice has halted the growth of the Ukrainian population within the USSR. Furthermore, Russians have been moved into the major cities of the Ukraine to take skilled jobs and government posts, giving them disproportionate weight in these centers of culture and policy.

The central budget of the USSR, Dzyuba proves, is designed in such a manner that it unjustly drains resources from the Ukraine. This process is complemented by planning projections that will give the Ukraine a slower rate of industrialization and a faster rate of agricultural growth than the USSR-wide averages.

Dzyuba also gives many figures showing the infringements on the Ukrainian language through unequal book publishing rations and the lack of educational facilities available to teach the Ukrainian language.

Dzyuba's findings, which were published in 1965, were confirmed in a 1968 report prepared by a delegation from the Canadian Communist Party, whose large Ukrainian membership was concerned about the Russification of the Ukraine.

If the bureaucrats in Moscow were indeed carrying out Lenin's policies as Angela Davis claims, they would seriously consider such charges. They would seek a public discussion of whether a policy of Great Russian chauvinism is being carried out rather than a policy of "bending over backward" to help establish the Ukrainian nation as an equal component within the USSR.

However, the Kremlin knows that Russification is taking place in the Ukraine because it is their official policy—no matter how honeyed-over with speeches on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR this policy may be. So they have responded to these charges by arresting and imprisoning those who make them.

The most recent wave of arrests, which began at the end of 1971 and is still continuing, seems to be sparked by the continued appearance in the Ukraine of *Ukrainsky Visnik*. Since April 1970 this publication has carried news of the struggle for Ukrainian rights. It is written from a pro-Marxist point of view, yet is forced to be published in underground, *samizdat* form. (*Samizdat* publications are circulated hand to hand and reproduced by each reader for further distribution. *Samizdat* means "self-publishing.")

The more that 150 arrested Ukrainians include, besides Dzyuba, Vyacheslav Chornovil, whose book *The Chornovil Papers*, which also documents national oppression in the Ukraine, was published after his release from an earlier prison sentence in 1969; and Nina Strokata Karavanska, wife of Svyatoslave Karavansky, who was arrested in 1965 for the third time for his activities in defense of Ukrainian national rights and who is still imprisoned. Nina Strokata Karavanska was arrested only because she refused to denounce her husband.

Prison terms for those arrested have been very heavy, ranging as high as 10 years imprisonment and five years of exile.

The Moscow bureaucrats justify their arrests of the Ukrainians by charging them with anti-Soviet "slander" and "bourgeois nationalism." In a speech given in Cuba during her tour, Angela Davis echoed these slanders by claiming that critics of the USSR are: "pseudorevolutionaries who try to use anti-Sovietism to divide and confuse the anti-imperialist movement." (Quoted in *Granma*, newspaper of the

Communist Party of Cuba, Oct. 8, 1972.)

But in fact, the fighters for socialist democracy inside the USSR are not "anti-Soviet." Davis must know this because their documents have been made available to her by the Committee for Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

For example, in the introduction to his book, Ivan Dzyuba says: "I am firmly convinced that the anxiety felt by an ever-widening circle of Ukrainian youth is the inevitable result of grave violations of the Leninist nationalities policy, or more precisely: a total revision of the Leninist nationalities policy of the Party carried out by Stalin in the 1930s and continued by Khrushchev in the last decade."

"I am firmly convinced that for the cause of building communism, for a future communist society, and for the fate of world communism, it is difficult to find today anything more useful, noble and imperative than the restoration of the Leninist national-

Lviv prisoner commits suicide

A young Ukrainian afraid of breaking under the pressure of police interrogation recently committed suicide inside Lviv prison, according to the Nov. 12 *Ukrainske Slovo*, a Ukrainian-language newspaper published in Paris.

Katala, aged thirty, an engineer, was a close friend of the artist Stefania Shabatara. Shabatara was recently arrested for oppositional activity. Katala was under interrogation by the Soviet secret police (KGB), who repeatedly demanded that he give evidence against her.

Under continuous pressure from the secret police, Katala feared that psychological torture might "break" him and that he would turn police witness against his close friend.

On April 28, Katala managed to break free of his interrogators and run into a corridor. There, with a loud cry of protest, he drove a knife into his heart. By the time the KGB officials had reached him, Katala was dead.

ities policy, since the fate of entire nations lies in the balance."

Why has Angela Davis remained silent on the plight of these Ukrainian fighters for socialist democracy? It would be a simple matter for her, given her prestige and leadership position within the Communist Party, to investigate the massive arrests taking place in the Ukraine. One must take her silence, coupled with her statements praising Moscow's "solution of the national question in the USSR," as complicity with the Kremlin's campaign of Russification of the Ukraine.

Davis's acquiescence in the crimes of national oppression committed in the Soviet Union does grave harm to revolutionary movements everywhere. In the Russian revolution it was the internationalist policies of Lenin and Trotsky that won the oppressed nations of czarism to the banner of socialism. Today, the lessons of that victory hold great importance for national liberation fighters throughout the world. But these fighters can only be turned away from the successful example of the early years of the Russian revolution when Davis equates those policies with the Stalinist practice of Russification within the USSR.



Stalin reversed the program of Lenin and Trotsky and began the Russification of the Ukraine in the 1930s.

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 29, 1972

Socialist woman confronts big-business candidates in Toronto elections



Socialist Jacquie Henderson insisted on her right to participate in Toronto Star forum. From left: Conservatives Rotenberg and Crombie, Henderson and Liberal O'Donohue.

[The following article is reprinted from the December 11 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly published in Toronto. It describes the campaign of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists in the Toronto municipal elections held December 4.

[Winner of the mayoral contest was Conservative party "reformer" David Crombie, with 81,000 votes. His opponents in the supposedly nonpartisan elections were Liberal Anthony O'Donohue, who came in second, and "Old Guard" Conservative David Rotenberg, who was soundly defeated. "Reformers" also won a slim majority of aldermanic seats on the Toronto City Council.

[A major issue in the election was the environment. Establishment politicians who supported unbridled development of highrises and highways with no consideration of environmental needs or the need for mass transit were voted out. Lesser-known capitalist reform candidates were able to win seats by appealing to popular desire for urban development designed to suit people's needs.

[Only a few members of the New Democratic party (Canada's labor party) ran for aldermanic posts, and all ran as individuals with no common program. An article by Jacquie Henderson in *Labor Challenge* explained that because the NDP—the party of the trade-union movement—abstained from running a slate, it left

the field open to the parties of big business. It was in order to present an alternative to the capitalist parties that the LSA and YS fielded a partial slate of six candidates for mayor, aldermen, and board of education.

[Despite a virtual press blackout and lack of resources, LSA-YS mayoral candidate Jacquie Henderson polled 1,557 votes (.8 percent), and others on the LSA ticket received up to 6.7 percent of the vote.

[Communist party member Nelson Clarke ran as an "independent," saying that the Communist party was "opposed to the entry of political parties into the municipal arena." He polled fewer votes than Henderson.]

By Joan Campana

Outside the large Eaton Auditorium a small white leaflet was being circulated. "Jacquie Henderson is the socialist candidate for mayor. Her name will appear on the ballot. But she is not being allowed to speak tonight."

The event was the traditional "Star Forum," hosted by Toronto's largest circulation daily, *The Toronto Star*, on November 22. In a huge ad in their paper, entitled "Meet Your Next Mayor," they elaborated the purpose of the evening:

"Politics is participation. If you want a hand in how your neighbourhood and your city is to be planned and run for the next two years, you will have to get involved with the candidates, particularly those running for mayor."

But there was one problem. The *Star* had decided in advance which candidates the voters could become involved with; only three of the seven candidates for mayor had been invited.

The socialist campaign decided to challenge this blatant discrimination. Their leaflet continued: "The *Star* has decided that only candidates spending over \$50,000 may speak. Only members of the Conservative party (Crombie and Rotenberg) or the Liberal party (O'Donohue) are 'serious.' Jacquie Henderson is campaigning to end big business control of City Hall . . . The *Toronto Star* opposes the socialist program. And now it has excluded Jacquie Henderson from the Forum."

"This is pure discrimination . . . The *Toronto Star* is opposed to democracy in civic politics."

When the three "major" candidates were introduced, someone called out, "Where is Henderson?" But the three proceeded; all supporters of big business, friends of the developers and landlords and members of the two big business parties, they delivered their indistinguishable speeches.

Then a pause came. A mood of anticipation swept the audience of 1,000. Jacquie Henderson had arisen from the audience and mounted the stage. She calmly took over the centre stage microphone and appealed to the audience to let her speak.

"You have heard one speech," she said. "I am here to give the other. I urge you to let me speak."

The chairwoman attempted to stop her, but when the audience responded with calls of "Let her speak" and "Free speech," she was forced to allow Henderson to continue.

Henderson spoke, not merely about "participation" or a "hand" in how the city is run; she spoke about the need for power in City Hall—power for working people, for tenants, students and women. She spoke, not about keeping Toronto the way it is, as the others had, but of changing it from top to bottom, to meet the needs of the vast majority of Torontonians.

"I am here to give real answers to the questions you have," she concluded. And with that, she seated herself at the table with the other three mayoralty candidates. She answered the questions, ranging all the way from how a labor City Hall would fight to repeal the abortion laws to how it would end the corporate stranglehold on the city.

At the end of the meeting Henderson was interviewed by Ryerson campus radio. "The warm response we got tonight," she said, "is typical of what we've been receiving throughout the

campaign."

Henderson alone spoke to more than 35 meetings during the six week campaign. Thirty thousand campaign brochures were distributed, and 4,000 posters were pasted up in the city. The socialist candidates spoke directly to more than 7,000 people in election meetings, and 20 interviews on radio and television stations took their platform to countless others. Henderson spoke on all major Toronto radio and television stations.

The three major daily newspapers were openly hostile, but it was a different story with the student and "underground" media. As an interviewer for York University Radio put it, "In my opinion Jacquie does represent the real alternative in this election." York Radio interviewed Henderson twice; the first time it was a debate between her and David Rotenberg, the candidate most identified with the developers and big business.

Guerrilla, Toronto's underground newspaper, ran a full page spread on Henderson for mayor, and described her at one of the initial campaign meetings as "by far the most knowledgeable and articulate speaker of the evening."

"She declared," they went on, "that it was time to kick the corporate bums out of City Hall and based her campaign on the need to bring rank and file labor into the political arena."

The way this will be done, the socialist candidates emphasized, is by masses of people organizing around their needs, against the 2 percent who presently control the city. "That is how we will successfully fight and stop the cutbacks in education," Heather Thomson, Young Socialist candidate for Board of Education, told a meeting of Women for Political Action on November 19.

This meeting, held for all women candidates in the civic elections, gave a particularly enthusiastic hearing to the three women candidates of the League and the Young Socialists. "They're so strongly for women's rights," said one woman as she left. "They've certainly got my vote."

The best response came at the November 21 rally against the cutbacks in education organized at Queen's Park in Toronto. Five hundred students from Toronto and across southern Ontario heard Henderson and Mack describe a socialist solution to the crisis in education. They outlined how a labor City Hall would tax the corporations and use the money for free education and a living wage for students.

It wasn't the only demonstration the socialist candidates addressed. They spoke as well to the November 18 antiwar rally in Toronto's City Hall square, to a demonstration calling for civil rights in Ireland, and Henderson announced her candidature earlier in November at a rally to repeal the Canadian abortion laws. □

Why the Labor Party won in Australia

By Sol Salby

After 23 years of conservative government rule the Australian Labor party (ALP) ended its period in opposition. The result of the December 2 elections was so overwhelming that even outgoing Prime Minister William McMahon was forced to admit it was a "magnificent victory."

The 3 percent swing to Labor gave it 49.9 percent of the vote, compared to 41.1 percent for the outgoing Liberal-Country party coalition. Labor's majority will be at least 13 in the 125-member parliament.

Of the minority parties the extreme right-wing Democratic Labor party (DLP) suffered a continuing loss, its national vote being reduced to 5.1 percent.

On the other side of the capitalist political spectrum the radical bourgeois party, the Australia party, which campaigned strongly on social issues such as the environment and abortion rights, more than doubled its vote, polling 2.4 percent.

The Labor party swept into power on the basis of its progressive policies, including the withdrawal of Australia's remaining "advisors" from Vietnam, the immediate abolition of conscription, a universal health insurance system, a National Compensation Scheme, aboriginal land rights, free universities, equal pay for women, and recognition of the People's Republic of China.

The first act of new Prime Minister Edward Gough Whitlam was the release of all draft resisters from gaol and the immediate suspension of the draft. Steps were also taken to repeal the reactionary 27.5 percent "entertainment" tax on contraceptives, one of the Liberals' anti-women measures.

A sizable section of big business also supported the ALP this year. This was reflected in the endorsement given to the ALP by the nationwide *Australian*, and by the Melbourne *Age*, which speaks for an influential section of the Australian capitalist class.

Traditionally, big business and the capitalist press have supported the Liberal party.

The reasons for the sudden switch were similar to those on previous occasions when the ALP was elected: the worsening economic and political conditions on an international scale. Many businessmen feel that any improvement in the position of the Australian bourgeoisie vis-a-vis its overseas counterparts will depend on three things: a) the setting back of any working-class upsurge in response to the employers' offensive on the workers' living standards; b) a more dynamic intervention by the state in the economy, including "indicative planning" and "incomes policies"; c) increased trade with the workers states, in particular the Soviet Union and China.

On all three points the ALP appears far more likely than the Liberals to implement those policies designed to help the employers in their current difficulties.

Employers see the tremendous resistance the working class has put up in the past to the penal clauses of the Arbitration system. They witnessed the mass upsurge in defense of gaoled 'Tramways' union official Clarrie O'Shea in May 1969. One of

the results of the strike wave that followed his arrest was a decision by the National Executive of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) to instruct all unions not to pay any fines imposed under the Arbitration Act. That policy has been carried out fairly consistently.

Employers believe that because of the working class's allegiance to the ALP, the Labor leadership will be able to restrain and perhaps even turn back the tide of the working class movement.

Another consideration of the employers is that the Liberal party conservatives belong to the old "free enterprise" school, believing in minimum state intervention in the economy. They still consider "incomes policies" such as those introduced by Heath and Nixon to be "socialistic." Needless to say, these views are rejected by the bulk of Australian capitalists.

The Liberal party conservatism carries through to its foreign policy. They still haven't appreciated the important role trade with the workers states plays in interimperialist competition. Less than 24 hours before Nixon announced his impending visit to Peking, McMahon publicly ridiculed the idea of making any deals with the Chou En-lai regime.

The radicalisation of Australian youth, women, and workers bore its mark both on the election campaign and the results. Issues relating to women's oppression played a prominent part. The Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), a loose group of reformist feminists, confronted all candidates with a questionnaire on women's

rights, including child care, equal pay, and abortion.

More significant than the activities of the WEL were the activities of the reactionary forces opposed to feminism. The DLP emphasised its role as "the party that really puts the family first." The reactionary Right to Life Association viciously attacked Whitlam for his promise to vote for a bill legalising abortion in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). The anti-feminist campaign reached a climax with the candidature in Canberra of Arthur Burns, a longtime member of the ALP, as an anti-abortion Labor candidate against the endorsed ALP candidate, Kep Enderby.

After Enderby's massive election victory even Burns was forced to admit that "If and when Mr. Enderby votes in Parliament for abortion on demand in the ACT and Commonwealth Territories, he will be doing so . . . in accord with the ACT majority."

The huge turn to Labor in Victoria had much to do with the antiwar upsurge and mass mobilisations in May 1970, September 1970, and June 1971. The participation of ALP figures in the Moratorium was a major factor explaining why the Melbourne demonstrations reached the size of over 100,000, while in more populated Sydney, only 25,000 participated. Draft resister Barry Johnston, unable to campaign while being underground, polled extremely well as the endorsed ALP candidate for Hotham.

The Socialist Workers League and Socialist Youth Alliance, sympathising organisations of the Fourth International, mounted a vigorous campaign for the return of the ALP to power and at the same time fought to win Labor to a fighting socialist platform.

The SWL and SYA distributed 45,000 election broadsheets in all the major population centres at ALP rallies and elsewhere. Sales of their newspaper, *Direct Action*, increased considerably during the election period, with 400 copies sold at the final ALP rally in Melbourne. □



The Labor victory in Australia parallels the results of the November 25 New Zealand elections. This photograph appeared on the front page of the New Zealand Otago Daily Times. It shows Labour Party chief and New Zealand's new prime minister, Norman Kirk, passing up a seller of Socialist Action outside a Labour Party campaign meeting prior to the elections.

During the election period, Socialist Action promoted a Socialists for Labour Campaign, urging a vote for Labour but criticizing the Kirk leadership for its conservative positions on many questions. The impact of the Socialists for Labour Campaign was demonstrated by the fact that in his final election speech the day before the elections, Kirk devoted two minutes to an attack on Socialist Action.

The Socialist Action League—the group that initiated the Socialists for Labour Campaign—was the only group on the New Zealand left that seriously attempted to relate to the Labour Party campaign. According to a report from New Zealand in the December 18 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, "Ultraleft student forces and the remnants of the Communist party combined in formations with grand sounding names such as the 'Radical Election Campaign' and the 'Red Federation.' The aim of these forces was to prove to the people that parliament was a 'fraud' and a 'farce.' The means they selected to enlighten the voting public was to disrupt the meetings of the major parties."

In contrast to these tactics, the Socialists for Labour Campaign was able to introduce socialist ideas to wide layers of Labour Party supporters, and the circulation of *Socialist Action* doubled in the course of the campaign.

Interview with Dutch socialist

Political repression and resistance

[The following are major excerpts from an interview with a correspondent for the Dutch socialist weekly *De Groene Amsterdammer*. It appeared in the French revolutionary socialist newspaper *Rouge*.

[Schumacher, the correspondent, is one of the few journalists who has been able to visit the notorious prison island of Buru.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Rouge: Often the only thing that comes to mind when one thinks of Indonesia is military dictatorship. What exactly is the case?

Schumacher: Officially it is not a military government. But the reality is otherwise. The military completely controls the country. In the smallest village, for example, there are soldiers ready to intervene at the least pretext. Any form of protest, even the most limited, is immediately suppressed.

There is no law. Anyone suspected of having communist sympathies, or of being connected in any way with the events of 1965, is arrested. There is no recourse against such arbitrary acts.

Rouge: How many political prisoners are there and what are their living conditions?

Schumacher: There is some confusion about the number of prisoners. The most "optimistic" estimate would put them at 50,000. But some estimates speak of 100,000. Numbers of political prisoners are held throughout the country, but the main prison camp is on the small island of Buru in the Molucca Islands some 3,000 kilometers from Java. Some 10,000 prisoners who have never been tried and never will be tried are wasting away there. The government says that there is not sufficient evidence to prove they participated in the 1965 events but that they are dangerous to society anyway because of their membership in organizations banned since then or because of their sympathies with the PKI [Partai Komunis Indonesia — Indonesian Communist party].

Most other political prisoners are in the same position. But there is a small category of prisoners consisting of a few thousand who are supposed to be tried. After seven years, fewer than 200 of them have come to trial. And these trials are nothing but propaganda devices aimed at discrediting the communists and presenting them as people dangerous to society and to the population.

I spent a day and a half on the island of Buru, taken there officially by the military authorities. So I was able to see only what they wanted to show me. But despite these restrictions, what I was able to see on the condition of the prisoners made a big impression on me. The prisoners are not dying of hunger, but the conditions of their existence are frightful. They are especially in need of medicine,

sion in Indonesia

since the island is extremely unhealthy. Also, it must not be forgotten that most of them are condemned to stay there for the rest of their lives.

Rouge: The military dictatorship corresponds to the interests of imperialism in that area of the world . . .



Police stand guard over suspected members of Communist youth group during the massive repression and massacres carried out by Indonesian government in 1965.

Schumacher: It is more and more evident that Indonesia is dependent, in a neocolonial sense, on the economies of the Western countries and especially on the Japanese economy. Hundreds of millions of dollars are invested in Indonesia each year by the imperialist powers.

It is clear that one of the basic conditions demanded by imperialism for such investments is political stability; thus the military regime's policy of systematic repression is aimed at preventing the development of all social struggle. The massive investments of the Western countries have brought about a certain economic progress; industrial production is being developed. But only a tiny layer of the population profits from this progress: the clique of generals and technocrats who hold power. The vast majority of the population remains outside this development. The price of rice—which is the basic food of most of the population—has risen by 100 percent this year. The general rise in prices, added to the growing social inequalities, has produced a very tense situation. Chances of an explosion have considerably increased and repression can only be on the rise in the period ahead.

Rouge: What forms has the social unrest taken?

Schumacher: I don't know of any powerfully organized opposition. Whatever opposition exists is on a very small scale.

The parliamentary opposition is almost nonexistent. The parliament has no real power, and at the time of last year's elections the fraud was so great that the governmental party (the

Golkar) won almost all the seats.

The students were essentially on the side of the new regime in 1965-66. They played an important role in the overthrow of Sukarno. Most of them have, however, become disappointed. They hoped to see the corruption disappear, but it has become even greater. There have been some student demonstrations these past years against corruption and more recently against the lucrative tourist-attracting schemes of Mrs. Suharto, who has been nicknamed "Mrs. 10 percent" because of this. But they were harshly suppressed. Today many students are in prison; others were given a choice between prison or a scholarship to study in another country. Thus the student opposition has been silenced temporarily.

The PKI and other currents on the left still carry out clandestine activity, but limited and scattered. For example in the central region of the island of Java, traditional stronghold of the

Communists, there are cells of oppositionists here and there organized in a very decentralized manner. These activists see their work as a preparatory stage of the struggle.

On the other hand, in another region of the country, the West of Kalimantan (Borneo), near Pontianak, the situation is considerably different. Seventy-five percent of the population there is of Chinese origin and most of these Chinese are peasants, which is rather unusual since in other areas they are generally merchants (80 percent of the commerce of Indonesia is in the hands of the Chinese minority, which comprises 3 percent of the population).

These people were very politicized in the Sukarno period when he developed his policy of confrontation with neighboring Malaysia. This left its mark. Recently guerrillas have been organized based on the region's Chinese community.

Rouge: What can we do in solidarity?

Schumacher: We must arouse the interest of the population, especially in Europe. Today there is scarcely any perception of what is happening in Indonesia except in Holland, for historical reasons. Perhaps this is because of the war in Indochina.

We must break this wall of silence and circulate information. In all countries we must create committees against the repression in Indonesia.

The decisive struggle will take place in Indonesia itself, but the knowledge of an organized international solidarity effort will give the Indonesian militants confidence and energy to continue their struggle. □

World news notes

Support for Argentine prisoners

The following report is taken from the December 1 issue of the New Zealand biweekly *Socialist Action*:

"The Mayor of Christchurch, six Labour MPs, the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, the Presidents of the Wellington and Canterbury Trades Councils and National Executive members of the Federation of Labour and Labour Party, were among the signatories to a petition presented to the Argentine Consul-General in Wellington November 27. The petition protested the imprisonment and murder of political dissidents and the general denial of human rights in Argentina.

"The petition was circulated in New Zealand in answer to a call by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners for international protests following the murder by the Argentine military of sixteen political prisoners who had been recaptured after an escape attempt at Trelew airport last August.

"Dozens of trade union officials, clergymen, academics and student leaders put their names to the petition, which was presented to the Argentine Consul-General by David Cuthbert, president of the New Zealand University Students Association, and Terry Marshall, a leading antiwar activist. A picket line was maintained outside the building housing the consulate while the petition was presented, and leaflets were distributed to after-work crowds passing by. The protest received national radio and press coverage."

CP, SP gain in Japan elections

The December 10 national election in Japan resulted in unexpectedly large gains for both the Socialist and Communist parties, reflecting the deepening radicalization in that country. Although Premier Kakuei Tanaka's Liberal-Democratic party was returned to power, it dropped from 297 to 282 seats in the 491-seat House of Representatives.

The Socialist party increased its representation from 87 to 118 seats, and the Communist party went from 14 to 38 seats, the highest number it has ever won. A major issue raised by both Socialists and Communists was opposition to a proposal pending in parliament to double Japan's military spending over the next five years.

Peking military aid to Japan?

The lack of proletarian internationalism on the part of the Moscow and Peking bureaucratic regimes has been tragically apparent in their refusal to form a united-front defense of Vietnam against U. S. aggression. If a report in the December 14 *New York Times* is true, the narrow nationalistic conflict between the Peking and Moscow regimes has reached a new level of betrayal of the traditions of Marxism.

Times correspondent William Beecher cites "well-placed Japanese and American officials," "both diplomatic and military," as affirming that "Premier Chou En-lai has informed Japanese officials that he could conceive of circumstances in which his nation would come to Japan's aid militarily if Japan were attacked by the Soviet Union." Chou En-lai is said to have told this to Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka when Tanaka visited Peking in September.

According to Beecher's sources, Chou also told Tanaka that the Chinese regime would not object to Japan's plans to double its military expenditures in the next five years, saying that a "reasonable growth" of Japan's military strength could act as a counterforce to Soviet "aggressive designs" in Asia.

Japan, as an imperialist country, will only use its military might against the Japanese working people, as well as to aid the United States in attempting to crush popular uprisings throughout Asia. In fact, the same article by Beecher notes that Washington "has long been urging Tokyo to do more in bolstering its military capability."

And yet, Beecher says, the United States "has been urged by the Chinese to go slow in any plans to remove forces from the Far East after a Vietnam cease-fire," and has been "cautioned . . . about rushing headlong into troop withdrawals in Central Europe in forthcoming negotiations with the Soviet bloc on mutual reduction of forces."

A four-paragraph Reuters dispatch from Tokyo reported December 14 that a spokesman for the Japanese government had denied the *Times* article's assertion that Chou had offered military aid to Japan if it were attacked by the USSR.

Kremlin intensifies repression

Pyotr Yakir reported to have recanted

By Marilyn Vogt

"If I commit suicide, that means they have murdered me, and if I confess, that means they tortured me." This was the statement of Pyotr Yakir, prominent Soviet dissident Communist and civil rights leader, prior to his arrest June 21, 1972. He was arrested under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, which deals with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 3, p. 762.)

Separate dispatches by Moscow correspondents for the *London Observer*, *London Daily Telegraph*, *Washington Post*, and Agence France-Presse reported during the first week of December that Yakir, who has undergone almost constant interrogation for the past five months in the notorious Lefortovo prison, had allegedly recanted. They state that Yakir has renounced his activities against the Soviet bureaucracy's suppression of democratic rights and has called for the dissolution of the democratic opposition movement.

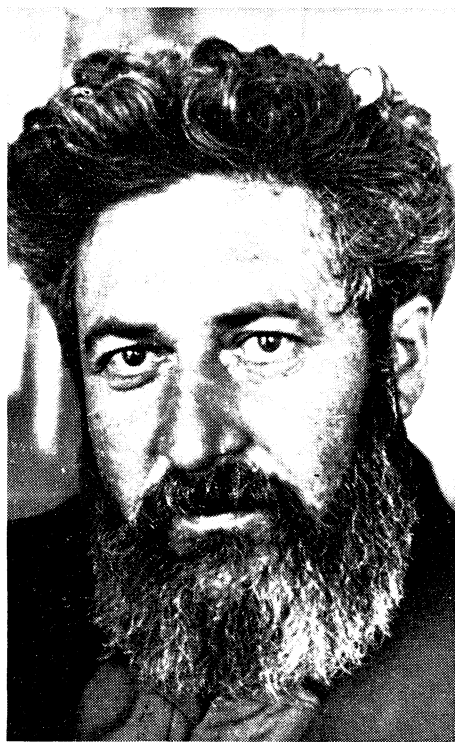
The reports generally state that Yakir's daughter (Irina, also an activist in the democratic opposition movement) has visited him in prison and reported to his family that he stated he had been wrong in his activities and now calls for the disbanding of the civil rights movement.

Robert Kaiser's report from Moscow in the December 6 *Washington Post* stated that "Yakir . . . is cooperating with Soviet authorities and providing information about former colleagues according to reports circulating in reliable circles here." The same report indicated that twenty-five people had been brought in for questioning by the KGB but that no arrests had yet been made. Some of those questioned reportedly held official or academic positions and, although they were acquainted with Yakir, had not seen him for "a long time." Some had "personal, officially supervised confrontations" with Yakir in which he is reported to have said that it was best to admit what went on in the past and that he now saw the error of his ways. "Yakir reportedly said he realized he had gone too far in his dissident activities by establishing connections with emigre groups in the West," Kaiser wrote.

Dev Murarka, reporting in the December 3 *London Observer*, told of

rumors that Yakir, as a Marxist, has taken the position that he "cannot condone the non-Marxist aspects of the movement. Therefore, he has confessed his own guilt and that of others."

A release from Agence France-Presse in the December 4 *Le Devoir* of Montreal stated that Yakir confessed to be-



Pyotr Yakir

ing an editor of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, a samizdat journal that has appeared bimonthly since 1968, reporting on the activities of the democratic opposition movement and the Kremlin's efforts to suppress it. An attempt by the Soviet bureaucrats to link Yakir with the *Chronicle* would not be surprising. The KGB has engaged in a year-long campaign of arrests, searches, and interrogations in an attempt to crush the *Chronicle*. But the underground journal has so far eluded repression and has continued to appear. Yakir allegedly named other "editors," whose arrest is said to be imminent.

The reports state that the Kremlin authorities are planning to use Yakir as the star witness in a "show trial" to implicate a large number of dissidents in "anti-Soviet" activities.

Pyotr Yakir is the son of Iona Yakir, a Soviet army general who was executed by Stalin in 1937. After his

father's execution, Pyotr (then fourteen years old) and his mother were interned in a concentration camp, where she died and where he remained confined for seventeen years.

He was released from the camp following the rehabilitation of his father during the de-Stalinization period in the late 1950s. In his "secret speech" to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party, Khrushchev referred to Pyotr Yakir as one of the innocent victims of Stalin's repression.

Yakir was instrumental in the formation in May 1969 of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. As a member of that group and as an individual, he signed numerous statements protesting against the trials and convictions of opposition activists and against what he saw as a growing revival of Stalin's methods of police terror.

In a letter to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist party Yakir wrote, "For the last few years a dangerous tendency toward the rebirth of Stalinist methods of government has become apparent, and there is a tendency toward the rehabilitation of Stalin himself—one of the greatest criminals of the 20th century. . . ."

Yakir, with oppositionists Vladimir Bukovsky and Andrei Amalrik, gave a filmed interview in July 1970 to television correspondent William Cole of CBS [Columbia Broadcasting System, a major U. S. network]. In it, they discussed the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. Both Bukovsky and Amalrik are presently serving prison sentences after being convicted on charges of "anti-Soviet activity." The television interview was part of the evidence used to convict Bukovsky.

Until his arrest in June, Yakir was one of the few members of the Initiative Group who had not been jailed in a psychiatric hospital-prison. The KGB had obviously been reluctant to arrest him previously for fear that a legal case involving Yakir would revive too many memories of the 1936-1938 purges. However, his flat had been searched repeatedly and the authorities had warned him to terminate his activities, which he refused to do.

The rumors that this militant fighter has recanted, although they have been widely publicized in the Western press,

have not been verified in any statement by a member of the opposition movement. Nor has the Stalinist press published any statement of recantation by Yakir. The information is said to come from "reliable circles" or to be "circulating" in Moscow "among dissident groups." The entire episode thus could be a KGB fabrication designed to demoralize and intimidate the democratic opposition.

But even if the rumors are not true, the fact that they are being circulated indicates that Brezhnev and company are stepping up their campaign to crush the opposition movement—a campaign that has already reached intense proportions this year with the arrest of hundreds of activists and the sentencing of many to harsh terms of confinement.

The reports of Yakir's alleged "confession" also point toward a revival by the Kremlin bureaucrats of practices utilized by Stalin during the 1936-1938 Moscow trials, when well-known Communists and revolutionary heroes were first physically and psychologically broken under interrogation and then paraded forth as witnesses in show trials where they "confessed" that they had betrayed the revolution—the repentant witnesses subsequently being used to establish fraudulent links between the anti-Stalinist opposition and imperialist agencies. □



- FOR GRYNSPAN: Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels.
- Interview with the Copenhagen Social-Demokraten, 1932.
- Letter to the Communist League of China (section of the International Left Opposition).
- How the Workers in Austria Should Fight Hitler.
- Polish Fascism and the Mistakes of the Communist party.

These are just a few of the articles and letters by Leon Trotsky that *Intercontinental Press* has published. Most were translated from the original Russian and appeared in the pages of *Intercontinental Press* for the first time in English.

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Dominican teachers end strike

A strike that virtually paralyzed the public educational system in the Dominican Republic ended December 9, twenty-five days after it began.

The strike, according to a United Press International dispatch in the De-

cember 10 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, "lost all its strength the day before yesterday when hundreds of teachers returned to their classrooms in anticipation of a harsh move on the part of President Joaquín Balaguer." Balaguer had threatened to close the schools indefinitely, suspend the teachers, and place responsibility for maintaining public order in the hands of the armed forces if the strike continued.

While they voted to call off the strike, UPI reported, "the strikers also decided to 'condemn' the speech in which Balaguer threatened on Tuesday [December 5] to use forceful measures to deal with the educational crisis and in which he also characterized the ma-

jority of the teachers as 'incompetent' and pedagogically 'illiterate' persons as far as exercising their profession was concerned."

The teachers' demands included a salary increase, a wage scale guaranteed by law, allocation of 30 percent of public expenditures to education to help correct, among other things, the shortage of classrooms, and the convening of the National Education Council (in which the teachers have voice and vote), which would seek solutions to the crisis in education. The government appears to have responded favorably only to the demand on a wage scale, asserting that it planned to make the wage scale official in 1973. □

Ireland: protests fail to stop anti-IRA bill; a massive anti-repression fight needed

From Intercontinental Press
By GERRY FOLEY

"Irish trade unionists are anxious that their country should not be listed with South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories at the top of the repressive legislation league," the Irish Transport and General Workers Union said November 28 in a statement criticizing the Dublin government's new bill against the Irish Republican Army.

The Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union denounced the bill also, referring to the statements of protest it was receiving from its various branches:

"The resolutions see in this Bill, should it become law, a threat to all trade unions, tenants' associations and minority political groups, and demand that the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the Labour Party resist this legislation by calling a general strike."

On November 29 most of the newspapers in Dublin did not publish. The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) declared a one-day strike in protest against the Lynch government's actions intended to terrorize the press (which included firing the board of the state broadcasting network, RTE). On November 28, some 300 journalists marched through Dublin to make a public demonstration of their protest. The NUJ statement said:

"We understand and accept the responsibility which rests upon us to report the increasing unemployment, weekly rise in redundancies and factory closures and continuing increase in the cost of living affecting particularly the poorer members of the community. We believe that we must draw attention to those issues in the national interest, that is, in the interests of all the people of this country."

"Reluctantly, therefore, we have stopped work and come to Dail Eireann [the Irish parliament] to tell the Government and Opposition Deputies that we fear intolerable restriction on freedom of expression in the Bill which has been circulated and which is to come before the Dail tomorrow. We fear further imprisonment for our members if they, like Mr. O'Kelly, refuse to abrogate their words as journalists and to become part of public prosecutions."

On the same day, 5,000 people demonstrated at the Dail against the bill.

Inside the Dail, deputies opposed the bill from a wide range of positions. Neil Blaney, a former minister purged from Lynch's cabinet because of an alleged attempt to import arms for the Northern Catholic minority in May 1970, argued against the government's legislation in these terms, as summarized in the December 2 *Irish Times*:

"He said that it was a fact that the I.R.A. was defending the minority in the North. The proposals of the Bill could only have one connotation for the oppressed minority there—to take away the only vestige of defense which the minority had against the marauding hardliners in Belfast. The I.R.A. had made it quite clear that they had no intention of engaging in a campaign of violence south of the Border—'They have been telling us that ...'"

Nonetheless, except for Blaney, two other independents, Seán Sherwin of Aontacht Eireann [the United Ireland party], and two maverick members of the major bourgeois opposition party Fine Gael, the entire body of the parliament accepted the legislation.

The government party voted down the line for it. The opposition party abstained.

Lynch's victory over the broad bloc opposing the bill was anticipated by the *Economist*, one of the most authoritative voices of British big business. Its Dublin correspondent wrote in the December 2 issue of the weekly magazine:

"Despite the public demonstrations of sympathy with Mr MacStiofain, there are no signs of the massive re-

government with the same tactics.

"Now they recall the part played by the northern civil-rights movement prior to the IRA's own involvement, in bathing the North in an international spotlight, forcing London to focus its attention on the North and provide the IRA with an opportunity to capitalize on Catholic resentment."

Before the last crisis, moreover, the Irish commentators saw a shift occurring in the policy of the Provisional republican movement. In the *Irish*

was obviously a test case aimed at establishing a precedent for interning nationalist fighters in the South. Anything that could be done to block or discredit this legal attack by winning the support of sections of the population that have not yet developed a clear national consciousness, or of sections that for various reasons may have divided loyalties, was in the best interests of the Irish nation and the exploited and deprived people of Ireland.

Likewise, participating in elections can be an opportunity for reaching out to sections of the population that still have illusions about the Southern government as well as for offering the people a chance to use what remains of the democratic rights they won in 1916-1921 to protest against the corrupt proimperialist Free State parties. Electoral activity, in a way, is very much like legal defense in court cases, in which persecuted revolutionists have to take advantage of the contradictions in the ruling class's hypocritical legal codes to expose the system and thereby hamper the ability of the dominant minority to carry out repression.

The Provisional leadership has seen from the whole development since April that the Dublin government's ability to repress them depends on its winning either active or passive support for such measures in the general population. Lynch did not launch an all-out attack while the struggle of the Northern nationalists still had a clear mass focus and international support. Furthermore, this onslaught came just after publication of the British government's "green paper," which gave Lynch a chance to hold up the prospect of peaceful reunification of the country over the long run.

The Lynch government needed the December 2 bombings to ram its unpopular repressive legislation through parliament.

The bombings seemed expressly de-



Unemployed march inside the walls of Derry City in Northern Ireland after the occupation by British troops in 1970. Mass actions are needed that can involve broad sectors of the population of the Republic of Ireland in the fight against that government's repression.

action expected by the IRA and Sinn Fein organisations."

The *Christian Science Monitor's* Dublin correspondent Jonathan Harsch claimed also in the December 1 issue of the Boston daily that the protests had been a relative failure:

"Clearly the IRA leadership has been dismayed by the poor response to its calls for massive protest demonstrations North and South. In IRA eyes there were ample excuses for such protests. There was an opportunity to protest the Dublin government's firing of the Irish radio and TV board of directors and the sweeping new 'offenses against the state' legislation. Protesters could, and some did, join with openly IRA groups demanding the release of IRA chief Sean MacStiofain."

"But despite this opportunity to show sympathy with the IRA indirectly, relatively small numbers joined in the protests. And in those which were held, protesters were often outnumbered by police and troops in riot gear."

Harsch drew this conclusion: "The message was clear. The IRA's strength lies in its ability to mount limited guerrilla attacks. It has not found the key to mobilizing large numbers of people."

In response to this situation, the *Monitor* correspondent wrote, the Provisional republicans were rethinking their strategy:

"As a rapid reassessment takes place within the IRA leadership, voices not heard since 1969 are reemerging."

"IRA 'provos' had credited their guerrilla campaign with the overthrow of the North's provincial government at Stormont, Belfast. They came to believe they could topple the Dublin

Times of October 31, Dick Grogan wrote that the Provisional Sinn Fein seemed to be orienting toward participating in elections in the formally independent part of the country, at least at the local level. Even leaders most identified publicly with the military campaign in the North seemed to be turning in this direction:

"Mr. Mac Stiofain's statement [to an October 29 Sinn Fein meeting (*ard-fheis*)], it was said, stressed the need for increasing emphasis on political work, to parallel the military campaign, and the whole tenor of the *ard-fheis* seemed to hold some indication that this was the way the tide is turning in the Provisional Republican Movement—as in the Official Movement before them."

Furthermore, although Mac Stiofain conducted himself after his arrest in accordance with the highest traditional ideals of the IRA, he also departed from past practice in one important respect—he defended himself before his persecutors. This caused a reaction among some members.

"Mr. MacStiofain's decision to defend himself before the three-judge Dublin panel, breaking with tradition, has been greeted with derision among younger men," Bernard Weinraub cabled to the *New York Times* November 29 from Belfast.

Regardless of the feelings of Provisional fighters who may have suffered jail terms as a result of refusing to recognize the courts of either the Irish states established by the capitulationist treaty of 1921, it seems clear that Mac Stiofain's decision was a wise one.

The Lynch government's prosecution of the reputed Provisional leader



Sean MacStiofain

signed to convince the Southern population that they were facing a campaign of apparently uncontrolled violence such as the people of Northern Ireland have experienced this year in particular. The fear of such seemingly useless carnage spreading to the South could be depended upon to stampede the majority of the Southern Irish people who are not yet convinced of the possibility or even the desirability of a national revolution, into accepting repression.

The problem was that despite the support they won by their bravery and daring, the Provisionals did not seem to have a program for organizing the masses of the Irish people. Their political platform called for regional decentralization and democ-

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Prices and profits up

1972: good year for the bosses

By FRANK LOVELL

As the year 1972 closes the U. S. employing class appears to be riding high and headed for greater heights. Most of their economic indicators are pointing up.

● **Profits.** Dearest to their hearts. Corporate profits for the year (before taxes) will probably exceed \$90-billion and may go over \$100-billion, the highest in history. After-tax profits are expected to be around \$50-billion. They never had it so good. Third-quarter profits this year went up almost 16 percent from the record-breaking profits of a year ago.

percent. This reduction in labor costs, combined with price increases, spells superprofits.

● **Stock market.** This reflects the state of the economy and measures the confidence of the capitalists in their system to produce greater profits. The Dow Jones index, a standard daily recording of major industrial stock movements, broke the 1,000 mark this year for the first time. With some ups and downs (for profit taking) Dow Jones averages continue to rise.

All this fortifies the ruling-class sense of well-being and smugness.

Workers, however, have no reason

The paycheck may be slightly larger now, but because of rising prices it buys less.

If some workers feel left out in this bountiful capitalist economy, it is only natural for them to think that with the abundance of goods and all the money there must be some way to raise the standard of living and improve the quality of life for the working class. That is not what the employers and their government in Washington promise.

Next year union contracts covering about five million workers will expire. They are in key industries: rubber (April), electrical manufacturing—GE and Westinghouse (May and June), over-the-road trucking (June), railroad (July), postal service (July), and auto (September).

Wages in these industries average about \$4.50 to \$4.80 an hour. Wages of workers whose contracts do not expire in 1973 will increase an average of 5.4 percent under the terms of these contracts. The "inflation fighters" have also declared their intention to hold new wage agreements to the 5.4 percent figure.

Every industry expects to get more production in 1973. Old plants are being phased out, some new ones built. The new plants run faster, hire fewer workers, produce more.

Without exception, each industry expects to raise prices to more than offset any wage increase.

In other areas, the federal government has indicated that the 1973 budget will trim funds for welfare payments, public works programs, schools, mass transportation systems, public housing, and environmental control projects.

The conditions of life in this affluent society will not improve in 1973. The standard of living of the working class will continue to decline. There are 80 million workers who won't like that, who think they are entitled to something better.

I neglected to mention some clouds on the economic horizon—the unresolved world monetary crisis, the unfavorable balance of U. S. import-export trade, and foreign competition. These give the U. S. ruling class bad dreams.

May they rest in peace. Melvin Laird gave assurances before departing his post as defense secretary that annual military expenditures will not drop below \$80-billion.



Long lines of jobless seek unemployment benefits. There are still five million officially out of work and millions more living below the poverty level.

● **Gross National Product.** This is measured by total prices of all services and commodities and supposedly shows the rate of economic growth. The picture is distorted by the rate of inflation and devaluation of the currency. GNP exceeds \$1-trillion, continues to climb.

● **Prices.** The employing class worries about inflation, but welcomes price hikes. The steel industry is raising prices. Auto prices advance. Long-distance telephone rates can be raised by \$145-million a year. Interest charges on home loans have been quietly advanced to 7.5 percent by the banks. Rents are climbing steadily. All this is dutifully approved by the appropriate government agencies.

Prices went up "only" about 3.2 percent for the first 7 months of this year, but the Consumer Price Index for November showed a jump of 0.6 percent for an annual rate of 7.2 percent. This is even higher than the rate of inflation in August 1971, when the government wage-freeze edict came down. We are now told that inflation has been checked, but prices continue to rise.

● **Productivity.** This is the real thing, output per hour of labor, the key to competitive advantage and greater profits. An increase in the rate of productivity means more products in less time by fewer workers. This is what every capitalist looks for. In the past 12 months the productivity increase for the economy as a whole was 4.5 percent, and in manufacturing it was 5.4 percent—both far ahead of the normally hoped-for long-range rise of about 3 percent.

In the third quarter of this year productivity in manufacturing advanced at a 5.7 percent annual rate, moving considerably ahead of wage increases for the same three months. The result was a reduction in unit-labor costs in manufacturing of 0.6

to feel the same way. Five million are still officially unemployed. And if those "discouraged" and unregistered job seekers plus the part-time workers earning less than \$50 weekly are included as "jobless," the actual number of unemployed is about 15 million. Welfare recipients are another 15 million. The number of people—men, women, and children—living in abject poverty in this country exceeds 50 million, a quarter of the population.

Full-time workers are not rich either. A recent report of the U. S. Department of Labor reveals that in 1970 average yearly earnings of union members were \$8,609 (about \$165 a week before taxes); unorganized full-time workers averaged \$7,452 yearly.



Militant/Tom Vernier

Actions across Italy hit Valpreda frame-up

Demonstrations marked by police violence took place in numerous Italian cities on Dec. 12. The demonstrators, mainly students, were protesting government violations of civil rights.

The occasion for the nationwide protest actions was the third anniversary of a bombing incident authorities used to frame up Pietro Valpreda, a 40-year-old ballet dancer and anarchist.

According to the December 13 *New York Times*, demonstrators built barricades in Rome but were dispersed by huge police forces with tear gas. At least 20 persons were injured. In Naples an outdoor protest meeting by left parties and unions was disrupted by a bomb. Protests in Milan led to several battles between police and students.

Popular protests against the frame-up of Valpreda have become so strong that the government has moved his trial—scheduled to begin next spring—to Catanzaro, a small city in the south of Italy. The authorities fear "disorders" would break out if it were held in Milan.

Valpreda is accused of responsibility for the bombing of a Milan bank on Dec. 12, 1969. More than a dozen persons were killed by the bomb, and many more were wounded. Valpreda and 11 other anarchists were arrested for the deed. Many in the Italian labor movement believed, however, that the bombing had been carried out as a provocation by neofascists. Valpreda has been held in jail awaiting trial ever since.

Under pressure from a popular campaign in defense of Valpreda, some police investigators began an inquiry into the case and turned up conclusive evidence that two neofascists had purchased the timing mechanisms attached to the Milan bombs. Last August these two ultrarightists were formally charged with the bombing, but Valpreda was still not released.



Pietro Valpreda

Further investigations exposed the fact that high officials in the Milan police department and Italy's Interior Ministry had concealed evidence against the neofascists. In addition, Antonio Allegra, head of the political office of the Milan police, was involved in an inquiry into the death of another anarchist, Giuseppe Pinelli. Pinelli reportedly "fell" or "jumped" from a window in the Milan police headquarters while being questioned about the bombing. Later the police officer in charge of that investigation was mysteriously assassinated.

Popular outrage over the Valpreda case has even forced the Italian parliament to pass a special law permitting the judicial authorities in Catanzaro to release the defendant on bail.

Rumors of broader accord denied

Cuba, U.S., seek agreement on hijacking

By CAROLINE LUND

Negotiations on the question of hijackings began Nov. 25 between the U.S. and Cuban governments. The talks are taking place through the intermediary of the Swiss embassy in Cuba, since the U.S. has refused diplomatic relations with Cuba since 1961.

A major development in the negotiations was announced Dec. 5, when the State Department acceded to Cuban demands that the accord should apply to hijacked ships as well as planes. In the past, the U.S. government has taken no steps against Cubans who have hijacked Cuban ships to take them illegally to the U.S. Instead such hijackers—many of them counterrevolutionaries—have been promptly released and granted refugee status.

The U.S. also reportedly agreed to take a tougher stance against Cuban counterrevolutionaries who use Florida as a base for armed raids against Cuba. It remains to be seen, however, whether this agreement, if signed, will mean anything in practice. The U.S. claims that its neutrality laws have always banned such raids, and yet the U.S. government and CIA have given moral and material support to counterrevolutionary raids in the past—going so far as to organize the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

The main outlines of the draft agreement proposed by Cuba in the current negotiations are the same as those proposed by Cuba in 1969, the last time U.S.-Cuban contacts were made over the hijacking question. At that time the U.S. had insisted that the accord only cover aircraft and not ships.

The hijackings have increased since 1968, with 79 planes taken to Havana since that year. The specific incidents leading to the current negotiations were two hijackings in a period of less than two weeks. On Oct. 28 an Eastern Airlines Boeing 727 was hijacked to Havana, followed by the Nov. 10-11 hijacking of a South-

ern Airways DC-9, which the hijackers threatened to crash into a major U.S. atomic energy plant. On Nov. 15 the Cuban and U.S. governments announced their decision to open the talks.

On Nov. 14 the Cuban government issued a declaration detailing its position on the hijacking question. The declaration, published in the Dec. 1 issue of *Direct From Cuba*, a press service of Prensa Latina, states that "U.S. imperialism invented and encouraged the hijacking of airborne aircraft during the first years of the [Cuban] Revolution when it first put into practice its plans to subvert and attack our country. . . ."

It points out that at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the U.S. government recruited people for the attack and "offered 100,000 dollars to any pilot of the Cuban Air Force who brought a MIG plane to the United States."

Noting that "no technical solution, no legal or political recourse, has been found to efficiently solve the problem," it asserts that:

"No international agreement has been able to go into force, or will be able to, among other things, because the world today is living in a general climate of illegality, terror, and violence which constitutes the official policy of the United States in many parts of the world, Southeast Asia among them."

In this context, the declaration states, "the problem could not be solved by Cuba alone, in a unilateral way, without reciprocal action by the United States in relation to similar acts that have affected our country." It goes on to propose a bilateral agreement similar to that proposed by Cuba in 1969.

On Nov. 20 the State Department announced it had been informed by Cuban officials that the three hijackers of the Southern Airways plane would be put on trial in Cuba on charges of felonious acts both in Cuban airspace and on Cuban soil.



Havana, 1970. Demonstration against hijacking of Cuban ship by counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, 'gusanos' (worms). Poster reads: 'The children of the people are not exchangeable for worms.'

The Cuban government's declaration notes that hijackers are "motivated by many different reasons, ranging from political motives to the committing of common crimes and to mental illness." There has been no report that Cuba would take special measures in relation to radical hijackers.

In the Nov. 19 *New York Times* James Reston cites Swiss diplomats as saying Cuba is suspicious that some hijacking operations "may be used by the United States as a means to spy on what's going on in Cuba."

According to Reston's sources, the Cuban government is keeping any ran-

som money brought into their country by hijackers in order to get back some of the \$60- to \$70-million in Cuban assets Washington impounded when it broke diplomatic relations with Cuba.

In another development, the State Department said Nov. 30 that the airlift of refugees from Cuba to the U.S. "will be resumed in the near future." The airlift was suspended May 12 when Cuba stated that there were no more people ready to leave. "Asked whether this Cuban move had broader significance for Cuban-American relations, a [State Department] spokesman

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Answer to Asian Population Conference

Problem is imperialism, not overpopulation

By M.P. SAHAND

On Nov. 10 the *Christian Science Monitor* published an article entitled "Asia's booming population studied by UN conference."

According to this article, the Second Asian Population Conference determined that:

1) Iran, together with 21 other Asian countries, is faced with the "most critical problem—mushrooming population . . ."; and

2) in this country, "maldistribution of the population, coupled with dwindling water resources, has created a crisis. . . ."

It is utterly absurd to propose that maldistribution of the population "has created" a crisis in Iran. In the twentieth century—the Age of Imperialism—maldistribution of population as well as maldistribution of most other social entities are not causes to create crises but are direct or indirect effects.

What are then the causes of such effects?

In Iran, the crises being created in general and the maldistribution of the population—that is, the concentration of the armies of jobless proletarians

in the urban and rural labor markets—are direct effects of the maldistribution of the wealth of the nation among a handful of the comprador ruling class.

I also challenge the statement by the executive director of the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) that "the population problem in Asia is 'of utmost concern.'" Indeed, the real question "of utmost concern," is, as it ought to be, the "problem" of the "population": the economical and political domination of the imperialists through their colonial and neocolonial policies.

It is merely an attempt to stultify world opinion to pretend that such a "crisis" as mentioned earlier could be solved by a \$1.6-million UN fund for "family planning, research, communications, improved census-taking, and three maternity hospitals" for a nation of 30 million.

On Oct. 8 George Ball, an American diplomat and former assistant to the secretary of state, in a ceremonial speech given in the Plaza Hotel of New York, said that Iran's income from oil alone will reach \$10-billion by the end of this decade.

In November 1964, *Minority of One* published an article written by the late

Bertrand Russell explaining how the Iranian oil income and other natural resources are spent. Russell's views were that the "revenue from oil is entirely absorbed by the military elite. They swallow, as well, the taxes taken, the profits from the proceeds of land sold to the peasants, allocations for various fake projects of development, and bribes for protection and favor. *Newsweek* gave an interesting account of this process in its issue of 16 April 1962. Not surprisingly, eighty-five percent of the population exists on an average annual income of \$70."

Rafael Salas, the executive director of the UNFPA and a former Philippine cabinet minister, has maintained that "approaches to the population question are still in their early stages and that the Asian meeting—the first in nine years—'will be valuable if only to deepen our insights into it.'" In this respect, I believe Russell's views of the problems of the Iranian masses are immensely valuable contributions—if only to "deepen the insights" of the members of the Conference.

But what do all these have to do with the imperialists?

Crocker Snow Jr., *Boston Globe* as-

sistant managing editor, visited Iran during the "2500th Anniversary of the Persian Empire"—a multimillion-dollar banquet. Snow recorded his reminiscences in the *Globe* of Sept. 26, 1971.

Among other things, he recalled that in 1962 "President Kennedy's puckish personal aide Dave Powers was asked for his impression of the Shah after a White House meeting. Said Powers simply: 'Well, he's my kind of Shah.'"

If there remains any doubt about the "kind of Shah" that Powers and the class he served enjoy, Marilyn Berger has surely clarified this in the April 17, 1972, *Chicago Sun-Times*: "In the words of one former U.S. official, the best way today to assure continued supplies of oil would be to 'try to preserve good relations with the oil states, watch the situation and back the right horse.'"

As such, I agree with the executive director of the UNFPA that there is "no prospect of reaching concrete solutions during the UN-sponsored conference." But, I would add, neither in the second nor in the nth conference as long as the UN Asian Population Conference tries to stand up on a wrong foot.

Mass transit financing is boon for capitalists, fraud on public

By DICK ROBERTS

The strike against the Long Island Rail Road raises a question that often comes up in labor disputes involving municipal workers. This is the so-called loss involved in operating city services. Whether it is commuter trains or hospitals, every city service always seems to be run at a loss to begin with. And if the city workers win a raise in their pay, this will add to the loss, and the price of the service will have to be hiked.

Thus the Long Island Rail Road, according to New York State Controller Arthur Levitt, has had an operating loss of nearly \$140-million between 1967 and 1971, an average of \$28-million a year. Furthermore,

the biggest financial institutions—banks, insurance companies, holding companies, etc.

Suppose the Long Island Rail Road (which is a subdivision of the New York Metropolitan Transportation Authority) issues bonds for \$10-million. Further suppose they are purchased by the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank for its trust funds. There is no way of knowing the bonds actually held by bank trust funds because there are no laws forcing banks to reveal these figures.

Now, in our hypothetical case, the LIRR has raised \$10-million to help cover the so-called loss. But what about the bonds in the Chase Manhattan Bank trust funds? *These are*

following letter to the *New York Times*: "It would be of great value to New Yorkers, in considering the question of subway fares, for you to publish information on:

"1) The original costs of the subways, how they were owned and financed and how they came under control of the transit authority;

"2) The amount of funds that have been raised and the amount that has been repaid on subway construction and maintenance;

"3) The incremental cost in the annual budget of the subways that goes to repayment of debts.

"Sincerely . . ."

Of course the letter was never printed.

A portion of the answer, however, appeared in the Dec. 4 *Times* article already referred to. This revealed that the 34 public authorities of New York have \$8.9-billion in debts outstanding. Controller Levitt said this includes debts "which in the mind of the financial community the state has a 'moral obligation' to support whenever authority revenue becomes insufficient."

In other words, not only do the fares go to pay off the bonds of the "financial community," but state tax payers also are "morally obligated" to pay interest when the fare revenues are insufficient. The greed of the ruling class knows no bounds.

This massive fraud of public debt charges is an issue that is just as important to the people who pay fares, and city and state taxes, as to the striking workers themselves. They have a common interest in getting at the truth. "You're operating at a loss? Prove it. Open the books and show us who is actually losing from this fraud and who is gaining."

LIRR strike

DEC. 19—The strike of 5,000 nonoperating employees of the Long Island Rail Road entered its twentieth day today, with no prospects for a settlement. The 1,500 operating employees of the LIRR are honoring the strike, thus paralyzing the busiest train system in the country.

The coalition of 12 striking unions is demanding a 28 percent wage increase to bring their salaries closer to parity with the wages of operating employees. The railroad has contended that this wage increase would require doubling passenger fares, thus attempting to turn commuters against the strikers.

On Dec. 14 the unions denounced the management's claim as "calculated to scare and anger our commuters." The unions issued a report contending that their contract demands would only mean a three-cent fare increase per ride.

A presidential emergency board had earlier recommended only a 6 percent wage increase in each year of a two-year contract, retroactive to Jan. 1. Confident because of this government backing, the railroads have pressed for binding arbitration, but the unions refuse.

In a new development, sergeants and lieutenants who supervise collection of tolls at the city's bridges and tunnels voted Dec. 18 to authorize a job action, although they set no date. They are members of Local 1308 of the State, County and Municipal Employees union, AFL-CIO.



New York commuters are often forced to walk when trains break down. Commuters and transit workers have common interest in exposing the fraudulent financing of mass transit through municipal bonds.

"Losses increased each year to \$54.7-million last year, when expenses of \$152.5-million far outpaced income of \$97.8-million," the *New York Times* reported Dec. 4.

Now, assuming that these figures are correct, and they might be, how is the railroad run in the first place? Where does the extra \$55-million or so come from? *It is paid for by municipal bonds that are backed by the state government.*

This is not a losing proposition to the ruling class. It is an important source of capitalist income and it involves a major fraud that is perpetrated on the public.

Here's how it works: In order to finance city projects (the same is true of many state and federal government projects) bonds are issued. These are usually in very high denominations, not available to the average person. They often begin at \$1,000 and higher, and they are bought mainly by

repaid at interest. That's why the bank bought the bonds to begin with.

Income to the LIRR that is taken from commuters mainly ends up paying off the interest rates on these municipal bonds. And these bonds are usually tax free! Follow our hypothetical example even further: the Rockefeller bank is paid an annual tax-free interest rate, let's say, of 5 percent. This means that every 20 years the entire investment is paid off.

This is an important consideration. Many of the municipal services were built years ago. New York subways were built in the last century. That means the holders of the bonds that financed these subways—despite the talk of loss year after year and the abysmal conditions of the subways—have regained their initial investment many times over.

On Sept. 28, 1971, when New York was faced with a new subway fare hike to pay the banks, I wrote the

Soviet physicist stripped of citizenship

By MARILYN VOGT

Valery N. Chalidze, a prominent activist in the democratic opposition movement in the Soviet Union, has been deprived of his Soviet citizenship.

Chalidze, a noted Soviet physicist and legal expert, was a co-founder in 1970 of the Committee in Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union. In conjunction with the Human Rights Committee and through his own *samizdat* journal, *Social Problems*, he has issued numerous statements denouncing the Soviet bureaucrats' mounting campaign of repression of the democratic opposition movement.

In August 1970, Chalidze was demoted from his position as head of a polymer physics group at Moscow's Plastics Research Institute "on ideological grounds" because of his outspoken defense of arrested dissidents.

This fall, Soviet authorities granted Chalidze an exit visa to visit the United States for one month at the invitation of the New York University and Georgetown University law schools to deliver lectures on civil rights in the Soviet Union. He arrived in New York Nov. 23.

On Dec. 13 at 11 a.m., Yuri Galishnikov, a Soviet consular secretary from Washington, and an unidentified man called on Chalidze at his New York City hotel. Galishnikov asked to see Chalidze's passport "to check his identity." When Chalidze handed his passport over for inspection, the "officials" kept it. They then informed him that by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet passed on Tuesday, Dec. 12, he had been stripped of his citizenship on grounds of having committed "acts discrediting a Soviet citizen."

In a press conference on Dec. 13, Chalidze denied these charges: "In the United States I have been occupied with conversations with jurists and with lectures on human rights in the USSR and, in particular, speaking about acts of authorities which have discredited the USSR—for violations of human rights discredit the state."

He stated that he would attempt to return to the Soviet Union, where the law provides for stateless residents. However, if this right is denied him he would not apply for any other citizenship. He asserted that he would continue to speak out against the repression of the dissidents in the Soviet Union.

In depriving Chalidze of his citizenship the Kremlin rulers hope to eliminate yet another troublesome activist who points out their hypocrisy and their crimes against Soviet citizens. This action underlines the stepped-up campaign Chalidze describes as the Stalinist bureaucrats strive to crush the democratic opposition movement in the Soviet Union.



Valery Chalidze

Tell Chicanos: 'We face common enemy'

Mexican prisoners expose Echeverria

The following is a statement The Militant received recently from Mexican political prisoners in Lecumberri prison.

Dated Oct. 22, the statement presents the views of these prisoners on Mexican President Luis Echeverria Alvarez's visit to the United States last summer.

To our Chicano compañeros:

The undersigned—political prisoners held in the Lecumberri prison in the Federal District—make the following known to you, compañeros fighting on the other side of the Río Bravo:

In Mexico the present government of the PRI [Partido Revolucionario Institucional - Institutional Revolutionary Party] employs a double strategy

of Mexico," "... we need to progress but will not adopt a policy of submission," "in Mexico there are no political prisoners," etc. This campaign by the government didn't begin with this trip nor will it end with it.

Recently, government spokesmen have gone as far as to proclaim that "the government should be and wants to be the representative of the workers." The opportunists have added their voices to those of the regime, joining the chorus on the greatest of the lies: that in Mexico we are experiencing a new epoch of "democratic awakening."

We maintain that all of these statements are nothing more than lies designed to confuse and trick our people. Let's look at the first of them:

must fight as much as under previous regimes.

Another line, "... in Mexico there are no political prisoners," is so obviously false that it needs no further comment. The last point, "the government ought to and wants to represent the workers" is also the height of effrontery. How can a government represent the workers when it is at the service of their exploiters? We only mention two of many possible examples: to railroad workers involved in a struggle for union democracy the government has responded with "Falcons" [armed fascist-like gangs] and assassins in Tierra Blanca and Jalapa, Veracruz, and in Monterrey, Nuevo León. The peasant caravan in Tlaxcala and Puebla was suppressed by the army.

This is sufficient to see through LEA and his government of "demagogic awakening."

If under Diaz Ordaz we had the massacre of Tlatelolco, under Luis Echeverria we have had the massacre of San Cosmo of June 10, 1971. If Diaz Ordaz suppressed the just struggles of the telephone operators and doctors, Luis Echeverria drowned in demagoguery and firings the aspirations of bank workers to unionize and of the teachers to increase their miserable salaries. Now as before peasants continue to be beaten, jailed, and murdered.

But the unrest has deep roots. The protests, struggles, and movements continue and are maturing, improving their objectives, programs, tactics, and methods, and taking in ever broader groups. In some sectors the unrest is even taking the form of armed struggle, as in the case of the state of Guerrero, where the Poor People's Party has initiated it.

Naturally the movement must pay its quota of blood and prisoners. Thus the number of political prisoners in this country is increasing. In the Federal District's Lecumberri and Santa Martha Acatitla prisons, there are more than 120 political prisoners. In the state of Guerrero, in the prisons of Chilpancingo, Acapulco, Iguala, and others, there are more than 100. In addition, "they have tortured, killed, and jailed women, peasants and

students who are innocent in terms of the battles" as the Poor People's Party has made known.

Other compañeros are incarcerated in Chihuahua, Oaxaca, San Luis Potosí, Jalisco, Chiapas, Nuevo León, Veracruz, Tlaxcala, etc.

We political prisoners represent a part of the people's will to fight, and we are, so to speak, "examples of punishment." The numerous new compañeros who are being detained are tortured—the usual practice of the national police and army. They are held incommunicado; they are subjected to forced labor; they are extorted; they are subjected to physical punishments.

And in some cases the government has not hesitated to shoot prisoners "who are trying to escape." This happened here at Lecumberri to our compañero Pablo Alvarado Barrera. And in Chihuahua, Guerrero, San Luis Potosí, and other places it has been the fate of many other martyrs who have not been forgotten by the Mexican people and never will be.

You, compañeros Chicanos, and we, the fighters in Mexico, are developing a class struggle and are facing a common enemy. You face direct Yankee imperialism while we face this same imperialism and its Mexican associates and allies. Exploitation and oppression are as brutal there as here. We understand that our battle is part of the same process. We feel solidarity with the objectives you pursue. The obstacles we must overcome are great, but ultimately, if we know enough to unite with the working class and the people, we will win.

Venceremos!

Fabio Erazo Barbosa
Victor M. Hernández O.
Enrique Condéz Lara
Mario Rechy Montiel
Vicente A. Madrid Zambrano
Ignacio González Ramírez
Raúl Ernesto Murguía
Gabriel Pesalta Zea
Ezequiel Flores Rodríguez
Pedro María Zarate
Salvador Aguilar Rodríguez
Javier Fuentes Gutiérrez
Manuel Rondón Barradas
Lecumberri prison
Oct. 22, 1972



Mexican students jailed in 1968 repression

—on the one hand, demagoguery, on the other, repression. With this double strategy it subdues the people seeking a solution to their problems. One example of the regime's demagoguery can be seen in Echeverria's trip to the United States.

When LEA [Luis Echeverria Alvarez] recently visited the United States, he and other leaders of the system that rules in our country published a series of lies, such as: "I will fight resolutely for the interests

"I will fight resolutely for the interest of Mexico" and "we need to progress but will not adopt a policy of submission."

The reality of life for workers and peasants is very different. The devaluation of the Mexican peso, growing unemployment, inflation, the closing of factories such as occurred in the textile and shoe industries, the policy of massive readjustments, etc., together make up a situation of misery and exploitation against which workers

Political prisoners topic of Houston panel

Echeverria bars Chicanos' prison visit

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON, Dec. 15—A panel discussion held here today in a Chicano community center focused on the plight of political prisoners in Latin America. The panel was cosponsored by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Militant Labor Forum, and the Texas Prison and Jail Coalition.

Fred Cruz of the Prison Coalition expressed solidarity with the political prisoners of Latin America and with the efforts of USLA.

Mario Cantú, director of the Centro Cultural Rubén Salazar in San Antonio, related the recent activities of Chicanos in defense of Mexican political prisoners. When Mexican President Luis Echeverria was in San Antonio last summer, he was picketed by activists demanding freedom for Mexico's political prisoners. Echeverria met with the picketers and invited them to Mexico to see for themselves that there were no political prisoners there.

A few weeks ago about 50 Chicanos,

including Cantú, Bert Corona, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, José Angel Gutiérrez, and Raúl Ruiz, were in Mexico City at a seminar arranged by professors at the University of Mexico. Armed with a list of 400 Mexican political prisoners, they went to Lecumberri prison, where they knew 116 of these men and women were being held, and asked to see them. They were refused and referred to one of Echeverria's top aides. He told them a prison visit would be arranged.

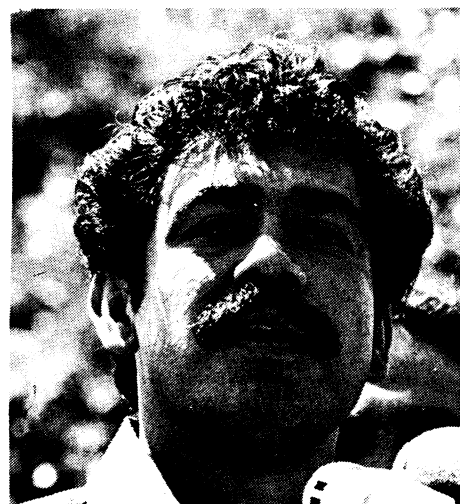
They gave him a list of political prisoners they wanted to see, including their dates of arrest, charges against them, and their cell numbers. The next day they were informed by telephone that they would not be allowed to go to the prison.

Cantú said, "I think a lot of work has to be done in the Chicano movement to publicize what is happening with political prisoners in Latin America and Mexico—not just for humanitarian reasons, but for the unity of our people, not just our history and blood ties, but also because of our

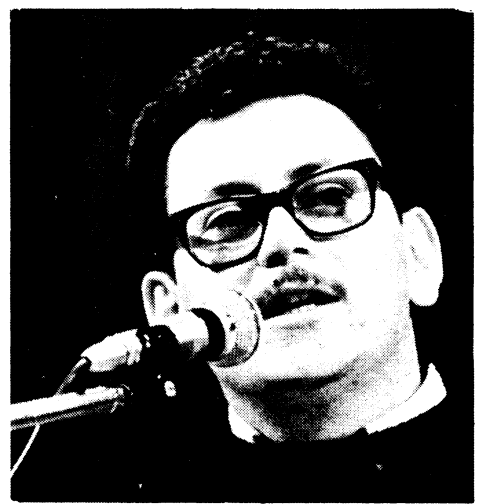
similar political and social situation."

Daniel Zadunaisky, an Argentine active in the movement to free political prisoners, spoke of the repression under the Lanusse dictatorship in Argentina. His appearance on this panel was part of his national tour for the USLA. While in Houston he also

spoke to three government classes and one Chicano studies class at Austin High School, to a group of senior citizens at the Centro Chicano, and to an informal meeting of about 30 Chicano activists. He was also interviewed on the Pacifica radio station KPFT.



Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzales (l) and Jose Angel Gutierrez were among group of Chicanos denied visit to Lecumberri prison in Mexico City.



Militant/Dave Warren

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND EUROPE

By DAVE FRANKEL

The revolutionaries in the Bolshevik Party were well aware of the problems that they would encounter in trying to bring the former Russian empire to socialism. A striking indication of the conditions in czarist Russia is presented in Trotsky's book on the 1905 revolution. He cites the statistic that in one province "in 9.3 per cent of peasant families, cockroaches are not found on account of the prevailing starvation and cold."

But the Bolsheviks never expected that a Russian workers state would have to face these conditions in isolation. The whole perspective of the Bolshevik Party was summed up by Lenin at the end of 1922. He explained:

"When we began at the time we did the international revolution, we did this not with the conviction that we could anticipate its development, but because a whole series of circumstances impelled us to begin this revolution. Our thought was: . . . immediately, or at any rate very quickly, a revolution will begin in the other countries, in capitalistically more developed countries—or in the contrary case we will have to perish. In spite of this consciousness we did everything to preserve the soviet system in all circumstances and at whatever cost, since we knew that we were working not only for ourselves, but for the international revolution. We knew this, we frequently expressed this conviction before the October revolution, exactly as we did immediately after it and during the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk Peace. And, generally speaking, this was right."

But the failure of the revolutionary upsurges in Europe isolated the new regime. This isolation, in turn, meant that the economic backwardness inherited from czarism was to play a crucial part in the Russian developments. The entire situation would have been different if the Soviet regime had been able to rely on the aid of a highly industrialized country like Germany.



Inflation in Germany in the early 1920s got so bad that it was cheaper to burn money than to buy fuel.

The major reason for the defeat of the European revolutions that followed the one in Russia was the lack of a sufficiently organized and sizable revolutionary leadership. In one country after another the masses showed their willingness to fight but were curbed by the reformist leadership of the Social Democrats.

Nevertheless, huge battles took place. In Germany the insurgent workers brought down the kaiser and his generals at the end of 1918 and established workers councils. In January and again in March 1919, they attempted to establish their own government. The insurrections were crushed, however, and the two greatest leaders of the revolution, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were murdered.



German workers were ready to fight, but their leaders weren't

Also in 1919 came the massive mobilization of the Irish people that led to the bitter war of independence against the British empire. In March of 1919 a Hungarian Soviet republic was proclaimed in Budapest. The next day British Prime Minister Lloyd George wrote to Clemenceau, his French counterpart:

"The whole of Europe is filled with the spirit of revolution. There is a deep sense not only of discontent but of anger and revolt amongst the workmen against prewar conditions. The whole existing order in its political, social, and economic aspects is questioned by the masses of the population from one end of Europe to the other."

But capitalism was able to regain its equilibrium for a time. In August internal opponents backed by Rumanian troops managed to topple the Soviet regime in Hungary. The next year, in the fall of 1920, a mass movement of factory occupations and the seizure of mines and estates by the Italian working class subsided after the workers found no party capable of leading them in a struggle for power. Finally, in March 1921, the German Communist Party suffered a heavy defeat when it attempted to lead an ill-conceived insurrection.

The third congress of the Communist International met in July 1921. Taking note of the temporary stabilization of the European situation, it urged the Communist parties to carry out patient propaganda and agitational work aimed at winning the masses.

The New Economic Policy (NEP) in Russia unfolded within the context of this stabilization of capitalism in Europe, one which was furthered in October 1922 when Mussolini took power in Italy.

The defeats of the European revolution were an important factor in the retreat from political activity of the masses in the Soviet Union. The leaders of the left opposition, and Trotsky in particular, looked to a new upsurge in the world revolution to reverse this trend. Ultimately, they saw the extension of the revolution in Europe as the only way that revolutionary Russia could survive.

Crisis in Germany

The history of Europe since the end of World War I showed that the expectation of rapid changes in the political mood and further revolutionary upsurges was hardly an unreasonable one. Its validity was demonstrated once again by events in Germany in 1923.

Under the Versailles Treaty after World War I, Germany had been saddled with heavy reparations payments to the victorious Allies. In January 1923 France occupied the Ruhr Basin, the industrial heartland of Germany, in response to a lag in these payments. Cuno, the German prime minister, urged the population not to cooperate with the occupiers, and the resulting crisis was to dominate European politics for the next year.

The German economy rapidly broke down under the strain of the Ruhr occupation. Not only was Germany deprived of the wealth of the Ruhr mines and industries, but it was also charged with the upkeep of an occupation army of almost 100,000,

and with the support of 71,000 people the French expelled from the occupation zone in response to the policy of passive resistance.

While strikes, demonstrations, sabotage, and even guerrilla resistance against the occupation multiplied, an inflation of staggering dimensions began to eat away at the foundations of German society.

In mid-February 1923, one month after the occupation began, one U. S. dollar exchanged for 18,000-20,000 German marks. By May the rate was 48,000 to one, by June it had risen to 110,000 to one, and one month later it stood at 350,000 to one. But this was only the beginning. In August it took 4.6 million marks to equal one dollar. In September the figure was just below 99 million; in October it surpassed 25 billion, and in November it had attained the astronomical figure of 4.2 trillion.

Prices began to change from hour to hour. Workers would be paid several times each day, and rush to buy bread before prices rose again. Money was carried not in wallets, but in burlap sacks. Savings accounts, pensions, insurance policies—all were worthless. Confidence in the established order was shattered.

Only the rich gained. Industrialists paid wages in worthless marks and sold their goods abroad for stable currency. Profiteers bought real estate, jewelry, businesses, and homes for almost nothing and sold them to foreigners.

Street fighting between Communist and Social Democratic workers on the one hand and right-wing nationalist and Nazi bands grew in frequency. One strike wave followed another, as did demonstrations by the unemployed and frequent clashes with the police. Agricultural laborers in the countryside joined in and organized mass strikes throughout the months of June, July, and August.

August Thalheimer, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) wrote on July 26 that "everyone in Germany feels that we are on the eve of a decisive combat between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat."

On August 11, as a general strike led by the KPD began to spread, the Cuno government fell. A new government, one that included the Socialist party of Germany (SPD), was formed under Gustav Stresemann. Still, things did not improve. Within a week the exchange rate had gone from 3,700,000 to six million, and on Sept. 26 Stresemann declared a state of emergency.

Stresemann and his People's Party were associated with the interests of the big capitalists. They made repeated efforts to abolish the eight-hour day and banned left-wing demonstrations. Hugo Stinnes, the Rhenish steel, coal, and oil magnate, predicted at a People's Party conference on Sept. 11 that civil war would break out within two weeks. Later Stinnes revised his estimate to mid-October.

The SPD began to lose authority because of its collaboration with the party of the big industrialists in the central government and its refusal to place itself at the head of the militant protests of workers,

Continued on page 22

Coalition against 'new politics'

SP-DSF urges Democrats to move to right

By DAN ROSENSHINE

Encouraged by the McGovern debacle at the polls, the more conservative forces in the Democratic Party have moved quickly to regain control of the party organization. Charging that McGovern's "radicalism" and the "New Politics" of the McGovern supporters were responsible for Nixon's victory, Southern Democrats, "regulars" in the party machine, and labor bureaucrats of the George Meany stripe have all been prominently identified with this effort.

The first order of postelection business for the anti-McGovernites was a successful drive to oust Jean Westwood as Democratic Party chairwoman. Westwood had been McGovern's choice for the post after the Miami Democratic Party convention. She was forced to resign at the Dec. 9-10 meeting of the Democratic national committee.

Texas Democrat Robert Strauss, a longtime associate of John (Democrat for Nixon) Connally, was named to succeed Westwood.

Strauss immediately began wheeling and dealing, trying to give the impression that he would be able to unify the disparate elements of the party. He welcomed the support he said he had received from George McGovern and Edward Kennedy. He promised Black Democrats that more Blacks would be added to the Democratic national committee. And he quickly pointed out that George Wallace's constituency deserves "to be heard" in the Democratic Party. Wallace had backed Strauss for the job.

Alexander Barkan, AFL-CIO political director and one of George Meany's top operators, was also on the scene as part of the dump-Westwood campaign. Meany had adopted a "neutral" position in the Nixon-McGovern contest and attacked McGovern for "neo-isolationism" and advocating "surrender" in Vietnam.

Barkan made it clear he wanted to get rid of more than Westwood. "The crazies have got to go," he said. (During the Democratic convention Barkan had complained that the delegates displayed "too many beards and not enough cigars.")

Upon assuming office, Strauss quickly invited Meany's participation in a special committee that is examining the selection process of delegates to the Democratic national convention. One of the aims of these forces is to erode or abolish altogether the system of quotas that had led to an increased

number of women, youth, Blacks, and Chicanos elected as delegates in Miami.

Jumping on the bandwagon of the anti-"New Politics" crusade within the Democratic Party is the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation (SP-DSF) and their youth group, the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL). These right-wing socialists offer their services in providing an "ideological" justification for the role of bureaucrats like Meany.

The role of the SP-DSF was evidenced in a full-page ad, entitled "Come Home Democrats," in the Dec. 7 issues of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

"The Democratic Party is in trouble," the ad began. "And when the Democratic Party is in trouble—America is in trouble."

The ad announced the formation of a new organization called the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM) as a "dues-paying, membership organization" that will help the Democratic Party "find its way again."

The 1972 elections provided a "clear signal," the CDM statement says, that the Democrats must return to the "great tradition" of Roosevelt, Truman, Stevenson, Kennedy, Johnson, and Humphrey—and reject the "New Politics."

Listed among the sponsors, along with Democratic Party pros from the Humphrey and Jackson camps, are a number of leading lights of the SP-DSF. Penn Kemble, the executive director of the new group, is a leader of YPSL who was formerly chairman of Frontlash—an AFL-CIO voter registration project.

Kemble is listed as part of the 10-member CDM "organizing committee," as are SPers Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Midge Decter, who recently authored *The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation*; and John P. Roche, a former special assistant to Lyndon Johnson who writes a regular column in the SP-DSF newspaper, *New America*.

The CDM statement blasts the proponents of "New Politics" for having "derided the organized labor movement, driving it from its traditional place in the vanguard of the Democratic coalition," and for advocating "that the United States must withdraw from its international responsibilities and effect a serious diminution of its own power."

The CDM organizers accuse the pro-

ponents of "New Politics" of challenging the "principle of individual merit without regard to inherited status" with the "idea of proportionalism in accordance with birth and group origin." In other words, they are opposed to preferential hiring or proportional representation of Blacks or women or youth.

The SP-DSF, which is oriented entirely toward work in the Democratic Party, was bitterly divided over which Democrat to support for the presidential nomination.

For years these social democrats have advocated that radicals work within the Democratic Party to work for "realignment," that is, to make the Democratic Party a "progressive" party based on liberals, Blacks, and the trade unions, while getting rid of Southern Dixiecrats and other conservatives.

Needless to say, in the debate over the presidential election, none of the SP-DSF leaders advocated a course of independent working-class political action in opposition to the two capitalist parties.

The more right-wing social democrats, who have a majority in the party and control the party organization, supported the candidacies of Humphrey and Jackson. For example, SP-DSF leader Tom Kahn (who has since become executive assistant to George Meany) wrote speeches for Jackson and later became an advocate of the Meany "neutrality" position. Bayard Rustin was prominent in the "stop-McGovern" drive at the Miami convention.

After McGovern's nomination, the debate in the SP-DSF and its periphery shifted to whether to back him against Nixon.

Michael Harrington, a national SP-DSF cochairman, and Irving Howe, editor of *Dissent* magazine, urged "enthusiastic support" for McGovern. But in September the majority of the SP-DSF national committee adopted a position of "critical preference" for McGovern, while attacking him for his "neo-isolationism" and "connection with those currents which on international affairs have neo-isolationist, and in a few cases, authoritarian leftist leanings."

(To the SP-DSF, a prime example of "authoritarian leftism" within the Democratic Party is New York Congresswoman Bella Abzug, whose supporters, according to the Oct. 25 *New America*, include a "phalanx of the

friends of the Soviet Union and Hanoi.")

The SP-DSF's refusal to adopt his position on McGovern caused Harrington to publicly resign as cochairman in October, charging that the endorsement of McGovern was "so reluctant and backhanded . . . that it committed the party to the anti-Nixon struggle only in the most formal sense."

Harrington added that even the "critical preference" position was "attacked by some of the most prestigious leaders of the party majority, who refuse any support whatsoever to McGovern and look with enthusiasm upon a Nixon victory."

"The historic party of Eugene Victor Debs and Norman Thomas," Harrington moaned, "is today doing the work of Richard Nixon."

Harrington is still a member of the SP-DSF, although whether the party majority will allow a pro-McGovern "radical" to remain in a leading position in the SP-DSF remains to be seen.

The SP-DSF majority, along with other sectors of the Democratic Party, are urging that the Democrats drop whatever minimal and verbal concessions they made in 1972 to the current radicalization and retreat to the cold-war liberal policies of those represented by the Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

In so doing, they claim they are fighting for the interests of the "organized labor movement." In reality, however, the interests they are looking out for are the interests of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. These bureaucrats, with a little help from the "intellectuals" of the SP-DSF, are seeking to maintain the subservience of the labor movement to the capitalist Democratic Party.

Harrington, who is now suffering from the severe trouncing his candidate received at the hands of Nixon, offers no alternative to this perspective. He, too, believes that the Democratic Party should be supported by all socialists and workers.

Both Harrington and his opponents within the SP-DSF invoke the name of Eugene Debs, the leader of the Socialist Party in the early 1900s. But to reconcile Debs with their politics, they have to hide the fact that Debs urged workers to break from both the Democratic and the Republican parties and to build a party of the working class in opposition to these capitalist parties.



'Too many beards and not enough cigars.' That was the complaint of AFL-CIO official Alexander Barkan about 1972 Democratic Party convention. The Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation agrees.

In Review

Film



Billie Holiday, 'Lady Day'

Lady Sings the Blues

Lady Sings the Blues. A Motown Productions picture. Featuring Diana Ross.

This film is an attempt to capture on the screen the tragic life of the late jazz-blues singer Billie Holiday. The film portrays the singer's climb to "the top," her relationship with Louis McKay, her second husband, as well as her bout with drugs. We see her screaming on the floor undergoing "cold turkey," singing her heart out about "my man," and working as a prostitute while still a teenager.

"Lady Day," exhibited all of the scars of racial and sexual oppression. She was raped by a neighbor at the age of 10 (*she*, not the rapist, went to a Catholic reformatory for "seducing" *him!*), became a prostitute at age 15 (she was arrested once for refusing to go to bed with a man in the brothel), and she also scrubbed floors for less than 15 cents a day.

Billie finally broke into her singing career while offering to audition as a dancer in a nightclub. She went on to reach the height of her career, but found trouble not too far behind. She had been tricked and cajoled into drug addiction and got arrested for possession of narcotics. After serving a jail term, she was banned from performing in New York nightclubs.

Most, if not all, of the songs Billie Holiday sang were taken from her life experiences. She lived the blues she sang. The crushing weight of oppression and exploitation keep bearing down, and in 1959, at the age of 44, Billie Holiday died. The cause of death was said to be a drug overdose.

The casting of Diana Ross, formerly of The Supremes, as Billie Holiday left many people wondering whether she could actually recapture the great singer's life. After all, Ross neither looks nor sings like Lady Day. But she read everything by and about Billie Holiday she could get her hands on and listened to Holiday recordings for nine months. In my opinion, her performance is superb.

But if we still see her as Diana Ross, and not Billie Holiday, it is because the film contains quite a few inaccuracies about Billie Holiday's life. Although the script was supposed to have been adapted from Holiday's autobiography, many important sequences were deleted.

For instance, Louis McKay was far from being the only man in Holiday's life. We see nothing of her travels with Black jazz musicians of that time and the arguments and brawls she had with racist club owners. The film does not project an understanding of Holiday's personal protest song,

"Strange Fruit," written to describe the way her father died—lynched by white racists. And thus we have a film on the life of Billie Holiday that not only includes many inaccuracies but fails to project the real depth of her oppression.

In spite of these shortcomings, the film is well worth seeing. If nothing else, we are offered a partial glimpse of Holiday's life and her battle against racist America.

Billie Holiday is still one of the most popular jazz-blues artists. Influenced by Bessie Smith and Louis Armstrong in her younger years, she recorded over 200 songs in her career. She was cheated terribly by recording companies; for many years she was never given the royalties for her songs.

Her book has just gone through another printing and there is even an album out of Diana Ross singing Holiday songs. A good musical about her recently appeared at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, and no doubt there will be other plays, poetry, and recordings of or about Billie Holiday. Some will be good and others bad and exploitive. But Billie Holidays will continue to exist until the conditions that drove her and thousands of other Black women to lives of prostitution, drugs, and despair are obliterated. For within every Black woman there is a part of Billie Holiday.

— MAXINE WILLIAMS



Billie Holiday (played by Diana Ross) and Louis McKay (Billy Dee Williams) in scene from film.

Records

I Am Woman

I Am Woman. Capitol Records. Written by Helen Reddy and R. Burton. Sung by Helen Reddy.

I am Woman, hear me roar
In numbers too big to ignore,
And I know too much to go back and pretend.
'Cause I've heard it all before
And I've been down there on the floor;
No one's ever gonna keep me down again.

Yes, I am wise, but it's wisdom born of pain.
Yes, I've paid the price, but look how much I've gained.

I am strong, I am invincible,
I am Woman!

At the beginning of the year, *Billboard* magazine (the organ of the record business) made its annual projection of trends in popular music. The main trend it projected for 1972 was the rise of the female singer/songwriter. Women have always been underrepresented among popular singers, but among composers they have been virtually excluded. In past years a third of hit records have been by male singer/songwriters, but only about 1 percent have involved women singing their own compositions. The effect, of course, is that female artists have had to sing what men have written, and thus to express ideas that men think for them.

This began to change in the spring of 1971 with the release of Carole King's "It's Too Late" and her *Tapestry* album, which had unprecedented success—with combined sales around ten million in the U.S. alone. The record business doesn't like to miss a chance to make an extra buck, and it smelled a trend. As a result, the industry reduced its barriers to female singer/songwriters substantially. The inevitable effect was that the ideas of feminism gained some very significant access to the radio stations that the majority of the American people listen to.

Helen Reddy's "I Am Woman" is a product of the new women's liberation movement that in just a few years has already deeply affected the consciousness of the American people. Reddy is an activist in that movement. Her song is the first popular hit to clearly identify with feminism.

"I Am Woman" was released last May; it was a total flop. It needed to be played on the radio, and the disc jockeys wouldn't touch it. In a letter to *Billboard*, one of them explained why—he had nothing against women's liberation, you understand, but this record was just plain "propaganda"! He plays lots of records that are insulting to women, but that's not "propaganda," of course.

According to the song, "no one's ever gonna keep me down again." There may be a long struggle ahead, but it's beginning to be true, and Reddy was right about her own record. Four full months after its release, "I Am Woman" managed to get played on a couple of stations. It was such a success that gradually other stations were forced to play it.

"I Am Woman" made number one on the charts in the United States. Sales are around the million mark. Tens of millions of radio listeners are tapping their feet and rhythmically nodding their heads to the catchy beat of women's liberation.

The men who own the music industry know a trend when they see one, even if they can't begin to understand it. May we suggest what's next? Songs that treat women as prize property, weak and silly and desiring only to please men are rapidly going out of style. Songs where women define themselves—as oppressed and exploited but strong and proud and determined to be free—are the wave of the future.

— PAT FURLONG

Memorial meeting for Florian Pattock

A memorial meeting for Florian Pattock, known to many of his comrades and friends as "Old Pat," was held in New York on Dec. 18. The longtime Socialist Workers Party activist died on Nov. 26 of a heart attack. He was 60 years old.

Steve Chase, organizer of the Upper West Side Socialist Workers Party, spoke at the memorial meeting. Chase described the hardship of Pattock's youth during the depression. After a stint as a surveyor, Pattock "joined the Naval Reserve where he picked up his lifelong skill as an electrician. There he met another young Naval Reservist, Charlie Scheer. Together they went to work at Montgomery Ward in St. Paul, where they met Ted Dostal, who was the Socialist Party organizer."

Pattock was recruited to the revolutionary socialist movement through his work with Dostal and Scheer in organizing a strike at Montgomery Ward in 1938.

Later, Pattock found work in a paint factory.

"In 1941, while mixing lacquer, an explosion occurred that horribly burned Pat," Chase related. His injuries required extensive skin grafts and were to have a traumatic effect on his functioning the rest of his life.

"Barely recovered from his injuries, Pat was activated into the Navy, where he served hard, dangerous destroyer duty for four years.

"Discharged from the Navy at the end of the war, Pat moved to Chicago. He was an active unionist and party builder.

"He stayed in Chicago throughout the fifties. These were difficult times for the Socialist Workers Party. . . . Many members dropped out, tired after contributing so much. Pat was not one of those."

Pattock moved to New York in the early 1960s. His poor health made it difficult for him to earn a living. Finally heart trouble forced him to go on welfare.

"Because of his eight years of Navy service,"

Chase said, "Pat was luckier than many welfare recipients. His special veterans benefits entitled him to live on \$38.50 a week. This is how American capitalism treats those who fight its wars and are literally broken from toil in its factories."

Chase described how to the end of his life, Pattock remained an unfailing party activist. "Throughout the 1972 campaign he was one of our most tireless workers."

Chase ended his speech by explaining that "Pat's youth was very similar to any number of our older comrades—talented people, who, when the economic crisis of the depression was over, could have carved out a future in bourgeois society. They chose not to do so.

"Instead they chose to hand on their revolutionary ideas to a new generation of radicals, just as they had themselves made a link with the generation directly inspired by the Russian revolution. It is for helping to play this role that we especially remember Pat and we thank him."

'Sisters in Struggle' conference in B'klyn

By MIMI HARARY

BROOKLYN, Dec. 16—"If we made history once, we can do it again" was the theme of the educational weekend "Sisters in Struggle" held in Brooklyn Dec. 15-16. One hundred and fifty people attended one or more sessions of the conference, which was sponsored by the Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance and the Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party.

The Friday night session was a panel of three well-known feminist anthropologists: Eleanor Leacock, author of the introduction to International Publishers' edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* by Frederick Engels; Ruby Leavitt, author of "Women in Other Cultures," which appears in the anthology *Women in Sexist Society*; and Evelyn Reed, who wrote the introduction to the Pathfinder Press edition of *Origin of the Family*. All three affirmed the fundamental propositions that primitive society was communal and that the matriarchal clan did exist.

Leacock effectively rebutted the myth of competitive human nature by describing relationships in primitive societies, where "The better the hunter, the more food for everyone. Competitiveness simply did not exist." She expressed confidence in the prospect of revolutionary change reestablishing these relationships under the new conditions brought about by modern technology.

Using the example of the Iroquois, Leavitt verified that women have not always been regarded as inferior. She told of the many social contributions women made, such as the elevation of healing to a science. Among the Iroquois, women were the chief healers.

Reed explained, "We should be aware that the degradation of women has only occupied a few thousand of the million-year history of humankind, starting when primitive collectivist society was replaced by the unfree, unequal, possessive family unit."

In the ensuing discussion, a question was asked

about the oppression of women in the Soviet Union. Leacock responded that "Communism does not follow easily from a socialist revolution. One of the most fundamental things that has to be fought for is the full elimination of the family as an economic unit, as the basis for the full liberation of women. A socialist revolution merely creates the platform from which one has to continue the fight."

Another highlight of the conference was a talk on "The Myth of the Black Matriarchy" by Maxine Williams, coauthor of the pamphlet *Black Women's Liberation*.

"Black women are oppressed in various ways," Williams explained. "We are denied the right to legal abortion and often forced to submit to 'sterilization' in order to obtain abortions. The lowest paying jobs are reserved for us. We suffer from a lack of child-care centers. . . . We have been sexually exploited while working as maids in white households. And we have been made to feel guilty about our resistance and strength when we were forced to 'go it alone' in bringing up our families."

Williams refuted the charge that the feminist

movement is "racist" and is not relevant to Black women. "The charge of racism," she pointed out, "is a tactic used to deny the legitimacy of the women's liberation movement by counterposing it to the Black struggle." Those who argue that feminism hurts the Black struggle "are hindering Black women from participating in and making a full contribution to the struggle."

In the Saturday morning session, Dianne Feeley, a contributor to the anthology *Feminism and Socialism*, traced the development of the suffrage movement in the U.S. She pointed out both the similarities and the differences between the suffrage movement and the struggles women today are waging for abortion rights and other demands.

The concluding session heard brief sketches of the lives of three revolutionary women. Carla Hoag told of Harriet Tubman's achievements in freeing slaves. The work of Socialist Party leader Kate Richards O'Hare in defense of political prisoners was depicted by Sally Moore. Anita Bennett described the life of Dr. Antoinette Konikow, an early fighter for women's right to birth control and a founder of the Socialist Workers Party.



Evelyn Reed speaking at conference panel that included two other feminist anthropologists: Eleanor Leacock (left) and Ruby Leavitt (far left). Maxine Williams (right photo) presented talk at conference on Black women's liberation.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Militant Gets Around

Every time we hear about some member of the Young Socialist Alliance who is an especially good *Militant* seller, we try to find out if there's some special approach used that we can pass on to other sellers. More often than not, we find that the "secret" is consistent selling. By standing in a busy place and pointing out one or two timely articles, you discover that *The Militant* sells itself.

Jack Lieberman, a member of the Upper West Side YSA in New York, sells 50-60 *Militants* a week. Last week his sales were especially good, and when I talked to him on Wednesday, he had already sold 56 since the previous Saturday. Recently he has been selling every other day and sometimes everyday. Although he participates in sales teams organized by his YSA local, Lieberman also sells on his own whenever he gets the chance.

Subway entrances provide for sales of an average of 10-15 each week. "Most of the people

who ride subways are students and working people, and it's logical that you're going to find interest in *The Militant*. And," he adds, "with the prospect of a long subway ride, an interesting paper looks especially appealing."

Using the trial-and-error method, Lieberman has settled upon two street corners to sell at regularly. One is a busy street in Greenwich Village within walking distance of his home, and one is outside Columbia University, near the YSA headquarters. He sells there after work and after weekly YSA meetings.

On Wednesday he sold 26 *Militants* in an hour and a half at Borough of Manhattan Community College. There the YSA is waging a fight for recognition, and *The Militant's* coverage of that fight made it easy to sell to students interested in finding out more about it.

Articles on the Southern University struggle in Baton Rouge have recently been the best selling features, according to Lieberman. And to back

Nancy Cole



that up he reports selling 46 papers at a rally of 200 college students protesting the Baton Rouge killings a few weeks ago.

He's sold a few papers to his co-workers, and although his job setup doesn't allow him to sell at meal breaks, he suggests it for others. "With all the opportunities for sales and the openness to *The Militant*, it's not a question of finding places to sell or people to buy, but the best places to sell for the limited time available."

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...bombing

Continued from page 3

nam will continue; this regime can only remain in power by crushing the revolutionary forces that have been struggling against it for almost two decades. That is why Washington also insists on an agreement, public or in secret, that Hanoi withdraw its forces from South Vietnam.

Kissinger's pretense that only minor issues still need to be worked out, when the fundamental issues of the war are in dispute, has caused unprecedented criticism of the Nixon administration in the U. S. press. "It is President Nixon, according to all available testimony, who is now insisting that a final accord somehow require Hanoi to recognize that Saigon is to remain in control of the South," the *New York Times* declared editorially Dec. 19.

"Peace was not at hand, and Mr. Kissinger has given no convincing reasons for believing that it was. Between the alternatives of deception and naïveté, the second Nixon Administration opens on the foundation of a formidable ambiguity," the *Times* declared.

In Paris, Dec. 18, Nguyen Thi Binh, the Provisional Revolutionary Government delegate to the talks, declared that Washington had made an about-face. "They made the October draft agreement voluntarily," she stated. "They weren't even under pressure, they weren't under bombardment as we were."

Nixon's new escalation of the bombardment makes it clear that whatever they said in public or in secret, the rulers of the United States have not given up their goal of pressing Hanoi and the PRG into giving Washington guarantees of a stable proimperialist regime in Saigon.

In this strategy Nixon is counting on Moscow and Peking to continue their treacherous pressure against Hanoi, as is discussed in the other article on this page. Nixon hopes to demonstrate that no matter how heavy the bombing, Moscow and Peking will not provide an adequate defense to North Vietnam. The Kremlin's policies of doling out obsolete military equipment to Hanoi with an eye-dropper have never been clearer than today, when the best North Vietnam can do against a storm of bombers and bombs is fire antiquated missiles

into the air on a hit-or-miss basis.

These counterrevolutionary policies of Moscow and Peking make it all the more important that opponents of the war continue to fight for the principled demand of total and immediate U. S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

Massive social forces are at war. On one side is the armed force of revolution. On the other side is the capitalist, landlord, militarist clique in Saigon, backed by the most powerful military apparatus ever constructed, the armed forces of the Pentagon. Nixon's new escalation once again demonstrates that the struggle in Vietnam will continue until the imperialists are defeated and forced to withdraw. Only this will allow the Vietnamese to determine their own future.

...Ireland

Continued from page 13

ratization of political and economic life. But whatever its merits as a scheme for reform, this project did not grow directly out of the concrete preoccupations of the Irish people and their struggles against a socially iniquitous and antinational system. The proof of this is that none of the bodies set up to propagandize for regional parliaments has become a focus of the day-to-day battles of the Irish people against the immediate effects of the colonial system on their lives.

The secret of the civil rights movement's most spectacular successes was that it started off from demands that people could fight for without having to be ready for a national or social revolution, demands that touched the concrete aspirations of the people and united the entire anti-Unionist community, demands that could also win international understanding. The civil rights program essentially posed national demands in a defensive way. That is, it did not call outright for abolishing the imperialist enclave and reuniting the country, but for abolishing the undemocratic methods that were needed basically to maintain disunity. This was the effect of the civil rights program despite the intentions of the Communist party and its followers, who wanted only reform of the Stormont structure, and of the ultraleftists who wanted to drop the national issue in hopes of uniting Catholic and Protestant workers on econom-

ic issues.

The greatest achievement of the civil rights movement was probably its ability to reach out to the majority of the Irish population North and South and discredit the repressive governments in the view of decisive layers of the population. Unless a similar movement can be built in the South that can affect the broadest sections of the population, even the most militant and determined actions by a heroic vanguard of thousands of people may not be able to stop Lynch's repression, backed up as it is with the pressure and resources of imperialism.

...hijacking

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said "none at all," according to a United Press International dispatch from Washington.

There has been speculation in the press that the current negotiations on the hijacking question may be a first step toward "normalization" of U. S. relations with Cuba in line with Nixon's policies of detente with the Soviet Union and China. According to the Dec. 1 *Wall Street Journal*, for example, "Some analysts believe Russia is pressing Cuba to improve relations with the U. S. so Moscow can cut its \$2 million daily subsidy to Havana."

But there have been no confirmations of this speculation from either Washington or Havana. Nixon is paraphrased in the Nov. 17 *Christian Science Monitor* as saying, "there will be no change in U. S. policy toward Cuba 'unless and until' Premier Fidel Castro changes his policy toward Latin America and Washington."

On Dec. 13 Cuban Premier Fidel Castro specifically denied that the hijacking talks were a move toward restoration of U. S.-Cuban relations, charging the U. S. with "waging economic warfare against the Cuban and Chilean people." He was speaking to a crowd of 500,000 in Havana at a rally to welcome Chilean President Salvador Allende.

On Dec. 12 four Caribbean nations announced they had established diplomatic relations with Cuba. The four are Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad-Tobago. All except Guyana

are members of the Organization of American States, which voted in 1963 and 1964 to prohibit member nations from having economic or diplomatic ties with Cuba.

Chile and Peru had previously established relations with Cuba, and, according to the Nov. 19 *New York Times*, Ecuador and Panama are considering taking the same step.

...opposition

Continued from page 18

agricultural laborers, and the unemployed. There was growing tension between the central government and the left-wing socialist governments in Saxony and Thuringia.

In contrast to the role of the SPD, the 300,000 revolutionaries organized in the KPD led strikes and demonstrations throughout Germany. Their strength in the trade unions and particularly in factory committees, which most clearly reflected the sentiments of the working class, was growing. Throughout the summer and fall of 1923, when inflation caused a decline in the circulation of other newspapers, sales of the KPD paper increased.

It was necessary that the party prepare itself for a decisive battle. This had been clear to Trotsky since the summer, and beginning in July he began to urge that the leaders of the KPD prepare the party for a struggle for power. What was clear to Trotsky in Moscow should have been seen even sooner, and more clearly, from Berlin. But the leadership of the KPD, in Trotsky's words, "was permeated with fatalism, [and] sleepy-headedness."

Unsure of itself, vacillating and temporizing, the KPD was incapable of inspiring and carrying with it the mass of the working class. Its leadership, unable to cope with the situation, ordered an ignominious retreat, and "we witnessed in Germany a classic demonstration of how it is possible to miss a perfectly exceptional revolutionary situation of world-historic importance." (Trotsky, *Lessons of October*, p. 2.)

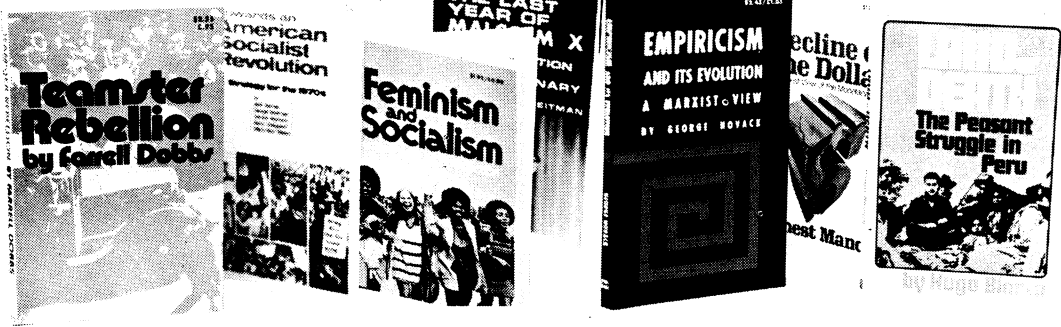
By the end of the year the opportunity had passed, and with the help of the Dawes Plan the German economy was stabilized. But the events in Germany were to open up a new stage in the struggle of the left opposition in the Soviet Union, one that will be dealt with in the next article.

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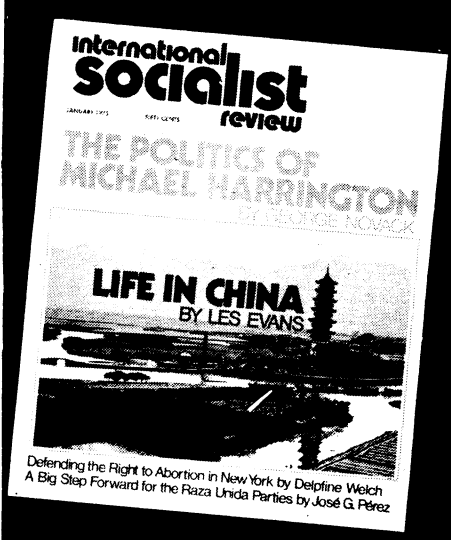
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THE MILITANT

Indictments hit Attica inmates



1971 Attica revolt

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK, Dec. 19—On Dec. 15 a Wyoming County grand jury investigating last year's Attica prison revolt submitted to the New York State Supreme Court 37 sealed indictments that range from murder to assault. To date, 12 people have been named in the indictments. All of them are prisoners or former prisoners. None of them are guards or prison officials.

Reaction to the indictments so far has been sharp. One member of the Fortune Society, a rehabilitation organization for former prisoners, stated, "It's like a Nazi roundup—like a pogrom."

Named so far are Charles Perna-silice and John Hill, both charged with the murder of a guard who died during the revolt. Mariano Gonzalez is charged with murdering another prisoner during the uprising. Nine other prisoners were hit with charges such as kidnapping, possession of weapons, attempted arson, robbery, coercion, and assault.

The 12 were arraigned on Dec. 18 in a courthouse 15 miles from Attica Correctional Facility, where the revolt occurred in September 1971. All were taken to court shackled hand and foot and heard the indictments prepared by a special grand jury that has been investigating the revolt since December of last year.

The victims were informed of the charges against them but were not arraigned because most did not have a defense counsel. Justice Carmen Ball adjourned their cases until next month.

The grand jury that handed down the indictments was ordered to conduct its investigation by Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Rockefeller also ordered that a special body be established to look into the causes of the revolt. This McKay Commission, after questioning more than 3,000 people, found the state police and National Guardsmen totally responsible for the bloody murder of 29 inmates and 10 guard-

hostages in the attempt to retake D yard, which rebel prisoners held for five days. The commission implicated Rockefeller for not going to the prison to mediate the conflict when he was requested to do so.

But Rockefeller, after hearing of the indictments that victimize the prisoners, had the audacity to praise Robert Fischer, the state deputy attorney general who led the grand jury. And showing utter contempt for the McKay Commission's findings, he stated, "the public has been waiting to see if there were actual crimes committed."

Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica revolt, was not named in the indictments. Clark had gone on a speaking tour last spring to explain the significance of the revolt and the need to build a defense against the anticipated indictments. He said, "If the Man snuffs me out now, don't sit and watch me die; step over me to get him. One thing he's afraid of is solidarity."

Solidarity with those who have been indicted is exactly what's needed. A united defense effort is crucial if this frame-up attempt is to be turned around and the victims freed.

DEC. 20—Seven more prisoners were named in indictments yesterday by the Wyoming County grand jury in connection with the Attica prison revolt. These indictments, like the ones revealed on Dec. 18, include charges such as assault, kidnapping, and possession of dangerous weapons.

Defense lawyers for those named charged that other prisoners were threatened, coerced, or given promises of immunity from prosecution if they testified against fellow prisoners. They also criticized the secrecy of the indictments and the pace of the arraignments, charging that Deputy Attorney General Robert Fischer was colluding with Governor Rockefeller to obtain maximum political advantage in the case.

Zadunaisky, Sweezy address Latin-America teach-in

BOSTON—About 400 people attended a teach-in on Latin America here Dec. 9. Held at Harvard University, the teach-in was sponsored by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Daniel Zadunaisky, an Argentine activist currently on tour for USLA, and Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*, spoke at the event. Zadunaisky described the severe political repression in Argentina.

It is important to publicize the documented cases of official beatings, rape, and torture, he said, because "The Argentine government likes to present itself as a progressive, democratic regime, and information leaking out on inhuman treatment causes them great embarrassment and puts a check on similar actions."



Monthly Review editor Paul Sweezy

Sweezy dealt with the conditions of poverty and unemployment that have created popular upheaval against which governments throughout Latin America have reacted with repression.

The two speakers' presentations were preceded by an afternoon of films and workshops. Zadunaisky led a workshop on Argentina along with members of Boston's Argentine community. Roberto Marquez, head of the Caribbean Studies program at Hampshire College, and Elsie Morales of the Puerto Rican Student Union led a workshop on Cuba. Other workshops took up counterinsurgency research, Puerto Rican independence, and Mexico today.

Among the speakers at the workshop on Mexico was Hugo Morales of the Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano party.

Campamento, a film about the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in Chile was shown. Sales were brisk at the literature tables of the participating organizations, which included MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán), the Puerto Rican Student Union, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Brandeis GRITO, the University of Massachusetts Spanish Club, Harvard Latin American Student Association, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, Goddard Institute, and the New American Movement.

Socialists run for rent control board

By BRIAN WILLIAMS

BERKELEY, Calif.—The Berkeley Socialist Workers Party has announced a slate of five candidates—Froben Lozada, Mary Lou Montauk, Brian Williams, Caryl Sholin, and Katherine Pon—to run for the newly created Berkeley rent control board. A special election to choose the board members has been called for Jan. 21.

Last June 6, Berkeley voters passed a rent control amendment to the city charter. The amendment called for rolling back all rents to the base level of Aug. 15, 1971 and for the election of five commissioners to a rent control board. The board would hold public hearings to determine rent levels and criteria for eviction.

Landlords in Berkeley have continued to raise rents despite the freeze. The Tenant Action Project, an organization of attorneys who are counseling tenants, has reported many cases of violation of the freeze by landlords.

However, the Berkeley City Council has refused to implement the rent freeze; it decided instead that no action can be taken until the election of

the rent control board. Meanwhile, several Berkeley landlords have filed a class-action suit against the rent control amendment, claiming it violates the state and federal constitutions.

In addition to the Socialist Workers Party candidates, there are two other slates running for the board. There is a liberal Democratic slate, which includes a member of the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation. This slate says that the rent board should be "fair" to both tenants and landlords. There is also a "radical" slate, which includes a member of the Berkeley Black Caucus. This slate sees the function of the board as mediating between landlords and tenants.

The SWP candidates have a different view of how the rent control board should function. The SWP program calls for a maximum rent of 10 percent of income and for allocating of rent money to repairs and maintenance, not to profits.

The SWP candidates explain that if elected they would support the efforts of tenants committees to force the landlords to comply with rent control and

housing codes and to cease discriminating against tenants on the basis of race or sex.

The SWP candidates also call for a campaign to force the University of California at Berkeley to comply with rent control. The two other slates have ignored this issue.

UC Berkeley, one of the largest landlords in the city, is currently exempt from the rent control amendment because of a provision in the California state constitution. Since Aug. 15, 1971, the university has raised dormitory rents by 11.4 percent. In addition, students have been forced to sign dorm contracts that permit a 5 percent rent rise during the course of the school year.

The SWP candidates call for a campaign demanding revocation of the statute exempting the university from rent control.

For more information, write to the SWP Campaign, Third Floor, Eshleman Hall, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, Calif. 94720; or SWP Campaign, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Telephone (415) 654-9728.