

THE MILITANT

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

Why Viet accords won't bring peace

The agreement by the U. S. to halt the bombing and to withdraw its remaining troops from South Vietnam is a long-sought-for victory for the Vietnamese people. It is also a victory for the antiwar

An editorial

movement here and throughout the world. But imperialist intervention in Vietnam is far from ended.

The accords do nothing to resolve the social, economic, and political problems that have been at the root of the Vietnam war. The imperialists recognize the fact of two armies and two governmental forces in South Vietnam, each representing basically op-

posed class forces.

On the one side is the Saigon regime of the landlords and capitalists, backed by U. S. imperialism. On the other side are the revolutionary forces based on the workers and peasants. This is an inherently unstable situation. One side or the other will eventually have to predominate, and that can only be determined in struggle.

The cease-fire accords announced Jan. 24 will not bring peace to Indochina. They signal a new stage of the civil war, and of Washington's intervention.

Nixon and Kissinger are trying to create an atmosphere of elation over the accords, claiming that the armistice justifies the genocidal war the U. S. has waged against the people of Vietnam.

This claim is utterly false. Washington's aggression in Indochina will go down as one of the greatest crimes ever against humanity.

As we go to press, the terms of the accord are just becoming available. In future issues we will analyze them in detail. But in their broad outlines, the accords do not end U. S. intervention in Vietnam. U. S. forces will remain poised to defend the Saigon regime, even after U. S. soldiers are withdrawn. B-52s and other aircraft will remain in Thailand, on aircraft carriers off the coast of Vietnam, and on other Asian bases. Thousands of "civilian technicians" from the U. S. will be "advising" Thieu's forces.

The U. S. will continue to pump massive economic aid to the Sai-

gon clique. Washington will be permitted to maintain Thieu's forces, including the world's third largest air force, at their present bloated level. Many U. S. bases and much U. S. war materiel in South Vietnam have already been turned over to the Saigon dictator.

In his news conference, Kissinger gave lip service to the idea of "free elections." But there is no specific provision guaranteeing such elections. This, Kissinger stated, is to be worked out "between the two South Vietnamese parties." Rules governing the elections, including what offices are open, are to be discussed by a "national council of national reconciliation and concord." Thieu has unconditional veto power over

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Militant/Mark Satinoff

Washington, D.C., Jan. 20. More than 100,000 gather at Washington monument to protest Nixon's war. For articles on U.S. and international actions, see pages 3, 4 & 5.

Historic abortion victory/24

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LOCAL GOVERNMENTS PROTEST WAR: Increasing reports of local government bodies registering war protests have been appearing in the press. In Florida National Guard troops were recently denied the use of a Dade County park for weekend training by a 5-4 vote.

"There is not any federal money coming down the pike for sewers or for social services, but we're spending money like its going out of style for bombs and B-52s," said Metro Commissioner Harvey Ruvin. "I wanted to vote no on this as sort of a protest."

On Jan. 9 the selectmen of Scituate, Mass., voted to fly the town flag at half mast as a war protest. They had earlier written a letter of protest to Nixon.

'ALMOST TOTALLY DEVOID OF POSITIVE COMMENT': That was Hank Adams's evaluation of the response of the Nixon administration to Indian demands. Adams was a negotiator for the 1,000 Indians who occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington last November after government officials refused to deal with their grievances.

On Jan. 9 the government responded officially to the 20 proposals of the Indian demonstrators, either rejecting them or arguing that they were already being implemented. White House spokesmen described the Indian protest as "an act which served only to impede the progress already being achieved by the combined efforts of the administration and the responsible Indian community."

More than 2,700 Militants and 1,550 Young Socialists were sold at Jan. 20 demonstrations around the country. That included approximately 1,500 Militants and 1,000 YSs in Washington, D.C.; 225 Militants and 100 YSs in Los Angeles; 225 Militants and 150 YSs in San Francisco; 170 Militants and 50 YSs in San Diego; 140 Militants and 75 YSs in Minneapolis; and 100 Militants and 50 YSs in Houston. In addition, hundreds of sample copies were distributed in Washington, D.C. Although reports aren't complete on sales of the International Socialist Review, at least 350 copies were sold.

ANOTHER RADICAL PROFESSOR FIRED: On Jan. 3 Frank Kofsky, an assistant professor of history at California State University at Sacramento, learned that he had been denied tenure. Among the charges against Kofsky were that he "contributed to a demoralizing atmosphere" by insisting on having his own way, and that he has acted as a "divisive force" among his colleagues because of his "unusually non-cooperative" temperament. Kofsky says the charges are "not true." They were "manufactured," he says, "to get rid of me."

Kofsky is the author of **Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music**, published by Pathfinder Press. In 1969 he was fired from his teaching job at California State College at Los Angeles because of his radical political views.

PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST APPEALS CONVICTION: Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz has been confined in prison for 22 months. He recently lost sight in his left eye because of lack of medical attention. He is now experiencing similar symptoms in his right eye.

Cruz was convicted in December 1971 on charges of possessing bombs. He was accused in the same series of bombings that Carlos Feliciano had been charged with earlier. Cruz filed an appeal Jan. 18, charging that he was deprived of due process and the right to counsel, and that he was the victim of a frame-up by District Attorney John Fine.

His attorneys are seeking his release on bail so that he can receive adequate medical attention while the appeal is pending.

YWLL MEMBER FOUND GUILTY ON AWOL CHARGE: Clifford "Heshima" Broadnax was sentenced to four months imprisonment and a bad conduct discharge from the Army on Jan. 15 after a one-day court-martial. Broadnax was charged with being absent without leave after he had received orders for Vietnam.

In another development, hearings have begun in the case of Joseph "Mongo" Smith, chairman of the Los Angeles YWLL. He has been charged with selling illegal drugs after refusing to turn informer for the police. Smith faces a five-year to life sentence if he is convicted on the frame-up charge.

WITCH-HUNTERS TRY TO REVIVE 'SUBVERSIVE' LIST: The Young Workers Liberation League has be-

come the first organization in many years to be added to the attorney general's "subversive" list. On Jan. 19 YWLL announced that it would challenge the constitutionality of the entire McCarran Act, under which the YWLL was listed as a "Communist front organization." An appeal to the Appeals Court of the District of Columbia is being prepared by attorney John Abt.

The YWLL has urged that telegrams be sent to President Nixon demanding the abolition of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and that Congress be pressured to cut off its funds.

Amilcar Cabral murdered in Guinea

On Jan. 20, Amilcar Cabral, leader of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) was assassinated in Conakry, Guinea, where he lived.

PAIGC, which has been fighting for the liberation of the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, has liberated more than two-thirds of the colony. It is now in the process of setting up a formal government for Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.

According to Sekou Toure, president of Guinea, Cabral "was assassinated in a cowardly and horrible manner . . . in front of his own house, by the poisoned hands of imperialism and Portuguese colonialism." Toure reported Jan. 21 that the "principal killers" had been arrested immediately afterward.

In the past, the Portuguese have attempted similar measures against leaders of independence movements from its African colonies. In 1970, they organized a Bay of Pigs-style invasion of the Republic of Guinea, where PAIGC has bases. In 1969 Eduardo Mondlane, leader of FRELIMO, an independence movement in Mozambique, was assassinated in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The Nixon administration has given millions of dollars in military, economic, and other aid to Portugal, helping it to carry out its wars in Africa. Thus, Washington shares responsibility for the murder of Cabral and other African fighters who have fallen in the struggle for independence.

Cabral's murder underlines the necessity of building the struggle against U.S. complicity with Portugal and in support of the independence of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.



Portuguese colonial army in Guinea-Bissau is supplied with U.S. arms through NATO.

THOMAS WANSLEY FREED ON BAIL: After spending more than 10 years in prison, Thomas Wansley was released Jan. 17 on \$10,000 bail. Wansley was framed up in Lynchburg, Va., on charges of raping a 59-year-old white woman and robbing her of \$1.37.

On Jan. 3 Judge Robert Merhige Jr. overturned the conviction, ruling that Wansley had not received a fair trial due to "shocking, prejudicial pretrial publicity" that had appeared in Lynchburg newspapers. Judge O. Raymond Cundiff, who presided in Wansley's trial in 1967 (an earlier conviction had also been reversed), refused to set bail for Wansley, who had to wait in jail an extra six days while his lawyers appealed to Judge Merhige.

The State of Virginia has appealed the reversal of Wansley's conviction. —DAVE FRANKEL

Widespread distrust of Nixon's 'peace'

Viet agreement protects Thieu dictatorship

By CAROLINE LUND

JAN. 24 — "The United States will continue to recognize the Government of the Republic of Vietnam as the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam," declared President Nixon in his televised speech announcing the initialing of the Vietnam truce on Jan. 23.

As of this writing the full text of the agreement is not available, but its general outlines are clear:

- The Saigon regime's "sovereignty" over South Vietnam is left intact.

- A cease-fire in place will go into effect Jan. 27, with the "areas controlled by each party" to be determined by a joint military commission representing the Saigon regime and the Provisional Revolutionary Government. There is no explicit provision requiring North Vietnamese troops to withdraw from the South.

- Saigon and the rebel forces will supposedly be permitted to replace destroyed or worn out weapons and munitions, but only through three supervised entry points.

- An international supervisory force, ranging from 3,000 to 4,500 people at various stages of implementation of the accords, will police the agreement.

- The U.S. agrees to cease military operations in North and South Vietnam, and to withdraw all troops and military personnel from Vietnam within 60 days.

- North Vietnam, the PRG, and the Saigon regime will release captured military personnel within 60 days. There is no provision for releasing the thousands of political prisoners held by Saigon.

- North Vietnamese troops must be withdrawn from Laos and Cambodia, but there is no provision for an end to U.S. bombing in those countries.

- The question of elections in South Vietnam is left up to the Saigon regime and the PRG. Both have veto power.

Despite Nixon and Kissinger's talk

about "peace with honor," "an honorable peace," and "self-determination for South Vietnam," it is clear that Washington intends to maintain imperialist domination of South Vietnam.



Kissinger and aides leave bargaining session in Paris.

On Jan. 22 Pentagon officials announced that the withdrawal of U.S. air power in Southeast Asia would be very slow following a cease-fire. *New York Times* reporter William Beecher wrote, "the decision has been made to keep some air power in the region for at least a few years to back Washington's warning against a resumption of full-scale conventional warfare."

He paraphrased administration officials as insisting that "President Nixon would not hesitate to reapply air and sea power in Indochina if Hanoi should violate any cease-fire

agreement in a blatant way."

To further put the squeeze on the Vietnamese rebels, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird stated Jan. 19 that following a cease-fire agreement, the U.S. would attempt to negotiate an agreement with the Soviet Union and China to cut off arms supplies to Hanoi. Laird felt optimistic this could be arranged because, he said, Moscow's desire for trade with the U.S. "is the strongest weapon that we have in our hands."

The Jan. 24 *Wall Street Journal*, discussing the role of the Soviet and Chinese regimes, wrote that "Though both have uttered ritual denunciations of U.S. bombing and signed new aid pacts with North Vietnam, neither has taken extra measures to show displeasure. For example, China didn't cancel an American tour for its acrobatic troupe (after the Christmas bombing), a fact that the White House believes has political meaning."

Kremlin bureaucrat Brezhnev, on the other hand, sent his children to welcome Nixon's daughter Tricia at a Moscow reception right after the savage bombing of Hanoi and Hai-phong.

Among a great many Americans, the response to the truce was one of distrust of the U.S. government. A waitress interviewed in the Jan. 24 *New York Post* made a typical comment: "I'm glad it's over, but I'm suspicious about the terms. I remember the President's talk about 'peace at hand' before the election. I wonder if there are any tricks."

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) commented that the truce might "last no longer than the earlier truce in 1954, when the French withdrew."

"A new renewal of the fighting among the Vietnamese is probable, if not predictable," he added, "since none of the issues are resolved over which they have fought for the past 25 years."

The response of the Saigon regime is indicated by the police state measures that Saigon's President Thieu has decreed. The Jan. 23 *Washington Post* stated, "Viewed as a package, they [the repressive measures] show what the Thieu government fears most from a cease-fire: the possibilities of social disruption, labor unrest, desertion, economic chaos and migration of population into Communist-held areas."

Thieu has ordered his police to shoot on sight any persons who "applaud the Communists" or incite "pro-Communist" demonstrations, or circulate National Liberation Front money. Anyone who is caught distributing "Communist" leaflets or flags, or engaging in any public "pro-Communist or neutralist" political activities, is subject to arrest.

The *Post* story said that in addition, in some provinces "every family has been photographed as a unit. . . . That photograph is in the custody of the government, and presence of any extra persons in the house—or the absence of any persons in the photograph who cannot be accounted for—is to be taken as proof of unlawful activity. . . ."

The fact that the Thieu dictatorship does not represent the will of the Vietnamese people was further indicated by the collapse of Thieu's soldiers in the face of the recent limited offensive by the liberation fighters. United Press International reported Jan. 24 that the liberation forces had stepped up their ground attacks throughout South Vietnam.

After a week of heavy fighting about 40 miles northwest of Saigon, Saigon troops were "decimated" by National Liberation Front forces, reported the Jan. 23 *Washington Post*.

U.S. military officials reported that on Jan. 22 American planes made their heaviest bombing raids over South Vietnam in five months.

Worldwide antiwar protests on Jan. 20

From *Intercontinental Press*

Demonstrations were held all over the world on January 20 to protest the U.S. war in Indochina.

One of the largest protests was in Dortmund, West Germany, according to United Press International. The police put the number of participants at 10,000. Marchers chanted "End the murder-terror" in Vietnam, and the organizers called for U.S. government leaders to be tried for genocide.

UPI also reported on demonstrations in Paris, Berlin, Stockholm, Tokyo, and New Delhi.

"In Paris, a police van and several private autos were set ablaze, and the riot police clashed with leftists, who hurled gasoline bombs. The war protestors, wearing helmets and wielding iron bars, tried to stage their demonstration outside the United States Embassy on the Place de la Concorde, but the police prevented them from reaching the area."

Some 5,000 marched through downtown Stockholm, according to UPI, chanting "Long Live the National Liberation Forces!"

A January 19 Reuters dispatch reported, "Traffic in the center of Vienna was brought to a standstill tonight by about 8,000 demonstrators urging the United States to halt the Vietnam war." Similar demonstrations were

held in Austria's other major cities as well.

In Berlin, a rally of 1,000 persons was staged outside the United States Information Agency's cultural center.

Photos of Nixon were burned outside the U.S. embassy in Tokyo at the end of a march by 1,200.

In New Delhi, 500 demonstrators at a rally in front of the United States Information Agency chanted "Nixon the killer" and "Americans, get out of Vietnam."

In Mexico City, 300 demonstrated, according to Associated Press.

Other demonstrations were scheduled to take place in Australia, New Zealand, London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh.

The January 20 demonstrations followed on the heels of a series of antiwar demonstrations throughout Europe during recent weeks. In Milan, a demonstration of 30,000 took place in the afternoon of January 13, followed by an evening rally in a sports stadium. The next day, another demonstration of 30,000 occurred in Bonn, filling the city's Münsterplatz.

Between December 19 and 31, thousands were mobilized in cities throughout France by the Front Solidarité Indochine (Indochina Solidarity Front).



Banners in Munich demonstration denounce U.S. genocide in Vietnam.

Der Spiegel

'Out Now' echoed through the streets

Local demonstrations blast Viet war



Antiwar demonstrators Jan. 20 in San Francisco (l) and Los Angeles. Militant/Dave Warren



Militant/Jack Barrett

Boston

By JANE STRADER

BOSTON, Jan. 19—"Today the words of 'Out Now' echoed through the streets of Boston," reported one television newscast after the antiwar demonstration held here today. The march and rally, sponsored by the January 19 Ad Hoc Committee and supported by all major Boston area peace groups, grew rapidly as it was joined by office workers on their noontime break.

Marked by "Out Now!" chants and hundreds of signs and several large banners provided by the Boston Area Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, the demonstration took on a militant tone and helped publicize the Jan. 20 demonstration in Washington, D. C.

The crowd of 5,000, many of whom seemed to be attending their first antiwar demonstration, heard Boston Mayor Kevin White and suffragist and longtime antiwar activist Florence Luscomb. Also speaking were Vietnamese student Hoi Chan; Alnita Bond, a spokeswoman for Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers union; and Professor Noam Chomsky of MIT.

The demonstration ended on a high note as a window washer picked up the spirit of the crowd and wrote "Out Now!" across a building 11 stories above their heads.

San Francisco

By FRED STANTON

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 20—A young, spirited crowd of 10,000 demonstrated here today against the war in Southeast Asia. The Northern California Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice cosponsored the action.

The marchers sang and chanted every step of the way. The signs and speakers reflected the positions of the various participating organizations. But the overwhelming sentiment of the marchers for "Out Now" was shown by the preponderance of signs they carried, the chants they repeated most often, and their response to the NPAC speaker, Stephanie Coontz. The crowd responded to her speech with spontaneous, prolonged chanting of "Out Now!"

Other speakers at the rally included Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party, draft resister David Harris, Curtis MacClaine of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Pete Velasco of the United Farm Workers, George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization, Mark Allen of PCPJ, Laura

Dertz of the SMC, and State Assemblyman Willie Brown.

On the same day a separate march and rally of 3,000 was organized by the Inauguration Day Committee, a coalition of "anti-imperialist" groups, including the Revolutionary Union, Venceremos, Berkeley Revolutionary Student Union, and others. Their action focused on the slogan of "sign and abide by the nine-point agreement."

Los Angeles

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 20—Six thousand people joined an antiwar march and rally through the busy downtown area today. The predominantly youthful marchers, many of them carrying "Out Now!" placards made by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), attracted the attention of thousands of shoppers.

NPAC-West and the SMC initiated the demonstration. It won the support of virtually all sections of the antiwar movement here, including Citizens for Peace, the L. A. Peace Action Council, Women Strike for Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the Asian Coalition, and others.

Groups favoring the demand of "Sign the Treaty" had originally organized a separate demonstration. However, they decided that the need for united action was paramount, and instead joined in sponsoring the action. They organized a feeder march of some 500 from the Echo Park area. Another feeder march came from the Asian community.

Speakers at the rally included Raoul Teillet, president of the California Federation of Teachers; NPAC-West coordinator Milt Zaslow; Pentagon papers defendant Anthony Russo; Black Panther Ericka Huggins; Steve Halpern, UCLA student body president, speaking for the SMC; and Olga Rodriguez, socialist candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. Also speaking were representatives from La Raza Unida Party, the Union of Vietnamese Students, and the Vietnam Veterans.

Dalton Trumbo, author of *Johnny Got His Gun*, chaired the rally.

Portland

By JAMES PHILLIPS

PORTLAND, Ore., Jan. 20—Four thousand people demonstrated against the war throughout Oregon today in the biggest local protests since 1969. The largest action was in Portland, where 2,000 people marched despite the rain.

The Inauguration Day Peace Coalition organized the demonstration around the demands of "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now" and "Stop the Bombing." The crowd heard an impressive array of speakers, including Paul Perlin, secretary of the Southern California District Council of the IL-WU; Fred Lovgren of the SMC; and Delia Alvarez, whose brother, Edward Alvarez Jr., has been a prisoner of war in North Vietnam longer than any other American.

The coalition, which involved virtually all of the city's peace groups in a united campaign to build the demonstration, obtained endorsements of the protest from scores of groups and individuals. These included three of the five Portland city council members, 11 of the 30 Oregon state senators, U.S. Senator Mark Hatfield, and former Senator Wayne Morse.

Significant actions also occurred in other parts of the state. In Salem, 50 people held a short rally before beginning a car caravan to the Portland demonstration. In Corvallis, 1,000 marched for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia. The Corvallis Peace Action Coalition collected 3,800 signatures for a full-page ad in the city newspaper.

In Eugene, 1,000 people organized by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the SMC attended a memorial service for victims of the war after marching from the University of Oregon campus.

Chicago

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO, Jan. 20—Despite more than a week of "peace" rumors circulated by the press and the Nixon administration, 7,000 people braved subfreezing temperatures today to demonstrate against Nixon's continuation of the war.

The demonstration, cosponsored by the Chicago Peace Action Coalition and the Chicago Peace Council, marched behind a banner saying "January 20 United Mobilization." Immediately following this was a CPAC banner demanding "Out Now," and a Peace Council banner saying "Sign the Treaty." Chants of "One-point peace plan—Out Now!" dominated the rally.

Speaking at the rally were Angel Moreno, congressional candidate for the Illinois Raza Unida Party; CPAC coordinator Steve Clark; Lester Davis, the editor of the *Chicago Teacher*, the newspaper of the striking Chicago Teachers Union; and Neil Bratcher, president of District 19 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Seattle

By HELEN MEYERS

SEATTLE, Jan. 20—Twenty five hundred people marched in the wind and rain today to demonstrate their opposition to the war in Vietnam. The demonstration, led by a contingent of Vietnam veterans, resounded with chants of "Stop the Bombing," "End the War," and "Out Now—Peace Now!"

Among the speakers was Bahram Atai, national secretary of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie. Atai is an Iranian student who is threatened with deportation from the U. S. because of his outspoken opposition to U. S. policy in Vietnam and the dictatorial regime in his native country.

John T. Williams, an NPAC national coordinator and business agent for Teamsters Local 209 in Los Angeles, also spoke.

The Seattle Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice sponsored the demonstration.

Houston

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON, Jan. 20—More than 1,000 people participated in a march and rally against the war organized by the Jan. 20 Coalition here today. Speakers at the rally included Frances Farenthold, who ran for governor in last year's Democratic Party primary; Debbie Leonard, former SWP candidate for governor; David Lopez, a Houston school board member; Barte Haile of the Sign Now Coalition; and Dan Fein, a coordinator of the Houston Peace Action Coalition.

This was one of the largest antiwar actions held here in recent years. A half-page ad in the *Houston Chronicle* was one of the ways that the action was publicized.

Organizations participating in the demonstration included the Houston Peace Action Coalition, the Houston Committee to End the War, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Sign Now Coalition, Youth Against War and Fascism, Clergy and Laymen Concerned, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Austin

By DEREK JEFFERS

AUSTIN, Jan. 20—Eight hundred people marched here today from the University of Texas campus to the state capitol. The demonstration was cosponsored under the demand "Stop the Bombing—Immediate Self-determination for Vietnam" by the Student

Continued on page 22

Over 100,000 say 'No' to Nixon's war at Inauguration Day march on Washington

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 21 — "There are more Americans here at the Washington Monument saying 'No' to the war than there are a half-mile away at the inauguration saying 'Yes' to Richard Nixon. And that's the real measure of the way things stand today in the USA."

The speaker, Jerry Gordon of the National Peace Action Coalition, was addressing the more than 100,000 people who marched here yesterday against the war in Southeast Asia.

On the eve of the march, 15,000 people turned out to hear a counter-inaugural concert performed at the Washington Cathedral by Leonard Bernstein.

As early as 9 a.m. the next morning, peace demonstrators began streaming toward the Lincoln Memorial assembly point. Surveying the long line of buses that had already arrived, many were surprised at the size of the action—despite the cold weather, despite indications that a settlement was about to be signed, and despite decreased press coverage in the last days before the demonstration.

The march stepped off early in the afternoon, led by a banner that said "Stop the bombing now! End the war now!" The first contingent, a group of people with painted white faces and black robes, carried coffins and signs commemorating places like Hanoi, Mylai, and Kent State.

Behind this contingent, signs identified marchers from Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union, Children for Peace, the Student Mobilization Committee, New Haven Women's Liberation, the Washington Teacher's Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, Gays for Peace, many campuses, and others.

The signs and chants along the line of march seemed to be evenly divided between those supporting "U.S. Out Now!" and those favoring the signing of the nine-point draft accords: "Nixon lied—the war goes on!" "One point peace plan—U.S. Out Now!" "Sign the Treaty!" "Nixon is a racist swine, make him sign on the dotted line!" One person carried a handwritten sign that read "80,000 tons of US bombs on Vietnam during Christmas equals 80,000 tons of Nazi bombs on England during all of WWII."

Antiwar and anti-Nixon signs were also in abundance along the route of the president's inauguration. Many of those lining the streets to watch Nixon go by held up protest signs.

About a thousand Vietnam veterans and supporters held a march earlier in the morning and then joined the



Militant/Bruce Bloy

Chicago antiwar march on Jan. 20

main demonstration. Vietnam Veterans Against the War sponsored this action.

At one point, while the march still filled all of Constitution Avenue from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument, demonstrators were packed in solid from the rally stage up to the Monument. Both sponsoring coalitions, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), estimated the crowd at more than 100,000. NBC-TV reported a figure of "at least 100,000."

The D. C. police, on the other hand, insisted on the ridiculously low figure of 25,000 to 30,000 while the park police estimated the crowd at 60,000.

At the rally, the speeches focused on what course the antiwar movement should take in light of the possibility of an agreement being signed. The two main points of view expressed from the podium reflected the positions of the two sponsors: NPAC's stand for "Out Now" and PCPJ's support for "Sign Now."

In his speech, which received one of the most enthusiastic responses from the crowd, Jerry Gordon said:

"The latest proposed agreement will not end U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia or even in South Vietnam. . . . Hundreds of warplanes will still be in Thailand and the Seventh Fleet will still be off the Vietnam coast—poised and ready to resume bombing operations. . . ."

"Our demand remains what it always has been," Gordon stated. "For the immediate, unconditional removal of all U.S. military forces, warplanes, ships, military bases and advisers from Southeast Asia."

Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, said, "Just as savage bombing has not crushed the will of the Vietnamese, all the lies and distortions of the past four years have not succeeded in drowning our demand: 'U.S. Out Now!'" (Excerpts from Roberts's speech are printed on page 24.)

Young Socialist Alliance National Secretary Andrew Pulley told the crowd: "The antiwar movement must combat any idea that accepts Nixon's so-called right to negotiate anything about the future of Vietnam. . . ."

Dr. Franklin Kameny, a leader in the Washington, D. C., gay movement, also advocated immediate withdrawal in his speech.

Two other speakers expressed strong skepticism that any agreement would really mean peace. Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement, told the crowd what treaties had meant for the Indian people: ". . . for 482 years we have seen the presidents of this country place their signatures on 371 congressionally ratified treaties with the Indian nation, and we have seen every one of those treaties broken."

Nguyen Thoa, a Vietnamese woman, warned that "even if Nixon signs the peace agreement, he will pay no attention to allowing the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs."

While those speakers urging "Out Now" drew the strongest response from the marchers, several who addressed the rally called for support to the nine-point agreement.

Young Workers Liberation League Chairman Jarvis Tyner was one of the speakers who supported this demand. He attacked "those who oppose [the treaty] from the left or in the name of self-determination, even, for



Militant/Flax Hermes

Demonstrators cheer during Jan. 20 antiwar rally in Washington, D. C.

the Vietnamese." He continued, "We want to say that any notion that the Vietnamese people are weak and defeated is erroneous. We want to further say that to oppose the treaty now is to play clearly into the hands of Nixon's efforts to stall."

Juan Gonzales, who spoke as a representative of the Nov. 4 Coalition, said, "We should be clear that some groups, like the National Peace Action Coalition, like the Socialist Workers Party, who openly attack the peace agreements, divide and confuse our struggle, aid Nixon, and hurt the Vietnamese."

Both sponsoring coalitions selected an equal number of speakers for the rally. However, PCPJ originally insisted on having veto power over all speakers. And leading up to the demonstration and during the rally itself, some PCPJ supporters made serious

threats to physically disrupt the proceedings.

Gil Green, a leader of the Communist Party, threatened, "All hell will break loose," if any speaker criticized the accords. Green slandered NPAC and the SWP. "NPAC's position as presented at its Nov. 18, 1972, rallies was to attack the Vietnamese as betrayers," he stated. Green made it clear in later discussions that he viewed the analysis of the accords printed in *The Militant* and any criticism of the Soviet Union as an "attack on the Vietnamese."

These threats were clearly aimed at intimidating "Out Now" supporters in hope that these speakers would refrain from expressing their views at the rally.

The crudest threat was made the day before the rally by Felix Flores,

Continued on page 22

Pulley speaks at rally

Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, addressed the Inauguration Day protest in Washington, D. C. Pulley ran for vice-president on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1972.

"Nixon is trying through bombing to impose his will on the Vietnamese," Pulley told the crowd. "To stop him, we have to continue to oppose the U.S. presence in Southeast Asia, whether a ceasefire is signed or not. And we should demand U.S. Out Now!"

"The antiwar movement must combat any idea that accepts Nixon's so-called right to negotiate anything about the future of Vietnam. . . ."

"The Vietnamese have the right to negotiate with the imperialist bandits in an attempt to alleviate some of the pressure they are un-

der. But we should not support any of the conditions that Nixon imposes on them," Pulley said.

"We must also recognize that Moscow and Peking have pressured the Vietnamese to come to terms with Nixon," he pointed out. When Nixon launched his carpet-bombing attack on Hanoi and Haiphong over Christmas, Pulley continued, "Moscow and Peking failed to adequately defend North Vietnam."

"Antiwar fighters—our task is to oppose the U.S. maintaining any foothold in Southeast Asia. Until we succeed, we must continue to fight for Out Now!"

"For the complete liberation of Vietnam! For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia! For Nixon to get the hell out of Southeast Asia now!"

...Viet accords

Continued from page 1

all proposals presented to this body. Any elections Thieu agreed to would be "free elections" Saigon style.

Far from preparing for "free elections," Thieu is preparing a bloodbath of political executions, mass arrests, and political terror to liquidate any opposition.

In the coming struggles in South Vietnam, Washington will not remain neutral. Kissinger made it crystal clear in his news conference that the U.S. will back Saigon to the hilt. He repeatedly warned North Vietnam not to "violate" the accords. Washington threatens to unleash once again its terrible destructive power if the landlord-capitalist regime in Saigon appears to be in danger.

With cynical double-speak, Kissinger spoke about the right of Vietnam to self-determination. But the very fact that the U.S. has negotiated the future of Vietnam is in itself a fundamental violation of self-determination.

Washington's diplomacy has been the diplomacy of terror bombing and genocidal air raids on the people of Vietnam. It has relied, and continues to rely, on the force of arms to impose its will on Vietnam.

The Thieu regime would not survive a day without the massive military support of the U.S. Yet Nixon keeps this regime in power in the name of "self-determination"!

The terms of the cease-fire contain numerous violations of the principle of self-determination, and many concessions wrung out of the Vietnamese rebel forces.

For example, while Kissinger said American POWs are to be released "unconditionally" within 60 days, there is no guarantee or time limit for the release of the estimated 200,000 political prisoners held in Thieu's prisons. Kissinger said the "problem" of distinguishing between civil-war prisoners and "criminals" would be worked out between the Thieu regime and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The accords contain other conditions that Washington has imposed on the Vietnamese. North Vietnam has been forced to accept these conditions under the military blows of Washington and the failure of both Moscow and Peking to adequately aid the Vietnamese, either politically or militarily.

The Vietnamese, of course, have every right to negotiate and sign an agreement with the U.S. and Saigon. But we must not give support in any way to the conditions the U.S. imposes on them. Any attempt to paint these conditions as a "victory" can only disarm and disorient the international antiwar movement and the defenders of the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination. Our job is to tell the truth about the conditions Washington, Moscow, and Peking have imposed on the Vietnamese people. We must prepare to continue mobilizing opposition to U.S. war aims in Southeast Asia.

In his televised speech on Tuesday, Jan. 23, Nixon appealed to "other interested nations to help insure that the agreement is carried out and peace is maintained." He made it clear through this reference that he will continue to rely on Moscow and Peking to exert "influence" on the Vietnamese. They have put pressure on Hanoi to agree to terms acceptable to the U.S. so as not to endanger their detente with Nixon.

Kissinger also announced that Washington had the agreement of Moscow and Peking to join a big power conference on Indochina less than a month from now. The purpose of this conference will be to legitimize the violations of self-determination contained in the accords.

The heirs of Stalin in the Kremlin and their counterparts in Peking have repeatedly refused to provide the Vietnamese with an adequate defense in response to the genocidal escalations of either Johnson or Nixon. The fact that this policy did not change one iota during the mining of the ports of North Vietnam or during the most recent terror bombing has strengthened Washington's confidence that both Brezhnev and Mao will continue to twist Hanoi's arm after the cease-fire takes effect.

The struggle will continue in Vietnam against the Thieu regime's bloody dictatorship. Our struggle here will continue until the U.S. is forced to withdraw entirely, and without imposing any conditions, from all of Southeast Asia. Only when that is done will the Vietnamese be able to determine their own future. Only then can there be peace in Indochina.

Quebec separatist movement

First of all, let me say how much I am enjoying your articles. I might add that they are of great help in the enlightenment of my history students. Both *The Militant* and *Granma*, the Cuban newspaper, are my most prized sources of information on the world socialist movements.

However, I would like to add to my list information on the Québec separatist movement. Do you have the addresses of any Québec revolutionary organizations? I am also interested in a French periodical or any English publications.

R. R.
Old San Juan, Puerto Rico

In reply—You should contact the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 226 Est, Rue Ste.-Catherine, Montréal, Québec. You would also be interested in two revolutionary socialist newspapers: *Libération*, which is in French, and *Labor Challenge*.

The address for *Labor Challenge* is P. O. Box 5595, Sta. A., Toronto 1, Ontario. For information about *Libération*, write to B.P. 641, Stn. N., Montréal 129, Québec.

Quebec Liberation School

The political situation here in Québec is a very dynamic and explosive one. It is a situation, however, about which few politically active groups and individuals elsewhere on the North American continent have been very aware.

Québec is a bilingual society. One would expect that there would be people in both the French-speaking and English-speaking sectors who would be working together for the joint aim of socialism and independence. However, as too often happens, cultural barriers become political ones.

The unions in the province, especially the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, have been taking an increasingly anti-capitalist line. Last May and June, there were major strikes involving a quarter of a million workers in both the public and private sectors of the economy.

Yet it is usually only among the French-speaking and immigrant peoples in Québec that such demonstrations of revolutionary potential are found. This is precisely the situation that Liberation School wishes to change.

We are predominantly an English-speaking group of students and workers.

We have published a *Statement of Principles* and the first two issues of a newspaper, the *Free Press*. For more information you can write to us at the Liberation School Centre, 420 Prince Arthur St. W., Montréal, Québec. For copies of *Free Press* write Room 460, 3480 McTavish St., Montréal, Québec.

Liberation School
Montréal, Québec, Canada

Dixie cup and thread

The New York Telephone Company wants to start charging us for calls made to the information operator to get a number, a service that heretofore has been incorporated into their extravagant monthly charges. They plan to make \$20-million a year from this new scheme.

Retreating somewhat because of public outrage they have generously agreed to exempt the handicapped from the charge—if they provide a doctor's note.

Lenny Bruce used to say that "if you get too hot with the phone company, you'll end up with a dixie cup and a thread."

No, Lenny, we think it's going to be the other way around. The corporate owners of this public-service monopoly are getting too hot with us. They are going to end up with the dixie cup and the thread. And we are going to end up with their telephone company.

Michael Smith
Carla Hoag
New York, N. Y.

A keen insight

I just wanted to write a letter to compliment Cindy Jaquith on her articles. I find them interesting and written with a keen insight. Although I can't always agree with everything she writes, I feel that I must compliment her on her talents.

Thanks for many excellent articles.
B. B.
Elmhurst, Ill.

'Success' for Zionists

In the letter "Supports Israel" in the Jan. 19 *Militant* K. O. states that *The Militant* "overlooks" the facts. That statement, like the rest of the letter, is itself overlooking the facts.

Israel, as *The Militant* stated, is wrong in trying to stop the struggle of the Arabs for the recovery of their land. I wish that K. O. realized that the state of Israel is a success only to Zionists. I would not consider throwing people out of their land a success.

Israel is one of the weapons of the imperialists, used against Arabs and Jews, to keep us divided and fighting among ourselves. At the same time they laugh because we keep forgetting who the real enemies are—the imperialists.

In addition, *The Militant*, with its internationalist approach, has been doing a very good job in getting the people to know the truth.

Keep it up.
P. A.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dirty, ludicrous squabble

I would like to make some comments on K. O.'s letter of Jan. 19, Peter Seidman's article in the same issue, and the debate on the Israeli state.

I abhor the way that the Palestinians have been treated at the hands of the Israelis. If there is such a thing as a right to take arms against one's fellow man, the Palestinians certainly have a legitimate claim to it. Yet I have absolutely no sympathy for the terrorists who cause the deaths of innocents, as have the more publicized Palestinians.

...I don't believe that these actions are representative of the Palestinian people, any more than the oppression of Palestinians is representative of Israeli attitudes in general.

My point is that what has been touted by both sides to be a fight



The American Way of Life

Michael Baumann

Can't we just watch the game?

for liberty and sovereignty is, in reality, a dirty, ludicrous squabble in which both sides would prefer to continue the conflict rather than honestly face each other in compromise.

R. J.
Brunswick, Maine

Gulp!

To those who are wondering why government figures on inflation are lower than their actual experience as shoppers, a report from the Department of Agriculture gives the answer.

The report says that farm prices jumped 5 percent in December and that the rise in the past year is 18 percent. For example, wheat cost \$1.34 per bushel in Dec. 1971 and \$2.38 in Dec. 1972; hogs went from \$25.40 per hundredweight in Dec. 1971 to \$29.50 in Dec. 1972; and corn jumped from \$1.08 per bushel to \$1.42.

These prices reinforce the need to take measures to protect workers from inflation. The first step should be a demand for escalator clauses in union contracts that would automatically give wage increases to compensate for rises in the cost of living.

The second step should be the organization of consumer committees in all neighborhoods to police prices now arbitrarily set by supermarket owners. Prices should be set by these committees, not by the profiteers.

Finally, the main cause of inflation, the huge war spending program, should be eliminated.

Milton Alvin
Los Angeles, Calif.

Israeli radical groups

In the last issue of *The Militant*, in an article on the repression in Israel, we erroneously referred to the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (sometimes translated as Revolutionary Communist Union) as an anarchist group. The RCA is instead a group that has been influenced by Maoism.

We also erroneously referred to the Red Front as being another name for the RCA. The Red Front is a group that has its origins in a split from the RCA. Members of the Red Front were the first to be arrested in the "spy-ring" case.

Tony Thomas
New York, N. Y.

Clarification

Followers of the career of George C. Scott may have noted a misleading statement in my review of *Rage* (*Militant*, Jan. 26). This was not Scott's first effort as a director (as I stated), but rather his first effort as a director of feature-length films. Before *Rage* he directed plays and worked on the production of a TV series.

David Salner
New York, N. Y.

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

In Switzerland, an international boxing match is preceded by the playing of the anthems of each fighter's country, the Swiss anthem, and that of the referee's country.

Things have never quite reached that point here. But it's not because a few sports promoters haven't tried, as those of us who watched the recent Super Bowl game can testify. Along with the game, whether we wanted it or not, we were treated to:

Three Apollo 17 astronauts leading the pledge of allegiance;

A group of Black children leading the national anthem;

And for good measure, a half-time extravaganza in which a flock of doves was released as a marching band formed the word "love."

To ensure there are no slipups in the elaborate pregame ritual, the National Football League issues official instructions on the proper way for players to line up while the anthem is being played.

One coach, Harry (Bud) Grant of the Minnesota Vikings, doesn't take any chances at all. He drills his players in anthem procedures. "When he took over as coach in 1967," reports *New York Times* sportswriter Dave Anderson, "he spent part of each day teaching the players how to stand at attention, how to hold their helmets."

As American as apple pie, right? Wrong. Like many other symbols of patriotic fervor, opening sports events with the national anthem was practically unheard of before World War II. Sentiment against another war, the Vietnam war, may eventually bury the custom.

Protests by players have forced many college basketball teams to schedule locker-room meetings

during the anthem. Other schools, worried about protests from the stands, have dropped the anthem altogether.

In Montreal, they used to play both the Canadian and U.S. anthems before hockey games between teams from the two countries. The "Star Spangled Banner" is no longer played. "There is a lot of sentiment against the Vietnamese war in our country. . .," a Montreal Canadiens' official explained. "We don't want any incidents."

Track officials at Madison Square Garden in New York thought it might be a good idea to get rid of the anthem too. On Jan. 15, two days after a Long Island referee disqualified the entire Eastern Michigan University track squad because two team members failed to stand during the anthem, the officials announced they were dropping the anthem from a scheduled Olympic meet.

Defenders of the faith were quick to react. The New York city council drafted legislation making it a "misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not less than \$500 or 10 days in jail, or both" to stage a sporting event without playing the anthem.

The *New York Daily News* called dropping the anthem "outrageous, craven kowtowing to a small minority. . . ." And the chairman of the Veterans of Foreign Wars law and order committee threatened to organize a boycott against the event.

The Garden officials backed down the next day and agreed to find a spot for the anthem. But the controversy won't stop there. The war in Vietnam and systematic racial oppression at home have made millions of Americans resent being forced to take part in a hypocritical ritual every time they go to a sports event. The promoters would be better off if they just let us watch the game.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Conspiracy in the auto industry

A little-noted Reuters dispatch from Detroit on Jan. 17 reported that the Justice Department has charged top executives of Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler with price-fixing.

All told, 48 present and former GM officials, 45 others from Ford, and four from Chrysler were named. The government's bill of particulars said they held a series of secret meetings in 1969 and 1970 at which confidential cost information was exchanged, and that at some of these meetings they planned mutual strike-assistance pacts.

This information is misleading if anyone thinks these conspirators are about to be brought to trial. None are listed as defendants in the government's price-fixing case on auto fleet sales. They just happen to be the ones who did the fixing and now benefit from it. (The auto industry is expected to announce profits for 1972 in excess of \$3-billion after taxes, a record high.)

Nixon thinks so highly of GM's former chairman Roche, one of the price fixers, that he named him to serve on the 10-member labor-management committee to advise the Cost of Living Council on wage standards. In light of the known facts, the apparent theory behind selecting Roche was that if he was so good at regulating prices and keeping wages down and profits up for General Motors, he ought to have some useful advice for the government about how to do the same thing for the rest of the capitalist class.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, also serves on the committee. But the reason for his appointment is different. He is expected to advise on how to keep workers on the job while wages lag behind runaway prices and while productivity speeds ahead.

At a news conference in Detroit the day before the price-fixing story broke, Woodcock released a statement by the UAW executive board. The statement said union bargainers will ask for a reopener clause in the new union contracts this year, but Woodcock went beyond this in answer to reporters questions. He said he has been meeting with officials of other unions to work out mutual assistance pacts against the attacks on wage standards.

It would be more effective to hold open meetings of the millions of union men and women who are anxious to strike down the whole structure of government wage controls that is grinding away their standard of living.

Instead of shoring up that structure by serving as advisers to the Cost of Living Council, Woodcock and other union officials on the government's labor-management advisory committee would do better to seek advice from the members of their unions and get off all government boards.

There is something to be learned from the growing number of mutual strike assistance pacts between the big corporations. For a long time the UAW officialdom has fostered the fiction that GM, Ford, and Chrysler are competitors in the auto industry, that the most effective weapon against them is the "selective strike."

Whichever company is struck, it is argued, must either come to terms with the union or suffer at the hands of its competitors. This has never happened, but UAW officials like to pretend that it has.

After every UAW strike the "target company" has quickly regained its competitive position, and regardless which of the Big Three is struck wages and prices remain uniform. The reason is monopoly control in the auto industry; it is not a conglomerate of competing companies. The latest evidence of price fixing and mutual strike protection pacts only confirms again what has long been known.

The UAW's traditional one-at-a-time strike strategy avoids a showdown with the auto monopoly and forestalls government intervention. But the present moves of government in collusion with the giant corporations indicate that a showdown on wage rates cannot be avoided much longer.

A general assault on real wages (what the pay check will buy) is what the union movement should brace itself for. This can be done by holding the widest possible conferences of union men and women to inform everyone of management conspiracy and collusion, and to prepare a political counterattack by the working class against this government that shelters criminal employers in every way possible.



Confidence dropped 1,000 percent—“My confidence in the ability to get to people with appeals based on simple, old-fashioned virtues like trust and decency has been shattered.”—George McGovern discussing his presidential race.

Double accolade—The Pentagon bestowed its distinguished service medal on its press briefer, Jerry Friedheim, for providing the media with “faultless professional, clear, concise, accurate and timely information concerning the worldwide activities of the Dept. of Defense.” Meanwhile UPI reported one columnist saluted him by declaring: “Perhaps no man in history has ever lied for the government as doggedly, as witlessly or as unsuccessfully as Jerry Friedheim.”

Does seem like a sellers' market—New York apartment hunters may be interested that in Tokyo the city of-

fered 103 apartments for sale and got nearly 40,000 applications. Prices of the apartments ranged from \$23,940 to \$26,457—30 percent cheaper than comparable private deals.

Heavy hoot—The Agriculture Department wants a patent on its creation Woodsy Owl so it can collect royalties on an anticipated widespread commercial reproduction of the little critter that offers national forest visitors the advice: “Give a hoot, don't pollute.” So far, it's estimated, the environmental symbol has enjoyed 2.5 million reproductions, including games, buttons, pictures, and other nonpollutants.

Presidential know-how—“I don't see enough flags flying in this country,” presidential aide Harry Dent quoted his majesty as saying. Dent was put in charge of a task force to remedy the situation. “So,” he explains, “we

worked through the Reader's Digest, and some oil companies and flag manufacturers. And as a result there is now a whole rash of them around the country.”



“... And when we seasonally adjust the statistics, gentlemen, the unemployed will find that they're better off than they think they are!”

Sounds reasonable—We only now received word of a year-old National Science Foundation study that showed that the students most likely to complete college were those who had good high school grades, did not hold jobs or live at home while attending college, had good study habits, and did not smoke cigarettes.

How could we manage without them?—Illustrative of how the captains of industry keep the wheels of the nation turning is the explanation of the fuel oil shortage offered by one petroleum executive. “Winter moves fast,” he observed. “Oil moves slow. That is the problem.”

Tax-deductible too—Research for a booklet on the cleaning and care of waterfowl soaked in oil spills was financed by a grant from the American Petroleum Institute, which no doubt can't afford research on how to prevent spills.

Women In Revolt

Big victory at Ma Bell

Women workers and Black and Spanish-speaking workers won a landmark victory Jan. 18 with the settlement of a discrimination suit against the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. AT& T has agreed to pay out \$15-million in back pay and \$23-million in raises to employees who have been denied equal pay and job opportunities in the past. Most of those affected are women.

In 1970 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) took AT& T to court on charges of excluding both women and Blacks from craft jobs. The commission said in addition that women were unable to get into management training programs, and that in the South, the company used unfair tests to prevent Blacks from being hired at all.

The most unusual aspect of the settlement is the lump-sum restitution plan. Some employees who lost higher pay because AT& T discrimination discouraged them from seeking promotions will receive special lump-sum payments. The first 10,000 women who move into craft jobs will get \$100 to \$400 each.

Those who will receive back pay include:

- Three thousand women already in craft jobs but currently receiving lower wages than men who perform the same work.

- About 2,000 Black and Spanish-speaking males.

- Women in management positions who were refused entrance into training programs.

- The settlement also calls on AT& T to implement an affirmative action program whereby it would hire women for 38 to 40 percent of all inside craft jobs and for 19 percent of all outside jobs. The company agreed to a goal of 10 percent male operators and 25 percent male clerks.

There are, of course, shortcomings to the settlement. The National Organization for Women (NOW), which has been involved in the suit from the beginning, pointed out that AT& T really owes its employees something like \$4-billion. Even an official in the EEOC admitted this. According to the Jan. 19 *Washington Post*, the official said the lump-sum payments are a lot less than what employees would have earned had they been able to get higher-paying jobs in the first place.

Added to this is the fact that the EEOC made a deal with AT& T, offering to drop charges against the company on rate increases if it signed the discrimination agreement. This means that the heat is off AT& T as far as rate hikes are concerned. David Eastlick, a company vice-president, has already announced that the cost of the settlement

Cindy Jaquith



is something that “the public will ultimately have to pay.”

The idea of AT& T passing the cost of this settlement on to consumers is especially outrageous. Thirty-eight million dollars is a drop in the bucket for AT& T—last year alone it made \$2.5-billion in profits.

At least some of the AT& T employees are skeptical about the company's intentions of living up to the settlement. One Black woman who works for AT& T told the *New York Times*: “You know when I'll believe them? When I get a check.”

Basically, the agreement reflects the growing pressure on the government to look as if it is enforcing equal rights legislation. Employees are justified in not trusting either AT& T or the government agencies involved to carry out the terms of the agreement.

But the settlement does demonstrate that workers can win concessions, and it will serve as an important precedent in equal-pay and job-opportunities cases in the future. Many such cases involving women are currently in the courts.

But court rulings are not enough. Women's rights committees in every union are necessary to see that all favorable court decisions are strictly enforced.

By Any Means Necessary

Demise of the New York Plan

When the New York Plan was created two years ago, it was presented as an attempt to bring more Blacks and Puerto Ricans into the skilled crafts of the New York building trades unions. Most of these craft unions are 95 percent white. Close to 50 percent of the laborers on construction sites are Black or Puerto Rican.

The unions, the bosses, and the city and state governments “voluntarily” agreed to the plan. By coming up with a “hometown” program, New York was able to avoid a federal plan, such as the one imposed in Philadelphia.

These plans were created in response to a wave of demonstrations in 1968 and 1969. Black workers picketed federally financed construction sites, demanding that more Blacks be admitted into the virtually lily-white unions.

One of the architects of the New York Plan was Peter Brennan, then head of the city's Building Trades Council. Brennan is Nixon's new nominee for secretary of labor.

On Jan. 12, New York Mayor John Lindsay abruptly announced that the city was withdrawing from the plan, effectively ending it. Lindsay said he was “very disappointed” with the results.

Under the plan, 800 trainees were to be brought into a job-training program. Only 537 were actually given jobs, and only 34 achieved full union membership.

Since Lindsay's announcement, charges have flown back and forth over the plan's merits. Thomas Broidrick, chairman of the plan, said he was upset by the city's action because the plan made the city's “minority placement the best in the country.” He claimed the program had been hampered by a lack of funds.

Lindsay blamed “union noncompliance.” He appealed to the federal government to impose “goals and timetables for minority employment on all federally funded construction in the city.” His request will be judged by the Department of Labor,

Baxter Smith



headed by none other than Peter Brennan.

The city, state, and federal governments, the construction industry, and the unions have all refused to deal honestly with the issue of hiring more Blacks and Puerto Ricans in New York. They have attempted to shift the blame onto each other for failure of the plan, defending their own actions as “reasonable.”

The plan was designed to create the illusion that the union leadership, the construction industry, and the government were concerned and willing to develop special programs to train Blacks and Puerto Ricans. But because these parties were never interested in that, and excluded the Black and Puerto Rican communities from all decisions, the plan was doomed to failure from the start.

Until Blacks and other oppressed nationalities win control over the formulation of plans for preferential hiring and training, and win the power to enforce such plans, there will be little progress in this area.

Gov't case falters in Ellsberg-Russo trial

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 23—Prosecution efforts to prove that publishing the Pentagon papers gave military aid to the "enemy" received a setback last week. The defense established Jan. 19 that information cited as key in this respect had previously been published four years ago in a government printing office document available to the public for \$6.



Daniel Ellsberg

Gary Leonard

To establish that defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo had made valuable military intelligence available to Hanoi and the National Liberation Front, the prosecution brought in an Army general who had helped prepare one of the reports included in the Pentagon papers.

Offering testimony as an "expert witness," Lieutenant General William DePuy described being part of a task force dispatched to Vietnam after the 1968 Tet offensive to prepare a special report on the state of the war.

The report detailed some of the blows the liberation forces had inflicted on the U. S. and Saigon forces. It also forwarded General William Westmoreland's estimate that he would need 206,000 more troops to win the war.

DePuy's report was included in the massive government study that became known as the Pentagon papers. After Ellsberg released the study to the *New York Times* and other newspapers, he and Russo were indicted for "theft" of government property and violation of the espionage law.

With pages of his "top secret" report being reproduced on a large screen for the jury, General DePuy sat on the stand quoting paragraphs he asserted would be of aid to the liberation forces if they were to plan another offensive like the one in 1968.

Under cross-examination, he conceded that the NLF and the North Vietnamese might be able to acquire such information through their own intelligence sources or simply by using common sense. However, he insisted, the reports would have the virtue for them of coming "from the horse's mouth."

He further conceded that much of the essential facts in the report had been made available in various articles that appeared in 1968 in the *New York Times*.

The general was the government's first principal witness in the trial,

which resumed here early in January. Prosecution had begun last year, but it was interrupted when the defense sought, unsuccessfully, to have the Supreme Court intervene in the case.

When the trial resumed, the jury selected previously was discharged and a new one was selected. The present jury of 10 women and two men is considered to be somewhat more representative than the previous one. While still far from reflecting the Los Angeles community, it does include three Blacks and one Chicano.

In his opening statement, Justice Department attorney David Nissen said the government case would focus exclusively on the claim that Ellsberg and Russo had stolen government property and had violated espionage laws by transmitting classified documents to unauthorized individuals.

He emphasized that the government would not seek to justify the Vietnam war or explore the motives of the defendants. Nor, he asserted, would the government case deal with the publication of the Pentagon papers in the press.

The government did not, however, move to indict Ellsberg and Russo until after the papers were published in the *Times*. It is generally recognized that the prosecution of Ellsberg and Russo represents an effort to inhibit the publication of information shedding light on the true nature of U. S. aggression in Vietnam. Conviction of the defendants would strike a blow at First Amendment rights.

In the opening statement for the defense, attorney Leonard Boudin said he would establish that Ellsberg, a former top government specialist on Vietnam, had lawful possession of the documents at all times. The defense would also establish, he said, that transmission of so-called classified materials did not violate any federal statutes.

Boudin noted that Ellsberg had originally presented the documents to



Anthony Russo

Gary Leonard

Senator Fulbright in an effort to make Congress aware of what was being done in Vietnam.

The defense would establish, Boudin said, that government officials had deceived both Congress and the American people about Vietnam. He said that Ellsberg and Russo's revelation of the Pentagon study had been "helpful" in attempting to remedy this.

Black probe set on Detroit cop violence

By RONALD LOCKETT

DETROIT, Jan. 23—In response to the wave of police terror unleashed against Detroit's Black community, a broad-based Black commission of inquiry into police terror has been formed.

Maceo Dixon, one of the coordinators of the commission, told *The Militant* about its purpose. "Unlike the Detroit common council whitewash hearing held Jan. 11," Dixon said, "we want to hold a series of hearings at times and places accessible to the Black community. We plan a series of hearings in different parts of the city to expose the true extent of the police terror. We are also planning a special city-wide meeting to hear and discuss proposals for action to effectively stop this terrorizing of our community."

Those who have agreed to serve on the commission include Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.); Elliot Hall, president of the Detroit NAACP; Daisy Elliot and Jackie Vaughn III, both state representatives; Jim Ingram of the *Michigan Chronicle*; Larry Neville from UNICOM; Chokwe Lumumba, vice-president of the Republic of New Africa; Frank Ditto of the "Black Talk" TV show; Rowley Smith, president of the Pan-African Congress; and Pepper Jacques of the Health Council.

Also, Fred Durhall, president of the Association of Minority Law Students at Wayne State University; State Senator Coleman Young; Lonnie Peaks, Black studies director at Wayne County Community College; Nyamize Tabata (Loretta Akers), chairwoman of Associated Black Students at Wayne State University; Ron Scott, former radio commentator; Sam Simpson, lawyer; and Jean Cunningham, editor, *South End*.

The launching of the commission comes at a time when the city remains tense. Police continue to harass the Black community, stopping hundreds of cars each day and subjecting their Black occupants to searches and questioning.

Typical of police methods was a 70-block search in the early morning hours of Jan. 16. The cops claimed they had a report that a suspect in a police shooting case was in the neighborhood, and they blocked off the entire area. With a police helicopter circling overhead, illuminating the

area with a powerful searchlight, they inspected every house and garage. With drawn guns and high-power rifles they searched every car attempting to enter or leave the area.

The NAACP and Wolverine Bar Association (a Black attorneys' organization) held a meeting Jan. 18 entitled "Police-community crisis."

On Jan. 17, the *South End*, the Wayne State University newspaper, held a forum on STRESS, the Detroit plainclothes police terror unit whose initials stand for "Stop the Robberies — Enjoy Safe Streets." More than 400 Black people attended.

Included among the speakers were Tom Moss, president of the Guardians, a Black police officers organization, and Jean Cunningham, editor of the *South End*. All of the speakers demanded that STRESS be abolished and the widespread police harassment of the Black community cease.

On Jan. 11, police captured Hayward Brown, one of three suspects wanted in the wounding of five STRESS officers and the killing of another last month. Police had used the attack on the STRESS officers as an excuse to launch a search-and-seizure operation against Black citizens in their homes and on the streets.

Police reported that the injuries Brown suffered during his capture were the result of falling down after a chase. But people who saw the arrest denied this. One witness described the incident: "He [Brown] was calmly walking down the street when two or three police cars came on the scene. They told him to stop, and he stopped. He put his hands up. Then they grabbed him and hit him several times with the butts of their guns. Then they made him get on the ground."

"After handcuffing him they stomped him on the back of his head and in the small of his back many times. By that time the whole block was filled with police, and they all came over to get a lick in. You can see the blood out on the sidewalk."

Elliot Hall, newly elected president of the Detroit NAACP, deplored the brutal beating. He said Brown had an assortment of bruises, cuts, and lumps covering his entire body. Hall also said, "They made it no secret in the beating of him . . . they usually make it subtle, but a police officer was killed so they blatantly beat him."

Zahraie defense wins hearing

By FRED LOVGREN

SEATTLE, Jan. 22—The U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has agreed to hold a hearing Feb. 8 on Babak Zahraie's application for permanent residency. This is an important development in the fight to prevent the deportation of Zahraie, since Immigration had previously refused to consider his application, charging that he was in the U. S. illegally.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie hailed the decision as a step forward that has come about as a result of the public pressure mounted on Zahraie's behalf. Zahraie has been fighting to stop a deportation order issued last March.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie is a broadly representative group of organizations and individuals who have united to oppose deportation of Babak Zahraie, Bahram Atai, and Siamak Zahraie. All three are Iranian students being victimized by the U. S. government because of their political activities.

The hearing will be an important step in Babak Zahraie's battle to stop his deportation order. The committee has appealed for letters supporting Zahraie to be sent before Feb. 8 to the District Director, Seattle Office of the Naturalization and Immigration Service, 815 Airport Way South, Seattle, Wash. 98134. Copies should be sent to Zahraie's attorney, Michael Withey, 2108 Smith Towers, Seattle, Wash. 98104.

In preparation for the campaign to win support for Zahraie before the hearing, the committee has published a new brochure detailing the case. It has also announced plans to send the three defendants on speaking tours to publicize the defense effort and to speak on the fight for civil liberties for foreign students.

The committee urgently needs funds to cover increased legal and publicity costs. Donations and requests for information should be sent to Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, Box 133, HUB, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98105.

Houston forum condemns YAWF disruption

By KATHY STALLWORTH

HOUSTON—On Jan. 19 members of Youth Against War and Fascism and the Sign the Treaty Now Coalition violently disrupted a discussion at the Militant Forum here. Using a blackjack and a long flashlight-club, they injured two members of the audience.

The incident occurred during a scheduled debate on "Which Way Out of Vietnam: Sign the Treaty or Out Now." Bartee Haile represented the Sign the Treaty Now Coalition and YAWF, and Peter Gellert spoke for the Young Socialist Alliance.

According to a statement unanimously approved by those present at the forum after the incident: "Two prominent members of the Sign the Treaty Now Coalition who arrived just after Haile had finished his presentation created an incident at the door."

The statement told how a YAWF member who had been sitting at the rear of the forum intervened at the door, reentered the hall, and disrupted the meeting. "He then drew out a blackjack and attacked a forum supporter, who after being hit, wrested the blackjack away from the YAWF member. Following a melee during which the adjoining bookstore was badly damaged, the YAWF members left, making threats of further violence."

The forum audience ended its statement by saying: "This body goes on record condemning this attack on democratic discussion within the movement. . . . There is no place for such violence within the movement, and we call on the leaders of YAWF to repudiate their members' behavior in this incident."

Perhaps fearing that the truth about this incident would isolate them within Houston's radical movement, the YAWF and Sign the Treaty Now Coalition leadership distributed a joint leaflet the next day at the Jan. 20 antiwar demonstration in Houston.

This leaflet claimed that it was the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance that had organized and planned a physical attack on YAWF at the Militant Forum!

Organizers of the Militant Forum point not only to the unanimous statement approved by the Jan. 19 audience as to what happened that evening, but also to the long history of Militant Forums throughout the country as places for democratic debate and discussion of differences within the radical movement.

On Jan. 23, a large plate-glass window at the Houston SWP headquarters was found broken by a heavy metal object. While not charging YAWF with this act, SWP representatives in Houston have pointed out that YAWF's action has created an atmosphere in which government provocateurs might seek to create an incident in order to get the SWP to retaliate against YAWF.

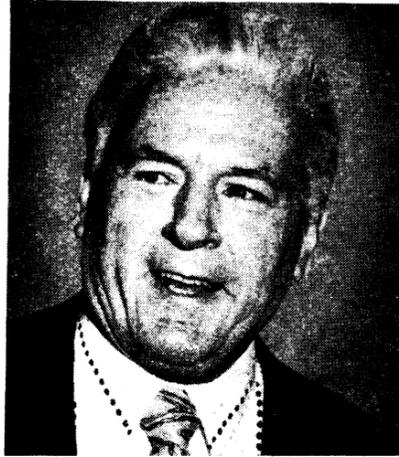
To counter this danger, the SWP has called upon YAWF and all sections of the movement in Houston to repudiate this latest act of vandalism and to renounce the use of violence in the movement in general.

Long Island RR strike ends as Brennan gets 'cool-off' period

By FRANK LOVELL

A foretaste of the performance expected of labor faker Peter Brennan, Nixon's choice for secretary of labor, came just one day ahead of scheduled Senate hearings on his appointment.

Brennan announced in Washington Jan. 17 that all parties to the 49-day strike on the Long Island Rail Road had agreed "voluntarily" to resume operation of the New York commuter line "for a 90-day cooling-off period," and that he did not expect a renewal of the strike. This put him in solid with most members of Congress.



Peter Brennan

The terms for ending the long strike were based on prestrike recommendations of a government "fact finding" commission. The recommendations had been accepted by the quasi-public Metropolitan Transportation Authority and the LIRR, and rejected by the unions.

The recommended 6 percent wage increase is retroactive to January 1972. It will give the strikers a flat sum of about \$600 before taxes and a small raise in weekly wages of about \$13, up from a top-pay gross of \$219.

The take-home pay of car inspectors and other nonoperating workers affected by the "Brennan agreement" will range from about \$150 to \$185 a week. The unions had originally demanded a 28 percent increase to bring their wages up to the level of the train crews and other nonoperating employees.

Brennan announced that he had reached agreement all around after meeting with "some of my friends." He said these included management representatives, union officials, and commuters.

Dr. William Ronan, the Rockefeller-appointed chairman of the MTA, and Walter Schlager, president of the LIRR, were present when Brennan made his announcement. Both appeared satisfied with the turn of events.

Ronan gave assurances that "more than a temporary settlement" had been reached. Later, he also said there would be "no fare increase in calendar 1973" for the 180,000 daily passengers (90,000 of them commuters) who ride the LIRR.

Anthony D'Avanzo, another of Brennan's friends, was also present when the strike settlement was announced. D'Avanzo is a general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and spokesman for the 12 "non-op" unions representing 5,000 strikers.

He told reporters later that he had agreed to the settlement because "we were not getting anywhere," and said that all the demands of the unions

would be reviewed during the 90-day cool-off.

All parties agreed to a three-member panel, one appointed by management, another by the unions, and a third by Brennan. "I will personally work with these boys to reach a fair and equitable settlement which the commuters, the workers, and the railroad can all live with," Brennan said.

The strikers were not consulted about whether they were ready to return to work under these terms, and no vote was taken.

The sudden settlement of the LIRR strike cut across another move against the strikers by Nassau County Executive Ralph Caso, who had sought a federal court injunction forcing a return to work while negotiations continued.

The court injunction could have forced the strikers back to work without their one-year retroactive pay but probably would have awarded them the recommended 6 percent wage increase. Final settlement of the dispute would in any case have remained open-ended.

Under the Brennan settlement, the strikers now appear to be \$600 ahead. (This retroactive money was in fact part of the original recommendation of the government "fact finders.") Their chances of further gains, however, are slim. The difference between a "bad" court injunction and the "good" back-to-work move Brennan engineered is indistinguishable. The result is the same.

The threat of court action combined with other pressures on the striking unions conditioned them to accept Brennan's offer, hoping that "their friend" will sweeten the settlement. It was obvious to all that it was a "political settlement," one that satisfied management and disappointed the strikers.

This is an example of what to expect in other strikes this year. The

must have expected some reward for his services in the election. Some get more, others less.

When the unions voted to strike the LIRR, it surely occurred to D'Avanzo that here was an opportunity for him. The strikers weren't asking for anything but wage parity with the train crews. Why shouldn't D'Avanzo's "labor friends" in Albany and Washington help him win such a modest request?

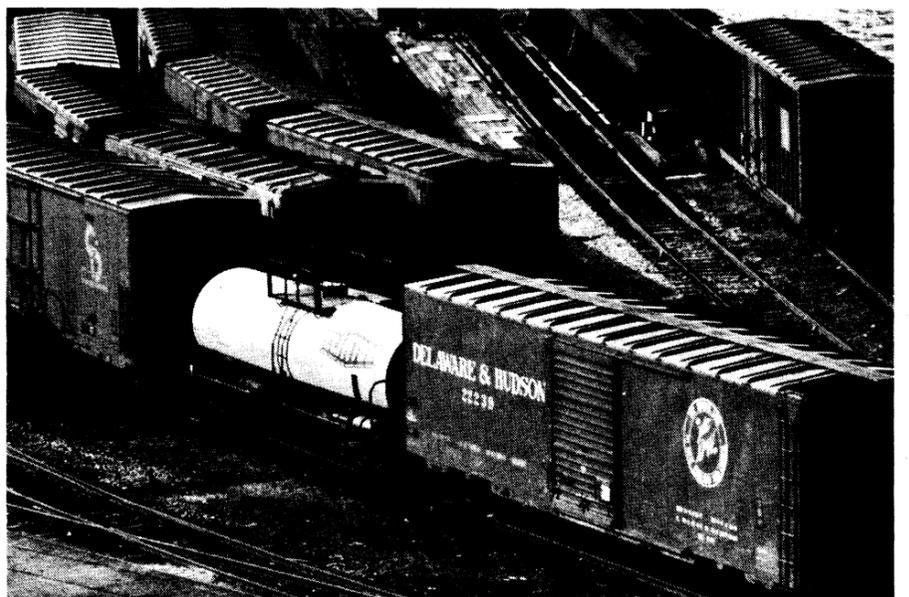
The wage scale of the United Transportation Union, which represents the train crews, should serve as a floor for all wages in the industry. This is not asking for anything new, only an extension to others of what the Pay Board approved last year.

D'Avanzo was on firm ground when he argued that there is nothing inflationary about wage demands. But even if a raise meant that the railroad would have to hike fares a few cents, the unions would not object. Certainly there was no basis to Ronan's claim that the LIRR would need to double fares.

In addition, D'Avanzo offered to find ways to double-up on some of the work in the nonoperating crafts, allowing a reduction of the work force and a savings to the railroad.

Despite all these persuasive arguments, management and the politicians in both the Republican and Democratic parties remained unmoved. A government fact-finding commission had recommended a 6 percent wage raise for the non-ops and that was it, not the 28 percent they needed to catch up with the engineers and switchmen.

When the Nassau County executive initiated court action after 47 days of the strike, D'Avanzo called it "union busting," which it was. "This guy [Caso] is being a Charlie McCarthy for Governor Rockefeller," said D'Avanzo, forgetting that he himself is in



Militant/Howard Petrick

employers are bold, unwilling to make concessions, prepared to take long strikes. The union bureaucrats are unable to cope with this. In such circumstances they look to their political friends for help.

There were some ironic twists in the unfolding of the LIRR strike, which began last Nov. 30 and was preceded by the political campaigns of the summer and fall.

D'Avanzo was one of the "Labor for Nixon" gang, a close political associate of Brennan. Like Brennan, he

Rockefeller's political camp.

Most likely, D'Avanzo is grateful to his friend Brennan for pulling him out of a bad spot, even if the benefits to the strikers are about the same as strikebreaker Caso was offering.

The workers who are back on the job under the Brennan settlement are not able to make the subtle distinction between the Caso and the Brennan brand of strikebreaking. But they know for sure that D'Avanzo didn't come up with much for them after 49 days on the picket line.

Union and parents open alternate schools

Chicago teachers strike 95 percent solid

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO, Jan. 22—As the strike of public school teachers here enters its ninth school day, it remains about 95 percent effective. The big test occurred Jan. 16.

Working that day would have gained teachers two days' pay. Monday, Jan. 15 was Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, a paid holiday. But the board of education stated it would pay teachers only if they crossed picket lines on Tuesday, Jan. 16. By the board's own admission, the strike was 94 percent effective Jan. 16.

By the middle of the week the board and the Chicago Teachers Union

lost 4.5 percent of their annual pay, the board agreed to the union's demand for a 2.5 percent pay increase.

In return, however, the board demanded that the CTU drop its demands for class-size reduction, reduction in the length of the school year with no reduction in pay, and increased preparation time for elementary school teachers. The CTU refused the proposal.

This latest proposal would have cost the board no more than the amount it has already saved by not paying teachers in the first seven days of the strike. Moreover, as union officials had pointed out earlier in the

firm on all the union's major demands.

As the strike has continued, the number of "alternate" schools has grown. These schools, which are for parents who want to send their children to school during the strike, have been organized by the CTU along with Operation PUSH, a civil-rights organization led by the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

The value of organizing these schools became clear last week when the board tried to use the plight of the very poor to open more schools. It insisted that the schools be opened to serve lunch to children for whom the free school lunch was the main meal of the day. The CTU responded by offering to help distribute this food at the alternate schools and at churches and other community centers.

Most Chicago newspapers have responded to the strike by pointing out that the union's demands are just, while at the same time praising the board for its "backbone."

An editorial in the Jan. 18 *Chicago Sun-Times* gave its solution to the strike: The legislature should formulate a collective bargaining law for public employees that would make even limited strikes unnecessary." This is a thinly disguised call for compulsory arbitration.

On Jan. 21, Operation PUSH held its second rally supporting the teachers' strike. The first speaker was Reverend Willie Barrows of Operation PUSH. He noted that PUSH, in cooperation with the CTU, has organized 200 alternate schools.

The second speakers was Lester Davis, editor of the *Chicago Teacher*, the CTU newspaper. Davis pointed out that the union had reached agreement with the board on five of the nine major issues of the strike. On the other four issues—class size, length of the school year, pay increase, and elementary school preparation time—he said there was no agreement.

He also explained why the negotiators had backed off on their original threat to increase the teachers'

pay-hike demand by 0.5 percent for every day on strike. He said that the union had decided against upping the wage ante to keep the board from using the issue to make the teachers appear "greedy."

Reverend Jesse Jackson, the next speaker, proposed "taking the issues to the seat of power." He suggested that delegations of students, teachers, and parents go to the offices of Mayor Richard Daley and Illinois Governor Daniel Walker to express their views on the strike and to sit in at the offices if necessary. He proposed that these actions take place Jan. 22.

He also suggested that large delegations of teachers and parents attend the open negotiation sessions. Reverend Jackson then threatened to organize a march of students, teachers, and parents through Chicago's downtown Loop area to the board's offices if the CTU's demands were not met by Jan. 23.

On Jan. 20, about 75 teachers marched as part of a contingent in the local antiwar demonstration. The contingent was organized by the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, Vietnam Caucus. The Vietnam Caucus banner read, "Money for schools, not war; U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!" Lester Davis of the CTU was one of the speakers at the rally following the march.



Chicago teachers at strike rally, Jan. 14.

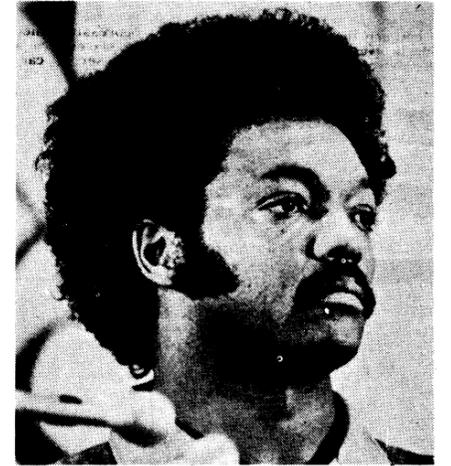
Militant/Bob Kissinger

(CTU) had reached agreement on three major issues. First, the board agreed to spend \$5-million on class supplies in 1973 instead of the \$3-million it had planned to spend. Second, teachers are to have direct control over \$1-million of this money. Third, the board withdrew its demands for a longer school day and for principal-controlled preparation periods for elementary school teachers.

On Jan. 20 the board made a new offer. In an attempt to play on the fact that striking teachers have now

week, the board has already wasted \$800,000 in the first week alone by paying nonstriking teachers and administrators to sit in empty classrooms.

On Friday, Jan. 19, the CTU held its first outdoor strike rally. The rally took place outside the board of education offices and attracted about 700 striking teachers and representatives of other locals of the Illinois Federation of Teachers. Robert Healey, president of the CTU, spoke to the crowd and assured teachers that the union negotiators would remain



Jesse Jackson

Strikers say, 'no contract, no work'

Teachers face injunctions in Philly, St. Louis

By DONALD KENNEDY

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 23—Two top officials of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) go on trial today. They face "contempt of court" charges for refusing to call teachers back to work in response to a court injunction. Facing possible jail sentences are local President Frank Sullivan and chief negotiator John Ryan.

About 500 teachers gathered in the corridor outside the courtroom as proceedings began yesterday. A thousand more demonstrated outside city hall chanting, "no contract, no work." The strike is in its third week, with no sign of a settlement.

Some 4,000 trade unionists, most of them teachers, attended a Jan. 18 rally sponsored by the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council. At the rally the PFT received messages of support from some 20 other unions. Ryan got an enthusiastic response when he repeated his readiness to go to jail rather than call off the strike.

Suggesting that the wrong people were on trial, he said, "They want to put us in jail, but they don't say anything about [board of education President] Bill Ross for ordering the

schools closed on April 13.

"They don't say anything about city council President George Schwartz, who doesn't have the guts to pass an appropriations bill . . . or [Democratic Mayor Frank] Rizzo, who said he'd veto one if it was passed."

Ryan was referring to the acute financial crisis in the Philadelphia public school system, which is scheduled to close April 13 for lack of funds.

The board of education, the city administration, and the daily newspapers have charged the union with lack of concern for the students, emphasizing that most of the public school students are Black.

The city's "concern" for the welfare of the students is perhaps best illustrated by Mayor Rizzo's statement that he will block any tax increase to fund the schools, thus assuring that students will lose a month of school this spring.

The refusal of the mayor and city council to provide a solution to the funding crisis has aroused the anger of parents and community groups, many of which have been calling on the union to return to work.

A coalition of these groups plans

to confront the city council at its next meeting to demand full funding for the schools. Their suggestions include increased corporate taxes and a tax on personal property, i.e., stocks and bonds.

But the parents and students have directed their bitterness against the teachers as well as against the administration. The union leadership must share the blame for this situation.

The central demands of the teachers—smaller classes, more preparation time, no reduction in pay scales—relate directly to the quality of education and are in the best interests of students. But the union leadership has so far made little effort to educate the community about these issues and to draw parents and students into the struggle.

By HELEN ST. JOHN

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 23—The first teachers strike in the history of St. Louis is now in its second day. One hundred and four of the 166 elementary schools here have been closed, along with all of the high schools.

About 3,000 of the 4,100 teachers are out despite a temporary restraining order issued yesterday. A hearing is set for Jan. 25 on whether to extend the temporary order to a permanent injunction.

Daily mass meetings of the striking teachers are being held, and they have received support from local labor officials, including Teamsters Vice-president Harold Gibbons.

The teachers are demanding an 11 percent wage increase and a paid hospitalization plan. Many of the home-made signs on the picket line also demand the right of collective bargaining, better schools, and job security.

The board of education, while admitting that it has the money to give the teachers a raise, insists that to bargain with the teachers would be illegal under Missouri law. The board also says it would be "fiscally irresponsible."

JAN. 24—This morning the St. Louis board of education announced it was closing all public schools. The announcement followed vandalism in some schools yesterday.

The following article is abridged from the first part of a report on the convention of the Official Republican movement. The report appeared in the Jan. 22 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

By GERRY FOLEY

"An important Ard-Fheis," the January 5 issue of the prestigious Dublin biweekly *Hibernia* said in describing the December 16-17 convention of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Official republican movement. Most of the Irish press seemed to agree that the Official gathering had been an "important" event but at the same time showed confusion as to the precise nature of its "importance."

The bewilderment of the bourgeois journalists is understandable. Irish republicanism is unique. It is a traditional movement that continues the age-old struggle against the social relations introduced by the conquest of Ireland, a fight so ancient that its motivations are more instinctive than conscious. It combines bits and pieces of contradictory philosophies and outlooks whose implications have never been developed in a consistent way.

At the same time, the bourgeois journalists could not help noticing a new ferment of ideas at the *ard fheis* and vague rumbles of profound shifts. In the past the big papers, as well as the small far-left groups, have generally tended to jump to conclusions about internal struggles between supposedly well-defined groups and individuals allegedly identified with definite positions. Such hypotheses were put forward again on this occasion by various observers.

In fact, no consistent political line was projected by any group or individual at the *ard fheis*. All of the expressed positions were either vague or contradictory in important respects. In general, it seems premature to talk about crystallized ideological tendencies or groupings in the Official republican movement.

Although the traditional structures of republicanism are evidently being strained by the rising pressure of political debate, they appear to be still holding together an ideologically diverse group that is going through a complex and painful learning process.

About 800 delegates and visitors were at the Official Sinn Féin convention in the Mansion House in Dublin. The attendance appeared to me to be about the same in size and composition as the last *ard fheis* in October 1971 — mostly young people, with a fair sprinkling of older republicans. The most obvious difference from last year was in organization — a change for the better.

The sale of political literature also seemed to have been expanded. The selection was more international, including among other things a book by the American Trotskyist Farrell Dobbs on the Minneapolis general strike of 1934 as well as the book *Land or Death* by the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco. My two pamphlets, *Ireland in Rebellion* and *Problems of the Irish Revolution*, were also on sale.

In tone, the convention was sober but optimistic, as if the movement had come through a difficult period but had managed to consolidate itself somewhat and was beginning to look forward to better times. There was general confidence, although a lot of criticism of republican trade-union work was voiced, that the movement was beginning to win some real influence among sections of the organized workers. The emphasis was on reexamining some basic strategic conceptions and improving the level of organization. The Official Sinn Féin seems to have become solid enough to raise substantial amounts of money from its ranks for an important expansion of the movement's apparatus, no small achievement in view of the traditional difficulty in raising funds

FIRSTHAND REPORT

IRISH REPUBLICANS MEET IN DUBLIN



Marchers in Dungiven, Northern Ireland, carrying black flags in mourning for the 13 civil rights demonstrators killed by British paratroopers in Derry on 'Bloody Sunday,' Jan. 30, 1972. The Official Republican movement played a central role in the civil rights movement.

in Ireland.

In the area of political analysis, important progress has been registered in breaking with conceptions that proved one-sided or overly rigid in the past period. In particular, there was a reassessment of the movement's approach to the national question. The most important document in the republican discussion, the preamble to a resolution redefining policy on the Northern question, said among other things:

"In this country more and more the events of the past few years demonstrate that the *struggle for democracy* is also the *national struggle* since it is *British power and influence that maintains the undemocratic structures* and it is the *Nationalist population that suffers under this system* . . .

"Correct or not, but the feeling is abroad, that a lot of people in the country and many of our members have the idea that we are not in favour of the 'National Struggle' or the ending of this 'Struggle.' This is one reason why the Provos are still a force today and why they will not fade away for a long time yet. *We must begin to show people and demonstrate clearly to all that our objectives are National Unity and Independence and the Socialist Republic.*" (Emphasis in original.)

The same document criticized economic radicals who blamed the civil-rights movement for dividing Protestant and Catholic workers. It noted that the struggle of the minority for their rights was bound to alienate the Protestant workers, corrupted as they are by a caste mentality deliberately fostered by the British authorities and shaped by the historic system of imperialist rule in Ireland. At the same time it condemned as "utter stupidity" the failure to recognize the role of other factors than the directly economic in shaping history. The document stressed the oneness of the national and social struggle as the basis of revolutionary strategy in Ireland.

This document is symptomatic of a lot of new thinking going on in the republican leadership, the outcome of which cannot yet be predicted with certainty. Among other things, it is

not at all clear what implications have been drawn from some of the new ideas that have been developing. To some extent, for example, the movement appears to be still paying the price of past political weaknesses on key questions, such as the failure to settle accounts on a realistic basis with the terrorist traditions of the Irish Republican Army.

In general, the political debate inside the republican movement is still being conducted within a largely traditional rather than scientific framework. This was reflected, for example, in the fact that the highest-level discussion took place on the women's liberation question, which is entirely new to the movement. On the other hand, the worst discussion was undoubtedly on the cultural resolutions. The question of culture, in effect the role of the Irish language, is probably the area where the most metaphysical clutter has accumulated.

Nonetheless, within the still largely traditionalist context of republican politics, there was a sharper polarization at this *ard fheis* than at the last one, and this is probably what made the bourgeois journalists prick up their ears, while at the same time confusing them as to the nature of the issues.

Ironically, the vague division followed the same general lines as the split that led to formation of the Provisional IRA three years ago, that is, a division between a "metaphysical tendency" and an "analytical tendency." Of course, these are by no means factional groupings or even clear ideological tendencies, and the lines are still shifting. But the Stalinist-trained elements, as well as individuals influenced by other types of economism, seemed inclined to line up with those older republicans who continue to follow the traditional metaphysical approach of the IRA in a left form.

This trend is natural, since the abstract dogmatic formulas of vulgar Marxists tend to reduce socialist principles to a kind of metaphysics translated into economic terms, the category of the good being changed from the "national people" to the "working

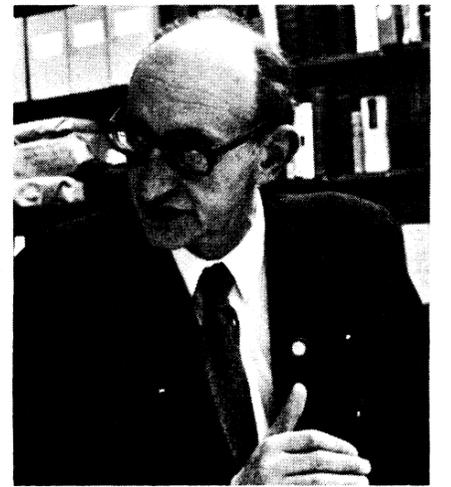
class." The irony lies in the fact that the metaphysicians, who have been most vociferous and absolutist in their condemnations of the Provisionals, tended to follow the same basic intellectual method as the ideologists of republican traditionalism who fostered and justified the split.

The same type of absolutist, moralistic condemnations that the Provisional leadership has hurled at the Officials found a counterpart, for example, in the presidential address of Tomás Mac Giolla, who placed full responsibility for a year of defeats on the rival republican organization. In the section of his speech given in Irish, he said:

"Anyone who thinks of the progress that could have been made if it were not for the madness of the Provisionals will understand the way the present generation of Irish people has been betrayed by the politicians of Fianna Fáil [the ruling party in Dublin, a wing of which encouraged the Provisional split]. They will understand how important it is to say again and again and again that the madness of the Provisionals does not stem from republicanism but from the chiefs of Fianna Fáil, the new Redmondites [the old "constitutional" home-rule party that opposed the struggle for independence], who support the connection with England for the sake of their class interests."

These lines were not repeated in the English part of the speech, or in the summary printed in the January issue of the *United Irishman*, and thus were probably not grasped by the majority of the delegates and visitors. But although the formulations in the main part of the speech were more positive, they still tended to present the Provisionals with an outright ultimatum that they recognize the error of their ways and return to the fold.

A more fruitful approach would be a concrete and rigorously objective analysis of the Provisionals' composition and political dynamic, and a corresponding explanation of the differences separating the two groupings (which would mean coming to grips with some of the ambiguities of the



Militant/Flax Hermes
Tomás Mac Giolla, president of the Official Sinn Féin. The Sinn Féin is the political arm of the Irish Republican Army.

stand of the Official leadership, such as on the question of terrorism). At the same time precise areas ought to be marked out where the interests of all who lay claim to the republican tradition come together and where cooperation is possible and necessary, as in the fight against repression.

The Official leadership has seen how harmful the growth of dogmatism can be, as manifested by, among other things, the reaction of its own members to the excesses that appeared for a while in the *United Irishman*. Whatever the role of individuals or groups in fostering dogmatism, it was facilitated by the atmosphere of hysteria created, in essence, by the Officials' failure to deal politically with the problem of the Provisionals.

Continued on page 24

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 2, 1973

Debate on Philippines constitution canceled

Marcos in new move to stifle opposition

By Fred Feldman

President Ferdinand Marcos has moved to stifle growing opposition to the new constitution he is seeking to impose on the Philippines. The repressive measures came only a few weeks after Marcos announced that martial law would be relaxed to permit "free debate" on the charter.

In a January 7 radio speech Marcos canceled the "free debate," postponed the constitutional referendum originally scheduled for January 15, and added "rumor mongering" to the list of punishable offenses against the martial-law regime. As usual, Marcos linked opponents of the new constitution to insurrectionary "plots" and assassination attempts backed by an unnamed "foreign power." While threatening his opponents with violent repression, Marcos described his rule as "smiling martial law."

The proposed constitution would allow Marcos to exercise his dictatorial powers for the indefinite future. Police powers would be strengthened while civil liberties, such as the right of habeas corpus, would be substantially watered down. The document reaffirms the privileged position of U.S. business interests in the Philippines.

A January 8 dispatch from Manila

by *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin reported:

"It seemed clear that one reason for the presidential order was that free debate had been making obvious—and encouraging—strong opposition to the charter, which Mr. Marcos has said he will submit to a national plebiscite. The date of that plebiscite has now been postponed.

"Speakers against the new Constitution have drawn warm responses from audiences, and on a number of occasions, opponents have had platforms to themselves because advocates have failed to come forward to debate."

Frustrated in his efforts to win a mandate at the polls for his rule, Marcos has turned to "citizens' assemblies" as a more reliable rubber stamp for his edicts. These are neighborhood gatherings of citizens which take place under strict supervision and surveillance by the authorities. Marcos has asked these assemblies to approve his martial-law rule, postpone elections for an indefinite period, and endorse the new constitution. In addition, he has proposed that the assemblies oppose any effort by the Congress to meet in January as required by the current constitution.

To insure that these assemblies

would not yield to the temptation to assert any independence, Marcos warned that they "must use care not to be infiltrated by subversive elements."

In the November 13 *New York Times*, Durdin describes one such gathering in a Manila suburb as "a quiet, rather dutiful affair somewhat resembling a high school graduation ceremony in a small town in the United States."

The assembly was tightly controlled by the pro-Marcos mayor, Florencio Bernabe, "who drove up in a new Mercedes-Benz and took over the microphone." Bernabe gave an indication of how long Marcos may be intending to hold on to his dictatorial powers when he suggested to the meeting that "seven years might be the right period to wait for new elections."

In his January 7 speech, the following day's *New York Times* reported, Marcos charged that "anti-Government university students, taking advantage of his granting of free debate on the constitution, had been expanding their organizations and spreading false rumors, such as one that the military had taken over Manila."

An article by T. J. S. George in the January 8 issue of the Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review*

described the stirring of resistance among the students to Marcos's brand of repression-with-a-smile:

"All is calm at the UP [University of Philippines] today. But a handwritten pamphlet issued by a student indicates that the calm persists only because the campus is heavily patrolled by security forces. He writes: 'Before one can enter the university, one must produce one's identity card, and every bus and car is searched. One can no longer use university roads as shortcuts into other areas. Furthermore, ID cards are good only for the school to which one belongs; a law student can only enter the law building. It is not unusual for a security guard to sit in on a class discussion or even to search teachers' handbags or students' belongings in the middle of a lecture. Proscribed articles are manifestos, foreign publications critical of the régime, and books considered subversive—from Mao Tse-tung to *The Greening of America*.'

"He goes on to say that many students and lecturers have been taken prisoner and that all campus activities are closely watched. But 'students have devised new ways to cope with the impositions. Sometimes they dribble a basketball the entire length of the corridor during class hours. Or they hold mass silent marches through the corridors. Or they explode loud firecrackers and vanish before the security guards arrive. At lunch all the students in the cafeteria beat the tables with their spoons and, at the moment guards appear, fall silent. At times a student in the library starts whistling a patriotic tune and soon everybody in the library is whistling it.'" □

Socialist magazine features debate in Latin America

The February issue of the *International Socialist Review* contains important articles discussing key questions of strategy for socialist revolution in Latin America.

The main article, by Argentine Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno, analyzes the character of the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front in Bolivia and what attitude revolutionary socialists should take toward it. The Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front (FRA, from its Spanish initials) was formed after the 1971 right-wing coup that

ended a period of revolutionary upsurge in Bolivia.

During this period of mass upsurge, under the reformist military regime of General Juan Jose Torres, mass workers organizations, student groups, and left parties formed a Popular Assembly, similar in concept to the soviets that took power in the Russian revolution of 1917.

After the crushing of the mass movement and the disbanding of the Popular Assembly, a wide spectrum of organizations and parties, most of them underground or in exile, joined with General Torres to form the FRA.

The Front includes the Bolivian Communist and Socialist parties; the guerrillaist ELN; the POR (Gonzalez), the Bolivian section of the Fourth International; the POR (Lora), a group that claims to be Trotskyist; and several nationalist and middle-class-based parties, in addition to Torres.

The program, perspectives, and activity of the FRA have been an important topic of debate in the Latin

American revolutionary movement during the last year. Moreno's article deals with such questions as: What type of relationships should revolutionists seek with representatives of the national capitalist class and middle class in neocolonial countries? Is there a need for a revolutionary Marx-



Nahuel Moreno

ist party, or can a front of "left" forces fulfill the function of revolutionary leadership?

Moreno argues for the independent organization and action by the revolutionary party. He warns that the FRA is a trap that would subordinate revolutionary currents to reformist, middle-class, and ultraleft forces.

Moreno's article is followed by a statement of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International, which is a contribution to this discussion from the viewpoint of support to the FRA.

Other features in the new *ISR* are an article by Joseph Hansen on "Trotsky's Transitional Program: Its Origins and Significance for Today," an evaluation of the political career of Max Shachtman by George Novack, and a discussion of agricultural revolution and industrial revolution by Ernest Mandel.

For a copy of this issue of the *ISR*, send 50 cents (or \$5 for a one-year subscription) to *ISR*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. □

Revolutionists criticize Communist Party stand on Argentine elections

[Taking advantage of an opening provided by the elections scheduled for March in Argentina, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) has sought and won official status on the ballot. It has placed some 75 percent of the slots it receives on the ballot at the disposal of candidates of the newly formed Frente Obrero (Workers Front), a united front of working-class candidates. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 15, p. 29.)

[Some 2,200 candidates will be running on the ballot space of the PST, many of them recognized and respected militant trade-union leaders. The national ticket will be headed up by Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Ciapponi of the PST, who are running, respectively, for president and vice-president, Coral is a nationally prominent socialist figure in Argentina and a leader of the PST. Ciapponi is a former union leader in the textile plants and is currently a full-time party worker.

[The following are excerpts from an article explaining the PST's view of the Argentine Communist Party's recent endorsement of the presidential ticket of the Popular Alliance of the Center-Left. The presidential and vice-presidential candidates of this alliance are Oscar Alende and Horacio Sueldo, who the CP sees as representatives of the "progressive bourgeoisie" of Argentina.

[The article is from the January 12 issue of the PST's weekly newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

On Monday, January 8, the Communist party announced that it would support the Alianza Popular de Cen-

tro Izquierda [Popular Alliance of the Center-Left] in the national elections. This represents a stab in the back to the thousands of Communist compañeros who, up to now, were convinced that their party was the best guarantee of struggle against imperialism, of the independent organization of the workers, and of unity between all forces on the left prepared to struggle for socialism.

Our party has called on the Communists to join with us in organizing a strong workers' and socialist alternative in the election campaign—the only way to build what the Communist party claims to be working for:



Horacio Sueldo, vice-presidential candidate supported by Communist Party in Argentina.

[The following article is reprinted from the January 12 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*. The Great National Agreement, referred to in the article, is the term encompassing the electoral scheme of the Argentine military dictatorship and ruling class.]

Activity in many areas slowed down during the final days of 1972 and the first days of 1973. Not the repression, however.

The year's end shed no light on the case of the student Enrique Brandazza from Rosario. Brandazza disappeared in very murky circumstances while there was a warrant out for his arrest. The police and military authorities in Rosario issued contradictory statements, at first denying, and then confirming, the existence of this warrant. The investigation into the possibility that he had been kidnapped appears,

a powerful instrument for struggling against imperialism, the dictatorship, and conciliatory leaders.

The Alende-Sueldo 'Platform'

There is nothing that can lead us to view this "center-left" (!?) front as a "force with candidates whose program, approach, and record can help to build the democratic national liberation front" that can make the revolution that will take us out of a state of dependence and lead us to socialism.

Their program is based on confusionism: Both Alende and Sueldo say that what they want is "National Socialism," but they obscure the fact that socialism means that the working class holds power and that the means of production are collectivized, whereas this "national socialism," which was made fashionable in our country by Perón, is in the last analysis neither national nor socialist.

The CP says that the Alianza is putting forward "acceptable, concrete demands in the people's interest, especially as regards an energetic anti-monopolistic policy, the proposals on the agrarian reform, the taking of an independent international stance, and the standards proposed for organizing a stable democracy." Let's take a closer look.

Alende's "antimonopolism" was expressed in his urging, along with Frondizi, the surrender of oil resources, and in his unconditional support for the president of the "Argentine Revolution," Levingston, who was named to this post while he was working in the Inter-American Defense Commission—in the United States, of course. On the question of agrarian reform, Alende stands by the government fraud that in no way altered the ownership by the big landholders of the country's best land. As for an independent international stance, it would seem dubious coming from the likes of Alende, who as governor supported the break in relations with Cuba, or of Sueldo, who continues to remain on close terms with his co-thinker Frei, who has served as a trump card in the efforts of the reaction and the monopolies to halt the trend toward socialism in Chile. As far as upholding democracy is concerned, let's not forget that Alende was one of the most energetic defenders



Young supporters of the workers and socialist front, which is confronting all pro-capitalist candidates in the Argentine elections.

of the 1966 coup, that he supported the dissolving of the political parties, and that he then compromised himself with Levingston's plans to keep himself in office and put off holding elections as long as he had not organized his own official party.

Finally, the repudiation of the anti-Communist law strikes us as ironic, since at the same time Sueldo himself insists, in McCarthyite statements, on pointing out that the CP is illegal and on stressing that the Communists are supporting the Alianza "from the outside" and that they will not even be allowed to play a role in its support committees. Alende, for his part, was a traditional enemy of the Communists, whom he helped to persecute when he was in office.

Let's Form an Alliance of Those Who Want a Socialist Argentina

We call on the Communist compañeros to demand that the resolution of the Central Committee of their party be corrected and that they break with this reactionary Alianza that has the blessings of Levingston and the church.

In issuing this appeal to the Communist compañeros, we insist on the fact that there will be no national liberation as long as the anti-imperialist struggle is not headed by the working class guided by the ideas of socialism and internationalism. Along these lines, we invite them specifically to join with us in organizing support committees for socialism and the workers' candidates in every factory, neighborhood, town, and city. □

PST appeal: for united struggle against the repression

like the Filler case, to have reached a dead end. Today not even the most optimistic persons hope ever to see Brandazza alive again.

There was absolutely nothing new or surprising in this case or in other things the military junta did. During the first week of the new year they announced that the state of siege would remain in effect. Some guerrilla attacks were taken as the excuse for thus going against repeated promises that the electoral campaign would take place without a state of siege. Continuing it involves banning public open-air meetings, suspending constitutional freedoms, and the possibility of holding prisoners without trial for an indefinite period of time—election-campaign provisions that are all obviously designed to insure smooth sailing for the Great National Agreement.

The year 1972 drew to a close with a hunger strike by political prisoners to protest against the inhuman conditions of their confinement: poor food,

overcrowding, wretched medical care, lack of reading material and recreation, and inhuman visiting rules. The visiting room at Rawson has earned a sad reputation: The prisoners are separated by bars and wire screens from their loved ones who visit them.

These conditions prompted the prisoners to decide to jeopardize their health and their lives in order to force the dictatorship to improve the treatment they receive. Going without food for twenty days, and without liquids on a revolving basis brought no improvements to the prisoners, despite the fact that some of them seriously compromised their health.

Nevertheless, in spite of the silence of the bourgeois press, their protest has had an impact outside the prisons. Various organizations, including our party, have joined together in denouncing the situation and in coming out against the pernicious maximum security system, which is a legal device for covering up abuses.

Still, we believe that this denunci-

Debate over revolutionary election strategy in Argentina

[The following article, entitled "Three powers or one capitalist state power?" is taken from the December 20, 1972, issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina. The PST, together with the Frente Obrero (Workers Front), is running a workers and socialist campaign in the Argentine elections scheduled for March.

[This article discusses one of the questions raised by some workers from Córdoba at the founding conference of the Frente Obrero, December 16, 1972. The translation is by *The Militant*.]

Some *compañeros* in the Córdoba delegation were opposed to the Frente running candidates for executive offices (president, governor) and for the senate. They maintained that candidates should only be run for parliament or for city council.

They argue that in the House of Deputies, for example, it is possible to form a workers opposition bloc without capitulating to the capitalist class. In the executive branch, on the other hand, no revolutionary could hold office because the purpose of those offices is to use capitalist laws and repressive apparatus against the workers movement.

Although the *compañeros* who subscribe to this position are sincere, this view is completely wrong. The capitalist class created the myth of the three powers. In reality there is *only one state*; and all its branches—ex-

ecutive, legislative, and judicial—are controlled by the monopoly capitalists. To accept that there are three powers, and that it is therefore correct to run candidates for one of them because it is better than the others, is to accept the propaganda of the capitalist class itself.

Revolutionaries, far from making distinctions between the presidency, the legislature, and the judicial system, must, insofar as these are capitalist institutions, denounce them all equally as guardians of the old social order. This is the socialist view of the state. The other view is a legal scheme, a tool of the capitalist class. If the workers front were to give credence to it, it would be helping the ruling class in leading the masses to have faith in the parliamentary process.

But in addition, the doubts and opposition of the *compañeros* do not correspond to the real and concrete conditions in which the Frente will conduct its election campaign. It is unrealistic to preoccupy ourselves today with what we are going to do with the police and the army in the event that we win the elections.

Because of the tight control over the mass media, because of the campaign of intimidation big business and the state apparatus itself have launched, it is practically impossible for a workers and revolutionary slate to outvote the bourgeois parties.

In our country, long before a workers and revolutionary slate can get more than 50 percent of the vote, the attacks from the reactionary forces and their proscription measures in defense of the capitalist social "order" will necessitate a struggle for power on another front.

Although we know it is impossible to win, our participation in the elections has the objective of establishing a dialogue with our class brothers, to convince them to break with the ideas and the parties of the bourgeoisie and win them over to class struggle and socialist positions.

We facilitate that dialogue by running candidates for all the offices, and especially the executive posts, which will maximize our ability to take advantage of the mass media (radio, TV, etc.). Our presidential candidates will be the ones who can most effectively denounce and fight against the bourgeois state, including all three powers, during the election campaign. □

ation is insufficient. It is not enough to say that the prisoners are being held under inhuman conditions. A joint, massive action must be initiated if the repressive abuses are to stop. Our party calls on *all* parties and coalitions participating in the elections to organize a public meeting against the repression. The meeting should demand *an end to the state of siege and repeal of the repressive laws. A public commitment should be made to struggle for the elimination of the maximum security system and to press the congress to pass as its first measure full amnesty for all those imprisoned for political and related offenses. Congress should be urged to set up an investigating commission to probe all kidnappings, tortures, and murders not yet cleared up.*

Only such a commitment will make it possible to prevent the next government from acting—even though it may treat the prisoners with less brutality—essentially as a new jailer of hostages. □



Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party and Workers Front.

World news notes

Britain's Phase II wage controls

Following in Nixon's footsteps, Britain's Prime Minister Heath announced Phase II of "wage-price controls" on January 17. After a 10-week freeze on wages ordered last November, the British government will now allow wage increases of only 7 percent. The new plan establishes a pay board and price commission to last up to three years.

On January 19, leaders of the Trades Union Congress, representing some 10 million British workers, announced its "total opposition" to the wage curbs and vowed to boycott the wage and price boards set up to police the controls. The union officials said, however, that they did not envisage striking against the controls.

Thousands of Spanish students strike

Several thousand students at Madrid's three universities went on strike January 15, reported an Associated Press dispatch. They are protesting the recent 50 percent increase in transportation costs and a 40 percent hike in the cost of meals at the universities. The students vowed to continue their strike until prices were reduced to their previous levels.

Australia is still 'white only'

When the new Labor government took power in Australia last December, one of the first reforms it announced with a fanfare was an end to Australia's racist, white-only immigration policy. The government supposedly barred skin color as a criteria for the admission of settlers.

However the January 14 *Washington Post* reported that "although it has officially ended the 'white Australia' policy, the new Labor government in Canberra has firmly decided that Australia's doors will not be opened to large numbers of nonwhite immigrants."

The article points out that the blatantly racist white-only policy has simply been replaced with other restrictions that will have virtually the same effect. For example, preference will be given to prospective immigrants who have relatives already in Australia or who have a skilled job lined up before they arrive.

General strike against Italian gov't

On January 12 Italian workers carried out their fifth general strike in three years. The strike, which lasted four hours in most cities and 24 hours in Rome, was a political one. The country's three major trade unions, which organized the strike, called on the government to provide more low-cost working-class housing, better schools and health facilities, and more jobs in the backward area of southern Italy. An estimated 20 million workers participated in the walkout.

On the same day Italy's 180,000 postal, telegraph, and telephone workers independently launched a two-day strike for higher pay and more jobs.

London students win victory

It has long been the tradition in Britain for teachers to discipline school children with canes, leather straps, belts, rulers, hairbrushes, or their hands. The British were "civilized" enough, however, to provide regulations on such punishments; for example, canes or straps used to hit young people must be of a certain specified size. Last spring thousands of primary school and high school students in London took to the streets in protest against caning and other brutal disciplinary procedures.

No doubt partly in response to these protests, the London Education Authority outlawed the use of physical punishment in London's primary schools beginning January 8. The ban only affects young people up to 11 years old, however, and does not apply to children in private or church-aided schools, or in schools outside of London.

Teachers in England are generally opposed to the ban. Terry Casey, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters, told the *Wall Street Journal* that when young people act up, "two or three or four strokes with the cane is quite enough to bring them up with a jolt. A teacher needs to have his authority reinforced." A former teacher, Hillary Rose, opposed caning. "People aren't dogs," she told the reporter.

New arrests in Turkey

The month of December witnessed a sharp intensification of repression in Turkey. On December 12, 70 persons received prison sentences ranging from 10 months to 16 years after being found guilty of "having founded a secret society with the aim of setting up a far-left regime in Turkey."

On December 26 an Ankara tribunal sentenced 59 members of the Turkish teachers union (TOS) to terms ranging from 10 months to 10 years and eight months. The longest sentences went to the union's president, Fakir Baykurt, and its general secretary, Durmuş Akcam, who were found to have "transformed the TOS into an illegal left-wing organization whose goal was to turn Turkey into a communist state."

Also on December 26 a civilian court in Istanbul sentenced the publisher Bulent Harbora to seven and a half years imprisonment with hard labor for publishing *The Permanent Revolution* by Leon Trotsky.

Egyptian student strike is crushed by force; reflects widespread discontent

By Jon Rothschild

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat has once again demonstrated that while he cannot clear Israeli occupying troops from the Sinai desert he can at least keep the streets of Cairo free of demonstrating students. On January 3, shortly after 11:00 a.m., thousands of police armed with bamboo staves, truncheons, and tear gas canisters attacked Cairo University students who were trying to peacefully march to the center of the city.

Government press censorship blocked news of exactly how many students were injured or arrested. The Beirut weekly *al-Hurriya* reported that perhaps as many as 150 persons, mostly students but some journalists as well, had been locked up. On the evening of January 3 the regime shut down Cairo and Ain Shams universities, which had not been scheduled to close until the January 13 midyear break.

Sadat's resort to force seems to have succeeded in temporarily putting down the students. By January 5 the universities were reported deserted. But the latest round of university activism, while apparently not as broad as last year's January upsurge, was in some respects more mature politically. It followed a full month of unprecedented opposition to government policies that extended into the rubber-stamp National Assembly (parliament).

The origin of Sadat's latest crisis may be traced back to his decision last July to expel Soviet military advisers from Egypt. When this bid to the United States failed to produce a response from Nixon, Sadat began to lose his support among the officer corps, the mainstay of his regime. In late October, Sadat sought to re-strengthen his ties with the Kremlin. He conducted a sweeping purge of rightist dissidents in the army and again began threatening military action to recover the Sinai peninsula.

But Egyptian policy remained in an impasse. The Nixon administration and the Kremlin bureaucracy have yet to come to agreement on a deal to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. The consequent situation of "no war, no peace" has become less and less tolerable to the Egyptian population, especially to the students and to the workers, who are forced to bear the economic burden of a simulated struggle against the Israeli occupation.

After the January 1972 student upsurge, Sadat conceded the students the right to freely conduct political activity on campus. The students made use of the maneuvering room, chiefly by publishing an "underground" press and by holding ad hoc meetings on university grounds.

On December 1, Sadat violated his January pledge and ordered the arrest of five Palestinian students who were charged with carrying out "sub-

versive" activities. The students responded with protest, wall posters demanding the release of the arrested Palestinians began appearing.

The regime then ordered three medical students involved in the protest hauled before a "disciplinary commission." The students responded by demanding the dissolution of these commissions.

With the student turmoil in the background, the National Assembly began criticizing the regime. On November 27 Premier Aziz Sidky had delivered a major statement on foreign and defense policy. On December 10 Gamal el-Otaify, deputy speaker of the National Assembly and head of its reply committee, rose to deliver an attack on Sidky. For two and a half days, members of parliament took the floor to accuse the administration of misleading the public, taxing the poor unfairly, and censoring newspapers. More than 90 of the National Assembly's 360 members took part in the discussion.



Sadat worries that student oppositionists will link up with workers.

The assembly debate reflected underlying popular discontent. A further reflection came on December 15, when a meeting of the Press Syndicate, to which all working journalists in Egypt belong, demanded the lifting of government censorship.

By the third week of December, the regime began to show signs that it had decided to curb the various democratic stirrings. According to a December 19 Reuters dispatch, a student at Cairo University received a letter from university authorities denouncing him for being too outspoken in his wall posters. The student indicated the esteem in which he held the university administration—by tacking its letter to a wall poster. Pro-government students tried to tear his poster down; antigovernment students came to his aid.

Clashes ensued between the adversary groups. Seven students were hauled before the disciplinary commission; again the demand for the dissolution of the commissions was

raised. But this time the students took up other issues. They demanded that the official student councils, which they said had been infiltrated with police spies, be disbanded. They denounced the failure of the press to accurately report their actions, as well as its generally subservient role.

About one week later, on December 28, in a nationally televised speech to parliament Sadat declared, among other things, that he had decided to open up free discussion in Egypt. This tipped off those who are familiar with his career that there would soon be arrests in Cairo.

Within twenty-four hours rumors began circulating in Cairo that some students had been picked up by the police. In its December 30 issue, *el-Ahram* confirmed the news, reporting that "Friday [December 29] the prosecutor began inquiries about a certain number of persons accused of antistate activity. . . . The prosecutor has recently given permission to arrest troublemakers among the students and other groups."

When news of the arrests reached Cairo University, some 400-500 students demonstrated, apparently spontaneously, for the release of the accused.

The protest wave grew, and on the morning of December 31 the students broke open the doors of the Gamal Abdel Nasser amphitheater—scene of the mass decision-making meetings held during last year's actions—and occupied the auditorium.

The students held the amphitheater for several days. On December 31, January 1, and January 2 discussions took place about what tactics should be applied to get the arrested students released. By January 2 three large universities in Cairo were closed down by the student strike. Demonstrations were also reported in Alexandria, the country's second largest city, and in Helwan, south of Cairo.

At the Nasser amphitheater many of the students reportedly proposed attempting to march off campus, but they were deterred by the presence of five truckloads of cops, who waited for two days in the side streets just outside the campus of Cairo University.

David Hirst, Beirut correspondent for the British newspaper *The Guardian*, cabled on January 2 that "Sadat is anxious to see that the infection [of student unrest] does not spread to sections of the public. It appears that the students have been trying to make contact with the workers."

Hirst quoted some of the posters adorning the walls of Cairo University: "The Jews are on my soil and the police are at my door"; "Mr President, do you think that democracy is a gift from above, granted by decree? Mr. President, democracy must be won. The democracy the students have practised since January 1972 was won by the student struggle. . . ."

In lighter hours between debates on strategy, the students in the Nasser amphitheater were entertained by the poet Ahmad Nagm, who, Hirst reported, "finds in the students a sympathetic audience for rude songs about Sadat." But the dominant slogan that unified nearly all the 2,000 to 3,000 students packed into the amphitheater was "Free our comrades!"

On the night of January 2 came the news that was to trigger the students' attempt to march off campus. On December 31, an official government statement had pledged that the arrested students and workers would be charged and tried rapidly. But on January 2 it was announced that the investigation to determine the students' "crimes" would itself last at least two weeks. On top of that, five more stu-

dents were arrested.

Under these conditions, the student mass meeting held on the morning of January 3 was especially tumultuous. The majority decided that despite the police threat the struggle had to be taken off campus. They voted to try to march on the parliament building. About 5,000 students started for the bridge over the Nile that leads to the government quarter. They were met by an almost equal number of police, and the battle was on. The students defended themselves as best they could with paving stones, but were forced off the bridge. About 1,000 retreated to the university, where they held out for one more day; the rest were either arrested or dispersed.

But fighting continued through most of the day in scattered areas. Delcour reported that at 4:00 p.m. the area around the dental school on the Isle of Roda looked "like a real battlefield."

By resorting to bloody repression Sadat seems to have won another round against the student movement. But the Egyptian political situation today is much different from what it was after the January 1972 upsurge. Discontent has more deeply penetrated all layers of society; the trade-union movement has a year of numerous strikes under its belt and has, like the student movement, felt the bamboo staves of Sadat's cops. Government rhetoric about the necessity of leaving dictatorial power in Sadat's hands in the interests of a nonexistent struggle against the Israeli occupation of Egyptian land is less effective.

The student movement appears to be in a stage of political germination. The desire for political democracy is universal; how to achieve it is under debate. The political confusion rampant in the movement is a function on the one hand of the decrepitude of Nasserism, and on the other of the failure of any significant tendency to systematically go beyond it. But increasingly as the students press for democracy, the tendency to introduce even broader social questions will deepen. □

How Nixon is 'Vietnamizing' mass murder

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Olga Rodriguez wins round 1 in fight for Los Angeles ballot spot

By ANN WILCOX and HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 22—At a Jan. 18 hearing on candidate filing fees, attorney David Aberson of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) won a continuance of a temporary restraining order until Jan. 31.

The ruling will allow the eight candidates endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and one independent Black candidate, Ida Mae Willis, to submit their nominating petitions.

Judge David Thomas sustained the city attorney's objection to the class nature of the suit, which was filed on behalf of all candidates "unwilling or unable" to pay the fee. He maintained that the argument should be limited to the ability of the nine candidates involved to pay.

He refused to consider the issue of filing fees as such on the grounds that the Supreme Court is now examining the California election code. He did agree, however, to consider the financial status of the nine candidates on Jan. 31. His decision then may serve as a precedent for setting a level of income below which candidates will not be expected to pay filing fees.

CoDEL maintains that such fees are a form of poll tax and should be abolished. The committee believes that in order to maximize choice, no voter should be excluded from the right to run for office.

In another matter, Morris Starsky, campaign manager for socialist mayoral candidate Olga Rodriguez, attended a meeting of the city council's public works committee to demand that Rodriguez be allowed to use the city hall press room.

Starsky pointed out that the incumbent mayor, Sam Yorty, used the



Militant/Harry Ring

CoDEL attorney David Aberson

facilities to launch his reelection bid. "It is unlikely," he told the committee, "that Yorty requested use of the facilities from the city council when he launched his campaign as candidate for mayor."

"He cannot have it both ways, mayor and candidate. Either every candidate has the right to use these public facilities or no candidate has the right—including candidate Yorty."

The three-man committee voted to table the question in order to "confer" with Yorty and to clarify the procedures for using the press room.

Moves are also under way to do away with the "nonpartisan" facade of the Los Angeles elections. The socialist slate is protesting an order by

the elections supervisor that the word "socialist" be removed from their filing application and ballot designation.

Last week the Los Angeles County Democratic central committee attacked the fiction of "nonpartisanship" and called for listing the party affiliation of all candidates on the ballot.

The committee also spoke out in favor of permanent voter registration. The present system in California re-



Militant/Jack Barrett

Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for L.A. mayor, speaking at candidate's meeting in San Pedro. Seated behind her (l to r) are three other mayoral candidates—former police chief Tom Reddin, City Councilman Joel Wachs, and Jesse Unruh, former State Assembly Speaker.

moves from the eligibility list all those who didn't vote in the general elections. Officials have purged more than 1.8 million Californians from the list for not voting in the November 1972 elections.

Rodriguez has been actively campaigning. Three hundred people jammed a synagogue in San Pedro Jan. 17 to attend a candidate's night sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. All major mayoral candidates except Yorty were there. When Rodriguez identified herself as a socialist, the others quickly dropped their "nonpartisan" front. Her comments on funding mass transit by taxing corporations met with heavy applause.

All the candidates were asked to comment on the problems of crime and drugs. Most of them proposed to solve the crime problem by putting more cops on the street and to end the drug problem by putting addicts and pushers behind bars.

On the drug question Olga Rodriguez said, "I make a very sharp distinction between marijuana and hard drugs. While I stand for full legalization of marijuana, I know hard drugs are a vehicle of oppression. . . . Only a sick and alienated society forces people to turn to drugs like heroin for escape."

Rodriguez explained the role of the police and other corrupt officials in promoting and protecting the drug traffic. The socialist candidate proposed that the way to undercut this whole deadly business is by recognizing the fact that addiction must be treated as a medical problem, not a crime, and by establishing adequately funded medical facilities for addicts.

Aware that the meeting was sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League, and that many members of the audience might be influenced by the ADL's accusation of anti-Semitism against the Socialist Workers Party, Rodriguez concluded her remarks with the following statement:

"I want to make clear what the SWP's record is. The SWP has always been one of the staunchest opponents of anti-Semitism, racism, and bigotry of

all kinds. It has been in the forefront of struggles against anti-Semitism wherever it has arisen—from the U. S. to the Soviet Union.

"The SWP sees the elimination of the settler-colonial state of Israel as necessary and supports the just struggle of the Palestinian masses for the homeland they have been forced to vacate. These positions cannot be equated with anti-Semitism.

The false statement "anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism" plays right into the hands of the most reactionary and racist elements in this country and across the world. It drives a wedge between the Jewish people and their only real allies against racist, capitalist oppression—the oppressed masses of Palestine and others fighting for national liberation and freedom in this country and around the world.

"I join with many prominent individuals, such as Professor Noam Chomsky, Rabbi A. Bruce Goldman, and Dwight Macdonald, in asking that the ADL look into this question and do what it can to correct this slander against my party.

"Whatever our differences may be, and we probably have many, those committed to civil liberties and human rights should refrain from accusations against one another that have no basis in fact."

The audience, which had applauded several times during her presentation, clapped loudly when she concluded.

Rodriguez was the only mayoral candidate to speak at the Inauguration Day demonstration here. She assured the crowd of 6,000 that the war is definitely an issue in Los Angeles. She urged the demonstrators to take note of the socialist alternative, the only campaign with a serious approach toward ending the Vietnam war.

A few days before the demonstration Rodriguez appeared on Ralph Storey's TV talk show to publicize the action. She is scheduled to speak to the meetings of the Los Angeles Chicano City Employees Association, Gay Community Alliance, and at a San Francisco celebration of International Women's Day.

Socialist Workers Party activist Walter Lippmann, candidate for board of education seat number 4, has been endorsed by Social Services Union Local 535 in Los Angeles.

People interested in the campaign's activities or in making a contribution should contact the Socialist Workers campaign office, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 461-8131.

San Diego socialist in race for state senate

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN DIEGO, Jan. 22—"The first socialist ever to seek office in San Diego County took out papers for the 38th state senate district special election yesterday." That is the way the *San Diego Union*, in a feature article Jan. 19, began its coverage of the senatorial campaign of Leslie Dork.

Dork, 22, is a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a member of the Socialist Workers Party. The election March 6 will fill a seat in the California state senate vacated by the election of the present senator to another office.

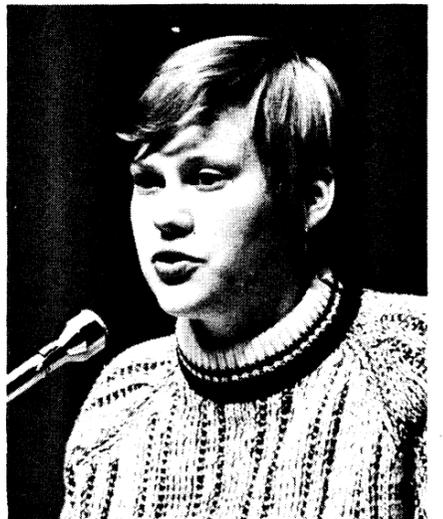
When the special election was first announced, the socialist candidate was told that she had to collect the signatures of 40 people registered in her party in the 38th district. On Jan. 16, three days before the deadline for filing, she was informed that she had to submit 500 signatures of registered voters, 12 times the number required of the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Her campaign supporters gathered well over 1,000 nominating signatures in a four-hour period, and she submitted the petitions Jan. 19. On Jan. 22, the registrar of voters announced that he had validated more than enough signatures to place Dork on the ballot.

At a news conference in the registrar's office Jan. 19 attended by the *San Diego Union*, the local NBC-TV affiliate, and several local radio stations, Dork blasted the war in Vietnam and announced her support for the following day's antiwar demonstration. She also explained the differences between her campaign platform and those of her six opponents in the senate race.

There has already been considerable media coverage of the campaign. Several TV stations covered Dork's declaration of her candidacy and the actual filing of petitions, and articles have appeared almost daily in the major San Diego newspaper.

San Diegans will have an opportunity to meet the socialist candidate at the grand opening of the new campaign headquarters and bookstore, Saturday, Jan. 27, from noon to 5 p.m. The headquarters is located near San Diego State College, at 5617 El Cajon Boulevard.



Leslie Dork

Militant/Mark Satinoff

Antonio Neto is the permanent representative in Europe of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola—Peoples Liberation Movement of Angola), a liberation front fighting for the independence of Angola from Portugal.

Angola, which has been under Portuguese rule for nearly 400 years, has a population of 5.5 million, slightly less than the state of Massachusetts. It covers an area of 481 million square miles, somewhat larger than the states of New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma combined.

The following interview took place in Stockholm, Sweden, Dec. 22, 1972.

cretely this means to return to the towns after having made gains in the countryside.

Politically, we say our organization is anti-imperialist, which means we are fighting for socialism. We have found out that the only possibility for us to conquer power and to prevent neocolonialism is to fight for a society that will break all links with the capitalist economic market.

Militant: What has been the response of the Portuguese government to the Angolan people's demands for independence?

Neto: As international public opinion knows, we sent a letter to the Portu-

gave \$500-million to Portugal to renew its rights to use bases in the Portuguese-controlled Azores. The United States is providing all kinds of military material for the Portuguese imperialists: warships, aircraft, weapons. M-16 rifles from the U.S. were introduced last year. The U.S. has also given them antiaircraft weapons and machine guns.

Portugal recently bought two jumbo jets from the U.S. to transport its troops to Africa. Military jets no longer used by the U.S., such as the F-86, have been given at a token price to Portugal.

Other weapons include the chemicals used by Portugal that have been gotten

We must answer the challenge of the Rhodesian, South African, and Portuguese regimes by unifying the revolutionary forces on the African continent. We have started by having revolutionary cooperation with FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] and PAIGC [African Party for the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands] in a common front. For instance, the arithmetic book we use in our liberated areas comes from FRELIMO, as did the guns we used to open the Cabinda front.

For us, Pan-Africanism must be concrete struggle toward the goal of unifying Africa through socialism. The unity of Africa is not possible if this unity is not on a socialist level. There will not be unity if this unity is bound to continue to link Africa to the international capitalist market and world imperialism.

Militant: Recently there was the announcement from Kinshasa, Zaire, that a joint political and military front had been established by MPLA and FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola—National Liberation Front of Angola, another Angolan liberation organization, led by Holden Roberto. See article on facing page.)

Neto: The FNLA, which has been based in Zaire, has had as its goal the liberation of Angola in a way we feel was at least connected with imperialism. We have asked this group to unite with us in the fight against Portuguese colonialism for the complete national independence of Angola. For 10 years they have rejected these appeals.

Fortunately, by increasing our armed struggle, by increasing our contacts, by completing our political and military victories and consolidating our liberated areas, we have been able to change this situation.

The most difficult problem for us was that since we opened our first front in the area near Luanda, we have had no way of crossing the territories held by the FNLA or through



Portuguese troops in Angola

Zaire. The government of the Congo [now Zaire] thought that Holden Roberto would liberate Angola.

We were able to operate from Zambia and from the Peoples Republic of Congo but not from Zaire. Today the situation is different. We were able to arrive at a compromise with the FNLA and the government of Zaire that forced them to apply the resolution supporting our right of transit and allowing us to work and settle in Zaire. This unity was in the interest of our people, to prevent the isolation of the people in our northern front.

The MPLA still exists as an independent organization, with no changes in its political outlook and principles. It was necessary to forge this unity and to gain the right to operate in Zaire.

Continued on page 22

A Militant interview Freedom struggle in Angola

Militant: What is the MPLA and what is it fighting for?

Neto: MPLA is a liberation movement that was created in 1956 in Luanda. Its political aims are to seize power and to make Angola an independent, democratic, and revolutionary country.

We are fighting against the Portuguese colonialists not only politically but also militarily because it was impossible to get any kind of political change—structural, economic, or social—in Angola without fighting

guese regime on June 13, 1960, asking the Portuguese government to open negotiations to solve our problems by peaceful means.

Salazar, then the Portuguese dictator, in a speech answered that there was no necessity to negotiate with terrorists and with people who want to separate Angola from the so-called motherland, and he tried to make a trick.

He said Angola is a province of Portugal, and Portugal is an independent country, therefore Angola is

from the U.S. Many of the same Dow chemicals and defoliants used in Indochina have been provided by the U.S.

The U.S. now has a military base in Ethiopia [Kagnew Field], which has facilities that can monitor our internal communications systems in the liberated areas. Through NATO this information is given to the Portuguese.

The U.S. is also training Portuguese soldiers in psychological and anti-guerrilla warfare, chiefly at Fort Bragg. In 1968, 107 soldiers were sent to the United States at the cost of \$120,000. In 1969 and 1970 the U.S. trained more than 226 officers and soldiers. In 1970, 33 Portuguese soldiers were trained at Fort Bragg alone.

The South African Republic also plays a role in aiding Portugal. South Africa has made a new doctrine, which says, "the border of South Africa starts at the northern part of Angola, and the other part of the border of South Africa starts at the border of Mozambique."

They want to integrate into a wide political and economic sphere South Africa, Namibia [South-West Africa], Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe [Rhodesia]. This leads them to support Portugal to prevent the development of the liberation movement in South Africa itself. For the same reasons, they are forced to intervene in Zimbabwe.

The South African government has sent mercenaries to protect the diamond mines in the Lunda district. Their military aircraft have intervened against our liberated territories. They are also increasing their investments in Angola and Mozambique.

This South African intervention is extended to Rhodesia, where it has sent troops. And they have sent mercenaries to spread chemicals in the northern part of Mozambique.

They are giving military advice to the Portuguese.

Military officials of the Portuguese administrations in Angola and Mozambique and those of Rhodesia and South Africa meet regularly to coordinate their activities against the liberation struggle. I believe they meet every month.

Militant: In this context how do you see the interrelationship of the struggle in Angola and the struggle in African countries dominated by white settler regimes (South Africa and Rhodesia).

Neto: We have a conception of Pan-Africanism that is a revolutionary concept, not a bourgeois concept. This means that in reality the only possibility for the African countries to be really independent and free is to support each other in a correct way.



Angolan freedom fighters

militarily.

There have been at least three stages in our struggle. The first stage was organizing our political structure underground in the late 1960s. Mainly we tried to get support from the proletarian classes in Angola, the peasants and workers. We had a broad platform against the Portuguese colonialists in order to get other classes into the struggle, classes such as the middle class.

The second stage was the initiation of the armed struggle in the countryside. In the armed struggle we have opened six fronts. In 1961 we started the struggle in Luanda and the northwest region near it. In 1964 the second front in Cabinda Province, further north, was opened.

The third front was opened in 1966 in the Cuando-Cubango region in the south. In 1966, two fronts were opened, one in the district of Lunda in the northeast and another in the interior in the districts of Bie and Huambo. This year we made important progress with a sixth front in the southwest part of Angola.

The third stage, which we are entering now, is to generalize the armed struggle throughout our whole territory and reach other areas. Con-

independent.

Ever since our resistance began, Portuguese colonialism has used the same tactics as Israel in Palestine or the U.S. in Vietnam. They have launched repressive actions against us—napalm, bombing the forests, chemical warfare, defoliants as in Vietnam. In the areas they control they have set up concentration camps, called *aldeamentos*, like the strategic hamlets in Vietnam.

This kind of repression has only increased the resistance of our people. Today there are more than 500,000 square kilometers under the control of MPLA—one-third of the country—so in these areas our people are free to organize themselves.

Militant: How is Portugal, one of the most backward and weakest countries in Europe, able to carry on an extensive war like this in Angola, as well as its wars against the peoples of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau?

Neto: The Portuguese government gets support from the international imperialists, mainly the countries inside of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), which give Portugal much military equipment.

For example, this year the U.S.

Rhodesia, S. Africa pressure Zambia in anti-guerrilla move

By MARCEL BLACK

Following several months of stepped-up activity by African freedom-fighters in Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Ian Smith, prime minister of the white minority-ruled Rhodesian government, announced Jan. 9 the closing of the Rhodesian border with Zambia. On the following day, the Republic of South Africa announced it was also imposing economic sanctions on Zambia.

Zambia is an independent African country in which supporters of Black majority rule in Zimbabwe have been allowed to maintain bases. Smith and the South African government have stated that they will not reopen the borders until the Zambian government agrees to stop "harboring" African national liberation fighters.

The transshipment of Zambian copper through Zimbabwe to Mozambique was exempted from the blockade because the revenues from these shipments are vital to the weak Rhodesian economy. However, this blockade will mean Zambia will lose Rhodesian coal shipments and other supplies.

The South African sanctions included a ban on freight shipments to Zambia. Zambia has been buying foodstuffs, mining equipment, and other manufactured goods from South Africa.

The Jan. 22 issue of *Intercontinental Press* reports that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has rejected Smith's demands. He was quoted as reaffirming his country's "solidarity with those gallant people struggling for their freedom" in Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonies.

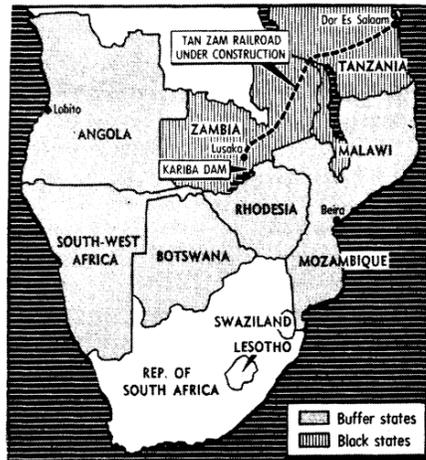
Kaunda also said, "We cannot be passive observers to a situation that daily affects our people, particularly on our long borders." He continued, "We have already suffered the consequences of our geographical proximity to the den of iniquity and mass exploitation."

These statements were made despite the fact that Zambia's only rail outlets are through Rhodesia and Portu-

guese-controlled Angola. The Portuguese support Smith's regime and could also cut off rail transit of Zambian copper if Smith pressures them to do so.

Zambia and Tanzania, with aid from the People's Republic of China, are building a railroad between Lusaka, Zambia, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The Tan Zam railroad, however, will not be finished until 1975.

These events have followed a renewal of guerrilla activities by Zimbabwean liberation fighters. The Jan. 10 *New York Times* carried a dispatch from Salisbury, Rhodesia, reporting the killing of two South African policemen and the wounding of five others, including two other South Africans,



on Jan. 9 by a mine set by guerrillas. (South African police and troops operate against African freedom fighters in Rhodesia, just as Rhodesian and South African mercenaries and military have carried out joint operations with the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique.)

Other guerrilla raids took place at Mount Darwin, 100 miles northeast of Salisbury, and at Centenary, 40 miles west of Mount Darwin. In December, guerrillas carried out several similar actions against white settlers and police in outlying sections of Zimbabwe.

This threatens to be a serious problem for the white settler regime, since their control over Zimbabwe depends in part on settlement of these districts. Some white settlers are abandoning their farms in these areas.

Frederic Hunter writing from Nairobi, Kenya, in the Dec. 23, 1972, *Christian Science Monitor*, suggests that the escalation of armed actions inside Zimbabwe flows from "renewed guerrilla confidence following several months of steady Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) gains in neighboring Mozambique."

Previously, most guerrilla actions inside Zimbabwe had been carried out by FRELIMO from adjoining sections of Mozambique. However, the most recent actions appear to have been carried out by Zimbabwe liberation organizations. These include ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union), ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union), and FROLIZI (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe), all of which are allowed to operate from Zambia.

The guerrilla actions are also receiving support from the peoples of Zimbabwe. Hunter wrote in the Jan. 12 *Monitor* that the "infiltrating guerrillas now appear to receive aid from local Africans. The Smith government fears they may establish camps inside Rhodesia. As a result, it has organized Rhodesia's biggest-ever police-air force manhunt to track down some 200 guerrillas thought to have infiltrated since last December."

Other steps to stem the growth of resistance by Zimbabwe's African majority have included introducing new legislation calling for curfews and special identity cards for Africans, and mobilizing the white Rhodesian reserves.

The Jan. 19 *New York Times* announced that Ian Smith, who had previously attempted to claim the African majority was "happy" about white minority rule, admitted that the peoples of northern Zimbabwe had been aiding Zambian-based guerrillas. He said he was introducing repressive legislation to impose collective punishment on communities whose members helped guerrillas.

Churches hit business policies in Africa

By KARARI NKOMO

NEW YORK, Jan. 18—At a news conference here Jan. 16, six Protestant church organizations denounced American business involvement in white-ruled Africa.

U. S. companies, stated Reverend W. Sterling Cary, the Black president of the National Council of Churches, "have made huge profits there while paying their Black workers pitifully inadequate wages." The organizations called for "close scrutiny" of their operations and attacked the myth that they are helping the Africans.

Many of these churches have a substantial amount of money to invest and are planning to use their financial influence to compel 13 corporations to disclose their dealings with the racist regimes in southern Africa.

The six organizations are the American Baptist Churches, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA, the United Methodist Church, the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, the Unitarian-Universalist Association, and the National Council of Churches.

Some of the corporations singled out include the Burroughs Corporation, Eastman Kodak, General Electric, and IBM. Burroughs has already supplied information on its holdings, as requested. The Unitarians have now asked Exxon Corporation to "set up a special committee to investigate the implications of a proposed investment in the Portuguese African territory of Angola."

Although the churches condemned American business involvement and hoped their actions would put pressure on these firms to "change company policies," they stopped short of threatening to withdraw their investments.

Last August, however, the World Council of Churches, the international affiliate of the National Council, voted to sell its \$3.5-million holdings in corporations doing business in the white racist settler states.

In addition, through its Program to Combat Racism, the World Council contributes financially to various African liberation movements in white-ruled Africa. They currently budget \$1-million a year for these movements. But up until last fall, the National Council contributed nothing to the program.

At a general assembly meeting of the National Council in Dallas, Texas, the first week of December, a Dutch fraternal delegate angrily complained of the lag in U. S. support. U. S. delegates responded that American agencies already have "heavy fiscal problems."

One Black bishop at the gathering spilled some of the National Council's beans. He said it was more important for American churches to be free to do "missionary" work in white-ruled Africa than to contribute significantly to the program. He feared that missionaries would lose their entry permits if their denomination became associated with the liberation movements.

The actions of U. S. churches, although limited, are nevertheless helping to throw light on how U. S. corporations help prop up Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes in southern Africa.

Dr. Gene Bartlett, president of the American Baptist Churches, summed up the church groups' position, "If our corporations make some of the highest profits in the world while doing business there, and we as institutional investors benefit from those profits, we then directly profit from apartheid."

Angolan liberation forces unify

From *Intercontinental Press*
By TONY THOMAS

The December 15 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that on December 13 the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—Peoples Liberation Movement of Angola) and the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—National Liberation Front of Angola), the two main liberation groups in Angola, had signed an agreement to unify their forces and had jointly set up the Supreme Liberation Council of Angola.

Holden Roberto, the leader of the FNLA was announced as chairman of the Supreme Liberation Council and Dr. Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, was named as vice-chairman. The two organizations have equal representation on the council.

According to *Le Monde*, leadership of the military department of the Supreme Council was given to MPLA. This department is "in charge essentially of the recruitment and training of fighters as well as logistics and supplies." The "Angolan Political Council presided over by the FNLA will be responsible for propaganda, the diplomatic activities of the movement, and the administration of the liberated zones of Angola."

Since the beginning of the armed liberation struggle in Angola in the early 1960s, the MPLA and FNLA have been the two main forces in the struggle. At times their differences over perspectives for the Angolan revolution reached such sharpness that armed confrontations occurred between the two groups. The MPLA charged that the FNLA and its leader, Holden Roberto, were "agents of American imperialism" and of the Mobutu regime of Zaïre. Holden Roberto and the FNLA denied the charges.

The FNLA and the GRAE (Governo Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio—Revolutionary Government in Exile of Angola), both led by Holden Roberto, were officially recognized as the main group in the struggle by the Organization of African Unity—an organization of the African capitalist states. No aid or "recognition" was given by the OAU to MPLA until after 1965 when it began to receive aid roughly equal to that given the FNLA.

At its June 1970 meeting, the OAU removed its recognition of the GRAE as a semiofficial government in exile of Angola. The OAU adopted the policy of demanding that the guerrilla groups in Angola and other imperialist-ruled countries unite their

forces. At the June 12-14, 1972, meeting of the heads of state of the OAU, held at Rabat, Morocco, Neto and Roberto announced that they had begun steps toward unification.

The current agreement is in part the product of negotiations between the governments of the People's Republic of Congo, in which the MPLA has bases, and Zaïre, where the FNLA is based. Previous to the agreement the MPLA was banned from having military, political, or medical facilities in Zaïre, where there are hundreds of thousands of Angolan expatriates and refugees.

It is not yet clear whether the two organizations will merge completely. *Le Monde* reported that the Supreme Council will meet "at least twice a year." Leaders of MPLA have stated that under the new agreement they will continue to function as an independent organization as in the past. It was also reported that public polemics between the two groups would now cease.

There was no report on the attitude the combined organization has adopted toward a third, smaller liberation organization, the UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

APPEAL FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

ISRAELI LEFT PROTESTS WITCH-HUNT, TORTURE

The documents on this page show the response of left organizations in Israel to the ominous and widespread witch-hunt the Zionist regime recently launched.

The opening salvo of this witch-hunt attack came December 7, when Israeli police announced that twenty persons, sixteen of them Arabs and four Jews, had been taken into custody on suspicion of participation in a Syrian-led "espionage and sabotage network." The four Jews were alleged to be members of the Red Front, an anti-Zionist organization.

On December 11 seventeen more persons, apparently all Arabs, were taken in by the police. Then, on December 26, two more Jews were arrested. One, Rami Livneh, is the son of a Rakah delegate in the Israeli parliament (the Knesset). Livneh is a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (frequently known as Struggle, the name of its newspaper), a group from which the Red Front had split. He was charged not with having been part of the "spy ring," but with having known of its existence and not informing the police.

Besides the nearly forty people being held in connection with the spying charges, many more have been held for "questioning."

Questioning involves more than mere query and response. On January 9 Rami Livneh's father, Abraham Lewenbraun, charged that his son had been tortured by the police. In their efforts to get Livneh to "confess" that he had known about the "spy ring," authorities beat him, threw freezing water on him, and subjected him to electric shock. When this procedure failed to do its job, the police confronted Livneh with several of his Arab friends, each of whom had been severely tortured. Livneh was told that they had already confessed and that if he did not do so as well, he would receive even worse treatment.

At that point Livneh "confessed." He later repudiated the confession, and explained to his father and his lawyer the circumstances under which he had given his statement to the police. Livneh also charged that the other prisoners had been tortured.

The case marks the first time in Israel that Jews have come in for the torture treatment hitherto reserved for Arabs.

We reprint below two initial responses to the government terror.

The first, "Against the Government Repression," was signed by five organizations. The second is an advertisement charging the government with torture. It was signed by about 100 persons, including several prominent members of the Black Panthers, a group of militant Sephardic Jews.

The Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist) has issued an urgent appeal to world public opinion to intervene in order to stay the hand of the Meir regime.

The group has called on people to send protest messages to Prime Minister Golda Meir, Jerusalem, Israel. Copies of such messages should be sent to ISO (Marxist) at P. O. Box 2234, Jerusalem, Israel.

'FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT TO ORGANIZE'

[The following statement on the current repressive campaign being waged by the Israeli government was released by five Israeli organizations.]

The government aspires to destroy the organizations of the left and is utilizing provocations to this end. After the discovery of what it called a "sabotage and spy ring," the regime struck at the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle) by arresting Rami Livneh and Melli Lehrman. It is obvious what will come next: the well-known domino method. After Struggle, others will be hit. Against the Black Panthers the government used frame-ups about "domestic terrorism" and "Molotov cocktails"; against the organizations of the left it is now using the obvious provocation of "spying and sabotage."

The government does not intend to stop there. By announcing that 100 more arrests are expected, the regime is preparing the ground for arresting more political militants and destroying more political and workers' organizations. The charge that members of an open political organization "had contact with agents of the enemy" is only a beginning.

The government that has for years been expropriating and expelling Arabs, that has for years been engaged in class oppression and racial dis-

crimination, is in need of renewed "national unity" because of the strike wave and price rises. It needs new "security" grounds to justify its militarism and the continuation of oppression.

The Israeli regime cannot tolerate the joint political organization of Jews and Arabs, and it uses all its weapons, from the security services to the courts, to destroy all such activity.

We place no trust whatsoever in the information released by the police and the security services—they are intended to create a lynch atmosphere. Various charges raised toward this end have already been disproved (and some of the accused have been freed already).

We know that many of those imprisoned have been badly tortured in the course of interrogation, in the highest traditions of such methods. We have heard that they will be tried before closed military courts on the basis of the 1945 Defense and Emergency Regulations.

Yesterday the regime claimed that



Israeli police close in on a Black Panther demonstrator.

striking workers were "saboteurs"; today it attacks political organizations and claims they are "enemies"; tomorrow it will destroy workers' councils by claiming that they "endanger national unity." The government attacks freedom of political organization and at the same time prepares the laws that will enable them to send striking workers to jail.

Let's stop them now!

Yesterday they declared the villages of Ikrit and Biram "closed areas"; tomorrow they will prohibit demonstrations against "excesses" and all forms of neighborhood and school organizations.

Let's stop them now!

Don't let them outlaw any political organization.

Let's stop them now!

Let's fight for the democratic right of all people to organize according to their opinions and conscience.

We urge all organizations and individuals to support this call.

Avant-garde Group
Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist)
Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen)
Revolutionary Communist Alli-

ance (Struggle)
Arab Students' Union — Hebrew University, Jerusalem

'WE ACCUSE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT OF TORTURE'

[The following paid advertisement was passed by the Israeli government censors and scheduled for publication in the January 12 issue of the Tel Aviv daily *Ha'aretz*, Israel's most widely circulated morning newspaper.]

We accuse the Israeli authorities and the secret police (Shin Bet) of torturing the following Israeli citizens:

Rami Livneh (of Tel Aviv), Shanki Hativ (Dir Hana), Mohammed Daski (Taibe), Ahmed Mahmoud Hauri (Tarshiba), Subhei Naarani (Busmat Tivon), Fauaz Turki (Haifa), Rasan Agbria (Um el-Fahen), Simon Hadar (Iblin), Eli Samlie (Arab el-Samniye), Hana Savit (Tarshiba), Salam Jabrin (Um el-Fahen), Meli Lerman (Kiron), and others, by the following methods:

Slaps in the face, beating on all parts of the body, treading and trampling on the prisoner while he is forced to lie on the floor, stripping the prisoner naked for long periods of time, splashing ice-cold water on the prisoner's naked body, forcing the prisoner to stand on one foot for long periods of time, sometimes on a table and sometimes on the floor, forcing the prisoner to stand against a wall while forbidding him to lean on it, torture by electric shocks on all parts of the body, especially genitals.

In face of these crimes, it is almost irrelevant to mention insults, spitting at prisoners, threats against the prisoners and their families, and other degradations.

The prisoners have testified in detail to their lawyers and families about the tortures they have undergone. This was done in the presence of the authorities, who did not even bother to deny the allegations. On January 8, 1973, the prisoner Meli Lerman pointed out one of his torturers to his lawyer, Felicia Langer. The man was then standing in the courtyard of the Yagur (Jelamy) prison, dressed in civilian clothes and accompanied by two other men. When the lawyer demanded the man identify himself, he refused to do so, and the two men accompanying him ordered police to remove the lawyer from the premises.

We appeal to the Israeli public and to world public opinion to join our strong protest.

In every civilized state a confession obtained under pressure of torture loses all moral and legal validity.

We demand that the prisoners be immediately released on bail in order to prevent the continuation of torture.

We demand that those who committed these crimes be brought to justice.

We appeal to every civilized person who has not lost all humanity to join our protest.

We warn: What happened to these prisoners today could happen to you tomorrow!



Blindfolded Arabs who will face Israeli 'interrogation.' The Zionist regime has long employed torture and detention measures against Arabs, but this is the first time it has used them against significant numbers of Israeli Jews.

Ex-guard freed; was accused of aiding inmates

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK—Jurors in the trial of Earl Whittaker have cleared him of all charges of aiding rebel inmates during their Oct. 1970 takeover of the Manhattan House of Detention, the "Tombs." Whittaker was a guard at the jail. The jury found him not guilty on Jan. 18 of criminal solicitation and obstruction of governmental administration.

Two days earlier, the same jury cleared him of two counts of kidnaping and one of unlawful imprisonment. He had originally been charged with 29 offenses and faced up to 300 years.

This acquittal is a strong blow to the state's frame-ups arising out of the Tombs revolt. Two prisoners still face charges in the revolt—Herbert X Blyden and Stanley King.

Whittaker, who was a hostage of the prisoners, was accused of having counseled them not to give up during the last hour of the take-over. Six other guards who were held hostage claimed in court that they heard him exhort, "Don't give up now," or words to that effect.

At one point during the revolt, Mayor John Lindsay had offered amnesty to the prisoners. Whittaker says he advised them, "'Don't give up' on Lindsay."

Whittaker's lawyer, Paul Chevigny of the New York Civil Liberties Union, told reporters, "This was an old style political trial . . . one where people tried to eliminate other people within the establishment who are their enemies. Earl is not a stock prison guard. . . . And they needed a traitor, otherwise they would have to blame the riot on conditions in the jail."

Chevigny was referring to the fact that other guards disliked Whittaker because he did not falsify reports or use excessive force against prisoners.

In an interview printed in *The Militant* last summer, Whittaker described one such incident:

"On one occasion, a Black inmate was being processed into the Tombs. The guards took the \$160 he had and gave him a receipt for \$20. When the inmate protested, the guards demanded, 'Are you calling us thieves?' They then took him into a back room and beat him. Other guards streamed to the scene to join the assault."

Mark Curran, the jury foreman in Whittaker's trial, commented on the prosecution's case. He said he "never felt that the state had a good case." John Ettelson, another juror, added, "The judge confused us badly . . . [the] three top charges [kidnaping, unlawful imprisonment, and criminal solicitation] didn't hold water." One juror noted that six jurors favored a not-guilty verdict from the beginning.

Last summer, when a jury returned a not-guilty verdict against three prisoners accused in the Tombs revolt, Manhattan District Attorney Frank Hogan claimed the verdict was a "hid-

eous miscarriage of justice." This time he merely peeped, "We have our function to perform and the jury has theirs."

N.Y. action hits raids on Latin Americans

By MIRTA VIDAL

NEW YORK—Dragnet raids in search of "illegal" aliens are being conducted by the U.S. Immigration Service here. Three such raids, resulting in mass arrests, have taken place in the last six months.

According to fact sheets issued by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Coalition of Latin Americans and Friends of Latin America, 35 Latin Americans were arrested last July 11 at a street corner in Queens. On Oct. 16, 100 people were stopped in Manhattan and about 10 carloads of people were taken away. On Dec. 12, 64 were arrested at a subway station in Queens.

Anyone who has dark skin, speaks a foreign language, or wears different dress is subject to detention and arrest by Immigration officers. The Immigration Service in the New York City area



boasts of having deported 12,000 "illegal aliens" last year.

One Ecuadorian family was recently stopped in Brooklyn and, according to Leon Rosen, president of the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, "physically shoved into a car," despite the fact that some members of the family had permanent resident status. Because of such tactics, Rosen said, even aliens who have residence permits live in an "atmosphere of fear" and are often "physically abused."

On Jan. 17, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Coalition of Latin Americans and Friends of Latin America jointly sponsored a demonstration of about 100 in midtown Manhattan. The demonstrators protested the "police state" raids and demanded an end to the "lawlessness of Immigration authorities—now!"

Leaflets the two sponsoring organizations issued condemned the raids as racist attacks on Latin Americans and pointed out that they violated Bill of Rights protection against un-

reasonable search and seizure.

The organizers also pointed out that the raids are a threat to the rights of all citizens. "Making scapegoats of the foreign born is the beginning of attacks on the native born," they stated.

Democratic representatives Bella Abzug and Edward Koch from Manhattan, Herman Badillo from the Bronx, and Benjamin Rosenthal from Queens have joined the protest campaign.

"These arrests are not only unconstitutional but are reminiscent of the dark hours of the Palmer raids," said Badillo, referring to the mass arrests of alleged subversives and the deportation of hundreds of alien radicals by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer in 1920. The Puerto Rican congressman announced that he would demand a congressional investigation of the recent wave of arrests.

Abzug called the raids "illegal acts" and "another attack on the fundamental rights of all people."

West Coast dockers challenge Phase 3

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 22—After a 134 day strike, which ended last February, West Coast longshoremen won a 72 cents an hour pay raise for the first year of the contract, bringing the average hourly wage to \$5.64. The Pay Board stripped away 30 cents of this raise. Now, in a test of Nixon's Phase III, the longshoremen are trying to get that 30 cents back.

The contract included a proviso that the wage question could be reopened if government lifted controls. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has reopened wage negotiations, and the Pacific Maritime Association has agreed to pay the 30 cents starting Jan. 20—pending approval of the Federal Cost of Living Council.

However, the council is permitting reinstatement of pay raises denied by the Pay Board only under certain conditions: they cannot be "flagrant" violations of the new standard set by the council, and they cannot be retroactive. This last guarantees that about \$2-million that belongs to the longshoremen and ship clerks will remain in the ship owners' pockets. A writer in the Jan. 22 *Wall Street Journal* says, "the council seems likely to formally disapprove" the 30 cents increase.

On June 1 the contract between the longshoremen and the ship owners expires. Once more the same question is posed: how to turn back the employer-government offensive and make gains. Should the union prepare for strike? Again?

The ranks know that in order to get what they want—a shorter workday, longer vacations, more equitable work distribution—a fighting stance will be necessary. They find themselves, once again, in conflict with International President Harry Bridges. Bridges proved during the strike that he was no fighter. Now he sees a merger with the Teamsters union as the answer to the union's problems.

But two obstacles stand in his way. One, the Teamsters will not come up with the only kind of agreement that the ILWU rank and file might possibly accept, an autonomous waterfront division that would negotiate for itself and determine its own jurisdiction. Two, it seems that a majority of the ILWU membership is opposed to merger on other grounds as well, namely the lack of internal democracy in the Teamsters and the corruption of its leadership.

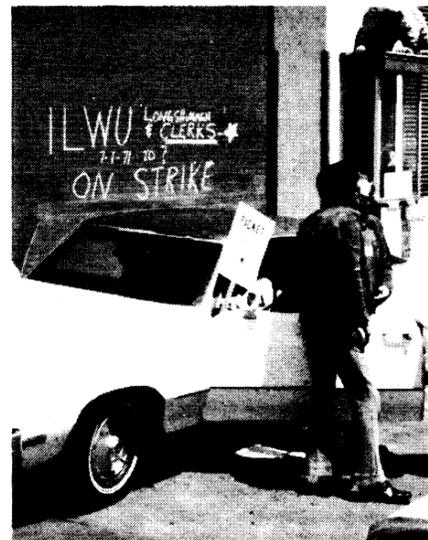
Bridges found this out the hard way when he spoke to a Local 13 meeting of 2,000 in the Los Angeles area on Jan. 11. Not one longshoreman raised his hand when a straw vote was taken on the merger question. Bridges called the unexpected vote by local President Curt Johnson "dirty politics."

Bridges was quoted as saying he was "very disappointed" at the outcome. Yet the very nature of the meeting points up one of the major reasons that the ILWU membership won't go for merger. There is no such democracy in the Teamsters.

Does this mean that the ILWU and the Teamsters will start fighting each other now? Not at all. In San Francisco, Teamsters-ILWU contract negotiations covering 25,000 warehouse workers have been jointly conducted for years. Also, the warehouse unions have a "no raids" pact, and joint negotiations are scheduled again when warehouse agreements terminate June 1.

Up and down the coast, the local leaderships have been able to work out mutually satisfactory agreements in most Teamsters-ILWU jurisdictional disputes. Most longshoremen feel that a united stand against the attacks of the bosses is possible without a merger.

Bridges's pessimistic cry, "We can't go it alone!" is designed to frighten. There's no need to go it alone. What's needed is stronger and more permanent interunion cooperation. Steps in



Longshoremen seek to recover wage gains won last year.

this direction have already been taken.

During the retail clerks' strike in San Francisco last year, all of the major unions in the Bay Area formed a mutual assistance committee. This committee intervened decisively in the strike, which was being lost, and turned the tide. This committee still exists.

The California Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, has called for the unions to convene a congress of labor to discuss how to combat Nixon's antilabor policies. Such a congress could extend mutual assistance and cooperation among unions at all levels.

THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: PROGRAM OF THE 1926 OPPOSITION

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

By DAVE FRANKEL

Trotsky writes of the beginning of the Joint Opposition in 1926 that "at our very first meeting, Kamenev declared: 'It is enough for you [Trotsky] and Zinoviev to appear on the same platform, and the party will find its true Central Committee.' I could not help laughing at such bureaucratic optimism. Kamenev obviously underestimated the disintegrating effect on the party of the three years' activity of the trio [Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev]."

From 472,000 members and candidate members at the beginning of 1924, the Bolshevik Party had increased to 1,078,000 at the beginning of 1926. Thus, the campaign against "Trotskyism" had been the central aspect of the political "education" of the majority of the party. The influx of masses of politically raw workers had been organized early in 1924 as a maneuver designed to swamp the opposition.

If, during the civil war, a party congress could still say that party members "have no privileges over other workers, they have only higher obligations," this was no longer the case by 1924. Large numbers of the new party members were interested mainly in finding a good job, and as early as 1923 there were warnings against the enrichment of party members.

Most of the new recruits proved to be amenable to the direction of the party hierarchy. Furthermore, although in retrospect the issues under discussion seem clearly defined, the Triumvirate—Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev—had spoken with the authority and prestige of the Bolshevik old guard. This was the group of revolutionaries who had come to the party before 1917, had lived through the revolution and the civil war, and now numbered at most 10,000—less

hundreds of thousands of raw and untested newcomers to Bolshevism as unreliable. Prior to 1926, when most of them joined the Joint Opposition, they viewed the Opposition's call for reinstating democratic procedures and discussion among the party's rank-and-file as a threat to the socialist character of the party.

Instead of drawing the mass of the party into political activity and debate, the old guard attempted to substitute itself for the continuing process of building a mass revolutionary party. The result was that those who held ideas of their own and spoke out were eliminated from party membership, while the docile careerists remained. By the end of 1925 the majority of the Bolshevik Party was composed of people who were willing to vote the way the party apparatus told them to.

Although the economic backwardness of the Soviet Union, coupled with the isolation of the revolution, would have caused the growth of a bureaucracy no matter what, the speed of its formation, its political power and other characteristics, were not predetermined. Stalin's activity in building up a personal machine, and Zinoviev and Kamenev's preoccupation with keeping their positions as leaders of the party, led to a campaign against Trotsky instead of a campaign against the growing bureaucracy.

Under the cover of this campaign the bureaucracy grew stronger, while its most uncompromising and far-sighted enemies were removed from positions of power. An economic policy that would have helped to curtail the bureaucracy was rejected.

Ultimately, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Stalin all acted, along with the majority of the old guard, as the unwitting tools of the rising new bureaucracy. When Kamenev and Zinoviev finally realized that the policies they had been supporting were endangering the revolution, they attempted to retrace their steps. But they were to

Party of the Revolution, seemed to him empty imaginings. He believed in the self-sufficiency of the Party machine, in its ability to perform all tasks. He did not have the slightest understanding of the historical function he was fulfilling.

"The absence of a creative imagination, the inability to generalize and foresee killed the revolutionist in Stalin when he took the helm alone. But the very same traits backed by his authority as a former revolutionist enabled him to camouflage the rise of the Thermidorian bureaucracy."

In the summer of 1926 the Joint Opposition began to organize its adherents. Representatives of the Opposition traveled throughout the country, contacting party members known to be critical of the official policies and acquainting them with the views of the Opposition.

In the middle of July the Joint Opposition officially proclaimed its existence to the central committee of the Bolshevik Party. It proposed a program that emphasized the need for planned industrialization. The conservative approach of the bureaucracy was exemplified by the fact that the iron and steel industries and transport reached goals in 1925 that the Supreme Council of the National Economy had not expected them to attain until 1930.

Within the context of a more rapid industrialization, the Opposition called for improving the situation of the workers and poor peasants. Its demands included direct wage increases, larger appropriations for setting up collective farms, and organizing the poor peasantry in opposition to the kulaks.

It also called for phasing out indirect taxation and for establishing a sharply graduated tax system, with the goal of "freeing altogether from taxation 40 to 50 percent of the poorest peasant families. . . ."

The Opposition also raised demands

with the newly elected leaders of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC).

Although there was no objection in principle to a bloc between revolutionary and reformist trade-union leaders for attaining specific objectives—in this case the unification of procommunist and procapitalist trade unions—it soon became clear that much more was involved.

Statements of solidarity with the Russian revolution by British trade-union officials led leaders of the Bolshevik Party to ask whether the revolution might not "enter Britain through the broad gateway of the trade unions" rather than through the "narrow path of the Communist Party."

In the *Lessons of October* Trotsky had already explained that the European revolutions that followed World War I failed, not for the lack of trade unions, but for the lack of revolutionary parties. ". . . the English trade unions can become a powerful lever of the proletarian revolution," he wrote. "But they cannot play such a role without the communist party and certainly not against it. . . ."

Stalin, however, felt that even if the reformist leaders of the British trade unions failed to open the door for the British revolution, they would help defend the Soviet Union.

To the criticism of the Opposition he answered: "The task of this bloc consists in organizing a broad movement of the working class against new imperialist wars and generally against an intervention in our country (especially) on the part of the mightiest of imperialist powers of Europe, on the part of England in particular."

Using this justification, Stalin refused to break the bloc with the heads of the TUC, despite their treachery against the British general strike of May 1926. This strike, the biggest working-class upsurge in twentieth-century Britain, was provoked by an assault on the coal miners.

In the summer of 1925 the mine operators served notice that they were terminating the existing contract, proposing wholesale wage cuts, the abolition of the minimum wage, and the negotiation of local instead of national contracts. The threat of a general strike forced the Tory government, unprepared for such defiance, to vote a subsidy to maintain the wages and conditions of the miners for nine months.

This action only postponed the showdown. In April 1926 the miners were locked out, and on May 3 a general strike was declared. Nine days later, however, the TUC called off the strike, using the excuse that the government had promised that the miners would "get a fair deal." Forced to continue their strike alone, against the open opposition of the leaders of the TUC, the miners were eventually starved out.

Through all of this, Stalin and Bukharin refused to withdraw from the Anglo-Soviet Council. The TUC leaders were able to point to their bloc with the "revolutionaries" in the Anglo-Soviet Council to undercut left-wing critics who protested the betrayal.

While the union officials secured their positions, the British Communist Party hardly grew; only in September 1927 was the disgraceful episode of the Anglo-Soviet Council finally brought to a close—the British walked out.

Unfortunately, events in Britain were only a prelude to an even greater defeat in China, which will be the subject of the next article.



British miners meeting during 1926 strike. Comintern policy paved the way for a decisive defeat.

than 1 percent of the party.

In reality the old guard had split. But since Trotsky had not joined the Bolsheviks until 1917, it was relatively easy for his opponents to portray themselves as the upholders of Bolshevik tradition. The implications of the campaign against Trotsky were not clear at first to the majority of the old Bolsheviks.

These veterans of the revolutionary struggle viewed themselves as the guardians of the traditions and program of Bolshevism. They saw the

find that it was easier to confuse and intimidate the masses than to rouse them to activity during a period of political apathy and retreat.

As for the third member of the triumvirate, Trotsky believed that "if Stalin could have foreseen at the very beginning where his fight against Trotskyism would lead, he undoubtedly would have stopped short, in spite of the prospect of victory over all his opponents.

"But he did not foresee anything. The prophecies of his opponents that he would become the leader of the Thermidor, the gravedigger of the

on behalf of the specially oppressed sections of the population, such as the non-Russian nationalities and women. Finally, it called for democratizing the party and the Soviets, and advanced a series of specific proposals for implementing its ideas.

On the international arena it exposed the implications of the theory of "socialism in one country" and its disorienting effect on the policy of the Comintern. The Opposition centered its fire on the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council. Formed in May 1925, the Anglo-Soviet Council united representatives of the Soviet trade unions

Communist Party resorts to slander in attempt to silence criticism of Moscow

By LARRY SEIGLE

The leaders of the Communist Party USA and of the Young Workers Liberation League are evidently having some problems explaining their views on the antiwar movement to their members and supporters.

The brazenness with which the Soviet bureaucrats have been pressuring Hanoi to agree to Nixon's terms for a truce is embarrassing to those who try to preserve the illusion that the Kremlin has a revolutionary foreign policy. The CP tops try to protect Moscow, and themselves, from criticism by branding as "Trotskyite Nixonists" anyone who reports the facts about the Soviet Union's role in the current situation.

The purpose of this is to immunize their supporters against criticism of Moscow's betrayal by persuading them that all who oppose this treachery, chief among them the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, are actually in the service of Nixon and want to prolong the war.

The logic of this absurd attempt to link Trotskyism with Nixon is to whip up a mood of frenzied factionalism against members of the YSA and SWP. In at least one recent instance, at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, a leader of the YWLL physically assaulted a member of the YSA. (See page 21.) Threats of violence against the SWP were also made by CP leaders involved in planning the Jan. 20 demonstration in Washington. (See page 5.)

However, at the same time that the CP factionalists were intensifying their anti-Trotskyist campaign, they were compelled to enter a united front that included the SWP and the YSA to organize the successful antiwar actions on Inauguration Day. The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), which the CP adheres to, cosponsored the demonstrations with the National Peace Action Coalition, which includes the SWP and YSA among its constituents.

The political gymnastics the CP is (not too gracefully) trying to execute to reconcile these contradictory positions can be seen in two articles that appear on the same page of the Jan. 20 *Daily World*, the CP paper. This is the issue that was distributed at the Washington demonstration.

'Friends of Nixon'

The first article, written by Mike Zagarell, a national officer of the YWLL, is entitled "Trotskyite friends of Nixon's trickery." Zagarell contends that the SWP's opposition to the slogan that Nixon "sign now" the nine-point accords announced last October, and its insistence on demanding instead that the U.S. get out now from all of Indochina, aids the war aims of U.S. imperialism by taking Nixon "off the hot seat."

He accuses the SWP of attacking the Vietnamese revolution and concludes with a call for the expulsion of the SWP and YSA from the antiwar movement: "... the Trotskyites have been declared renegades throughout the world peace movement. Of all the nations in the capitalist world, our peace movement in the U.S. has the greatest responsibility. It is time that we begin to examine new and higher standards in the peace movement."

But if this is correct, one might well ask, why did the CP decide to collaborate with these "Nixonites" in building an antiwar action?

This is a question that is evidently on the minds of many who follow the CP line, and Matthew ("Dynamite") Hallinan tries to answer this in the second article in the *Daily World*, entitled "Tactical flexibility urged for united antiwar action." Hallinan, the newly designated chairman of the CP's "National Peace Commission," tries to mollify the people, including those he calls "some of the best and most dedicated people," who disagreed with the CP decision to participate in a joint action that included the SWP.

Without in any way disagreeing with Zagarell's desire to expel the Trotskyists from the peace movement, Hallinan puts his emphasis on a somewhat more sober estimate of the relationship of forces in the antiwar movement: "The question is now how bad are the Trotskyites, but, rather, will certain forms of unity with them under certain conditions help to compel U.S. imperialism to end its oppression in Vietnam?"

Hallinan reports that NPAC refused to join with PCPJ under the latter's "Sign Now" slogan. The CP has raised the false charge that NPAC insisted on imposing its "Out Now" position on the demonstration.

In reality, NPAC acknowledged the fact that serious political differences existed between the coalitions. For this reason, it proposed that people be free to carry whatever banners and placards they chose, and that the speakers at the rally each present their own point of view. NPAC suggested that the unified slogan be limited to a call for an end to the bombing and an immediate halt to the war.

PCPJ and the CP decided to accept NPAC's proposals for handling the question of the slogans. "Some honest peace forces," writes Hallinan, "were upset by PCPJ's decision to accept these conditions. Their anger and frustration with the Trotskyites kept them from seeing the situation in its proper perspective."

Hallinan doesn't say so, but it's obvious that the CP feared the loss of credibility and authority that PCPJ would have suffered if the march on Washington had been successfully carried off without their participation. Undoubtedly, the CP "peace commis-



Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, speaking to antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., April 24, 1971. Pulley and other members of the YSA and SWP have criticized the Kremlin for betraying the Vietnamese in return for its detente with Nixon.

sioners" were haunted by the memory of PCPJ's past attempts to counterpose its own actions to a mass demonstration called by NPAC.

Not the least of these unpleasant memories must have been PCPJ's refusal to support the April 24, 1971, march on Washington for a full three months after it had been called. In that situation PCPJ was finally forced to reverse itself as a result of NPAC's success in winning support for the demonstration. They belatedly endorsed the demonstration, which brought 800,000 people out in the streets of Washington and San Francisco.

"Only a united action," says Hallinan, "which combined the organizational and financial resources of both PCPJ and NPAC met the political requirements" of the current situation.

Hallinan accurately predicted that the entire world would view Jan. 20 as a "test of strength between the administration and the anti-war forces in this country." The participation of NPAC was essential in organizing an effective demonstration.

But how can a reader of the *Daily World* be expected to reconcile the admission that NPAC played a crucial role in the demonstration with Zagarell's call to expel NPAC from the peace movement? The CP's own acknowledgment that the SWP and the YSA helped to build the Jan. 20 actions completely refutes their charge that the Trotskyites are "friends of Nixon" and enemies of the Vietnamese revolution.

Lies and slanders

A further indication of the problems that the CP leaders have in persuading their followers that the SWP and YSA position on the nine-point accords equals "Nixonism" is the fact that they consistently distort and falsify quotes from *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*. They are evidently afraid to present accurately the position of the Trotskyist movement because they lack confidence in their ability to refute it.

Zagarell's article contains a number of lies. For example, he says, "The main argument of the Trotskyites is that the Vietnamese are selling out. The Trotskyites, sitting safely in their comfortable offices, think that the Vietnamese shouldn't make any concessions."

The fact is that neither the SWP nor the YSA has accused the Vietnamese of "selling out" in their dealings with Nixon. What we have said

is that their so-called allies in *Moscow and Peking* are betraying the Vietnamese revolution by trading off support to Vietnam for some economic and diplomatic concessions from Nixon.

It is also a fact that neither the SWP nor the YSA has criticized the Vietnamese for making concessions to Nixon of a military, territorial, or other material nature. We believe that the Vietnamese have the right to negotiate and that one can't find fault with heroic fighters for making material concessions when they are compelled to do so by an unfavorable relationship of forces.

It is the Soviet Union and China that bear the responsibility for putting the squeeze on Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government in an attempt to force them to accept a settlement that includes violations of Vietnamese self-determination.

We have expressed disagreements with some positions taken by the Vietnamese leaders. For example, we do not agree with statements released from Hanoi that called the nine points honorable and just and that urged people in the U.S. antiwar movement to demand that Nixon sign the treaty. We think the "Sign Now" slogan is wrong because it concedes *Nixon* the right to negotiate. This violates the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. It also implies support to conditions, contained in the accords, that Nixon has imposed on the Vietnamese.

But our defense of the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism is *unconditional*; that is, we do not make agreement with the positions of the Vietnamese leaders a condition for our defense of the struggle in Vietnam.

The best evidence of the Trotskyist position of defending the Vietnamese revolution and of unconditionally opposing U.S. imperialism is the record of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in defending the demand for U.S. "Out Now" from all of Indochina, and in building and leading the mass antiwar movement in the United States.

Zagarell is relying on a method of political debate developed by Stalin. He is trying to convince people that it is impossible to have a political disagreement with the present leadership of a particular struggle without going over to the side of the class enemy. According to this line of thinking, expressing a different political point of view or criticism is

Continued on page 22



Inauguration Day antiwar protest in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Flax Hermes

In Review

Women in American history

Notable American Women, 1607-1950 edited by Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass., 1972. Three volumes, 2,075 pp. \$75.

Notable American Women is a pioneering attempt to illustrate the variety of roles women have played in American history. Based on the wealth of material in the Women's Archives at Radcliffe College, this scholarly three-volume reference is a compilation of more than 1,300 biographies. It is an important sourcebook for writing women back into history.

The work includes biographies of suffrage, abolitionist, temperance, socialist, and trade union leaders, as well as of feminist pioneers, writers, teachers, social workers, actresses, artists, and anthropologists. Included are women who broke through the barriers of discrimination to become the first doctors, ministers, lecturers, lawyers, and scientists.

The biographies indicate the determination of women to fight against the injustices of society—whether it's

Books

Ellen Craft, who escaped from slavery; or Kate Richards O'Hare, who went to prison for denouncing World War I; or Susan B. Anthony, who was determined to build a suffrage organization; or Mary Ware Dennett, who called for the repeal of all restrictions against birth control.

While the research that has gone into *Notable American Women* is invaluable, there are some weaknesses. One example is the description of Harriet Tubman as a spy and a scout during the Civil War. The historian fails to mention that she also led military expeditions, the first woman in American history to do so.

The greatest limitation of the book—admitted by the editors—is that only women who had died by 1950 are included.

In future editions, other women should be added. These include Dr. Antoinette Konikow, a revolutionary socialist who was active in the birth control movement; Lucy Gonzalez Parsons, a Chicana trade unionist who fought to clear the names of the Haymarket martyrs; Ella Reeve Bloor, early socialist organizer; and Josephine Griffing, who headed the Freedman's Bureau.

Despite these weaknesses, *Notable American Women* is an essential reference book. Of particular importance is the list of biographical sources that follow each entry.

The mere existence of this book refutes the myth that women have made no important contributions to society. These biographies reveal a history of struggle and recount the significant role women have played in American history.

—DIANNE FEELEY



Critique of Guevarism

Guevara's Guerrilla Strategy: A critique and some proposals by Peter Camejo. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 30 pp. 60 cents.

What lessons can Latin American revolutionists draw from the Cuban revolution? What strategy should revolutionists in Latin America utilize to make a socialist revolution?

These questions are taken up in this pamphlet by Peter Camejo, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Camejo begins by reviewing the Cuban revolution. He notes that the revolution occurred in an exceptionally favorable situation. Both the Cuban and U.S. ruling classes made what he terms a "fundamental misjudgment" of the Castroist movement, believing that it could be kept within capitalist bounds. Thus Washington remained "semineutral" to Castro until after he seized power, while sections of the Cuban capitalist class gave Castro political and financial support.

While Camejo says that such exceptional conditions will not be repeated, he also points out that "the Cuban revolution in its general outline—mobilization of the masses for democratic demands, the necessity of passing over to a socialist revolution to defend the democratic program, the establishment of a workers' state—can be repeated in Latin America."

He adds that the mobilization of the masses must play an even more crucial role now than it did in the Cuban revolution because "the oppressors, foreign and domestic, cannot be counted on to make the same mistake again."

The lessons Che Guevara and his disciples drew from the Cuban revolution had a mixed value. On the one hand, Guevara's theories

Pamphlets

advanced the Latin American revolution by rejecting the false strategies of "peaceful transition to socialism" and support to the national capitalists.

On the other hand, however, the Guevarists' strategy for achieving the goal of socialist revolution dramatically underestimated the importance of mass struggles and the construction of a revolutionary-socialist vanguard party. Instead, they projected guerrilla warfare, initiated by small groups, as the central revolutionary strategy in Latin America.

They also came to the false conclusion that a semipermanent prerevolutionary situation would exist in the consciousness of the Latin American masses. They thought that unpopular and repressive dictatorial regimes would be the norm in Latin America and the precondition for guerrilla struggle.

Camejo explains how this strategy disarmed the Latin American vanguard from carrying out its key task—linking itself with the masses of workers, peasants, and students and building a mass revolutionary socialist party.

Guevarism, Camejo writes, left this vanguard unprepared to deal with the development of reformist regimes, such as the Allende regime in Chile and the Velasco regime in Peru. In both of these countries many Guevarists wound up supporting the regime.

Likewise, this strategy left no way for its adherents to intervene in mass workers' and peasants' upsurges or in electoral action. Camejo says that revolutionists should intervene in these struggles. A current example of this is the role the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) in Argentina has played in building the workers front election campaign.

Camejo counterposes Guevara's views on armed struggle to the Marxist position on this question. Marxists are for overthrowing capitalism and foresee armed resistance by the ruling class. They therefore understand the need for armed struggle by the workers and their allies. But the specific form armed struggle will take cannot be predicted in advance.

—TONY THOMAS

Simone sings Holiday

"Nina Simone Sings Billie Holiday: Lady Sings the Blues." Stroud Productions. New York. \$4.98.

If there is any artist worthy of a comparison with Billie Holiday, it is Nina Simone. This fact is beautifully brought out in her latest album.

Billie Holiday had a unique ability to communicate the feelings she experienced as a Black woman in the 30s and 40s. And no matter what kind of song she sang—a love song, a morose blues, an angry protest song—she could reach people as no other vocalist before her had. Her style, her words, her voice—more than anything, they were convincing.

Nina Simone has the same ability.

Records

When she sings "Don't Explain," for example, you just know she's been through the sorrow she expresses.

The relationship between a woman and "her man," who beats her and runs out, then returns, is movingly portrayed in Simone's rendition of "Fine and Mellow."

When she sings "Strange Fruit," all the anger and horror at the lynching of Blacks comes through.

In "Pigfoot and a Bottle of Beer," she sings of the light, joyful side of life in the after-hours clubs in Harlem.

Nina Simone has been the most powerful vocalist reflecting the rise of Black nationalism in the 60s and 70s. Her concerts, her recordings, and her speeches have been an important part of the Black movement.

"Nina Simone Sings Billie Holiday" is on a new label—Stroud Productions, owned by Andrew Stroud, Simone's former manager. It is a small independent label, and they're planning more albums like this one. (Simone's other albums were produced by the big recording companies.)

Stroud Productions is a welcome addition to the recording industry. Hopefully, they'll be able to maintain their independence and excellence of material. And hopefully more of Simone's powerful voice will be heard.

—RICHARD LESNIK



Billie Holiday

Democracy in student movement: Where does the YWLL really stand?

By JOSEPH HARRIS
and MALIK MIAH

The Young Workers Liberation League has finally issued a public letter concerning the denial of a student charter to the Young Socialist Alliance and a physical attack on a YSA member.

The letter, printed in the Jan. 17 *Guardian*, was written by Matty Berkelhammer, the national organizational secretary of the YWLL. It harshly criticizes the *Guardian* for printing a "false" news article about the events

Joseph Harris is the Chairman of the BMCC Young Socialist Alliance. Malik Miah is a YSA national executive committee member.

at Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) last November.

Berkelhammer contends that Richard Hoyen, a national leader of the YWLL, did not assault YSA member Will Stanley, and that "the YSA has not had its right to function politically interfered with" at BMCC.

What are the facts? At the Nov. 22 Student Government Association meeting at BMCC, the YSA's student charter was revoked; members of the YSA were expelled from the editorial board of the *Third Eye*, the campus newspaper; and YSA members were excluded from attending future meetings of the student government.

Richard Hoyen, who is the YWLL's national peace director and a coordinator of the Nguyen Van Troi Hospital Fund, placed these motions on the floor. He motivated them by calling YSA members "wreckers," "manipulators," "agents," and "counterrevolutionaries." He claimed that the YSA posed a "political threat" to the Third World Coalition at BMCC, whose members make up a majority of the student government.

At the student government meeting on Nov. 29, the YSA returned to appeal the previous week's decision. The appeal was tabled, however. Soon after the meeting, Hoyen and two other members of the Third World Coalition physically assaulted Will Stanley, tossing him to the floor and kicking him in the face.

The YSA responded to these attacks by initiating a campaign against the

use of violence to settle political differences, and in support of the YSA's right to a charter. This campaign gained the support of many student, Black, and Puerto Rican leaders and groups in the New York area, as well as support from around the country.

As a result of this campaign, one student government official informed the YSA before the Dec. 21 student government meeting that its charter "was never officially revoked." Just three days earlier, however, the YSA had been forced to take down a literature table on the basis that it did not have a charter.

What does Berkelhammer say about these facts? He says they are false, a "slander," and "totally unsubstantiated," but he presents no alternative account. Most importantly, he avoids discussing whether the YWLL sup-

ports the YSA's right to campus recognition. Campus groups such as Black Arts, Society Quisquiano, Circulo Boricua Baja (a Dominican organization), Phi Beta Delta, the Christian Fellowship, and other organizations have also supported the YSA's right to a charter.

In fact, at the Nov. 22 meeting the majority of the student government abstained on the motion to revoke the YSA's charter.

Berkelhammer makes another serious charge against the YSA that is untrue. He says, "the YSA, acting in harmony with the administration, has been playing a thoroughly racist role in trying to undermine the anti-imperialist Third World Coalition student government at BMCC." (Emphasis added.)

the matter. An open letter the YSA sent to the administration said in part: "Because the Young Socialist Alliance believes that all student affairs should be under student control. . . 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."

What about the "racist and reactionary policies" of the YSA? Berkelhammer tries to equate racism and reaction with any YSA position the YWLL disagrees with. The YWLL, which supports the "peace" accords, says the YSA is "attacking the Vietnamese" by refusing to support the demand that Nixon sign the treaty. In addition, Berkelhammer makes the ridiculous claim that the YSA opposes fund raising projects for building hospitals in Hanoi.

The YSA supports Black nationalism, which the YWLL opposes. Thus, YWLL members have called the YSA "racist" for its strategy for Black liberation.

The YWLL uses these absurd slanders as a substitute for debating its real differences with the YSA. It hopes to discredit the ideas of the YSA simply by labeling them "reactionary."

In addition, the YWLL has shown that it is not opposed to using physical violence to intimidate those with whom it disagrees. Such undemocratic practices are in the traditions of the Communist Party, which the YWLL is in political solidarity with. The use of goon-squad tactics by any organization is intolerable and must be fought by every critical-minded activist. Such methods prevent free, open discussion and provide an excuse for school administrations and the government to victimize radical groups.

The Berkelhammer letter completely avoids answering the real questions posed by the events at BMCC: Does the YWLL support the right of the YSA to have a student charter? Is the YWLL opposed to the use of physical intimidation and slander to resolve political differences within the movement?

The YSA believes that political differences within the movement can only be resolved in an atmosphere of open debate and discussion, free from any fear of physical threats.



Militant/Flax Hermes

Young Workers Liberation League has tried to discredit antiwar stand of Young Socialist Alliance, falsely claiming that YSA's criticism of nine-point draft accords is an attack on the Vietnamese.

ports the YSA's right to campus recognition and where the YWLL stands on the use of violence within the radical and student movements.

Instead, Berkelhammer says, "What is involved is a mass rejection by an entire student body and a student government, under third world leadership, of the racist and reactionary policies of the YSA." (Emphasis added.)

Is it true that an "entire student body" has rejected the YSA? The fact

is that more than 300 students at BMCC signed a petition supporting the YSA's right to campus recognition. Campus groups such as Black Arts, Society Quisquiano, Circulo Boricua Baja (a Dominican organization), Phi Beta Delta, the Christian Fellowship, and other organizations have also supported the YSA's right to a charter.

Despite its political differences with the Third World Coalition, the YSA has consistently defended the group from administration attacks. In the past semester, the YSA supported the Third World Coalition against administration attempts to deny it the seats it won in the student government election.

During the fight over the YSA charter, the YSA strongly opposed a move by the administration to intervene in

YWLL leader calls Guardian article a 'slander'

The following letter from Matty Berkelhammer, organizational secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League, appeared in the Jan. 17 *Guardian*.

An item in the Dec. 27 issue of the *Guardian* raises serious questions about your journalistic integrity. It further shows the deterioration of your political outlook and the close kinship of your new-found Maoism to Trotskyism.

The article, "YSA Member Beaten" which appeared in the Movement column falsely states that Richard Hoyen, a member of the YWLL at Borough of Manhattan Community College, assaulted a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. This is a slander. It is totally unsubstantiated. What is the source of the *Guardian's* information? From a YSA press release? Is it *Guardian* policy to quote Trotskyite press releases verbatim? Why didn't the *Guardian* bother to check the accuracy of the story with Hoyen, the YWLL or the Third World

Coalition at BMCC, which is in the leadership of the student government and which allegedly is denying the YSA its right to function on campus?

Does it matter to the *Guardian* that Hoyen is an Asian youth who is being slandered by the YSA? Does it matter to the *Guardian* that he is the coordinator of the U.S. Nguyen Van Troi Hospital Committee, which is raising funds to build a children's hospital in Hanoi as an act of solidarity with the victims of U.S. aggression, and that the Trotskyites oppose this project, just as they oppose the signing of the 9-point agreement to end the war?

The *Guardian* likes to wrap itself in the cloak of the great defender of the third world. Aren't you interested in finding out the viewpoint of the Third World Coalition at BMCC, which has the overwhelming support of all students at BMCC, black, Puerto Rican, Asian and white, and has been engaged in a sharp political struggle with

the racist administration of BMCC for several years?

We think that further investigation by the *Guardian* would reveal:

1) that the YSA, acting in harmony with the administration, has been playing a thoroughly racist role in trying to undermine the anti-imperialist Third World Coalition student government at BMCC.

2) that the YSA has not had its right to function politically interfered with. They can still use school facilities, issue leaflets, etc. As a matter of fact, they are currently circulating their scurrilous anti-treaty material on the campus.

3) that the real issue in this dispute is not between the YWLL and the YSA, as the YSA would have people believe. What is involved is a mass rejection by an entire student body and a student government, under third world leadership, of the racist and reactionary policies of the YSA.

We think the *Guardian* owes its readers and Hoyen, the YWLL and

the Third World Coalition a public apology for the unsubstantiated, slanderous statements contained in this article.

Let's see the *Guardian* apply the concept of self-criticism which it so loudly flaunts. Or [is] the *Guardian* so motivated by anti-communism that it is willing to print falsehoods as a substitute for ideological struggle?

The Guardian replies: We believe that the main question in this matter is whether or not political disputes on the left should be settled by violence. Richard Hoyen has refused to explain to us why he disputes the account given by YSA member Will Stanley, who says that a group of students including Hoyen physically attacked him.

While the *Guardian* has made clear its opposition to Trotskyism and its role in the antiwar movement many times, the behavior and politics of YSA is not the central issue in this situation.

...D.C.

Continued from page 5

a Nov. 4 Coalition member who represented PCPJ at several meetings. Flores played with an ice pick during one small planning meeting and said: "Any speaker who attacks the Vietnamese from the platform will be prevented from doing so."

Sid Peck, head of PCPJ, subsequently refused to dissociate PCPJ from this blatant threat. "As a sociologist," he told NPAC, he could predict that such outbreaks might occur.

On the day of the rally, there were several attempts to seize the stage, all of which failed. The Nov. 4 Coalition contingent, numbering roughly 300, tried to break through the fence surrounding the stage but were prevented from doing so by marshals. Insisting that Juan Gonzales be allowed to speak immediately, supporters of the coalition threw mud at Pete Seeger and Len Chandler, who were on the stage providing entertainment.

Earlier, a Students for a Democratic Society sound truck tried to drive through the crowd to the stage. SDS had held a rally earlier in the day and had then marched over to the main demonstration. Their attempt to seize the stage was shortlived: demonstrators sat down in front of the truck, preventing it from getting any closer.

Among the other speakers at the rally were Sababu Taibika and Nate Howard, both students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, La.; Representatives Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.); Senator Philip Hart (D-Mich.); Sid Peck; journalist I. F. Stone; Reverend Philip Berrigan; and Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

others.

Chanting "Out Now!" and "Peace Now!" the demonstrators, who were refused a parade permit, packed downtown sidewalks for several blocks. The crowd was filled with banners and posters. The most prominent said: "Out Now—No Conditions"; "Raza Si—Guerra No"; "Stop the Bombing Now!"; "Active Duty GIs Against the War"; and "Austin Gays Against the War."

Other actions on Jan. 20 included a demonstration of 2,500 in Minneapolis organized by the Minneapolis Peace Action Coalition and the SMC. Speakers at the rally included St. Paul Mayor Larry Cohen, Gary Prevost of MPAC, Ann Burns of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers and the Minnesota Women's Political Caucus, August Nimtz of the YSA, Guy Levilliam of PCPJ, and Greg Cain of Local 59 of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers.

Endorsers of the Minneapolis demonstration included the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council, the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the Minnesota state legislature, and the St. Paul city council.

A rally of 200 was held at the University of Minnesota on Jan. 19, and more than 400 people participated in a demonstration organized by the SMC and PCPJ in St. Cloud on Jan. 20.

In San Diego a Jan. 20 demonstration of 2,000, led by Asian and Chicano contingents, marched through the center of town. Speakers included Leonard Weinglass, a defense lawyer in the Pentagon papers case, and Tom Hayden, a leader of the Indochina Peace Campaign.

The Wasatch Peace Action Coalition organized a picket of 300 people in front of the federal building in Salt Lake City on Jan. 20. A rally of 200 at Utah State University took place on Jan. 19.

resumed its development and that the dogmatic carry-overs and tendencies may be surmounted.

But at the same time the metaphysical approach was still strong enough at this year's *ard fheis* to cost the Officials another important opportunity. The confusion of the journalists reporting the convention illustrates this failure. The Officials got little apparent benefit from the press coverage, just the dubious honor of some foggy speculation about internal power struggles. But if they had used the occasion to project a clear appeal to the Provisionals for united action against the Dublin government's repression, this could have carried powerful impact. As a new initiative, it would have helped substantially to clear away the dogmatic tendencies in Irish politics that have promoted the worst attitudes among the Provisionals as well as the Officials.

Nonetheless, there is every reason to believe that the Official republicans will be able to reorient themselves in a positive direction. After all, they built the most effective united-front campaign in modern Irish history, the civil-rights movement.

bique, Guinea-Bissau, and Portugal itself.

We know there can't be equality in the material support that Portugal receives from the U.S. and the support we can receive from our friends in the U.S. However, we have material needs of all kinds. We need pencils, typewriters, all kinds of things. We hope this can be organized and that we will hear from each other in the near future.

...CP

Continued from page 19

the same as betraying the revolution.

Zagarell also tries to make it appear that the SWP is condemning the Vietnamese freedom fighters. The truth is that those we condemn are the nationalistic, self-serving bureaucrats in the Kremlin, who are willing to sacrifice the Vietnamese revolution so as not to endanger their detente with Nixon.

By this clumsy falsification, Zagarell hopes to do two things: first, to convince CPers and YWLLers that the SWP is hostile to the Vietnamese revolution; and, second, to avoid answering the real charges against Moscow, which has repeatedly refused to provide adequate defense of the Vietnamese revolution, either militarily or politically.

Zagarell apparently learned his method of falsification from the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which can back up its distortions of history and current events with state censorship and police-enforced ideological conformity. When you can rely on the power of police-state methods, it doesn't matter whether your arguments fly in the face of facts or logic—they can be counted on to prevail, at least for the time being.

The antiwar movement in this country has consistently repudiated any attempts to impose a policy of exclusion—whether directed against political groups or against adherents of a particular point of view. We can be confident that any new attempts by the CP to use its methods of slander, physical force, or ideological terrorism to impose its point of view on the entire antiwar movement will meet with little success.

...Angola

Continued from page 14

In regard to Zaire, I want to point out that we will not interfere in the internal affairs of Zaire. This is the same policy we follow in Zambia and in the Peoples Republic of Congo and Tanzania. Our main target is Portuguese colonialism in Angola.

Militant: What do you think supporters of the Angolan struggle in the U.S. should do?

Neto: We think that we have a common struggle and that we must make more and more contacts. We think we must join our hands in order to make a socialist Angola and a socialist Southern Africa.

Political support to the liberation struggle from the Black community, from the working class, and from different support organizations would be very good. Create support groups across the U.S. to help us develop an anti-imperialist campaign against U.S. engagement in Angola, Mozam-

...Irish

Continued from page 12

The fact that for the first time some one-sided formulas, which seemed virtually sacrosanct in the Official movement over the past period, were challenged at the *ard fheis* was thus a very hopeful sign. It indicates that the Official republican movement has

...local

Continued from page 4

Mobilization Committee, the Peace Action Committee, the Socialist Workers Party, the Peace Treaty Coalition, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Young Socialist Alliance, Direct Action, and

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.

San Diego: SWP and YSA, 4309 1/2 51 St., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 287-0787.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 543 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m. - 7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 427 Main St. #206, Hartford, Conn. 06103. Tel: (203) 246-6797.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, P.O. Box 176, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Lawrence Roth/Mark Harris, 505 S. Graham, #341, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St., Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, 10975 Sheraton Dr., Baton Rouge, La. 70815.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, c/o Rich Ropers, 903 Northwest Apts., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Red Bank: YSA, P.O. Box 222, Rumson, N.J. 07760.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, Box 1658, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S.Dak. 57102.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA and SWP, P.O. Box 7753, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

Lubbock: YSA, c/o Tim McGovern, P.O. Box 5090, Tech. Station, Lubbock, Texas 79409.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

Calendar

ATLANTA

KICKOFF BANQUET AND RALLY to launch the Socialist Workers Campaign for Debby Bustin for mayor, Joel Aber for vice-mayor, Mike Weisman for school board, and Nina Martin for alderwoman. Featured speaker: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate. Sat., Feb. 3, 6:30 p.m. Banquet, 8 p.m. Rally. JFK Center, 225 Chestnut N.W. Tickets: \$3 for banquet and rally, \$1 for rally only; h.s. students half price. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

ACADEMIC FREEDOM—Panel discussion. Speakers: Christine Joost, Tufts University professor, and others. Fri., Feb. 2, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Station). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

DETROIT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PEACE ACCORDS. Speaker: Mike Kelly, former Massachusetts coordinator of Student Mobilization Committee. Fri., Feb. 2, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

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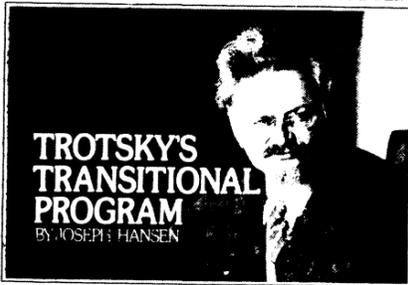
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THE MILITANT

46 state laws struck down Supreme Court: women have right to abortion!

By LINDA JENNESS

The Jan. 22 U.S. Supreme Court decision declaring abortion legal is a historic victory for women and for the women's liberation movement. It is the most significant legal step forward in the fight for women's emancipation since women won the right to vote.

With this 7-to-2 decision, the highest court in the country has in effect declared that abortion is a woman's constitutional right through the first 24 weeks of pregnancy. All state laws that restrict the right to abortion under medically safe conditions before the twenty-fourth week are now unconstitutional.

Linda Jenness was the 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. She is now the national coordinator of women's liberation activity for the SWP.

The Supreme Court's decision is based on the constitutional guarantee of a right to privacy. The constitution does not explicitly mention this right, but the court has ruled that such a right does exist under the Fourteenth Amendment's concept of personal liberty.

According to the ruling, abortion can only be banned, by state law, after the first 24 weeks of pregnancy, when the fetus could be viable. The court limited restrictions on abortion between the twelfth and twenty-fourth weeks to those that concern the safety of the conditions under which abortions are performed. For the first 12 weeks, no restrictions on abortion are allowed whatsoever.

In recognizing the right of women to choose to terminate pregnancy—even though it qualified that right after 24 weeks—the court decision reflected the impact of the women's liberation movement. The feminist movement, in spearheading the abortion rights struggle, took the abortion issue out of the realm of population control

and made it a question of women's right to control their own reproductive lives.

By declaring illegal laws that compromise this right—for example, laws that say women can have abortions only if their health is in danger, or that require women to get the approval of a hospital board before getting an abortion—the court concurred with the concept of the woman's right to choose.

The court denied the anti-abortion argument that the fetus has a "right to life," saying that "the word 'person,' as used in the Fourteenth Amendment, does not include the unborn."

It further declared: "We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins. When those trained in the respective disciplines of medicine, philosophy, and theology are unable to arrive at any consensus, the judiciary, at this point in the development of man's knowledge, is not in a position to speculate as to the answer. . . . There has always been strong support for the view that life does not begin until live birth."

While the Supreme Court did, in large part, rule in accordance with the demands put forward by the women's liberation movement, it did not call for the complete abolition of all abortion laws. In every state where reactionary laws now exist, the question will be raised of whether to replace these with new laws.

The abortion rights movement should continue to put forward the concept that no laws concerning abortion are needed. Abortion is basically a medical procedure—no different in this respect from an appendectomy—and should not be regulated by the legislatures.

The day after the court announced its decision, chapters of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition across the country held news conferences hailing it as a victory. "For years we have been demonstrating in the streets and carrying on fights in the courts and the state legislatures all across the country," stated Susan

LaMont, a WONAAC coordinator. "This victory, which is going to have an impact on the lives of millions upon millions of American women, shows the power of the women's movement."

The Catholic Church hierarchy and the other anti-abortion forces saw the ruling as a major defeat for their position. Cardinal John Krol of Philadelphia called it an "unspeakable tragedy" with "disastrous implications for our stability as a civilized society." This defeat of antifeminist forces on the abortion issue will tend to weaken their attack against other women's rights measures, such as the Equal Rights Amendment.

The fact that the Supreme Court felt constrained to legalize abortion will set a powerful precedent internationally. Women throughout the world will be aided in their struggles against anti-abortion laws.

In addition, this victory will add impetus to women's struggles on all fronts. The freedom from unplanned and unwanted pregnancy that this ruling can provide for millions of women will mean far-reaching changes in women's attitudes. It will encourage the fight for other forms of human freedom.

The Supreme Court ruling does not mean that the struggle for the right to abortion is over. The anti-abortion forces are well financed. They will no doubt pressure state legislatures to restrict the impact of the decision.

Cardinal Terence Cooke's immediate response to the ruling was to urge citizens to "do all in their power to reverse this injustice to the rights of the unborn child." The anti-abortion forces will try to find any loophole possible to pass restrictive laws and stop implementation of the Supreme Court decision.

The abortion rights movement must remain vigilant and prepared to fight. This legal victory must now be implemented so that women all over the country will be able to take advantage of it.

Vietnam and the 'sanctity of life'

The following are excerpts from the remarks made by Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, at the antiwar demonstration of more than 100,000 in Washington, D. C., Jan. 20.

The man who is being inaugurated today is guilty of trying to lobotomize the entire American population. He has tried to blunt our outrage at the rape of Vietnam. He has tried to keep us out of the streets with phony promises of peace. His tactics and lies have been successful in some world capitals, but he's no longer fooling the American people.

Just as savage bombing has not crushed the will of the Vietnamese, all the lies and distortions of the past four years have not succeeded in drowning our demand: "U.S. Out Now!"

In fact, far from lobotomizing this country, Nixon has indirectly helped many people here at home begin to fight for their own liberation.

Women, for example. The current wave of feminism was spawned during the Vietnam war. Inspired by the courage of our Vietnamese sisters, radicalized by the struggle to end the war, thousands of us woke up to our own oppression as women. Because the very same man who napalms Indochinese women denies American women their right to abortion—because of his professed belief in the "sanctity" of human life.

And the same man who spends billions to murder Indochinese children won't spend a cent on adequate care for American children.

Nixon no more wants women to be free to choose than he wants the Vietnamese to be free to choose, because the oppression of women, and Blacks, and workers, and Third World countries forms a cornerstone of patriarchal class society.

So while he wages a genocidal war in Vietnam, he wages another war at home. A war to maintain control of women's bodies where it has always been in patriarchal society—in the hands of male politicians who have never been pregnant, who have never suffered childbirth, who have never been butchered by back-alley abortionists.

Today we indict Nixon and this government for war crimes in Vietnam. On March 9-10 in New York City the women of this country will indict the government for crimes against women at the International Abortion Tribunal.

So from the women of America to the women of Vietnam, we send this message:

You are not alone. We fight the same enemy. Your tears are our tears. Your agony is our agony. Your struggle is our struggle. And we will be here in the streets again and again for as long as it takes until your peace is our peace. Out Now!



Barbara Roberts

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